Tobacco Cultivation Regimentation: An Ethnographic Treatise from Pagergunung Village, Bulu, Temanggung

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia, as the sixth largest tobacco producing country in the world, has participated in the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) by issuing compromise regulations through Government Regulation (PP) No. 109 of 2012. This regulation regulates restrictions on tobacco production and distribution of products made from tobacco raw materials. Furthermore, PP No. 109 of 2012 determines the increases in tobacco excise rates and determination of limits on nicotine levels also sparked unrest among tobacco farmers in the Temanggung area. This article attempts to explain the insistence of farmers, especially in the eastern slope of Mount Sumbing, Pagergunung Village, Bulu District, Temanggung, in maintaining tobacco cultivation even though they are faced with an anti-tobacco campaign from the FCTC. The continued cultivation of tobacco can be understood as a form of regimen of cultivated plants. This article is an anthropological study with a regimentation theoretical perspective and ethnographic approach as a research method which present of the research results. From this research it is known that the cultivation regimen is controlled by mythology, tobacco trade tricks, and the pretext of tradition as a socio-cultural surplus.

A. INTRODUCTION

The World Health Alliance led by WHO responded to the statistics of human deaths due to smoking by initiating the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). In 2005, an anti-tobacco campaign was launched by the FCTC to limit the production, distribution, and sale of tobacco to improve the quality of health of the world community (see Abhisam, DM., et al., 2011:132). Kohrman and Benson (2011) states that the FCTC program has triggered tobacco control measures and influenced the decline in cigarette production rates in various countries. Even so, cigarette industry players (corporations) continue to obstruct efforts to raise public health awareness through regulatory politics, namely with policy support from the government which obtains economic benefits from tobacco excise (see Amul and Pang, 2018:47, 61; Proctor, 2004; in Kohrman and Benson, 2011:330; NCI & WHO, 2016; Akram-Lodhi and Kay, 2010:185).

Tobacco farmers have been exploited by the cigarette industry to hamper and even completely stop the progress of tobacco control activities promoted by the FCTC. Farmers are increasingly feeling irritated because if
tobacco is replaced by other crops with intensive agricultural mechanization, the demand for labor will decrease drastically, and they will even lose their livelihood (see Leppan, Lecours & Buckles, 2014: xiii; Kienle, Manos, and Jungbluth, 2015:200–203).

Ironically, farmers are identified as the main parties who experience moral decline because they have cultivated tobacco which promises economic advantages but faced with certain problems of immorality because it is considered to endanger the health of the world’s people. Anti-tobacco campaign has created unrest among farmers as tobacco producers. The moral unrest experienced by farmers seems to make them “sinners” due to the tension between “faith and work” (Arthur Kleinman, 1999:360–362; in Benson, 2010:502; Campbell, 2009:2, 18; Griffith, 2009; cf. Benson, 2010:517; Benson and Kirsch, 2010:471; Ferrell, 2012; Bilano, et al., 2015).

Moral unrest as a manifestation of the tension between “faith and work” in tobacco farmers (Benson, 2010) shows the moral-economic ambiguity of tobacco farmers. Farmers who continue to cultivate tobacco present economic-cultural facts that defy reductive explanations: that the moral unrest that occurs in the dichotomy between virtue and vice (see Appadurai, 1986:56; Guillet, 1981:143; Robbins, 2013: 100) results in a tragic choice for tobacco farmers, namely between continuing to grow tobacco or switch to other crops that are considered moral and economic prospective.

Indonesia, as the sixth largest tobacco-producing country in the world, has not escaped anti-tobacco campaigns. One of the main agendas of the FCTC’s anti-tobacco campaign is to produce tobacco legislation aimed at controlling and even stopping tobacco production in Indonesia. This agenda has received resistance from the pro-tobacco alliance (cigarette industry and its affiliates) which has currently resulted in a compromise solution by the Indonesian government (Chamim, et al., 2011:119), namely with the issuance of Health Law No. 36 of 2009. Further regulations that are more explicit are accommodated through Government Regulation (PP) No. 109 of 2012 which regulates the control of tobacco production, and distribution of products made from tobacco raw materials including the transfer of tobacco substitute crops (Ahsan and Wiyono, 2008:15; Margana, et al., 2013:3; see Santoso, 2016:204).

The implementation of PP No. 109 of 2012 has triggered aggregate demand for tobacco by cigarette companies. Between 2016 and 2017, there was a decline in production of 20.45%. In the fourth quarter of 2017, tobacco production decreased significantly by 44.51% (TCSC-IKMI, 2012: 37, 39, 42). Tobacco control through Government Regulation No. 109 of 2012 is assumed to have had an impact on reducing tobacco production uptake. Setting a limit for tobacco nicotine levels of no more than 1 percent as regulated in PP No. 109 of 2012 has increasingly influenced the decline in the absorption rate of tobacco agricultural production.

