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Socio-economic Dependence of Peasant to Local Collector on Rice Farming System

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ABSTRACT

The poverty of peasant in Gunung Talang district is caused by low income, low education and limited land. The purpose of this research is to analyze the bases of the peasant socio-economic dependence to the local collector (local assemblers) on rice farming system. The research is also analyzing the socio-economic relations of peasants and local collector on rice farming system. This research was conducted through the qualitative method with descriptive research type. The results show the socio-economic dependence due to peasant's conditions. They do not have the capital to cultivate the agricultural land. Peasants are trapped in the patron clients system. They cannot get out from poverty. The socio-economic relation between the peasants and the local collector of rice farming occur because of a very strong relationship with their blood relatives (Dunsanak).

Keywords: Poverty, Socio-economic dependence, Peasant

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is more dominant sector than the industrial sector in West Sumatra especially for lower and middle-class. Agriculture is the main centre sector in Solok, especially in Gunung Talang district. Societies in Gunung Talang district work as a peasant in general. It is 67% out of 49,485 inhabitants of the local (BPS Kabupaten Solok, 2015).

In rural societies, peasants consist of small landowners, tenant peasant and farmers. The category is not fixed. The peasants are not only own the land themselves but they also work on additional land that he rents (Scott, 1994). Peasants in Gunung Talang district cultivate the land of others because they do not have their own land. For land-owning peasants who work as teachers and traders, they cannot efficiently cultivate their lands.

The landowners in Gunung Talang district are less in quantity than peasants and labour. The highest growth rate of farm households in 2014 to 2015 reached 49.1%

from 6,506 to 7,510. It has purportedly occurred because some peasants sell or loan their agricultural land. The comparison of farm households in 2017 is about 4,050 for peasants and 760 for labour. While the smallest growth rates have occurred in 2016 until 2017. It was 3.1% of 7,630 farm households to 7,720 farm households. It happens because there is still a lack of alternative jobs for peasants and labour. Peasants are still trapped in poverty.

The peasant in the Gunung Talang district can be divided into three categories. First, tiller peasants provide labor from land treatment to harvest and rice cleaning, while land owners peasants contribute to land and production facilities (seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides). In this system, the result of farming production divided by 1:1. Second, the system where the land owner only provides land while the employment and daily needs are cultivated by the peasant. In this system, the production is divided into three parts, a part for the landowner and two

parts for the peasant. Third, contract system where the peasants work under contract with the land owner.

The poverty occurs to peasant due to their inability to fulfil their basic daily needs, ensuring survival and less income. The main reason is a small amount of income to fulfil

their daily needs and other costs. According to the data of Solok poverty line, peasant needs 50.000, - to Rp. 60.000, - as their daily cost lower limit to fulfil their daily needs. This cost is still not sufficient although there are some of the peasants that work as daily labour (BPS Kabupaten Solok, 2015).

Table 1
Data of Peasants Households in GunungTalang Sub-Regency, 2013-2017

No	Types	Year								
		2013	%	2014	%	2015	%	2016	%	2017
1	Ownland	900	0,67	906	0,44	910	0	910	0,2	912
2	Peasant	3.000	1,67	3.050	31,1	4.000	0,5	4.020	0,7	4.050
3	Labour	2.500	2	2.550	17,6	2.600	3,8	2.700	2,2	2.760
Amout		6.400	4,34	6.506	49,1	7.510	4,3	7.630	3,1	7.720

Source: (Dinas Pertanian Kabupaten Solok, 2017)

In Indonesian society, local collector term on rice farming system is *Tauke*. It derived from the word *tauke* that comes from the Chinese which means the boss or head of workers. The suitable meaning of *Tauke* for this research is as the owner of capital. They have advantages in the economic sector or capital. They provide loans or debt for their peasant. The debt will be paid with the rice from their harvest. So the rice from the peasant is as a tool for paying the debt.

