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RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE PEASANTS' DEPENDENCE IN RELATION TO "GLEBAGAN" PRODUCTION SYSTEM (A Case Study on Land Use Right PTP Nusantara X Jember).

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Abstract

There were two reasons for this research: First, practical reason, where there were many patterns of production in relation to the agricultural and plantation sectors that placed the farmers in dependent and exploited positions by plantations, e.g. NES-System production model, PIR-BUN, and pattern of UPP. Both were proved through theoretical and structural reasons, i.e. there was an argument between the followers of modernization theory and structural theory in Latin America in the 1970s. The theoretical modernization argued that the determinants of underdevelopment, poverty and community dependence by the internal conditions of the peasants themselves, that is, social-culture farmer system. To get rid of the problem the theorists of modernization recommended the need for cooperation with more "modern" communities and the intervention of the authorities as regulators. In the other side, followers of structural theory said that the determinants of underdevelopment, poverty and peasants' dependence were external factor that is the establishment of cooperative relationships with other communities and the intervention of authorities through policies that harmed the farming community. To come out of the problem, the structural theorists recommended that the peasant community avoid cooperation with others who get protection from authorities. The aims of the research were: (1). Describing the process of phenomenon farmer dependence in the pattern of relationship of *glebagan* system production at PTPN. X Jember. (2). Identifying the determinants (main cause) peasants' dependence in the pattern of relationship of *glebagan* system production at PTPN.X Jember, and (3). Describing the consequences of relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production to social change, and the mechanisms of inter-actor working relationship involved. This research used descriptive-qualitative design, with research setting on HGU land PTPN X in Jember. Research sample was taken by *snowball sampling* technique which was done by data collection and data analysis. In this study the researcher was as a human instrument using a non-structured interview technique conducted in-depth (*indepth interview*), and continuous observation by focusing on the *interpretative understanding* of individuals in the context of their social units. The procedure of data analysis was done by creating categories, formulating concepts, and finally formulating propositions based on concepts. To examine the results of the study, the measures of credibility, transferability, dependability, and

confirmability were used. The research results were : (1). The emergence process of the phenomenon farmers' dependence in the relationship of *glebagan* system production at PTPN X HGU land began with the maintenance of the socio-cultural system *tanean lanjng* in the inheritance system of farming community, then there were a polarization of the nuclear family into the extended family which had implications for the fragmentation of arable land originally functioning for tobacco, paddy and *polowijo* (other than paddy) commodity crops turned into settlement land. The diminishing size of the farmers' land area, as a result in a decline to farmer's income economic family, and eventually the socio-economic farmers depended on the relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production. (2). The determination that caused dependence of farmers in relationship pattern production *glebagan* system was caused by: (a) Maintaining cultural *tanean lanjng* as hereditary system on a farmer community in HGU PTPN X land; (a). The polarization from the nuclear family into the extended family was not followed by adding or agricultural land expansion, and (c). The pragmentation plots caused by function changed of farmland / plantation / land into the settlement. (3). A consequence enactment of relationship pattern production *glebagan* system in HGU PTPN X land had the implications for changes in the socio-ecosystem structure and socio-ideology of farmers. The Changes in the socio-economic dimension can be seen in the following changes: (a). The occurrence of disparity (gap) per-capita income among farmers/peasants in the HGU land; (b). The emergence of a new type of "gutter system", that was the pattern of inter-peasant (rich peasants and peasants employment) relationships when HGU land was used for rice crops and *polowijo*; and (c). The difference of occupation outside the agricultural sector, such as construction laborers, agricultural equipment repair workshops, and home industries with raw materials from agricultural products, such as corn, soybeans and rice. (4). The findings of propositions built on concepts, functions, dysfunctions, manifest functions and latency functions according to structural functionalism theory, as follows: (a). the relationship pattern of *glebagan* production system to functional farmers was still the same, because *glebagan* system as the main employment for farmers to meet the economic needs of their families. (b). The relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production in the long term dysfunctional for PTPN X, due to changes in the proper functioning of land for tobacco farming, rice and *polowijo* transformed into residential areas, which ultimately affected the decrease in income of farmers/peasants and PTPN X in Jember; (c). The pattern of relationship between *glebagan* system production and the system of *tanean* inheritance has the manifest function to maintain the solidarity of relationship between farmers and PTPN X through the pattern of *glebagan* system production. (d). The process of changing the function of agricultural land into land for the settlement of the farmer's family was a form of latency function, because in the long run it had negative impact for farmers and for PTPN. X. But it did not affect the existence of relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production at PTPN X Jember HGU field.