Especially in the Temanggung Regency area, which has long been favored by cigarette companies (especially clove cigarettes) because of its high nicotine levels, ranging from 3–8% (see Agustina and Muta‘ali, 2016:6). These high nicotine levels are now actually affecting the decline in tobacco production uptake in Temanggung as the largest tobacco farming center in Central Java Province and the second largest in Indonesia. Determination of increases in tobacco excretion rates and determination of limits on nicotine levels as regulated in PP No. 109 of 2012 had an impact on the uptake of tobacco production which triggered unrest among tobacco farmers in the Temanggung area (cf. Keyser and Juita, 2005; in NCI Tobacco Control Monographs, 2016:366 – 367).

The incessant campaign of anti-tobacco has resulted in moral unrest and economic decline which poses a serious threat to the sustainability of tobacco farming. Efforts to maintain tobacco by farmers are an important issue that deserves to be studied in an elaborative manner. Tobacco farmers, especially in the eastern slope of Mount Sumbing,Pagergunung Village, Bulu District, Temanggung, have shown no symptoms or efforts to switch to other crops. Farmers are still insisting to maintain tobacco amidst the uncertainty of the tobacco economy and the incessant anti-tobacco campaigns in recent years.

METHOD

The research was conducted in Pagergunung Village, which is a harmonious landscape for tobacco plants. Pagergunung is one of the best tobacco-producing rural areas in Bulu District, Temanggung Regency, Central Java Province. The Pagergunung community is administratively located in Pagergunung Village, Bulu District, Temanggung Regency. The theoretical approach to uncovering the insist of farmers in Pagergunung to cultivate tobacco can be viewed from what is stated by Barbara Hahn (2014:330 – 331), the choice of crops has implications for examine the maintenance of tobacco by farmers. Transitions or changes in the choice of certain types of plants cannot be understood simply as changes in plant types, but also have implications for farmers in political-economic, social and cultural contexts (Hahn, 2014:432). As also states by David Guillet (1981:141), “...crop regime, – an orderly procedure that dictates how it has to be cultivated so it can fulfill its expected function.” Agricultural plants are assumed to have the capacity to regulate the behavior and rhythm of farmers’ lives.

Cultivation practices are therefore assumed to place farmers in the complexity of the production process in a certain order. Plant capacity can explain a series of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188). The utility of a plant is not always the goal of actions of tobacco farmers which are considered ‘irrational’ or not driven by economic motives (see Suryajaya, 2013:188).
influenced by the regime capacity of a plant type (see Swidler, 1986:275–284).

Through the series of perspectives, the data set was carried out using library research methods, participation observations, interviews, and documentation (archival research and audio also visual recording). The accumulation of data which was carried out in mid-2019 is the basis for analytical claims oriented towards problem research and collaboration in social and historical contexts (see Creswell, 2003:4; 16–18; Bernard, 2006:7, 14, 64) and to strengthen the analysis of data obtained from field research.

Interviews are also the main method in this research. Interviews with open-ended questions (see Creswell, 2003: 17–18) were carried out sequentially from informal to in-depth semi-structured interviews (Bernard, 2006: 212). The interview method was used to collect information in the form of various stories as a basis for narrative (see Creswell, 2003:21; Bernard, 2006:413) from informants representing tobacco farmers. Informants are determined based on several minimum requirements as stated by Spradley (2007), that someone is considered worthy of being an informant if: 1) Full enculturation, 2) Direct involvement of the informant with their cultural background and context, 3) A different cultural background from the researcher. With this method, data that cannot be obtained through observation methods, such as values, norms and rules, knowledge or perceptions regarding the agricultural environment and a series of farming practices, can be explored accumulatively. The main informants in this research were tobacco farmers.

The interview process began by being involved in gathering activities at night with the farmers in one of the farmer’s houses which in the local community is usually called Remponan. By regularly attending remponan, researchers can be immediately accepted by the farming community and will no longer be considered foreign by them. By participating in remponan, the researcher then selected main informants from among farmers who were considered capable of providing adequate information on the research problem. The main difficulty faced by researchers is language issues. The people studied are Javanese and use Javanese daily, while the researchers are not of Javanese background. For this reason, researchers must study Javanese to understand the information conveyed by informants thoroughly.

The data set is then analyzed in practice are organizing data based on the speech and actions of research subjects (Creswell, 2003: 7). The analysis in this research examines symbolic, historical and political dimensions (see Biersack, 1999) to reveal the relationship between plant regime and the insist of tobacco farmers to cultivate tobacco in Pagergunung Village, eastern slope of Mount Sumbing, Temanggung Regency, Central Java Province.

The symbolic dimension is traced from how farmers perceive tobacco not just as a plant variety but as an entity with cultural meaning. The historical dimension of the data collection was compiled to obtain information about the history of the formation of the tobacco farming community in Pagergunung and how farmers explain the history of the existence of the tobacco they cultivate. The political dimension aims to examine the asymmetrical relationship between farmers as cultivators and commercial stakeholders. The conjunction of symbolic, historical and political dimensions is a node of explanation of the regimen for tobacco cultivation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Located at an altitude of ±1250–1500 meters above sea level, tobacco plants and farmers in Pagergunung have a historical legacy of the world tobacco trade with local cultivation practices that accompany it. The history of the existence of farmers cultivating tobacco in Pagergunung Pagergunung is a combination of literary treatises and oral descriptions of local cultural memories. Junghuhn (1830) in his travel notes stated that tobacco was found growing at an altitude of 2,275 meters above sea level in the valleys on the slopes of Mount Sumbing and Mount Sindoro. Although at different altitudes, De Bie (1900) also stated that tobacco plants were found growing at an altitude of 1,625 meters above sea level (see Boomgard, 2002:94; in Murray Li, 2002).