Characteristics of the local collector are someone from the middle to upper class. They have good capital and economic ability. In addition, they are also the peasant. The

local collector is also a trader who has a strong relationship in society. Their relationship is very wide because they will market the rice.

The dependence of peasants occurs because of a social exchange of peasants and local collector of rice. Peasants provide the labour in the cultivation of land, while local collector provides agricultural land, capital and protection. The social dependence by the peasants to the local collector of rice is their dependence on services in lending money. Social exchange can be bothstiff and loose depending on the intimacy of the relationship (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010).

Table 2
Number of Local Collector in GunungTalang, 2013-2017

No	Nagari	Year								
		2013	%	2014	%	2015	%	2016	%	2017
1	BatangBarus	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5
2	AiaBatumbuak	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Koto GaekGuguak	10	10	11	0	11	0	11	0	11
4	Koto GadangGuguak	14	7,1	15	0	15	0	15	0	15
5	Jawi-jawi	16	0	16	0	16	6,2	17	0	17
6	Talang	15	6,6	16	6,2	17	5,8	18	5,5	19
7	Sungai Janiah	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9
8	Cupak	16	0	16	6,2	17	5,8	18	5,5	19
Amout		85	23,7	88	12,4	90	17,8	93	11	95

Source: Dinas Pertanian Kabupaten Solok (2017)

The rate of development of the number of local collectors of rice occurred in 2013 to 2014 is 23.7% of 85 people to 88 people. While the smallest rate development of a number of the local collector of rice has occurred from 2016 to 2017. It is 11% from 93 people to 95 people. There is no local collector at rice in Nagari Aia Batumbuak and it is only 1 of 8 Nagari. Nagari Aia Batumbuak focuses more on cultivated on growing vegetables and fruits than rice fields. This is the reason of no one as a local collector of rice in Nagari Aia Batumbuak.

The relationship between the local collector at rice and the peasants are a client relationship. The client's patron is the exchange of relations between the two roles. It can be expressed as special cases of ties involving instrumental friendship. Higher socio-economic status (patron) uses its influence and resources to provide protection, as well as benefits to someone with a status which he considers inferior (clients). The client offers general supports and assistance including personal services to his patron. As the scattered patterns of exchange, services and goods exchanged by patrons and clients reflect the emerging needs and resources of each side (Scott, 1994).

Based on the description, the author is interested to examine the problem of peasant socio-economic dependence on the local collector at rice. It continues despite the existence of cooperatives and a small credit interest advance system by the bank. Local collector at rice gives advance to the peasants, while the peasants have not been able to repay the debt because of the big amount of their debt. The peasants in the GunungTalang can never get out of the poverty and socio-economic dependence on the local collector of rice. The peasants should be able to get out of dependence on the local collector of rice because agriculture is the pre-eminent sector of Solok. It is supported by the establishment of cooperatives and Nagari credit agencies.

This paper will explore the social economic dependence of peasant to the local collector on the farming system. The discussion will expose the causes of the socio-economic dependence of peasant to a local collector of rice, and the socio-economic

relations of a peasant with the local collector of rice.

RESEARCH METHODS

The author used a qualitative approach (Sugiyono, 2016). It focuses on qualitative research data such as local collector at rice and informants about their dependence experienced. Qualitative research will be able to find the definition of the situation as well as the social indication of the subject such as behaviour, motives and emotions of the informant. This study explores the relationship between peasant and local collector of rice.

This study used an intrinsic case study (Emzir, 2012). The researcher wanted to explain the socio-economic dependence of the peasant to a local collector at rice farming system. This research tried to analyze the causes of the socio-economic dependence of the peasant to the local collector of rice. Besides, it explores the reasons of the local collector of rice to maintain the socio-economic relationship even though the peasant has not paid the debt in Gunung Talang district. Informant was selected through snowball sampling approach. Peasant shows another peasant as an informant. The local collector asked to show another local collector and so on. The local collector shall live in Gunung Talang district. They need more than ten peasants. They must experience it for more than three years as a local collector. In addition, peasants must be GunungTalang resident that has a socio-economic dependence on the local collector, local leaders such as *walinagari*, the cooperative, the banks or the general public.

