

Indonesian Journal of Social Sciences

Volume 4, nomer 2,

Children in Peasant Family Anak-anak Keluarga Petani

Rustinsyah¹

Department of Anthropology, Airlangga University, Surabaya

ABSTRACT

Children are important part in peasant family life. Children participation is necessary for continuation and prosperity of his family. The purpose of this study was to describe patterns of children participation in economic life of family peasants and the factors that cause differences in participation. The study was conducted in 2004-2006 at the village Kebonrejo, Subdistrict Kepung, District of Kediri. This research was a qualitative with ethnographic approach. Data were collected through participation observation, open and in-depth interview, and related documents review. Participation of children in peasant families had different pattern. Differences were due to socio-economic conditions, positive and negative values, and changes in society and culture. Children in poor peasant families are helping economy in the form of outpouring physical labor and provide financial aid, while rich children participated in economic activities as a partner who is expected to replace position. The difference in age of children in family participating to help the economy is related with formal education. Presence can provide positive value for the family as an investment because it gives a sense of security, maintaining the estate, to continue economic activities, and social capital.

Key words: participation, children, economic, family, peasant, rural Jawa

Abstrak

Anak-anak adalah bagian penting dari kehidupan keluarga petani. Peran serta anak penting bagi kelangsungan dan kesejahteraan keluarganya. Tujuan dari studi ini adalah untuk menggambarkan pola peran serta anak dalam kehidupan ekonomi keluarga petani dan faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan perbedaan dalam peran tersebut. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada tahun 2004-2006 di Desa Kebonrejo, Kecamatan Kepung, Kabupaten Kediri. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnografis. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara terbuka dan mendalam, dan tinjauan pustaka terkait. Peran serta anak dalam keluarga petani punya pola yang berbeda. Perbedaan tersebut karena kondisi sosial ekonomi, nilai-nilai positif dan negatif, dan perubahan dalam masyarakat serta budaya. Anak-anak dari keluarga petani miskin membantu perekonomian dalam bentuk pencurahan tenaga fisik untuk bekerja dan menyediakan tambahan penghasilan, sementara anak-anak dari keluarga kaya ikut serta dalam aktivitas ekonomi sebagai rekan kerja untuk dapat menggantikan orangtuanya. Perbedaan usia anak dalam keluarga yang berperan untuk membantu perekonomian terkait dengan pendidikan formalnya. Kehadiran anak dapat memberikan nilai positif bagi keluarga sebagai sebuah investasi karena dapat memberikan rasa aman, memelihara perkebunan, untuk melanjutkan kegiatan ekonomi dan juga sebagai modal sosial.

Kata kunci: peran serta, anak-anak, ekonomi, keluarga, petani, pedesaan Jawa

According to Law no. 4 1979 on child welfare, a child is a person under 21 years old and unmarried. Meanwhile, according to Law no. 23 2002 on child protection, a child is a person who

¹ Correspondence: Rustinsyah, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social dan Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya. Jalan Airlangga 4-6 Surabaya, 60286. Phone: (031) 5011744. E-mail: rustinsyah58@yahoo.com

has not been 18 years of age. Children are an important part to the continuation and prosperity of their family. The desired number of children in the family is usually associated with the concept of the child, religious, economic and social conditions. According to Jay (1969), the value provided by the Javanese community to families with many children does not apply to all community layers. There are groups of people who want more children, but there are also those that do not want many children.

In traditional society living as a farmer, a child as a source of capital and labor, so that farm families generally want many children, although in some communities there are cultural patterns to narrow down the child to maintain a balance with economic resources. This also occurs in rural communities in Java. The participation of children in peasant family economy is high and it changes along with changes in economic conditions of the families, the views of children value, community development, and technology.

Participation of children in family economies is associated with positive and negative values for the parents. Generally, small number of children in the family will get more attention so that children can live better. According to Meyer (1978), child value has a various aspects. First, the child has negative value, such as economic burden. Second, children have positive economic value and psychosocial value. For example, the economic value of children is to help the economy, psychosocial values development, among others, a sense of friendship, children's love to parents, children as investment, and the social capital within the family. As happened in Andhra Pradesh India, in 1999-2000 working children aged 10-14 years who worked in the cotton crop reached 25%, while the proportion of working children in India was only 9% (Lieten 2002).