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Introduction:-

Background of the Research:-

Based on the Decree of companies, the former property by Netherland No. 86/1958, dated on December 27th 1958. LN 162/1958 jo. PP 4/1959 LN 7.1959, and the decree of Agricultural (UUPA/ Undang Undang Pokok Agraria) No. 5 in 1960, the former plantation land owned by the Dutch company (NV LMOD) in Jember, officially became *Perusahaan-Perusahaan Milik Negara (PPN)* or the so called firms or companies possessed by the government. The central of plantation in Jember was opened in the 1830's until 1870's by bringing in workers from Madura (Sumenep and Pamekasan districts), and from Java (Ponorogo, Kediri, Tulungagung, Bujonegoro, Jepara, Kedu and Semarang districts). They were imported through the cultivation system (*culturstelsel*), and placed in the plantation area (*enclave*) with members of their family (*magersaren*)

In 1968, PPN field in Jember, *Hak Guna Usahanya (HGU)* was submitted to the PTPN X (*Perseroan Tertutup Perkebunan Nusantara X*) to plant tobacco commodities. In order to produce qualified tobacco, PTPN X cooperated with farmers using Relationship pattern of "*Glebagan System*" production. It means a pattern of cultivating on a land with commodity crops alternating season to season, with the aim of ensuring the quality of the land remains fertile. The commodities that are planted in rotation within two years, are as follows: 7 months land had been used by PTPN X for tobacco, and the remaining 17 months of land managed by farmers for rice, and *polowijo*, such as maize, and soybean (Soepeno, 1999: 146).

According to Santoso (1995:2) the use of *glebagan* system in HGU area is absolutely needed, because technically the tobacco commodity of its quality will decline if there is no refreshing or the re-fertilization of the land, therefore the replacement for cultivated commodity should be done. While tobacco GHU is managed by PTPN for seven months, farmers plants tobacco for PTPN X and get wages, whereas the next seventeen months HGU land is used by farmers to plant rice and *polowijo* which yield to be owned by farmers (The decree of the East Java Governor No. GUB/239/1978). The aim is to apply the relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production in HGU PTPN X to produce export-qualified tobacco, and make the economic of the farming families more prosperous, but the reality is that farmers/peasants are getting worse socio-economically, and become dependent on PTPN X.

The Problem of the Research:-

In this research the problems of the research are: (1). How is the phenomenon process of farmers' dependence in relation pattern of *glebagan* system production at PTPN X Jember ? (2). What is the main cause of farmers'/peasants dependence in relation of *glebagan* in PTPN. X Jember ? (3). What are the consequences of applying the relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production to social change, and the mechanism of inter-actor working relationships involved?

The Objective and the Significance of the Research:-

The objectives of this study are: (1). To describe phenomenon process farmers' dependence in relations of *glebagan system* at PTPN X Jember. (2). To identify the determinant (main cause) farmers' dependence in the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* at PTPN X Jember, and (3). To describe the consequences of relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production to social change, and the mechanism of inter-actor working relationships involved. Whereas, the significance of this study is to find concepts and propositions that can clarify the substance truth of the theoretical debate between the adherents of modernization theory and the structural theory occurred in 1970's about "farmers' dependence" in the production relationship. The practical benefits of this research findings are scientific information that is needed by the next researchers to conduct a replication study or further study, so that it can be formulated more comprehensive finding about the relationship pattern of production. This research can be used by government and companies as a basis for consideration to formulate policies related to the relationship pattern of production mutually beneficial to the parties involved.

