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The dynamics of social culture of the smallholder coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village, Silo district, Jember Regency, 2000-2017

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Abstract. Coffee commodity is one of the most potential item product of Indonesia. One of which is coffee production of Mulyorejo village, located in Silo, Jember district. The coffee production process obtains particular socio-cultural system. This socio-cultural manner can be seen from several perspectives, namely; 1) a livelihood system, includes land-processing process, this process was used in maintaining and planting system. The treatment and planting systems comprises of six stages, namely coffee sorting, planting, maintenance, fertilizing, harvesting and post-harvesting and marketing. 2) Social system was the system of interaction based on the structure of coffee farmer such as interaction system amongst coffee peasants, coffee peasants with coffee workers, and peasants towards wholesalers. 3) The system found at coffee peasants of Mulyorejo was called the Arokat Selamatan. Coffee peasants of Mulyorejo obtained a religious ritual that was carried out every month, especially 'Syuro' an expression of gratitude.

1. Introduction

Indonesia has been a leading global coffee producer for centuries and, according to the International Coffee Organization (www.ico.org), it overtook Columbia to be the world's third largest producing country in 2008. Indonesia is primarily a producer of lower-quality Robusta coffee. While annual production levels are highly dependent on weather conditions, the ICO estimates that annual production has averaged 600 thousand tonnes over the period 2008-2012, while exports of green beans have averaged around 400 thousand tonnes. Approximately, 80% of exports are Robusta and 20% Arabica [1].

Coffee is one of the plantation commodities that has an important role in the Indonesian economy. Coffee commodity is considered to be the main source of income, around 1.82 million families, most of which located in rural areas of Indonesian regions. In addition, coffee commodity is an important export item for Indonesia as a significant contributor to foreign exchange [2]. For Indonesia, coffee is one of the trading commodities that obtains a prominent role. In 1981, it generated foreign exchange approximately about \$ 347.8 million from coffee exports of 210.8 thousand tons. Recorded in 1988, coffee commodity generated foreign exchange of \$ 818.4 million and was ranked at first position as a plantation export commodity [3]. As a result, Cobb et al. (1995) argue that GDP-centric policies, especially in developing countries, can undermine household economies thereby reducing the welfare of these societies in addition to harming the environments in which they live [4].

The various coffee regions of Indonesia vary considerably in terms of production systems (estate versus smallholders), coffee quality, value chain structures, institutional support structures, the role of the private sector, environmental conditions and scale. Some areas that known as prosperous coffee producer within East Java mainly located in Jember district. One of the villages that roles as a the main community coffee producer is Mulyorejo village. It can be said that Mulyorejo is the largest coffee-producing village among other nine villages within Silo District, Jember Regency. Most indigenous in Mulyorejo village work as coffee peasants. As the largest community coffee producer in Silo District, Jember Regency, coffee peasants community of Mulyorejo have unique characteristics. It can be seen that the majority of the people in Mulyorejo village work as peasants. The most extensive type



of agriculture and production is coffee. In order to extend coffee commodity, technology usage is indispensable within the lives of Mulyorejo peasants to cultivate the coffee. Especially the technology used to cultivate coffee. The most social unit integrated is a kinship system, includes family and other close relatives. Based on the kinship system, each society is divided into layers, thereby people outside the circle might be obtains a higher status or equal status[5]. Based on the structure found within coffee peasants of Mulyorejo composes of farmers/peasants, laborers and collectors. The coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village creates social interactions, namely interaction patterns between coffee farmers, farmer interaction towards laborers and interaction between farmers and collectors.

A belief system that appears within community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village. Coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village possess the behaviour, which is a kind of coffee celebration (javanese: selametan) as gratitude expression to the Almighty in order to gain considerable and blessing harvest. Mulyorejo village located in hilly and forest areas, which makes it possess a solid social-cultural belief. The aspect of socio-culture distinguishes coffee peasants in Mulyorejo towards other coffee peasants communities in other areas, especially within Jember Regency. Based on the socio-cultural belief found upon coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village, further research is required to determine and describe the belief system found in coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village.

2. Methods

This study engages historical method. Historical method includes the process of critically analyzing and examining historical heritage of the past to obtain reliable data [6]. There are four steps used in historical research methods, namely: (1) heuristics; (2) criticism; (3) interpretation and; (4) historiography.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The Origin of Mulyorejo

In 1983, Mulyorejo village was not yet established, it was only five hamlets combined including: Silosanen, Baban Timur, Baban Tengah, Baban Barat and Batuampar as part of the Pace village area. When the five hamlets still were still integrated to the village of Pace, the chief of Pace village did not take a long time in visiting due to its short distance [7].

Mulyorejo village was officially established on March 2, 1989 which was inaugurated by Jember Regent, Soeryadi Setiawan. The inauguration of Mulyorejo as a new village, both the de facto and de jure, the Pace village were divided into two areas, namely Pace itself and Mulyorejo village. In addition, the Governor of East Java assigned the approval of the establishment of the village of Mulyorejo by issuing a Decree. Based on the Decree (SK) of the Governor of the East Java Level I Region No. 49 of 1989 article 2. The issuance of the Decree of the Mulyorejo Name consists of the words 'Mulyo' and 'Rejo', 'Mulyo or Muljeh' (noble in Madurese) and rejo or rajjeh (prosper in Madurese) if these are combined, Mulyorejo means noble and continues to prosper in the hope that Mulyorejo village may become a prosperous village and to experience future developments (Mulyorejo village profile).