Junghuhn (1830) and De Bie (1900) note that this relates to the period of forced cultivation which took place between 1836–1845. Tobacco cultivation during the forced cultivation period was considered to experience production failure due to the influence of land suitability and weather. Not only that, the forced cultivation system applied in tobacco cultivation does not meet the farmers' economic gain expectations. There is a scattering between the outpouring of energy and the income obtained by cultivators. Tobacco plants in the Bulu region are thought to have begun to be intensively cultivated again since the beginning of the 20th century, namely around 1900 (see Boomgard, 2002:92–93; in Murray Li, 2002).

The position of the land to the landscape influences the sharp pattern and quality of the tobacco plants. The land that is used as a farmer's tobacco plantation area in Pagergunung is on the eastern side of the slopes of the Sumbing mountains. The land conditions of farmers’ plantations on the slopes of the Sumbing mountains is rocky soil. Located on a steep slope with a high erosion tendency. Tobacco cultivation activities require expertise that is intertwined with the environment (landscape) and the economy. Tobacco farmers in Pagergunung must be careful in carrying out mapping which is greatly influenced by the presence of the natural landscape and the accompanying weather conditions. Likewise, tobacco cultivation efforts must be combined with economic calculations to ensure the survival of farmers.

There are two types of tobacco known to farmers in the Mount Sumbing area, namely lamasi and honggang tobacco. The Chinese type of tobacco is widely cultivated in the southern region of the Sumbing slopes which leads to the slopes of Mount Sindoro. Most of the tobacco areas on the slopes of Mount Sumbing are dominated by lamasi tobacco. Farmers in Pagergunung cultivate lamasi type tobacco which tends to be a benchmark for quality and price for other types of tobacco due to the characteristics of lamasi tobacco. The tobacco cultivated in Pagergunung is lamasi type tobacco. Some farmers in Pagergunung grow lamasi type tobacco on the moor at an altitude of between 600-800 meters above sea level, and in the area at the foot of Mount Sumbing at an altitude of 800-1500 meters above sea level.
The height of Mount Sumbing is known to reach ± 3400 meters above sea level. The natural landscape cultivated by tobacco farmers in Pagergunung is in direct contact with the vegetation area managed by Perhutani. Even though lamsi tobacco is not that good in terms of color, the snakefruit flavor and sweet taste produced from chopped lamsi tobacco make it a superior type of tobacco. If all types of tobacco are associated with food dishes, lamsi tobacco is the main menu which is called “side dish” tobacco. The nicotine levels in lamsi tobacco are higher than other tobacco.

1. “Sabdo Wali” Plant: Mythological Regimentation

The growing intensity of tobacco cultivation in the Bulu region cannot deny the history of the presence and development of the clove cigarette industry in Kudus as explained in historical texts. Apart from that, oral information obtained from the cultural memories of the local tobacco farming community can strengthen the explanation of the intensity of tobacco cultivation in the Bulu area, Temanggung, especially the farmers in Pagergunung. The history of tobacco breeding which postulates that the plant is healing or beneficial for health is also present in the understanding of the people in Pagergunung. The story of this healing plant has been going on since the 15th century in various regions across the world, such as America, Portugal, Japan and China (see Laufer, 1924).

A similar narrative also finds a place in the treatise on tobacco cultivation in Pagergunung, namely with the breeding argument that tobacco is a plant that is beneficial for health. Tobacco breeding based on the healing plant developed from mythological narratives about divine figures who could cure diseases. This figure is known as Ma Kew Kew An or Ki Ageng Makukuhan. Local people tell the story that Ma Kew Kew An or Ki Ageng Makukuhan was a person who studied with Sunan Kudus. Ki Ageng Makukuhan gained sainthood through a series of Islamic broadcasts carried out in the Temanggung area as ordered by Sunan Kudus.

Traditional ceremonies are also preserved by the people of Pagergunung Village, Bulu District, Temanggung Regency. Once a year, the village community holds a traditional ceremony known as the Wilujengan tradition which carried out on the 21st night of Ramadhan or the Maghrib call to prayer sounds, the village elders are tasked to break the fast after Asr prayer time, with a procession ceremony by soldiers dressed in traditional Javanese clothing carrying ingkung chicken, tumpeng, vegetables, and offerings in the form of agricultural products. After completing the prayer reading, the soldiers dressed in the natives immediately carry mountains of tumpeng and offerings in the form of agricultural products to be paraded to Petilasan Plebengan which is 1.5 km away. Soldiers dressed in traditional Javanese clothing, complete with sticks or spears, led the front row, followed by native soldiers carrying tumpeng and offerings. Behind the native soldiers there were several elderly people carrying tambourines while reciting prayers and in the back row were members of the community from Pagergunung Village and its surroundings.

