

2. An Overview of the Survey Village within the Context of the West Java Rural Economy

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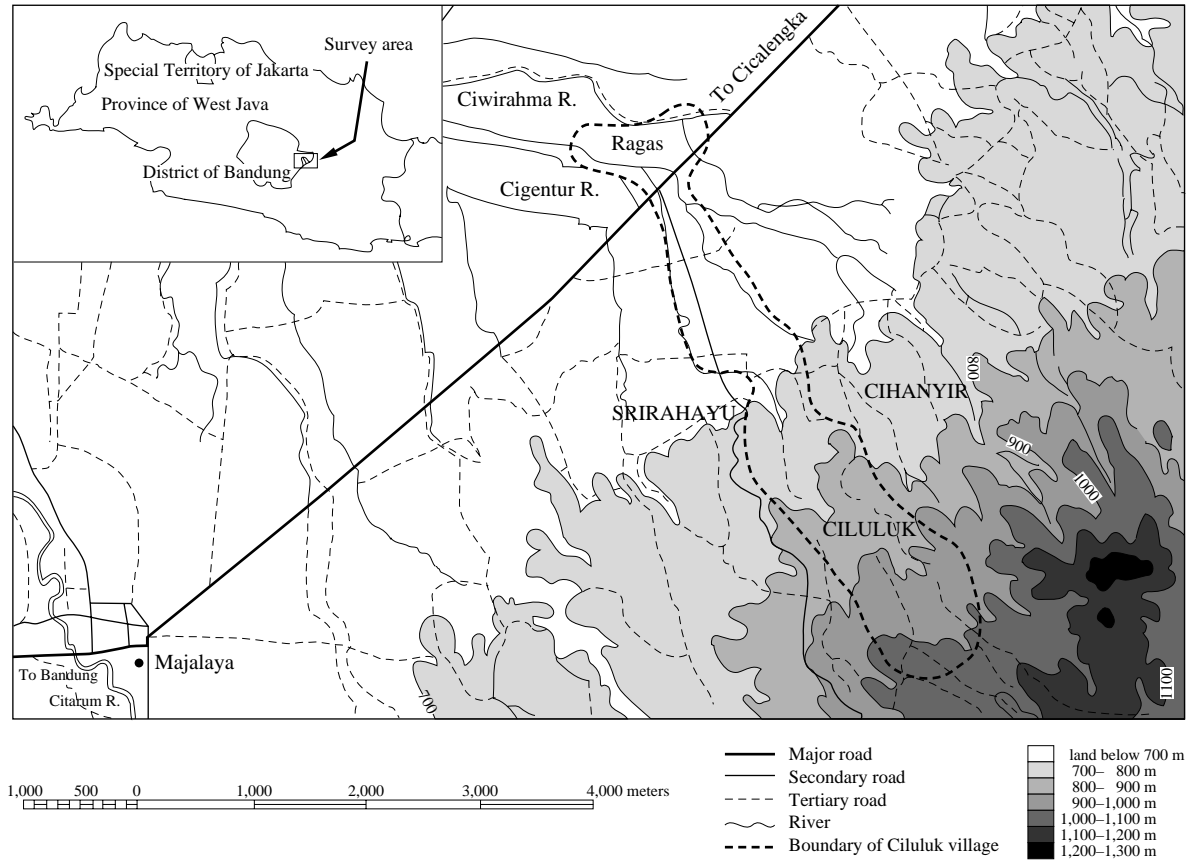
Overview of the Survey Village

Ciluluk is a village (*desa*)¹ containing fourteen kampongs of varying sizes. The kampongs are surrounded by such natural boundaries as *sawah* (wet-rice field), roads, and belts of shrubbery. Administratively, the village is made up of four *dusun* (sub-village unit), seven *rukun kampung* (RK, kampong associations), and twenty-seven *rukun tetangga* (RT, neighborhood associations of around forty households). Figure 2–1 shows the location of the village of Ciluluk in the District of Bandung (Kabupaten Bandung) of West Java Province (Propinsi Jawa Barat).