The age of children participation in helping family economy is related to family socio-economic conditions and psychosocial needs of the parents and other social cultural factors. Slamet (1965) estimated that the children from the age of eight years (8 years) were included in an attempt to make a living. Koentjaraningrat (1969) noted that in Celapar (Southern part of Central Java) only a few children who attended school, most of the young girls to help cook, pound rice, raise children, while the boys look for leaves and firewood in the forest.

Gille & Pardoko (1965), Jay (1969) noted almost the same thing, that every child in farmer family are mobilized to work in the fields during the peak growing season and harvest since all other labors have been employed. The entry of these children into formal education delays children participation age to help the family economy. The results Prabowo's study (1978) concluded that the boys who go to preliminary school typically still managed to help the parents for three hours a day after coming home from school. Similarly, during school holidays, time allocation of children's contribution in farms is larger. If the level of education of those children is better they will be able to get out of poverty and exploitation (Rustagi 2002). Form of contribution from children in farming can be labor, money (capital) or ideas. The form of contribution depends on the state of agriculture, whether it is irrigated or not, and the distance between the location of farm industry and the city.

Socio-economic conditions of farmers affect the allocation of the economic contribution of children to their families. According to a survey conducted by Prabowo (1978), the education of rainfed farmers in Ngrampal is lower than that in Kebakramat and Delanggu. It affects children's education, general education of children in Ngrampal only primary school, children who have Delanggu farmers in rice farming are generally able to continue school to junior high and high school and even up to the university. Higher education lead to the age of the child's participation in helping families is higher.

Villagers have experienced cultural changes. According to Potter (1967), the factors that cause social and cultural change is technology, culture, science, and ideological influences that come from western industrial nations or the elites of new states. Meanwhile, according to Migdal (1974), the factors that cause changes in the condition of rural farming communities are: 1) the pressure of population growth; 2) anxiety of farmers due to the loss of a previous patron who can provide economic and political protection; 3) the increased demand for central government such as tax; and 4) market demand for money and manufactured goods. Changes in rural communities, according to Husken (1988), is taking place as the urbanizing rural life as the village like a town, for example, consumptive lifestyle of the villagers as that of urban people. They have manufactured goods, have a nice house, have a car, their daily needs can be obtained easily in the

village, and so on. Rural communities like this have been amended so as to have different views of the child than in the previous.

Similarly, children's participation in economic activities in a peasant family in the village of Kebonrejo where the social change is undergoing and there was the dynamics of commercialization experience. The average number of children in the family was not high, only three (Village Profiles 2004). Therefore, the problems in this study were 1) What are child's participations in helping economic activities of the farmers in rural Java? 2) What factors that distinguish the participation of children in farmer family

Methods

To obtain data, a research has been carried out in 2004-2006 on "Children's participation in the economy of the peasant family in the village of Kebonrejo, District Kepung, Kediri. Kebonrejo village is an open dry land farming village, not isolated and is undergoing social change process. Therefore, the economic participation of children in farmer families also experience changes in line with the development of the community.

This study was a qualitative research with an ethnographic approach. Data collection was done through direct observation, participation observation, interviews were free, open and deep. Data collection was also done by recording the documents associated with the theme of the study. The informants were parents who had children, children of the farmers, and village officials who know the general profile of the village and issues related to children's lives in the village.

Data analysis. Data obtained from the field immediately were analyzed (ongoing analysis). Data analysis process was begun reviewing all obtained data from various sources. Furthermore, the data were reduced and classified into research themes, and to answer the research question. Data in the form of action, language, and words used by informants in farming activities were reconstructed, interpreted, and understood.

Results and Discussion

Economic Characteristics of the Study Area

Kebonrejo is dry land farming village in the fertile slopes of Mount Kelud which produce peppers, tomatoes, onions, vegetables, seasonal fruits (durian, banana, rambutan, etc.), crops and plantation crops (coffee, cloves), cane, dilem leaves, and so forth. In 1970 the village Kebonrejo was established, some parts were coffee plantations from colonial Dutch era. The existence of coffee plantations attracted surrounding villages, so that most Kebonrejo villagers are outsiders who initially worked as a laborer on a coffee plantation or boro.