Literature Review:-

There were two reasons in conducting this research ,that is, practical and theoretical reasons.The Practical reason of this research can be reported that there is a relationship pattern in agricultural sector and plantation which placed farmers/peasants in a dependent and exploited position by the plantation. For example the relationship of *Contract Farming, Nucleuse Estate and Samllholders (NES-System)* was financed byWorld Bank, in practice is still positioning farmers/peasants as the dependent ones and exploited by plantation companies (Brendahl, 1991; Sharples and Milham, 1990; Fulleston, 1994; Lappe and Collins, 1977; Feder, 1977). Similarly, other models of production relationships in Indonesia, such as the PIR-BUN Estate Core Pattern (PIR-BUN), and the Service

Development Unit (UPP) pattern, these two relationship patterns also positioned the plasma farmers as economically and politically dependent to its core plantation (Saragih, 1997; Arief and Sasono, 1990; White, 1990; Bachriadi, 1995; and Soepeno, 1999).

Whereas the theoretical reason of this research is that there is a debate between followers of modernization theory and structural theory in Latin America in the 1970's. Modernization theorists said the determinants of underdevelopment, poverty and farmers' dependence communities were caused by the internal condition of farmers, namely socio-cultural system of farmers. To overcome the problems, the theorists of modernization recommended to cooperate with other more "modern" communities and the intervention from the authorities as regulators (Shanin, 1971; Hoselitz, 1971; McClelland, 1971; Soepeno, 1999; Inkeles and Smith, 1974).

In the other side, the followers of structural theory said the determinants of underdevelopment, poverty and farmers' dependence communities were caused by the external factor that was cooperation with other communities and the intervention from government through policies that harmed the farming community. To overcome those problems, the structural theorists recommended farmers community to avoid collaboration with other parties who received protection from the authorities (Baran, 1973, Frank, 1979; Cardoso, 1982; Dos Santos, 1981; and Evans, 1987).

Next, the researcher used the perspective of structural functionalism theory to explain farmers' dependence phenomenon in relation of *glebagan* system production. Merton (1975:25), dan Ritzer (1988:97) explained the object of sociological analysis of structural functionalism theory is social facts, such as social roles, institutional patterns (social institutions), social processes, cultural patterns, social norms, social group organizations, social structures, and social control. Moreover, Merton (in Soepeno, 1999: 78) argued that, society is a form of social system in which there are social institutions and social structures that are designed and formed.

Basically, each structure in each social function to another can also be dysfunction to other structures, when they had negative effect to the social system. Certain consequences, both functional and dysfunctional have a particular purpose and are recognized by the system element so that it is has manifest function. Other unrecognized elements are latency or have latency function. The concept of function in this sense is understood as a result of changes in structures and / or social institutions that can be observed in the process of adaptation to social systems. Whereas dysfunction concept is negative effects from structure changes and social institutions that negatively impact the social system. Furthermore Merton (1974: 84) and Soepeno (1999:80) explain the concept of manifest function and latency function. The manifest function is the intended function, while the latency function is an unexpected function to the social system.

The use of structural functionalism theories in this study are: (1). to understand about social practice pattern as regulation in daily life of farmers'/peasants' family profoundly in the production, then traced its various involvements horizontally with other farm households, and vertically traced the relationship of farmers to PTPN X in the process of relationship production of the *glebagan* system; (2) to understand internal factor of farmers' life, that is socio-cultural system which caused poverty and farmers' dependence in relation to *glebagan* system production; (3) to understand farmers' opinion in addressing various government policies related to the mechanism of the *glebagan* relation system production where, the theorists of structural can be understood as an external factor that caused the phenomenon of farmers' dependence in the process of the relationship of *glebagan* system production; and (4) to establish concepts and propositions as proposed by Merton (1974), that is, functional, dysfunctional, manifest and latency functions contained in the process of relationship of *glebagan* system production based on the perspective of farmers.