The largest kampong in the village, constituting one administrative *dusun*, was surveyed for this study. The kampong is made up of two administrative *rukun kampung* (RK1 and RK2). In turn, each of these RKs is divided into three *rukun tetangga* (RT1, RT2, and RT3). The kampong surveyed contains about 300 households highly concentrated into several cluster of houses. The survey covered all of the households then actually existing in RT3 of RK2 and most of the households in neighboring RT2, bringing the sample to seventy-one households in all. The survey consisted of interviews using a questionnaire and was carried out by the author.²

As indicated in Figure 2–1, the village of Ciluluk occupies a long and narrow stretch of land running north by northeast to south by southwest. The NNW portion of the village is topologically flat and dominated by a *sawah* landscape, while the SSW portion of the village is mountainous and features a landscape of dry fields growing cassaba, rice, and potatoes cultivated by peasants and plantations of tea, oranges, and cloves. The *sawah* is located in the northern section of the village, which is between 670 and 680 meters above sea level. The village then rises in the southernmost section to heights of over 1,000 meters. The ecology of the village, therefore, is a combination of plain and mountainous habitat.

Fig. 2-1. Map of Survey Area



A paved road runs along the NNW portion of the village and is busy with passenger vans (*colt buntung*) during most of the daylight hours. The road connects the towns of Cicalengka, seven kilometers away to the NNE, and Majalaya, seven kilometers to the SSW. The sub-district (*kecamatan*) office that has jurisdiction over Ciluluk village is located elsewhere in another administrative village, Cikancung. A middle school is also located there, but this sub-district seat performs no urban functions of any kind.

In contrast, the town of Cicalengka, which is the seat of Cicalengka Sub-district and also the location of a *kewedanaan*³ administrative office, has a marketplace, a train station on the national railway (PJKA—Perusahaan Jabatan Kerta Api) line running from Bandung Municipality (*kotamadya*) toward the town of Garut, national and private high schools, a state-managed pawn shop, a police station, the district military command (KODIM—Komando Distrik Militer) base, a hospital, and a marketplace. It constitutes the economic and social center of the region that includes Ciluluk village. Another small-scale marketplace is located in the Tanjunglaya village, which is connected to Ciluluk by the same paved road on the way to Cicalengka. Here there are an agricultural extension office (BPP—Balai Penyuluhan Pertanian) and village unit cooperatives (KUD—Koperasi Unit Desa), as well as a private middle school. The residents of Ciluluk go to this marketplace by either four-wheel motorized or horse-drawn vehicles (*kretek*^{*4} or *delman*).

The town of Majalaya is an important node of economic and social activity for the villagers of Ciluluk. Majalaya is also a sub-district seat *cum* urban center with a large-scale marketplace, banks (including a branch of the People's Bank of Indonesia [BRI—Bank Rakyat Indonesia]), four movie theaters, a police station, telephone station, and national and private high schools. The reason why Majalaya has become a locus of urban functions is the existence of a textile industry, consisting of a yarn market and weaving factories, which began to grow in the 1930s and reached their height during the 1960s. The development of weaving in the village of Ciluluk is directly connected to the success enjoyed by the weaving industry here. The villagers of Ciluluk also travel by motorized and horse-drawn vehicles to Majalaya over the paved road, which is full of potholes and often flooded during the rainy season.

The three-cornered area where this paved road intersects the road that runs through the middle of the village is known as the *cagak*. The residents of the kampong surveyed use a passenger motorcycle, called *ojeg*, to travel the 1.5 kilometers distance from their homes to the *cagak*, where *ojeg* wait for them from morning till just after six o'clock in the evening. The trip to either of these towns by *colt buntung* is about fifteen minutes, but the return trip from Majalaya by the same means can take from thirty minutes to an hour. From Majalaya it is another 35 kilometers to Bandung Municipality, the district capital of 1.4 million people. The trip to Bandung bus terminal by a small passenger vehicle takes about one hour, while the larger routed buses require 80 minutes to complete the journey.

In the village of Ciluluk there is one river that flows all year long, in addition to several creeks that dry up during the dry season. The river flows through the center of the village in the direction from SSW to NNE and bends westward just before reach-

ing the Ciluluk kampong. It then forms the boundary between the villages of Ciluluk and Srirahayu to the south. During the dry season the water in the river is reduced to a trickle. There is also a creek that forms the boundary between the survey kampong and the neighboring kampong to the north, Cihanyir. This creek is fed by a spring where the boundary line hits that of Ciluluk kampong. This spring receives its water from the upper reaches only during the rainy-season months of January, February, and March. Below the spring there are located many fish ponds (*balong** or *kolam ikan*). This spring is the source of drinking water for many of the households in the survey kampong. The spring-fed creek is used for irrigation, and carries household waste as it flows through the two kampongs and empties into the river at Ragas kampong in the NNW corner of the village. During the dry season, this creek dries up as it flows through the village *sawah*. The village has no irrigation works like dams or the type of canals built by the Department of Public Works.