It is participant observation. Researcher directly observed the behaviour of the society. The researcher has participated in the observed environmental activities (Bungin, 2010). I observe directly the transaction process and the way of lending between peasant and local collector. I write important information in my note by observation tool as field notes. I take it every time in observation. I reveal my true identity to the informant. I convey the intent and purpose of the research to the informants. I observed the interaction of peasant and local collector, the process of transporting and drying the rice.

Author was conducted in-depth interviews based on an interview guide. Questions are not structured but still related to the social-economic dependence of peasant to the local collector at rice in GunungTalangSolok. Interviews were conducted in the informant's empty time in the afternoon from 04:00 to 07:00 pm. It was continued in night at 07:00 to 09:00 pm. It took place at the informant's home. It is a suitable time for informant because they are not busy in their regular activities such as in rice fields or and drying rice place.

The validity data test thru data triangulation by using multiple sources (informants) to collect the same data. Data analysis is continuously analyzed by using analysis technique such as reducing data, data presentation, data conclusion and verification. The purpose of this analysis obtains continuity and depth in obtaining data. Qualitative data analysis methods were proposed by Miles and Huberman (Afriзал, 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Socio-Economic Dependence of Peasant to Local Collector on Rice Farming System

The peasant debt to the local collector of rice will make a continuous dependence. A landless peasant must share his or her harvest with the landowner. The harvest is not maximal compared to the peasants who have their own land. Their income will be better. The peasant will never get out of poverty due to that dependence. The economic problem is the main problem in human life. Although our ancestor lives in a simple pattern a system of division of labour always practices. Economic activity exists in the history of human life, past, present, and future which is manifested in economic institutions in order to fulfil daily needs (Syafri, 2014).

The agricultural is the main centre sector of the everyday life of GunungTalang society. Peasant cannot be separated from a local collector. They lend money to the local collector. It happens because of the huge cost required by the peasant.

These costs may include their daily necessities as well as fees for agricultural land processing such as purchasing seeds,

fertilizers and land-processing costs. Peasants are indebted to the local collector of rice to cover the cost. The peasant must sell the crop to them. There is a relationship between cultural capital and social capital in society (Damsar, 2002).

Sometimes, their harvest is able to pay off the debt. But, there is a bad condition where it is not comparable to the amount of debt from the peasant. The peasant works on someone else's land. He should share his harvest with the landowner. Only a small percentage of peasants have their own land. It is a very small area around a hectare.

The results are related to Scott's findings of the socio-economic dependence of capital owners and peasant. It is related to the life of a peasant in basic subsistence livelihoods such as the provision of permanent work or land to grow crops. In guarantees of subsistence crisis, patron guarantees the subsistence basis for its clients by absorbing losses caused by agricultural problems due to interfering with the lives of its clients and protection from external pressure (Scott, 1994).

In the context of Gunung Talang district peasants, there is no relationship between owners and coworkers. Minangkabau society generally does not want to be a maid in their life. There is a patron-client relationship between the owners of capital (local collector) with the debtor (peasant). Being a farm labourer is an alternative to get a job (Sari, Abbas, & Rahmad, 2013).

Patron-client in West Sumatra is very strong because of kinship or *dunsanak*. The bonds inherent in kinship are so strong that they do not recognize the term of helper and employer. Socio-economic conditions can be seen from economic conditions (physical). It is related to the behaviour of individuals or associated with social processes of the pattern of human activity in production, distribution and consumption (Nengrum, Yulkardi, & Rahmad, 2014).