Research Methods:-

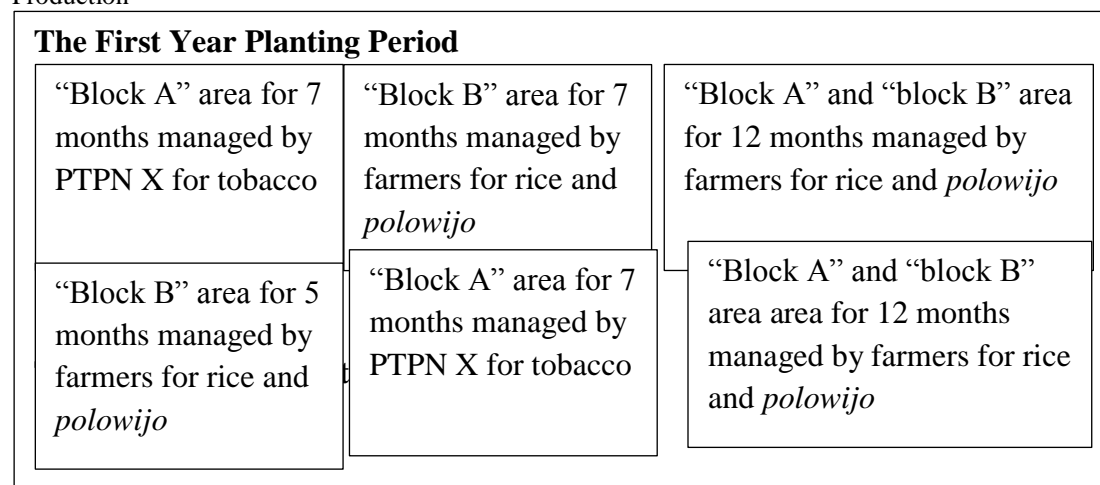
This research location was in HGU PTPN X land Jember, two villages namely Jenggawah and Cangkring. Those locations were chosen because they represented other characteristics of village, in relation to to Madurese and Javanese culture, and they included in HGU area, and those villages were habited by farmers/peasants with "*magersaren*" system (farmers lived in plantation area). This sample was taken using *snowball sampling* technique by data collection and data analysis. The researcher position was a *human instrument* by non-structure interview which was done in depth (*indepth interview*), and a continuous observation by focusing on the *interpretative understanding* of the individual within the context of his social unit (Miles and Haberman, 1984: 49-78; Vredenburg 1978: 69-71; Strauss and Corbin 1990: 157-176).

The information or the data was recorded in the *field notes* as soon as possible at the time of interview, or after interview. Data analysis was done simultaneously at the time of continuous data collection during interview and after data collection was done (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 289-331). While the procedure of data analysis established categories, formulating concepts, and finally formulating propositions based on existing concepts. To observe the result of this research used measuring of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Soepeno, 1999).

Findings and Discussion:-

Based on the information got, the total land area of PTPN X HGU in 2 (two) villages could be reported that 407,575,273 Ha, with details as follows, for the production area of 407,305,293 Ha, the remaining area of 269,980 Ha for residential farmers, offices, tobacco warehouses and other public facilities. The management of HGU land in relation to production of *glebagan* system, seven months was managed by PTP Nusantara X for tobacco, where farmers as wage workers were established by the company, while all production facilities were born by the company. The next 17 months of planting period, farmers/peasants managed and did the land for rice and *polowijo*. The time allocation and block of land area for crops of rice, tobacco, and *polowijo* in the relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production can be seen in the following chart.

Chart 1:-Time Allocation and Distribution of HGU Land Blocks in the Relationship Pattern of *Glebagan* System Production



Whereas the number of farming population placed at PTPN X HGU land in Jenggawah and Cangkring is presented in the following table.

Table 1:- The Number of Farmers in HGU PTPN X Land in 1998

No.	Village	Number of Families	Number of Community	Information
1.	Jenggawah	829 Families	3.381 people	Ethnic Madurese Majority
2.	Cangkring	628 Families	1.586 people	Ethnic Madurese Majority
	Total	1.457 Families	4967 people	

Source: Primary data processed/counted 1999

PTPN X Revenue from the export of Na-oogst and TBN (Tobacco Bawah Naungan/Tobacco under controlled) types, and the income of farmers from rice and *polowijo* 1 hectare/acre for two years of *glebagan* period can be presented in the following table.