Table 2-1 records the monthly and yearly rainfall averages in the region. Figures for Cicalengka and Majalaya are indicative of the flat lowland portion of the study village, Ciluluk, while the values for Sitarja, the mountainous area of Srirahayu village, approach the village's upper reaches. Assuming that the climate in Cicalengka and Majalaya is not very different from that of the village, the table shows that the lowland portion clearly experiences its driest season from June to the end of September. November marks the beginning of the rainy season and lasts until the following March. In comparison, the highland area of the village experiences a shorter dry season and receives a much greater amount of yearly rainfall.

The survey kampong and the neighboring kampongs, being supplied with water by a spring-fed creek, have fish ponds spread over their eastern portion. These ponds spawn carp (*ikan mas*) and tilapia (*mujaer*) over a forty-day period, then the fries are transferred to ponds in other areas. Fish ponds with constant water supplies can be harvested up to nine times per year. *Sawah* extends over the area north by northwest of the fish ponds. The water supply there is good, resulting in the possibility of two harvests per year in certain areas.

Any of the fish ponds have not been enclosed with dirt banks plastered with concrete, so that these ponds could be easily converted into *sawah*. However, if fish can be harvested several times throughout the year, the land becomes more productive with fish raising than rice growing. Therefore, *sawah* enjoying constant supplies of water throughout the year tend to be converted into fish ponds.

About 75 per cent of the *sawah* in the survey kampong is planted twice a year. About one-third of this twice-planted *sawah* enjoys such good supplies of water that fries can be released into the *sawah* once or twice a year and harvested one month later for sale. Another portion of this *sawah*, however, is a little more risky, having to depend on the vagaries of the weather during the dry season as to whether it will get enough water to yield two crops during any given year. The dry-season crop during June and July frequently suffers from insufficient water, causing some fields to dry up and not produce any rice ears on the stalks.

Wet-rice cultivation and fish raising dominates the kampong with many residents occupied as peasants (fish raisers) or hired labor in these occupations; but it is a

TABLE 2-1
MONTHLY RAINFALL AND RAIN DAYS IN THE PROXIMITY OF THE STUDY AREA

A. Monthly Rainfall

	Altitude (M)	Average of Month (Mm)												Annual
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Cicalengka	705	278	254	312	207	136	86	56	41	47	115	241	314	2,087
Majalaya	670	285	242	336	223	176	94	71	45	51	131	252	284	2,190
Sitiarja	1,080	317	335	389	319	254	126	67	29	50	108	244	361	2,599

B. Monthly Rain Days

	Average of Month (Days)												Annual
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Cicalengka	14.9	13.8	15.9	13.0	8.6	6.7	3.8	2.5	3.0	6.2	12.7	15.6	116.7
Majalaya	16.4	15.0	16.2	12.5	9.8	5.7	3.6	2.7	3.3	7.1	13.5	15.7	121.5
Sitiarja	25.5	23.5	24.7	21.3	15.4	12.1	5.8	2.3	4.4	10.2	16.5	23.3	185.0

C. Monthly Maximum Rainfall per Day

	Month (Mm)												Annual Maximum
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Cicalengka	57	55	66	59	47	31	24	20	19	41	53	63	96
Majalaya	54	49	61	48	45	34	29	21	24	51	55	55	90
Sitiarja	60	58	63	58	71	35	31	17	20	35	53	62	98

Sources: Departemen Perhubungan Direktorat Djendral Perhubungan Udara, Lembaga Meteologi Dan Geofisika (Department of Communications, Director General of Air Communications, Institute of Meteorological and Geophysics), *Tjurah Hudjan Rata² Di Djawa Dan Madura, Period: 1931-1960* [Average Rainfall in Java and Madura, 1931-1960], Meteorological Note No. 8, Part 1 (Djakarta: Departemen Perhubungan Direktorat Djendral Perhubungan Udara, Lembaga Meteologi Dan Geofisika, 1969).