This previous study is different from Scott's finding that the discovery of patron-client relationships between employers and helpers in Java. Patron is not only using power to protect his clients but also can use his power to get advantage or rewards from his clients in return for his protection (Scott, 1994). Patron services are collective. Internally patrons as a group can complete its

collective economic functions. They manage collective assistance collectively for its clients. The flow from client to the patron is services such as technical expertise for the interests of patrons. The services are basic work or agriculture services, additional services for households, private domestic services, and periodic feeding. Client considers the comparison between the services and the results. They will consider the greater value from the patrons than the cost he should return. It is the basic consideration for the patron-client bond in being legitimate and legal.

The farm workers are trapped in poverty because of low incomes, minimal skills, low asset ownership, and other things. The government through the local government tries various efforts to help peasant out of poverty such as rice aid and money. It does not necessarily make a meaningful life change. Poor peasants use the poverty support for their daily consumption. The aid is not able to exposed other alternatives to increase the source of income as the primary goal (Sri Rahmadani, 2017).

The poverty in Gunung Talang district is inability of peasant to fulfill their daily needs. The alternative solution is getting in debt on local collector but sometimes it is not enough. In addition, poverty also occurs because they do not have alternative jobs. If they get an alternative job, the salaries will not able to fulfill their daily needs. It is revealed from Nur, she is the tenant peasants in Nagari Talang:

"...Alah bapuluah tahun ambo jadi petani ko, yang namonyo hidup iyo model iko se, dapek pagi abih sanjo, apolai kini anak ambo alah ka tamek lo SMA, indak tantu bisuak ko lai doh apolai untuak kuliah, sadangkan untuak kadimakan se pas-pas se nyo. Kadisalang pitihka Tauke, utang ambo yang lamo se alun juo salasai lai doh, anak ambo batigo, gadang biaya yang ambo kalua an, tapaso ambo pai manokok padi katiko adoh urang yang manongkang jadinya...." (In local language of Minangkabau)

Translation:

".... I have been a peasant for long time. I lived like this from year to year. I got the money in the morning and spend it for a day. My child will graduate from high school. I do not know whether I must take her to college or not

because my salary is on average. I want to borrow money on local collector but my previous debt has not paid off. I have three children. I spend much money as my cost. I was forced to look for another job. I will be a curtain when someone else is harvesting...." (Peasant interview, February 15th, 2017).

The peasants are unable to fulfil their daily needs well. Although peasant has worked as daily labourers, the work is still very difficult to obtain. In addition, their salaries as daily workers are still out of expectations, because the income for women in a day is only Rp.35.000, - while for men is Rp. 50.000, -. They must work from 08.00 am to 05.00 pm. In addition, the peasant's part-time jobs are also uncertain about one or two times a week. There is a condition when the jobs are none exist.

It is supported by Abdulsyani's findings. He describes poverty as a situation of incapability to adequately of person, family or community member's daily needs as well as other members of society in general (Abdulsyani, 2002). The poverty is the worst problem for human life. It is feared by everyone.

Peasant have indicators. They do not own land so they have to cultivate other people's land with a profit-sharing system. They have limitations of capital, low education and very dependence on others. While the indicator for the local collector of rice is the owner of the agricultural land. They have a large income and respected or rich person in the community. A local collector has a strong relationship in both debts and in the distribution of rice and crops. So, peasants will continue to be bound to local collector price due to the lack of capital and income. Increasing peasant income has changed the pattern of development and increased peasant income (Murni, Ansofino, & Meldawati, 2012).

The economic situation is one of the bases of the increasing number of the peasant. The role of the daily peasant is getting worse due to the decreasing of the daily necessities. It is a job for a housewife. Their husband's income is not sufficient for households needs. Moreover, some of them (5 people) is widows. They should be able to try to earn income for the household's needs and daily needs. It indicates their economic

life is below the poverty line because they only have an income of Rp.200.000-400.000 per month. So, their hope and support are the fields that they are working as the main income households (Wijaya, Zusmelia, & Elvawati, 2014).