The procession ends at Petilasan Plebengan, which is located on the border of the Mount Sumbing climbing trail. The carnival participants, whether ordinary people, village officials or committee members, sat around the tumpeng and offered offerings like when leaving. All participants read prayers and tahlii together until the time to break the fast arrives (Maghrib call to prayer). When the Maghrib call to prayer sounds, the village elders are tasked with distributing little by little tumpeng rice and side dishes to the residents present evenly. At the peak of the Wilujengan tradition, villagers flocked to climb Mount Sumbing, which is about 3 km away, at night to make a pilgrimage to the grave of Ki Ageng Makukuhan.

The implementation of the Wilujengan ceremony illustrates the belief of the people of Pagergunung Village that there is still a strong connection between Javanese culture and Islam. Apart from that, the Pagergunung people also uphold the religious values contained in the Wilujengan tradition as an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT and Ki Agung Makukuhan as an elder and propagator of Islam by making pilgrimages and praying at his grave.

In this case, the people of Pagergunung Village revealed that the function of the Wilujengan tradition is to show respect for Ki Ageng Makukuhan as the spreader of Islam in this region and to express gratitude towards God Almighty. Apart from that, the Wilujengan tradition is also a means of keeping in touch with all residents, increasing social sense to establish good relationships. Overall, the implementation of the Wilujengan tradition in Pagergunung Village is an expression of the historical-based cultural memory that has been carried out since the death of Ki Ageng Makukuhan while teaching them how to grow crops, Ki Ageng Makukuhan also began to teach many things about Islamic teachings, especially the teachings of Tawhid. Over time, the people of Kedu in particular and the people of Temanggung in general, who were previously Hindus and Buddhists, many of them followed Ki Ageng’s teachings. Makukuhan is converting to Islam.

Ki Ageng Makukuhan also passed on farming methods and Islamic teachings that he had taught to his students. After Ki Ageng Makukuhan died, the preaching of Islam was continued by his students and has been passed down from generation to generation, thus changing the beliefs of the people of Temanggung, who were previously Hindus and Buddhists, now the majority are Muslims. To honor Ki Ageng Makukuhan’s services in preaching to spread Islam in the Kedu Temanggung area, the people of Pagergunung Village commemorated him with the Wilujengan tradition and made a pilgrimage to Ki Ageng Makukuhan’s grave which is at the top of Mount Sumbing. The Wilujengan tradition is carried out in the afternoon, precisely after Asr prayer time, with a procession ceremony by soldiers dressed in traditional Javanese clothing carrying ingkung chicken, tumpeng, vegetables, and offerings in the form of agricultural products. After completing the prayer reading, the soldiers dressed in the natives immediately carry mountains of tumpeng and offerings in the form of agricultural products to be paraded to Petilasan Plebengan which is 1.5 km away. Soldiers dressed in traditional Javanese clothing, complete with sticks or spears, led the front row, followed by native soldiers carrying tumpeng and offerings. Behind the native soldiers there were several elderly people carrying tambourines while reciting prayers and in the back row were members of the community from Pagergunung Village and its surroundings.

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Pagergunung Village can be observed that this tradition is still being preserved by the community because in essence it can fulfill the needs that support the running of the social, cultural and religious systems of the Pagergunung Village community.

The presentation carried out by Ki Ageng Makukuhan took an agricultural approach, namely teaching people to farm on the slopes of the Sumbing mountains, which at that time was considered a dangerous and infertile landscape. Makukuhan is said to have thrown the rigen (tobacco drying container) onto a stretch of land. The location where the rigen fell caused the land to collapse (legok). This stretch of land is now known as ‘Lamuk Legok’. Makukuhan then planted one type of plant on this stretch of land.

Until one day, there was someone who was sick and didn’t know what the disease was or how to cure it. The sick person asked Makukuhan for help to cure him. Then, Makukuhan succeeded in healing the person using tobacco. Amazed by the benefits of plants that were thought to be able to cure disease, people began to plant them. Local people then called the plants used by Makukuhan “tambaka; tonbo-aku” (self-healer). Makukuhan continued his broadcast journey to the eastern side of the slopes of Mount Sumbing, which is now known as the lamsi tobacco area, and one of them is the Pagergunung area. Tobacco as a healing plant is firmly established in the collective minds of the people of Pagergunung. In its development, the nicotine plant called tambaka is now known as tobacco.

Tobacco is considered a sabdo wali (guardian mandate) plant as their ancestors also grew tobacco. The sabdo wali plant is attached to tobacco which is related to the story of Ki Agung Makukuhan as the figure who brought the tobacco plant. Based on stories from ancestors, the availability of water on the eastern slopes of Mount Sumbing is inadequate for farming other than tobacco crops. As a cultural explanation, the entire stretch of Mount Sumbing is likened to a human body, and the eastern side of the slopes of Mount Sumbing is part of the back where sweat passes, so the availability of water in the area is very limited. This view also strengthens the belief of the Pagergunung people that only tobacco is worthy of growing well.