Farming activities are generally active throughout the year with a pattern of intensive farming, cropping, undo-usuk despite the busy season and the season leisure. The peak activity occurred at the beginning of farmer growing season until late dry season. During the dry season about the end of July, the plants in the dry field start to die because of drought. Although there are times when the climate changes so that the dry seasons could advance or retreat. During the dry season, farmers prepare the land to wait for planting season. The dry season is the time of the harvest of coffee and clove in the plantations, sugar cane harvest season, fruit, banana, and pepper plants, vegetables, situated on the slopes can still be harvested. The first rains occur in October or November as a sign of the start of the growing season.

Agricultural activities in this village have a tight schedule and men and women labors are involved in its management. Intensive agricultural activities that would require much labor. At the beginning of the rainy season, farmers who have capital generally prefer plants that have a high sales value such as onion, peppers, tomatoes and so on to get the maximum results. Farmers with less capital usually begins the rainy season with corn planting.

Farmer families in Kebonrejo village were various, consisting of agricultural laborers, tenant farm laborers, tenants, poor farmers who have farms of less than 0.5 hectares and has no other source of income, poor farmers who have off-farm sources of income, farmers who own agricultural land between 0.5 to 1 hectare and has no other source of income, farmers who have between 0.5 to 1 hectare of agricultural land and have other sources of income outside of agriculture, farmers who have more than one hectare of farmland but has no source of income outside agriculture, farmers who have more than one acre of land and have off-farm income

sources. Wealthy farmer family in the village were those who have vast agricultural lands and have off-farm income sources, namely trade. Farm families in Kebunrejo village generally have multiple sources of income (agriculture and outside agriculture). For example, a retired armed forces, elementary school teachers who teach in the village, shopkeepers, carpenters, stone, flour milling business services, salon, wedding equipment rentals, realtor motorcycles, motorcycle taxi, and so forth. Almost all the families who lived in the village of Kebonrejo engaged in economic activities whether they are farmers farm owners, tenants, farm workers and so on.

Activities outside of agriculture much in demand were trade and service business. Existing trading activities related to farming activities such as trading manure, fertilizer and pesticide, breeding, agricultural trade and so on. While trading activities not related to farming, among others, were daily basic needs trade by opening a shop, store, selling food and so on. Business services in the village of Kebonrejo are rural transportation services, leasing party tools, sawmilling business, bridal makeup and salon business, flour mill business and so on.

Children engaged in agricultural activities were generally those not in school. Although during school holidays it looked like that children who have reached adulthood can help parents working on farms, but it was only as a help so that they only did light work in their spare time, for example, grass cutting, harvesting, carrying farming tools, and so forth. While children from farming families and schools is still sitting usually not much help with the work in the agricultural sector.

Economic Participation of Children in Family Farmers

Participation of children of farmer family is to maintain the continuity of economic activity and improving the welfare of his family. Participation patterns have evolved in line with the changing socio-economic status of the families, communities and the positive and negative values of children in rural farming families. Children positive values are, for example, child is as a source of capital, giving psychological sense of security to parents, and as a social social-capital to jointly resolve some family issues. Negative values of children are, among others, high cost of living expenses, particularly for formal education.

Children as a source of capital

Children's participation in poor peasant family economy is certain. As a source of capital, children help unwaged physical labor, economic (money) for the family can be interpreted as moral and rational. Children's contribution in the form of labor can be categorized into two: the children of rich and poor farmers.

Participation of children from poor peasant families. Children's age to help family economy changes in line with changes in the society and socio-economic conditions. According to Slamet (1965), children from the age of eight years have been included in simple subsistence business and daily works of the parents. Similarly, Jay (1969) wrote that in East Java, children are busy working on a very young age by doing small jobs, such as onion tie-belt, peeling beans and so on. It is different from the poor peasant family in Kebonrejo village, where usually children can help make a living, as an unpaid labor after approximately age 15 years because of their formal education at school.