Poverty is a symptom of lack of income to fulfil basic living needs. The community members are under the poverty line if the income is not enough to fulfil the most life needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Poverty is an inability to fulfil one's needs, both material and nonmaterial. This definition is more relative because the intensity of the minimum required standard is not specified. Meanwhile, poverty can be interpreted as "the failure to get certain minimum capabilities". Poverty can be approached relative and absolutes.

The previous study is adequate with Sajogyo's findings. He focuses on the poverty as the lack of goods and services needed to achieve a decent standard of living, because the standards are different (Sajogyo, 1996). They are unable to increase their rice production because the shortage of goods needed such as tools for production. So, the results obtained did not increase.

This subsection has revealed that the socio-economic dependence has occurred a long time ago. Peasant cannot get out of poverty because of the client's patron relationship that keeps the tiller peasant tied up with the local collector of rice. The poverty is also caused by the low educational background, the increasing cost of living and the lack of part-time jobs.

Peasant and Local Collector Socio-Economic Relations

A local collector has lent money to peasant from cultivation to harvest. It creates a relationship between peasant and local collector of rice. If the relationships have been established long enough then the relationship will be more intense and strong. The relationship between the peasant and local collector of rice is a kinship relationship. This socio-economic relation is irrational relations. Irrational relationships are a relationship that occurs based on the sympathy and relatives or *dunsanak*. The relationship between the peasant proprietors and the peasants are not only established the

relationship between labourers and employers but also in the form of familial relations (Yosefrizal, Sabar, & Witrianto, 2012).

A local collector of rice will advance money to the peasant because they have a relationship of *dunsanak*. The kinship relationship cannot be ruled out in the life of the peasant society. Local collector still provides an advance to the peasant due to the relations between relatives that occur because of sympathy. The amount of debt is very enormous. It is not a constraint on the local collector at rice because of sympathy for the *dunsanak*.

Peasants have not been able to pay the debt on the local collector of rice because of the amount of debt that was too big. There are unexpected things like catastrophic rats. A local collector at rice is still maintaining the relationship of the peasant such as continue to provide an advance for a peasant. Local collector at rice give the loan to the peasant in different amounts depends on the number of rice fields managed by a peasant. Another important thing is because they trust peasant to pay the debt at the appointed time.

"...Wak dalam maagiah pinjaman kapado petani jumlahnyo ndak samodoh, kok inyo lai jujur se, pasti tiok pinjam pitih ka awak langsung se awak agiahan mah...." (In local language of Minangkabau)

Translation:

"...I gave a different amount of money to the peasant. If he is honest, I will loan the money directly...." (Local Collector interview, March 3rd, 2017)

This result was consistent with the findings suggested by Scott. He concludes the exchange of relations between the two roles of special cases due to the ties of friendship. An individual with a higher socio-economic status (patron) uses his influence and resources to provide protection, as well as benefits for someone with inferior socio-economic status (client). The client responds by offering general support and assistance including personal services to his patron. In exchange patterns, services and goods exchanged by patrons and clients reflect the emerging needs and resources of each side (Scott, 1994).

The socio-economic dependence of peasant to the local collector in GunungTalang is inseparable. Despite the existence of Cooperatives, Bank can provide aid to the peasant. The peasants still keep in touch with the local collector of rice in socially and economically. The relationship is occurred because of the strong relationships of kinship between peasant and local collector of rice.

It is related to the findings of Spradley and Curdy that social relationships are the result of systematic interactions or behaviour sequences between two or more people (Poloma, 2010). Social relations are a reciprocal relationship between individuals with one another and influence each other. A social relationship will exist for responsive people. It is systematic because it occurs regularly and repeatedly in the same pattern. Social relationships exist between individuals in a relatively long time. It will create patterns. This relationship is also referred to as the pattern of social relations.