Notes: Observational years are 1931-60 for Cicalengka and Majalaya, 1931-40 for Sitiarja.

weaving industry that characterizes this community. If we include the hand-loomers that now lie long unemployed under the raised floors of many of the houses, we can estimate that there are a fairly large percentage of households in the kampong which own at least one or two looms. The fact that many residents of the survey kampong today own *sawah* and dry fields in neighboring kampongs and villages owes much to profits reaped during the weaving boom of the 1950s and 1960s.

As of March 1986, Ciluluk village had a population of 5,582. Its total area of 407.09 ha is divided into 119.10 ha of *sawah*, 129.99 ha of dry fields, 108.00 ha of plantation, 13.00 ha of fish ponds, a residential area measuring 34.00 ha, and a 3.00 ha graveyard. The population density is therefore 1,371 persons per hectare, a figure higher than the average for all of West Java. Population density in real terms is high due to the fact of the village's inhabitable steep highland area. Turning to our survey sample of seventy-one households, we find a total of 353 members consisting of 168 males and 185 females. Male household heads accounted for 81.7 per cent of the sample, or fifty-eight households, while female-headed households came to 18.3 per cent, or thirteen households.⁵ The village can be classified in general as a purely rural community with almost no suburban agrarian characteristics. At the time of the survey the village still had not been electrified, but during the following year electrical power was supplied to part of the village, including a portion of the survey kampong.

Three Types of West Java Rural Economy and the Classification of Ciluluk Village

Agrarian villages in West Java can be classified economically into three types: northern plain villages, Priangan plateau basin villages, and Priangan mountainous-area villages. Clear differences exist among these types with respect to such aspects as the pattern of agrarian village social stratification.

The first type, which is found on the northern plain of West Java from Bekasi District to Cirebon District, is characterized by a fair number of farm households that own over 10 hectares of *sawah*, some holding as much as 100 hectares. Households owning no land at all account for between 50 and 80 per cent of the total households in this type of village. Despite the fact that many households own between 0.5 and 1 hectares of land, the most marked socioeconomic difference is between the large landowners and the landless of these villages. This gap has been widened with the influx of mass-produced luxury durables into the village and technological innovation in the cultivation of wet rice.

In the other wet-rice producing area of West Java, the Priangan plateau basin, we find almost no farm households owning 10 hectares of *sawah* or more, and very few households own even 3 hectares or more. In fact, owning over 1 hectare there would in most cases place a family in the highest echelon of the village hierarchy. Landless households in these villages account for between 25 and 50 per cent of the total households—a substantial figure, but quite a bit lower than the landless on the northern plain.

The third agrarian region of West Java is the mainly dry-field area extending through the mountainous area above the Priangan plateau basin. There are almost no large-scale landowners in the villages there, but landless households make up only between 5 and 10 per cent of their total households, a very low figure in comparison with the above two rice-paddy regions.

Besides differing agrarian patterns, these three village types also differ climatically, with rainy seasons becoming shorter as the altitude decreases. In contrast to the large-scale irrigation projects implemented successfully throughout the northern plain over this century, such large-scale projects have met with all kinds of difficulties in the other two regions. The influx of mass-produced luxury durables into village life and technological innovation in rice cultivation have had profound effects on the people of the northern plain, but little influence on villages in the Priangan mountainous area. The influence of these factors on the villages of the Priangan plateau basin falls somewhere in between these two extremes (Mizuno 1993d). As to the village type that fits Ciluluk village, the lowland portion seems to match the situation on the Priangan plateau basin, while the highland portion is similar to what is happening in the Priangan mountainous area.

Notes

- 1 Administrative village unit.
- 2 In order to determine the method of interviewing, a Sundanese assistant interviewed the first five households in the sample. On the basis of these interviews, the author revised a questionnaire and personally conducted the rest of the interviews using Sundanese.
- 3 Previously referred to as a "district," the *kewedanaan* is at present no longer a unit for administrative purposes, but rather one for coordination and supervision.
- 4 All Sundanese words appearing in the text will be marked with an asterisk (*). If the Sundanese is identical to the Indonesian, the Indonesian term will appear.
- 5 The family type of the households in the sample may be broken down into forty-one nuclear families; four extended families including two or more generations of married couples; seven extended families including grandparents, grandchildren, and siblings; seven single households; and four mother-child families. (One is classified as "other") (Mizuno 1993b: p. 108).