3.2. Mulyorejo Livelihood

The majority people in Mulyorejo village earn a living as farmers and doing cattle. Production in the aspect of agriculture, plantations and livestock of Mulyorejo village is quite high compared to other villages in Silo District. Upon agricultural sector, the crops produced are rice, corn, cassava, coffee, coconut and chili. Coffee is the main production which has become the first priority coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village. Almost every family has 1-2 ha of community coffee cultivation land. In addition, the community also plants rice, corn, cassava and coconut chili as intercropping plants to get additional income while waiting for the coffee harvest.

3.3. Technology

Initially, the community of coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village engaged traditional equipment to cultivate coffee commodities, namely in 1939 until the end of 1999 the community coffee farmers still used mortars, barrels, knives, hoes, sickles as a means to cultivate. In 2000-2005 community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village still used traditional tools manually. The main tool used by community

coffee farmers to make coffee seeds, plant coffee seedswere knives, sickles and hoes. The traditional tool used to break coffee (resorption) was rotating. The tool is still used manually, thus it must be someone operating in order to be used. The majority of smallholder coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village utilized traditional equipment until 2005, due to the expensive prices of modern coffee processing machines.

3.4. Land Owning on Mulyorejo

The land ownership conflict within Mulyorejo occurred in 1996, since the peasants coffee community expanded the land to cultivate coffee by annexation land in Mulyorejo area. In order to avoid conflicts, coffee peasants community of Mulyorejo village and Perhutani made an agreement in 1997. The agreement stated that the community coffee farmers were allowed to cultivate community coffee in the Mulyorejo village area, while Perhutani obtained a share of land use rent from the people's coffee harvest cultivated. For the intended results, Perhutani obtained 30% of the people's coffee income. At the end, Perhutani and community coffee farmers accepted the agreement and implemented consistently.

On the other hand, in 1997 PTPN XII opposed the agreement between the coffee farmers and the Perhutani. PTPN XII stated that Perhutani only took advantage of the agreement made with community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village. As a result, the community coffee farmers immediately responded to PTPN XII's statement and canceled the agreement made with Perhutani by not sharing the results. This promoted community leaders of Mulyorejo village to gather in to discuss and confront against Perhutani in the term in chopping down the forest in order to provide a new a concession area for coffee plantation.

3.5. Social System of Mulyorejo

The 'arokat' ritual carried out by community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village since the beginning of coffee cultivation, which was started in 1939 experienced continuity until 2017. However, from 2000-2017 a series of arokat which have been passed down through generations by coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village experienced dynamics. This happened in 2005 and 2011 due some coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village did not perform arokat selamat as usual. Although in 2005 and 2011 some coffee farmers did not conduct the ritual as usual, other coffee farmers who continued to implement did not make complain or still supported other peasants. It can be said that the coffee farmers who perform and do not implement the 'arokat selamat' were still tolerate to each other. Until 2017, the majority of coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village continue to do the arokat ritual. It can be interpreted that the aristocracy in coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village continues until 2017.

Based on the interaction pattern on smallholder structures of coffee peasants in Mulyorejo village, it showed distinctive characteristic compared to the community structure of coffee farmers in other places. The peculiarities and distinctive of coffee peasant characteristics can be seen through the pattern of interaction between coffee farmers in Mulyorejo in collaboration with other peasants, in which there were mutual cooperation values and supports. In the sense of interaction pattern between coffee farmers and coffee workers, there were family values. Coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village in has ben recruiting coffee workers that mainly comes from relatives/families. Thus, kinship patnership was very visible in the pattern of relations between coffee farmers and coffee workers. For relationship pattern between coffee farmers and collectors is established by habit. The majority of coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village sell their coffee production towards the collectors in the village of Pace. interaction pattern between coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village and collectors from 2000-2017 was decently harmonious.

The social system an interaction that proposes a pattern with various elements [5]. Humans cannot live alone, an individual needs the other for the survival of their life [8]. Similar to other coffee farmers, community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo obtain interaction with various elements, including: among small coffee farmers; people's coffee farmers with laborers; and community coffee farmers with collectors or wholesalers. The following is a social culture of smallholder coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village with three classifications, namely: a) within coffee peasants community; b) coffee farmers with coffee workers; c) community coffee farmers with wholesalers / wholesalers.

3.5.1 Interaction amongst peasants

The Mulyorejo's peasant community began the cultivating coffee community in 1939. Upon coffee commodity cultivation, the inhabitants around coffee plantation area in Mulyorejo village carried out cooperation and collaboration. Society within coffee area within Mulyorejo village considers that helping will strengthen the kinship. Furthermore, the basic principle of helping others relates to daily activities within coffee production is believed God will help them too. This belief was effected by Madurese ethnic which were majority locals of Mulyorejo and worked as coffee peasants. Madurese ethnicity is known for their solid religious, as majority of Madurese ethnic are Muslims (adherents of Islam), so normative adherence to their religion is very perceptible[9].