Table 2:- The Distribution of PTPN. X Revenue and Peasants In 2 (two) Years *Glebagan* Period for 1 hectare Area (1 acre)

Plant	Gross	Production Cost	Net Income
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Na-oogst	Rp. 49.019.300	Rp. 9.918.520	Rp. 39.100.780
TBN	Rp. 145.710.761	Rp. 26.723.425	Rp. 118.987.336
Jumlah:	Rp. 194.730.061	Rp. 36.641.945	Rp. 158.088.116
Paddy and <i>Polowijo</i> <i>Glebagan</i> in the first year	Rp. 20.105.000	Rp. 9.080.250	Rp. 11.584.500
Paddy and <i>Polowijo</i> <i>Glebagan</i> in the second year	Rp. 23.480.000	Rp. 10.345.000	Rp. 13.396.322
Total	Rp. 43.585.000	Rp. 19.425.250	Rp. 24.980.822

Source: PTPN X document 1993/1994, dan Data from Tobacco Company Jember 1998.

Note: The selling price for tobacco in 1987/1988 with the dollar rate Rp. 10.000/US\$

The realization of relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production between PTPN X and farmers in HGU area within 24 months can be explained as follows: (1). when PTPN X planted Na-oogst tobacco, farmers/peasants planted rice on average 4 times and soybeans 1 time; (2). when PTPN X planted TBN tobacco types, farmers planted rice for 3 times, soybeans 1 time, and corn 1 time.

The Process of Farmers' Dependence in the Relationship Pattern of *Glebagan System* Production at PTPN X Jember:-

Based on Table 1 above, the income of farmers within 24 months (2 years) was Rp. 24,980,822, or their average income per-month for 1 hectare/acre area was Rp. 1040867. But in fact, incomes among farmers were not the same, because the farmers' land area varies. From 1.457 KK/family farmers, 20% had 1 ha-1.4 ha area; 32% had about 0.25-0.99 ha land area, and 48% remaining had less than 0.25 ha land area. The wide range of farmers' land at PTPN X HGU was closely linked to the Madurese "*Tanean Lanjang*" inheritance system that adheres to *matrilineal*. In this system only daughters getting property from the family, whereas the sons getting property when they grow and get married should come out of the family and follow their wives. Next, a married daughter builds a house with the nuclear family home. The land inherited is taken from the appropriate productive land for family farming. The changes in the function of production land for farming into a reconstruction through the *tanean lanjang* system along with the development of nuclear family into extended family have the implications for the narrowness of farmers' land, and ultimately affected the decrease in the income of farming families.

Based on the data, farmers' land only 20%. Farmers who owned land area less than 1 hectare with a minimum income of Rp. 1,040,867 per month, whereas 80% of other farmers' income was under Rp. 1040.867. The low income of farmers caused relationship farmers' dependence *glebagan system* production. Knowing socio-economic condition of farmer's family, then PTPN X issued a policy to provide wages to farmers involving in the tobacco planting production process at PTPN's XHGU land for 7 months. The amount of wages received by farmers was as follows: (1) when the land used by PTPN X to plant TBN tobacco, farmers got wages Rp. 557.752/hectare; and (b) when the HGU land was used by PTPN X to plant Na-oogst, farmers got Rp. 1.750.000/hectare. Although, they received a compensation from PTPN X, but it was insufficient to meet the needs of the family, and farmers still depended socio-economically on the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production.

Related to the description above, it can be concluded that farmers' dependence in relationship of *glebagan system* production in this study seems not far from the relationship of *Contract Farming Nucleuse Estate and Samllholders* (Brendahl, 1991; Sharples dan Milham, 1990; Furlleston, 1994; Lappe and Collins, 1977; Feder, 1977), relationship pattern model of Inti Rakyat Perkebunan (PIR-BUN) production, and relationship pattern model of UPP production (Saragih, 1997; Arief dan Sasono, 1990; White, 1990; Bachriadi, 1995; dan Soepeno, 1999), where those models still made farmers socio-economically and politically depend on their core plantations.

The differences between *glebagan system* with *NES-System* model, PIR-BUN and UP model were in the factors causing farmers' dependence in the relationship of the production. In the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production, farmers' dependence was caused by the farmer's internal condition, the *tanean lanjang* culture in the land inheritance system, while the farmers' dependence on the *NES-System* model, PIR-BUN, PIR-BUN, and UPP patterns were caused by external conditions, exploitation by plantations and authorities.