2. Tobacco Trade Tricks: Regimentation of Trade Holder

Farmers' decisions in cultivating tobacco are actually influenced by a variety of tricks by the trade holder (Juragan, Bakul and the trade net) that are vague and confusing for farmers. Tobacco quality is an important aspect in the tobacco business. Ironically, since the 1980s until now, methods for determining tobacco quality have become increasingly complicated and determining tobacco quality is in the hands of the bakul. Even though farmers believe that their tobacco is of good quality, the bakul are ultimately the ones who have the authority to determine the quality of the tobacco. It is even more complicated that there is no use of instrumental technology in determining tobacco quality.

The instrument for determining the quality of tobacco is the bakul’s sensory sensors to determine whether the tobacco is good (slab) or bad (smooth). The method for determining the quality of tobacco by the bakul is called Kir Master, which is based on the bakul's sensory. The kir master method includes di-cekel (grasp), di-ambu (smell), and di-isep (smoke). Determining the quality of tobacco by checking means holding a sample of tobacco in your fist to determine the dryness level and the sticky impression which is associated with the level of nicotine content of the tobacco.

Tobacco samples will be differentiated according to quality levels (grade/totol: local term.), starting from A–I. The lowest quality is spot A, and the higher quality levels are sorted alphabetically. Farmers admit that identifying the range of tobacco spots can only be done by the bakul. The components identified include the intensity of the aroma and taste of each piece of chopped tobacco. The determination of totol based on taste is characterized by the consistency of the sweet taste when sipped like smoking. The sweet taste that lingers when sipped will determine the range of notes of each piece of super tobacco. The thickness of the taste when sipped also influences the determination of the grade of chopped tobacco.

The determination of price benchmarks by bakul based on totol/grade as a range of tobacco quality from lowest to highest cannot be separated from the instructions of cigarette manufacturers/companies. Towards the time of buying (rush) tobacco, the factory delegates attend a meeting (kenduri) held by the factory. The presence of the bakul at the tobacco meeting (kenduri lekas) cannot be represented by anyone.

The bakul are given a benchmark purchase price for tobacco based on the quota of each totol/grade desired by the factory. After getting the tobacco quota and price from the factory, the bakul prepare tobacco trading activities in their respective warehouses. News about the purchase of tobacco is then conveyed to farmers about 2 weeks before the warehouse/bakul starts activities to purchase tobacco from farmers.

Delivering the news that the warehouse would soon be opened also involved holding a kind of feast which was attended by representatives of farmers from each village who supplied tobacco to one of the bakul. The news of the tobacco rush was conveyed by a representative of the bakul or one of the farmers who was also usually involved in the work in the bakul warehouse. Farmers are eagerly awaiting news from bakul about the tobacco business period.

After the farmers received this news, they were busy with chopping activities and loading the chopped tobacco into baskets/pits (nganjing). Farmers have a target to produce chopped tobacco which can be sold to factories (cigarette companies) through bakul and middlemen as tobacco trade holders.

Another trick in the tobacco trade is related to price manipulation and differences in tobacco weight. After the process of determining the quality and weighing of the tobacco, the bakul never wrote down the actual purchase price and weight figure for the tobacco on the purchase note given to the farmer. They will include a code that is only understood by the sampler, weigher and paymaster, who is none other than the bakul itself. As shown in the following image:
The weight range of 51—55 kg will be reduced by 11 kg. The weight range of 56—60 kg will be reduced by 12 kg. The weight range of 61—64 kg will be reduced by 13 kg. The shortened grade period or shortened grade is a business intrigue carried out by the bakul by shortening the purchasing period for each total grade of tobacco. This commercial intrigue allowed the bakul to gain large profits. For example, factories such as Gudang Garam actually need large quantities of tobacco, especially grade D. However, collectors will shorten the purchase period for grade D tobacco from farmers on the grounds that the grade required is already grade E. Farmers who receive news that the grade of tobacco they have purchased has entered the grade E purchasing period will certainly think that the stock of grade D tobacco that has not yet been sold is already behind the selling period. That way, farmers will accept whatever price is offered by the bakul for grade D tobacco sold by farmers. For each total grade of tobacco, the bakul implements the trick of accelerating the duration of the buying period so that it can buy tobacco from farmers at a cheap price and sell to factories at a higher price.

By closing the warehouse, farmers will certainly become anxious because their tobacco has not been sold. Farmers who wait anxiously are in a weak position.

Farmers who receive loans or debts become anxious because their tobacco has not been sold. Farmers who wait anxiously are in a weak psychological condition. Bakul, who knew the farmers were in this condition, took advantage of the situation by sending their representatives to buy tobacco from the farmers. Bakul messengers of course offer lower tobacco purchase prices. Farmers who were anxious and could no longer be patient with this situation sold tobacco to bakul messengers. Farmers find it difficult to sell their tobacco crops to parties other than cigarette factories. In this way, farmers tend to follow trade practices regulated by the bakul. Even though farmers say that the tobacco they produce is of super (superior) quality, the bakul is the one who actually determines the quality of the tobacco. The price of tobacco is also controlled by the bakul because the quality of the tobacco is determined by them.