3.5.2 Interaction between peasants and labors

The main priority of family and relatives in recruiting coffee workers can be seen based on distinctive characteristics of Madura culture, namely 'tanean lanjeng'. Tanean lanjeng means a yard/long yard with several houses whom the owners are blood related. This feature characterizes Madurese ethnic. As Mulyorejo village has majority of Madurese ethnic, thus this 'tanean lanjeng' culture is still applied. It can be seen that several families relatives live on the 'tanean lanjeng' within coffee peasants community. The acquisition of tanean lanjeng is obtained from sengkolan (inherited land from grandfather/great-grandfather) for children and their descendants[10]. Usually, 'tanean lanjeng' is given to the daughters. When having a daughter that is going to marry, parents are required to build a house and fill the house as needed. Madura ethnic culture is still held from generation to generation and still remains to this day, as Madurese ethnic is still strict upon traditional notion.

3.5.3 Interaction between peasants and distributors

This pattern of relations between community coffee farmers in the village of Mulyorejo and collectors and wholesalers. This partnership is more beneficial to collectors or wholesalers, as collectors and wholesalers determine the price of coffee based on market prices. According to Budihardjo and Sasongko (2014, 9-10) there are three community coffee marketing chains in Jember Regency, namely:

Peasant – consumer

Peasant – wholesaler- collectors – mayor traders – consumer

Peasant – collectors – mayor collectors – consumer

At the beginning of 2007 the pattern of relations between coffee farmers and collectors experienced a shift. The shift is the people's coffee marketing system. People's coffee farmers who need capital will be given loans by collectors for the need to grow coffee. However, community coffee farmers must sell their coffee harvest to collectors who have provided loans to smallholder coffee farmers who need the capital. The marketing system is rarely carried out by coffee peasant community in Mulyorejo, since they consider it was very detrimental to farmers. On the other hand, smallholder coffee farmers who need capital to grow coffee still performed the system. Thus, they can continue to operate their coffee business.

3.6 Belief System in Mulyorejo 2000-2017

Coffee peasants of Mulyorejo village are known to have a unique and unique belief system, namely arokat selamatan. Selamatan is an annual routine carried out by community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village ahead of the people's coffee harvest. Selamatan is usually done on Syuro month as the right month to do selamatan based on hereditary teachings. In 2000 the majority of community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village still carried out the arokat selamatan according to the provisions handed down from generation to generation. The selamatan was carried out when it was approaching the coffee harvest carried out in accordance with what had been passed down from generation to generation which had been carried out at the beginning of the coffee business in the village of Mulyorejo.

In 2005 when approaching the people's coffee harvest, a regular 'arokat selamatan' was carried out. Some farmer community in Mulyorejo village did not perform the selamatan. Community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village who did not celebrate the selamatan, because they thought that the selamatan was permitted if it was not done. Coffee farmers who did not implement the arokat

selametan in Mulyorejo village assumed that prayer to God is not necessary by selametan, but by means of personal example after prayer must be carried out. Then in 2011, some farmers in Mulyorejo village again did not carry out the arokat selametan. It happened due to the influence development mindset of the community.

4. Conclusions

Based on this study, it can be concluded that, Madurese ethnicity as the majority ethnic who inhabits Mulyorejo village is very influential towards the establishment coffee peasants community. The socio-cultural life of coffee peasants community in Mulyorejo village raises a socio-cultural order, including: the livelihood system, the social system and the existing belief system.

First, the majority of the people in Mulyorejo work as farmers, especially coffee farmers. The majority of every community in Mulyorejo village possess land to cultivate coffee, which is 1-2 ha. In addition, farmers in Mulyorejo village also grow intercropping plants to meet their daily needs and wait for the coffee harvest.

Second, the existing social system in Mulyorejo village was an implementation based on the coffee farmers structures, namely: 1) Coffee farmers; 2) Labor; and 3) collectors. Based on the coffee peasants structure, relationships pattern between coffee farmers was created, namely between coffee farmers, farmers and laborers and farmers with collectors. The pattern of relations between coffee farmers and farmers and laborers has created harmonization because of the value of mutual cooperation and togetherness in cultivating coffee. So that from 2000-2017, the relationship pattern can be maintained and harmonized. While the pattern of relations between farmers and workers is created because of the symbiotic relationship of mutualism. Coffee farmers need collectors as a place to sell their coffee crops, while collectors need coffee farmers for further processing.

Third, coffee farmers community in the village of Mulyorejo have annual ritual called selametan arokat that is carried out during Syuro month (Islamic calendar). The purpose of Selametan is to pray to God, wishing that the coffee harvest gets satisfactory results and meets expectations and kept away from all things that are not desirable. Arokat selametan has been carried out by coffee farmers in the village of Mulyorejo around 1939, when the initial planting of coffee in the village area of Mulyorejo began. Until 2017, the archeological subsidy is still being carried out by the majority of community coffee farmers in Mulyorejo village.

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