The presence of children in formal school causes slow participation to help farming activities. Awareness of the importance of formal education and improving school infrastructure increased participation in education among children in the village. Children at elementary school are not accustomed to help their parents working at dry fields because they are still small "not reasonable" as waged labor and the study time is the same as working time on the field. Even children of poor farm families can send their children free of charge to the Junior High School in District Puncu. It slows the age of the child's participation in providing employment assistance to the family. Therefore more or less at age 15 boys or girls from poor farming families may help working or as waged farm laborers although employment in the agricultural sector is open because it does not require special skill requirement. Children work as wage laborers on a variety of horticultural farming activities. Boys work to hoe, fertilize, clean grass and so on. Type of work performed as wage laborers among the girls is, for example, to replace the dead plants, picking peppers and so on. In India, the work for harvesting tomatoes is more suitable for women (Singh

2003). However, the girls in Kebonrejo village after school generally prefer to work outside the village or serve as Women's Employment in foreign countries. Usually several employment agencies find employment for female domestic servants in the city.

As a member of the family, children voluntarily assist the family's economic activities by providing assistance in money, manpower management in the farm without wages. In those who live in one house and manage the farm, the children are generally assist from preparation to harvesting. Usually the work was done on free time, indicating they are not having other work only as waged laborers. Usually they are helping to work in the afternoon. Children from poor farming families generally assist physical labor as waged laborers.

Participation of children of the poor peasant family economy is not only a physical but also present as financial power. Some farm families who helped her to improve their socioeconomic conditions. For example, Sarno is originally as a regular farm workers, after his son became an adult, he helped working hired dryfield and making money earned from working laborer, then he can raise money to hire up to 0.75 acres of land, to breeding plant, can build a house, and have a motorcycle. The hired land was planted with onions, tomatoes, peppers, ginger and corn, quite done by five unpaid labors of three unmarried sons, he himself, and his wife. He was proud and had the help of her children. Several other farmers are also fortunate that the economy helped her son who had graduated from high school first and no longer continue.

Some children have poor peasant families who work outside the village. They are expected to help the capital by sending money to their families in farming villages to the capital. Otherwise, if the parents get the benefit of the crop, it can buy you valuable goods to his son, such as adding money to buy motorcycles, home improvement, and so forth. Some children are family farmers who work as house cleaners to send money to family in the village. Roji can buy the land with an area of 0.5 hectares for Rp 40,000,000.00 with the money sent by his child who worked as house cleaners in Hong Kong. Karno, likewise, is a farmer who has dry over one acre. In 2004, Sukarno received remittances amounting to Rp 17,000,000.00 of children who work as house cleaners in Hong Kong to close the loan at the Bank Rakyat Indonesia, which has matured. Also Jumari, tenant farmers and peasants of Dusun Panggungsari, in 2002 received money amounting to Rp 5,000,000.00 from his daughter who worked as maids in Singapore. Remittances are to rent land, renovating home, and the cost of parental care in the hospital.

The parents are proud of participation and support as well as financial capital of their children. The pride of the parents is often indicated by the amount of money sent, the use of such assistance to buy valuable items that can enhance one's social status, such as repairing a house, and buy a motorcycle. Issues, information on assistance and remittances of children who work outside the village soon spread to the whole village. Imam, a farmer who manages farmland approximately two acres with the proudly say:

"The house was built from the money sent my son to work in Surabaya. My son sends money every month Rp 100.000,00 then collected and used to build houses and even my kids can pay for their own school to finish in Higher Education. "

Support from child to the family can be understood rationally even though the children were not asked directly but wage demands in return. Remuneration according to what has been expected given the economic conditions and demands. For example, young farm workers who had helped his parents ask to buy a motorcycle instead asked for a bike. If expectations are not in accordance with the wishes of the child they will probably leave his village to find another job with better income, for example, a worker in a big city, working as migrant workers or migrant workers abroad.

Participation of children in wealthy farmer families. Children who have grown among wealthy family and lived with his parents in the village to help with more economic activity position themselves more as partner. The children were deliberately cadered to replace their parents to work as farmers. Here are examples of cases of a child of wealthy farmer who help his parents:

"The youngest son of Par, a rich farmer and sugar cane planter. Her son had finished his STM education in the town of Pare is expected to return to the village to continue the work her parents as sugarcane planter, farmers and businesses manage transportation services, leasing tape-recorder and so on. After graduating STM, he helped his parents work and do not want to find a job in town".

Male and female only child from wealthy families in the village, whether educated or not, are expected by their parents to return to the village to replace the parents and maintain the estate. They usually start economic activities with his parents and did not receive wages as laborers. If they are married they made a home in the village or living with their parents. There are times when the children were given the responsibility to manage his farm in order to be independent. Mastur, a wealthy farmer and distributor of chemical fertilizers, said:

"I expect my only child, as a highly educated person, to replace the work of his parents."