The tobacco trade scheme gradually developed economic relations that were not solely for business purposes, but produced economic relations within a social and cultural framework. One of them is a commercial agreement through loans given by bakul to farmers. Control supply with debt is another intrigue in tobacco trades which held by the trade holder. Bakul who provides loans to farmers receive a guarantee of obtaining tobacco from the farmer. There are debts, there are goods, that roughly explains the relationship regarding demand and supply between bakul and farmers. Loans or debts become a relationship between bakul and farmers. The bakul will compete in offering loans to farmers in order to activate commercial ties. Farmers will not establish commercial ties with bakul who tend to be complicated in providing loans. Farmers are also reluctant to accept bakul that provide loans in too small amounts. Commercial relations through loan schemes not only bind tobacco, but also bind farmers.
Bakul provides an understanding (mystification) to farmers that the difference in weight and weight percentage deductions are intended to fulfill sample weight requirements at the factory. A significant amount as an excuse for the weight of tobacco samples that will be offered to cigarette manufacturers/companies. However, the difference in weight on the scales is not something farmers are concerned about. The difference in weight is accepted by farmers as part of the trading procedure, although the intended acceptance is not in the full sense.

Various methods are being taken to ensure that the harvested tobacco can be absorbed during the tobacco trade. Farmers responded to the mystification of the weight difference applied by bakul through action on processed tobacco. As a result, the quality of tobacco today is very rarely still authentic or genuine, the raw materials for which are local tobacco. The strategy used by farmers is to add sugar when processing chopped tobacco.

Apart from that, if the tobacco harvest from a farmer’s field does not reach the maximum target weight of chopped tobacco, one of the efforts made by the farmer is to import or buy tobacco leaves from outside the Temanggung area to mix with tobacco leaves from the farmer’s field. The average weight of sugar and tobacco mixture from outside the region used is equivalent to the difference in weight on the scales between the farmer and bakul.

Selecting the type of “imported” tobacco to be used has certain criteria. One of the criteria is the characteristics of tobacco leaves which are similar to tobacco leaves from farmers' fields. The imported tobacco chosen is usually a type of tobacco that also grows in highland areas. If farmers use imported tobacco that grows in lowlands, there is a risk that the results of the cutting will not be good because there is a gap in terms of aroma and taste.

Farmers use tobacco that comes from outside the area which is relatively cheap to mix with tobacco from the farmers’ fields. If they only use local tobacco raw materials, farmers will not be able to produce large quantities of chopped tobacco to sell to bakul. The practice of mixing farm-grown tobacco with tobacco from outside the area is actually very risky for farmers. If the bakul finds out that the farmer is carrying out this practice, the farmer will be handicapped by the bakul, that is, the tobacco from the mixing farmer will not be purchased by the bakul and the quality of the farmer's tobacco will be doubtful in the next tobacco season.

Of course, the tactics carried out by the farmers cannot be proven by bakul. Farmers rationalize the difference in weighing by bakul under the pretext of samples through tobacco weighting tactics. The weight difference has proven not to be a problem for farmers. The tobacco weighting strategy by farmers shows expertise in responding to situations with cultural ratios developed by farmers. The bakul are getting smarter in trading, while the farmers who were previously innocent are now getting smarter in processing tobacco in large quantities.

The factory reduces the purchase price for each grade of tobacco supplied by farmers to cover the burden of tobacco expenditure costs. The increase in tobacco exports does not harm manufacturers because it is passed on to farmers through the price of purchasing tobacco. The factory reduced the purchasing price of tobacco because the quality of chopped tobacco was poor from farmers due to the use of mixed raw materials. Tobacco export for state income and the sustainability of the cigarette industry can be said to be supported by farmers.

According to farmers, the government which has increased tobacco excretion has done something hypocritical. For farmers, on the one hand, the government, by increasing tobacco excretion, certainly contributes to state income, but on the other hand, it is also increasingly promoting anti-smoking campaigns which have an impact on farmers’ income from tobacco sales. The increase in tobacco exercise does not benefit farmers at all it results in farmers becoming increasingly overwhelmed. The crop yields are good but when sold the price is not worth it (miletro). The parties who enjoy the profits from the tobacco trade are not farmers but cigarette bakul and factories.

No matter how good the quality of the tobacco produced, it will still be detrimental to farmers if the factory does not buy their tobacco. Farmers don’t know where to sell their tobacco because it is cigarette factories that have been absorbing the tobacco produced by farmers. This planned tobacco trade situation is very effective for factories in controlling the supply of tobacco from farmers. Insufficient tobacco yields and the accumulation of debt cycles pose a risk to farmers of losing agricultural land. Farmers whose harvests fail or whose business results are inadequate can be trapped in an endless debt situation. Switching to other crops will make it difficult for farmers to obtain capital loans for farming. Access to farming capital loans is relatively easy to obtain only if farmers grow tobacco.