The factors which caused farmers in the relationship of production in this study also agree with modernization theorists' ideas from (Shanin, 1971; Hoselitz, 1971; McClelland, 1971; Soepeno, 1999; Inkeles and Smith, 1974), by

the internal conditions of farmers themselves, in this case it was inheritance system *tanean lanjang*. On the contrary, this result refused structural theorists' idea that determinant caused underdevelopment, poverty and farmers' dependence, were due to external factors, such as: the establishment of cooperative with other communities and the intervention of the authorities through the policies that are loser farmers/peasants (Baran and Hobsbawn, 1973; Frank, 1979; Cardoso, 1982; Dos Santos, 1981, and Evans, 1987).

The determinant of farmers' dependence in the relationship pattern of *Glebagan System* Production at HGU PTPN X land area:-

Agrarian transformation occurred in PTPN X HGU land in Jember started from the increasingly narrow area of plantation production turned into a settlement as the impact of the ongoing *tanean lanjang* system since 1830 until now. The effect of agricultural transformation caused farmers could not meet the needs of family, and more depended on relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production because there was no other alternative job than farming at HGU PTPN.X.

The problems of agricultural transformation which occurred in this study, according to Sajogyo (in Santoso, 1991) that the whole process of rural transformation produces further impacts; (1) The inequality degree of the livelihood insecurity (*degree of livelihood insecurity*); and (2) the paralysis of established original livelihood institutional structures (*livelihood sources uncertainty*) also the scarcity of business and employment opportunities for villagers was found in the research of Dharmawan (1978) on "*Sistem Penghidupan* (Life System) dan *Nafkah Pedesaan*" (Villagers' incomes) in Java. In his research (1978), he concluded that agricultural transformation in Java has shaken the preservation of the village social and ecological systems. Besides, it also gave some implications of structural problems in village areas, such as: (1) inequality in the dominance of agricultural livelihoods, (2) the loss of various livelihood sources tradition followed by the new formation (non-agricultural) livelihood structures that did not always give improvement of the welfare for farmers or peasants.

In addition, Nimoff and Middleton (1980) reported their research results conducted in China and India, polarization of nuclear families into extended families is significantly related to the supply and ownership of the community's production resources. When food or agricultural resources become scarce, larger units of the nuclear family will find difficult things to remain united in maintaining solidarity. On the contrary, if the sources of land production are available, there will be a tendency for the polarization of the nuclear family to extend their kinship into extended families through marriage system and social solidarity could be maintained. The result of their studies were different from that of this study, in this study it was concluded that the narrowness of farming land (scarcity of land) at PTPN X HGU land did not reduce the intensity of kinship solidarity between nuclear family and extended family because both are located in a block in the HGU area.

Wolf (1985) in his study, reported that when a community was able to collect food sources and had a large agricultural land, these conditions in society would form the social structure of the nuclear family into extended families. Then he concluded that the solidarity among the extended families further increased, as land ownership became more fragmented. His study is not accordance with the results of this study because the findings study showed that although there was fragmentation land occurred through "*tanean lanjang*" inheritance system and the difference due to the mechanism of leasing HGU land among farmers, it didn't cause the social solidarity of the farmer families and the communities.

Based on the description above, the determinant which caused farmers' dependence in the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production were as follows : (1) the preservation of *tanean* culture as an inheritance system in the farming community at HGU PTPN X land; (2) the polarization of nuclear families into extended families were not balanced with the addition or extension of agricultural land; (3) the occurrence of land fragmentation caused by changes in the function of agricultural land/ plantation into residential areas.

The Consequences of Relationship Pattern of *Glebagan System* Production to the Social Change, and the Mechanism of Interrelated Work Relationships:-

Farmers' dependence in the relationship of *glebagan system* production as the result of "*tanean lanjang*" inheritance system since 1830's until 1999 (conducted study) had consequences to the social system changes. It was not only on dimension of socio-economy of farmers but also on socio-ideology namely shifting mindset, ideas dealing with the deference of their farming.