For that he made a house and was given the legacy of agricultural land to be managed, while helping his parents' economic activities such as escort her to the markets to sell agricultural products.

Age participation of children in economic activity is slower than the children of poor farmers. Children of rich farmer families generally follow formal higher education in the city. Children who continued high school usually depart at 6:00 am and 14:30 to go home because the school places far away and transportation is limited when using public transport. High school children who ride their own bikes usually get home at the beginning at 14.00. While some high school children lived in boarding houses in the city, so they can not automatically help the family's economic activity. If children want to help their parents on the field, they can do it on holidays or Sundays.

Children as an investment and providing security

Children as an investment and sense of security are positive values of a child. According to data from the 2004 monograph of Kebonrejo Village, average number of children in farming families was three people. Farm families in the village of Kebonrejo both poor and wealthy families expect one of their children to live together in the village. It was intended to the children that they should care for parents in old age and maintain the estate, especially homes and land. For male child from wealthy farming families, they are expected to return to the village even though they have been through higher education in the city. Generally, these children made the house, working together with the parents. As Mastur, a farmer who worked as a farmer-merchant, said:

"I only have one son. He went to college, but I expect my child back to the village of caring for the estate, the parents continue to work as a farmer-merchant in the village. For that, I have given inheritance of farmland to be managed, make a house, and provide spending money almost every day since he became the driver to drive to the market".

Some other farmers, expecting one of their children live in the village with their parents to look after the estate (house and land), economic activity continued his family, and take care for their parents. The presence of children in farm families psychologically gives a sense of security to the parents because there is a caring, continues its work as a farmer, and maintain the estate (land and house) and as social capital. The presence of children in the family is as a social-capital to participate in solving various problems in the socio-economic life. Sense of social work in the dry field is manifested as not accepting a certain wage.

Conclusions

Participation of children in a peasant family in the village of Kebonrejo varied and changed in line with the socio-cultural and economic, as well as the development of rural communities. Children's age to help her family is also different because of education. Children in poor families can help their parents at the age of 15 years after they complete their secondary

school education first. While the children of wealthy families are slower to help the family economy that is at least 18 years of age after they completed the Senior High School.

Economic participation of children in the family economies of poor farmers, especially in the form of physical energy flow, assist farming activities and capital money for farming, the family needs and other interests, while the children of wealthy farmer family is positioned as a partner and cadres in carrying out economic activities family. Children as a family social capital jointly participate in solving problems in the family. Children as an investment reflected the expectations of parents to care for themselves, maintain the estate (land and houses) as well as the continuing economic activity. To avoid exploitation of children will require an integrated approach that focuses on all activities involving the children in certain areas and a sustainable program (Wazir 2002).

References

- Gille H & Pardoko RH (1965) A Family Life in East Java. In: Berelson (ed). Family Planning and Population Programs 9 B. Chicago
- Husken F (1988) Masyarakat Desa dalam Perubahan Zaman: Sejarah Diferensiasi Sosial di Jawa 1830-1980. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Jay R (1969) Javanese Villagers: Social Relations in Rural Mojokuto. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kontjaraningrat (1969) Tjelapar: Sebuah Desa di Jawa Tengah Bagian Selatan. Dalam: Ina Slamet (ed). Masyarakat Desa di Indonesia Masa Kini. Jakarta: Pokok-pokok Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa.
- Lieten GK (2002) Child Labour and Poverty: the Poverty of Analysis. The Indian Journal of Labour Economic 45(3):451-464.
- Meyer PA & Legawan SA (1978) Kumpulan Kertas VKrja. Lokakarya Anak di Indonesia. Seri Yertas verja lokakarya No.1. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Migdal J (1974) Peasant Politics and Revolution: Pressure toward Political and Social Change in the Third World. USA: Princeton Press.
- Potter JM, Diaz MN & Foster G (1967) Introduction: The Social Life of Peasant. Dalam: Peasant Society: A Reader. USA: Little Brown and Company.
- Prabowo D (1978) Sumbangan Anak dalam Usaha Tani. Lokakarya Anak di Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Kependudukan Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Rustagi P (2002) Girl Child Labour: Regional Dimensions and Motivations. The Indian Journal of Labour Economic 45(3):465-477.