The inability to complete loans by farmers who do not grow tobacco and experience crop failure can lead to land sales. Gradually, quite a few farmers who did not grow tobacco or instead planted other types of crops ended up losing their land because they sold it to settle loans. Marginalized as land-owning farmers, they turned into tobacco craftsmen. The existence of debt in the lives of tobacco farmers in Cepit is more than just a matter of farming (economic entity) production. The practice of “living debt” is a cultural mechanism that tobacco farmers do not always use to achieve excellence in tobacco cultivation, but instead to maintain land ownership. For tobacco farmers in Cepit, debt has a referential meaning related to the desire to free themselves from unfavorable conditions, namely anticipating the loss of their land which will, of course, allow them to be excluded from spaces of life that negate their identity within their community groups.

Farmers do not show any signs of giving up on growing tobacco as said by one farmer: “Wes poko ke namaan mbako. Ora payu pabrik, yo gawe lembutan. Ngono wae”. The meaning of this statement is that if their tobacco does not sell well at the factory, they will process the tobacco into softening, a type of processed tobacco that is always produced for their own consumption.

In the last 2 years, some types of processed tobacco in the form of softening have been sold to individual buyers (non-factories). The buyers of lembutan are generally tobacco shop entrepreneurs who in the last 2-3 years have been found in several areas, such as Semarang (Central Java), Yogyakarta and East Java. Farmers' initiative in producing tender tobacco means they no
longer have to wait for news from the factory that the tobacco business will start.

Farmers can process softened tobacco before the chopped tobacco is required by the factory. Moreover, in the last 3 years, the tender tobacco market has grown and the selling price has also increased. The price of softened tobacco is quite expensive compared to the price of chopped tobacco sold to factories. The price for 1 kg of tender reaches around IDR 300-500 thousand. However, soft tobacco is not sold in large quantities. On average, only around 1-2 kg is sold, and not all farmers have experienced their soft goods being sold.

If the Gudang Garam factory does not buy tobacco, farmers will process their tobacco in soft form and then package it into hand-rolled cigarettes. Farmers think this because according to their hand-rolled cigarettes are not included in the tobacco excretion regulations. Rolled cigarettes are considered to be profitable for farmers and a loss for the state because there is no income from tobacco excretion from hand-rolled cigarettes. If it turns out that hand-rolled cigarettes are also subject to tobacco excise fees, farmers will sell soft tobacco in certain packages. The target market for softening tobacco includes individual consumers and retailers that sell tobacco (tobacco shops) in various areas outside Temanggung. This discourse is increasingly growing among farmers because the price of chopped tobacco sold to factories is not showing up.

3. Regimention Based on Tradition

The type of soil on the slopes of Sumbing is regosol soil which, among other things, is characterized by grey-brown, yellowish-brown and reddish-brown soil colors. Some tobacco plantation soils on the slopes of Sumbing also belong to the andosol and latosol soil types which are characterized by brown or yellowish-brown colours (see Suyana et al., 2008: 3—6).

Soil conditions in such landscapes require farmers to carry out appropriate cultivation practices. Cultivating land with mountainous contours is not easy. Cultivation practices carried out by farmers are a form of negotiation between nature and local culture. Careful attention to soil conditions in order to take into account all the potential and risks of the landscape becoming plantation land (panculture phenomenon) is a matter of propriety. The success of changing the natural landscape at an altitude of 640-1520 meters above sea level into plantation land reflects the cultural expertise of the tobacco farming community in Cepit-Pagergunung.

Being at a high elevation in the landscape with certain weather conditions causes tobacco plants to experience high humidity. This condition makes tobacco plants very vulnerable, namely that their growth may not be optimal and may even not grow. One of the initial efforts made by farmers is to convert land into land suitable for planting by making terraces.

In general, the cultivation period lasts 4-6 months during the dry season, namely from March to August. Tobacco farmers whose land is blocked by hills usually plant tobacco 1 month earlier to get adequate exposure to the sun's heat. Farmers whose land is blocked by hills tend to get more limited exposure to sunlight than land that is not covered by hills. Tobacco plants that receive lighter or heat from the sun will have superior quality with higher nicotine content.

Early planting is done so that the tobacco plants receive adequate solar heat so they can be harvested on time. That way, the harvest period is relatively at the same time as tobacco plants on land where exposure to the sun's heat is not blocked by hills. Tobacco growing activities related to the natural landscape as a cultivation landscape can be said to have regulated the adjustment between the harvest period and the tobacco trading period.

The initial effort made by farmers in tobacco cultivation activities is to ensure that the land is suitable for growing tobacco. This stage is land preparation which begins with creating a plot or planting area. Determining the planting area is accompanied by land-clearing activities. Standing on rock-solid ground, the sound of metal clinking can often be heard every time the farmer swings his hoe as it hits the rock. This clink also indicates that the farmer has stopped swinging his hoe to remove rocks from the area of land where tobacco will be planted. Tools used in turning land into farming areas include hoes, forks and jerky (stone hoes). Hoes and forks are used to loosen and dig up soil filled with gravel, while beef jerky is used to break up rocks in the soil layer. The depth of soil that can be hoed for loosening and creating planting areas is on average only as high as the farmer's knees. It could be more than that, but the energy required will be more and the time will be longer because of the large number of rocks in the ground.