The dimension of socio-economy change in the farmers' community life in HGU land could be seen as follows: (1) there was disparity income per-capita between farmers in HGU land; (2) there were new types of work "*kedokan* system", relationship pattern of inter-farmers working when HGU land was used for rice and *polowijo*. In this system, rich farmers who owned an area between 1-1.4 hectare/acres employed farmers who owned land in HGU area less than 0.25 hectare to plant rice and *polowijo*. The divisions of the harvest were 5 parts from rich farmers, and 1 part owned by farmer labours/peasants. All production facilities (seeds, medicine, and fertilizers) were provided by the rich farmers, while the farmer laborers/peasants were just workers. (3). Occupational differences outside the agricultural sectors, such as construction labours, agricultural equipment workshops repairers, and household-based industries such as food using raw materials from corn, soybeans and rice. While socio-ideology changes dimension related to the farmers' idea were formed by interaction with community outside plantation. Whereas farmers who worked at HGU PTPN X land has begun to be oriented to market demand, beginning to abandon the farming pattern that sub-systems were characterized by communal and egalitarian. Where the type of planted commodity accustomed to the needs and market demand, for example if the price of soybean in the market is good/high, then the farmers do not plant corn or rice but soybeans. In the production process, and post-production agribusiness activities there has been competition among farmers to gain profit, and starting to leave the communal and egalitarian nature that has characterized the farmers' social lives.

Social system farmer changes in this study were also found by Boeke (1983), through his research in Chinese, India, Philippines, and Japan. The result of his study showed the relationship between the village community and urban community, of villagers experienced urban community mindset. Where the way in cultivation tended to market demand, and looked for greatest profit, with less social aspect attention.

Interaction between farmers of HGU land with investors in outside (who invested) when HGU land was planted rice and *polowijo* through the leasing system, caused in a change of their social status. Originally, the rich farmers who owned land between 1-1.4 hectare/acres were called "*landlord*", in the course of investors from outside also had a social status as a "*landlord*", including, the investors having enough capital also mastered technology of agriculture, and had managerial business capability related to post-harvest activity. Finally they can enjoy surplus production of farming in HGU land than than the peasants themselves

Conclusion:-

Based on the result and discussion above, it can be concluded as follows.

1. The phenomenon process of farmers' dependence in the *glebagan* system production relationship at HGU PTPN X land began with socio-cultural *tanean lanjjang* system preservation in the inheritance system of farmers community, then the polarization of nuclear family into extended family had implications toward fragmentation of cultivated land originally functioned for tobacco commodity, rice, and *polowijo* turned into settlement. The diminishing size of the farmers' land area caused the decline farmer's family income and eventually the socio-economic depended in the relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production.
2. The determinant of farmers' dependence in the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* was caused by: (1) the preservation of *tanean lanjjang* culture as an inheritance system toward farmers community at HGU PTPN X land; (2) the polarizations from nuclear family into extended family which was not balanced by the addition or expansion of farm land; (3) the Fragmentation land was caused by changes in the function of agricultural land into settlement land area.
3. The consequences of relationship pattern of *glebagan system* HGU PTPN X has implications towards socio-economic and socio-ideology structure changes of farmers. Those can be seen in the following changes: (1) the disparities per-capita income between farmers in HGU land; (2) there was a new type job "*kedokan system*", the relationship pattern among farmers (rich farmers and agricultural labours) when HGU land was used for rice and *polowijo*; and (3) the differences of occupation outside the agricultural sectors, such as construction labours, agricultural equipment repair shops, and home industries using raw materials from agricultural products, such as corn, soybeans and rice.
4. Findings of propositions built on concepts, functions, dysfunctions, manifest functions and latency functions according to structural functionalism theory are as follows: (1) the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production as functional is still intended for farmers because it has the main function to meet their families' needs; (2) the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production in the long term is dysfunctional for X, due to functional shift changes of land for tobacco, rice, and *polowijo* farming transformed into residential areas, which ultimately affected the decline in farmers' incomes and PTPN X in Jember; (3) the relationship pattern of *glebagan system* production and *tanean lanjjang* has manifest function to maintain the solidarity of relationship

between farmers and PTPN X through the pattern of *glebagan* system production. (4) the process of functional shift of farming land into settlement for farmer's family, it formes of latency function, because in the long term it has negative impact for farmers and PTPN X, but it does not affect the existence of relationship pattern of *glebagan* system production at PTPN X Jember HGU land area.

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