A local collector of rice has connections with relatives in order to lend his money to his customers. He will provide a loan even though the debt has not been paid. Local collector at rice has attachment due to the brotherhood. Local collector gets subscriptions from his relatives such as a nephew, brother and *sumando*. This relationship cannot be separated. This is revealed by the statement of Marfes Boy Pelli:

"Awak manjadi toke padi ko alah labiah sapuluah tahun, langganan awak adoh duo baleh urang, sambilan urang tu dunsanak awak se mah. Satioknyo pinjam pitih awak salangan sae, pado utangnyo alun juo lunas samo awak lai, kok idak disalangannyo dunsanak awak, ibo juo awak mancaliak inyo, namuah kok pitih indak adoh awak pakai pitih apak awak lai supayo inyo bisa disalangan pitih" (A local language Minangkabau)

Translation:

"I became local collector at rice for more than 10 years. My subscriptions are 12 people, 9 of them are my relatives. If they are borrowing money I will lend it. Though, the debt has not paid off. If he does not get the loan, I feel sympathy because they are my relatives. Even though I have no money I will lend my father money to give him loan". (Local Collector interview, March 1st, 2017).

A local collector of rice has a subscription such as relatives and non-relatives. It will have a different treatment later on for the relative. Marfes Boy Pelli has 12 subscriptions, 9 of them are his relatives such as his niece, *etek* and *sumando*. A local collector of rice has an attachment to their relatives. They will not pay attention to the debts of his relatives whether it has been paid off or not. Local collector at rice will remain to provide a loan. The amount of advanced will be smaller such as Rp. 1.000.000,- be Rp. 100.000,-. 5 from 9 members of the relatives pay their debts on time such as Sican, El, Pakiah, Is and Meli. Their debts range is from Rp. 4,000,000, - up to Rp. 5.000.000, -. The debt can be repaid in the harvest time. In contrary, Ol and May cannot pay off the debts due to unfavourable crop with debt. The production of harvest only Rp 3,000,000, - while the debt reaches Rp 4,000,000. Although they are still in debt, local collector still gives advanced to them.

The interaction between peasant and local collector has worked well. There is a condition that peasant has not been able to pay off the debt because of the big amount of debt than the rice at harvest. In that case, the local collector of rice is as an investor to the peasant. A local collector must construct he owns the way to keep their relationship when the peasant has not been able to pay the debt. Some local collector still provide loan but in small amounts. The local collector will give Rp.100.000,- when the peasant borrows Rp.300.000,-. The findings are reliable with Poloma idea about strategy. The strategy is as a unified and integrated. It creates the link to power as a way of winning the competition (Poloma, 2010).

The continuation of the relationship between peasants and local collector affects an exchange. It is like a tenant peasant sells the harvest to the local collector, while they provide an advance for the processing of the land and the daily needs of the peasant. In addition, there has been an exchange of trust in the peasant and local collector. The relationship between the peasant and the local collector occur because of the reward.

The research findings are related to Homans. People engage in behaviour in exchange for rewards or avoidance of punishment. Homans also say that social behaviour is an exchange of activity, real or

unreal, and more or less as a prize exchange or cost, at least between two people orang (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010)

It can be concluded that the relationship between peasant with local collector because of the relationship of *dunsanak*. The relationship is established by kinship factor. The local collector will feel sympathy for the peasant who cannot pay off the debt. In rural communities in Minangkabau, the *dunsanak* relationship is still very strong in society.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, research findings have revealed that there is a socio-economic dependence on the tenant peasant and local collector of rice. It is unavoidable in agricultural societies. Poverty by peasant is due to lack of income, low education and limited land. They must work on the land of others. This socio-economic dependence lifts the patron clients.

The socio-economic relations of the peasant with the local collector of rice are strong. It is supported by the patron relationship of clients in the agricultural community. Patron clients are very strong in nature because of the kinship system. In Minangkabau community, it is known as *dunsanak*. Local government aid programs should be able to minimize dependence between peasant and local collector. In this case, the local government should be intense to help the peasant that lacks the capital and agricultural land.

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