Cepit farmers' fields which are located on mountain slopes cause the soil to experience very intensive condensation and this affects the tobacco growing period to be longer. Even so, soil condensation helps maintain the tobacco growth process. Soil moisture maintains the resistance to tobacco growth. Evaporation of dew in the morning helps plants get the reserve water levels that plants need during the dry season, especially when conditions are hot during the day. Such weather conditions mean that tobacco plants grown on mountain slopes are believed to be stronger and their maturity is superior to tobacco in rice fields.

Some farmers use plastic mulch to maintain soil moisture and protect tobacco plants from excess rainfall. Plastic mulch is also useful for preventing grass growth in each row of plants (beds). At least ½ roll of plastic mulch is needed for 4-5 plots of field. Some farmers do not use plastic mulch because they think it can increase soil erosion, especially when it rains. Rainwater that should be absorbed by the soil instead flows into the crevasses between rows (plant rows) according to the contour of the slope of the land on the mountain slopes. The pressure of rainwater flowing into the trenches becomes stronger and tends to accelerate soil erosion. Apart from that, plastic mulch is also thought to inhibit soil drying (naturally) which affects plant maturity and the quality of tobacco leaves before harvest.

Farmers' living costs are greater for socio-cultural costs than for the daily living costs of farming households, such as daily food costs, education costs and health needs. Farmers' expenses for socio-cultural events such as celebrations and others are very large. For example, if there is a farmer who is holding a wedding for his child, his family (one sibling) will contribute financial assistance ranging from IDR 1 million to IDR 5 million. Moreover, if the person holding the celebration is the in-laws of one of the farmers, the donation can reach IDR 1 million.

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Nasution, Pangeran P.P.A.
CONCLUSIONS

The narrative of economic transition through diversification of crops is not enough to critically examine the persistence of farmers in growing tobacco. Transitions or changes in the choice of certain types of plants cannot be understood simply as changes in plant types, but also have implications for farmers’ lives in economic, social and cultural contexts. The determination of the farming community in Pagergunung to continue farming tobacco is closely related to their early history as tobacco farmers. Even though historical documents provide a textual history that tobacco cultivation was initiated by the Dutch colonial authorities, the farming community in Pagergunung has its history.

Tobacco plants for farmers in Pagergunung are native plants on the slopes of Mount Sumbing. Tobacco was declared a sabdo wali plant introduced by Ki Ageng Makukuhan. Tobacco is understood by the community as a guardian mandate that tobacco is a source of community livelihood. The perception of the people in Pagergunung that tobacco is a sacred plant can be said to be an indigenization feature of tobacco “culturability”. The understanding of tobacco as a sabdo wali plant is manifested in the practice of tobacco cultivation which involves various ritual practices. Cultivating tobacco on the slopes of Mount Sumbing at an altitude of 800-1500 meters above sea level is not an easy matter. Farmers’ persistence is needed to produce good tobacco plants. This persistence is driven by a guardianship mandate that reflects the spirit of the figure of Ki Ageng Makukuhan. Expertise in cultivating tobacco appears through cultivation methods that adapt to the contours of the earth and the axis of the sun.

Tobacco trade as an exchange event represents a regimentation feature of instrumental relations that requires engineering and manipulative action, and create control over economic circulation. This matter appears in competition between farmers which is regulated through levels of tobacco quality that are associated with big names among farmers. Tobacco trade holders also regulate the circulation of tobacco supplies through hierarchical and imperative trade networks. Farmers who were previously sovereign over their tobacco plants have now become caretakers of raw materials for the trade holders.

Farmers still insist on growing tobacco even though in economic calculations considering net-farm income, farmers have actually made a loss. However, losses for farmers are not always within an economic framework that compares the difference between production costs and profits from income. Farmers suffer losses if they cannot fulfill their desires, which are not only household necessities but also consumer desires.

Farmers remain determined to grow tobacco because they can still fulfill their dreams which can be said to be a non-accrual reality. Farmers’ self-imagination is dominated by the desire to carry out various rituals and traditional events which become cultural reasons for their determination to farm tobacco. Much of the income earned by farmers from tobacco sales is used to finance social activities and cultural events (social-cultural expenditures) as a non-accrual fact that involves cultural arithmetic. The regime of tobacco cultivation activity among farmers in Pagergunung, Temanggung, is presented through the mythological narrative of tobacco as a sacred plant and
various cultural events based on tradition. Mythological features and traditional pretexts become a control structure that anticipates the transition to cultivated crops which are considered full of uncertainty so that sticking with tobacco ensures that farmers’ lives remain on track. The maintenance of tobacco cultivation can be stated as an implication of the regime of crops which shapes the social, economic and cultural order in farmers’ lives. Thus, tobacco preservation can be understood as a symptom of the regime that controls the determination of the people in Pagergunung to continue farming tobacco which contain a representation of economic circulation regimen features with a series of socio-cultural messages that create control over farmers in maintaining tobacco.

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