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Trajectory of local farmers on the institutional change level of agricultural land in the agrotourism zone (Study on institutional change of agricultural in Indonesia)

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Abstract. The research offers a thesis to view the context of land institutional change of agriculture as a factor in local farmer identity formation. The goal is to reject the general idea that always presents a thesis that the change of land institutional has always had a bad impact for farmers. To achieve the research objectives, researchers used Giddens concept the Trajectory of Self, using qualitative methods and phenomenological approaches. This research is focused on the region of Agrotourism in Indonesia, with the technique of observation data collection, in-depth interview, Transect Walk, focus group discussion (FGD), as well as secondary data analysis. The results showed that Dutch colonialization in agriculture became the first phase creation of modernity on land, as land. This condition, which formed a self-development of local farmers, is unconsciously organized and reflective on globalization flows. Thus, creating an institutional that is reversible time, which is a long term and reversible conditioning in spacetime In the form of social activities that are patterned in continuity of daily living and then form the identity of local farmers.

Keywords. Agrotourism, Identity, Institutional, Trajectory.

Introduction

Institutional changes and developments in the agricultural sector are increasingly unfavorable to the position of farmers and/or farm workers. Land or farmland that is the main basis as an asset of the welfare and political power of farmers, has undergone a change to the level of its weakness. Factual conditions suggest that agricultural land ownership is increasingly narrowed due to the rise of land function, resulting in a growing group of farmers who have no authority of their own land. It makes farmers have no buffer of other economic activity that is able to fulfill everyday life. The conception of agricultural land is an important feature of the population in its main rural area for farmers. Because land or farmland is the most important asset for residents of rural territory as a primary resource that drives production activities (Kasryno, 1984; Yustika, 2008). For that, in the case of institutional change of land tenure, its dynamism principle can lead to increased revenues (increasing return) and imperfect market which resulted in high transaction fees (North, 1990).

The growing context of land ownership is what continues to erode rural economic life, cause farmers to struggle to simply close the production cost, They choose to seek additional

sources of income outside the agricultural sector (off-farm) Where the proportion of non-farm income is greater (in most cases) than in the agriculture (on-farm) sector. Study conducted by Reardon et. (Lanjouw, Quizon, & Sparrow, 2001) found that a land-of-the-shoulder institutional changes in Africa, America and Asia resulted in the transfer of farmers' income to non-agricultural sectors. In fact, the proportion of rural farmers' income from activities outside the agricultural sector reaches 42 percent in Africa, 40 percent in Latin America, and 32 percent in Asia. Geertz also said that in the agricultural sector, in general in Southeast Asia and especially in Indonesia, experienced involution and shared poverty which is related to the diminishing land ownership, so farmers only survive with subsistence livelihoods, that is, only produce goods needed principal for meeting daily needs, without taking into account the higher production community (Geertz, 1968; Scott, 1976, 1990).

In general, in the case of expectations of increased income, institutional changes will be undertaken, both spontaneously and systematized, because the benefits received are greater than the costs incurred. Transfer of land ownership can follow the logic level above. But on the contrary, if the expectation of institutional change will cause greater losses, then the possibility of that change will not be taken. Whereas in the case of imperfect markets, for example asymmetric or monopolistic information, institutional changes react to inefficient transaction activities (Alston & Joseph, 1996; Dharmawan, 2001; Douma & Schreuder, 2017; Furubotn & Richter, 2005; Hayami & Vernon, 1985; Manig, 1991). In addition, organizational coordination can also be done through strengthening the capacity of knowledge and information that can pressure the market to work perfectly. With this understanding, it can be seen that institutional change is a necessary thing, but has a very complex degree of complexity (Yustika, 2008).

Many of the studies conducted above have only talked about the complexity of the context of land institutional change, and the effect of these changes on the economic life of farmers. Research on land institutional changes always holds the thesis that changes in land functions and institutions always have implications for the process of impoverishment of farmers themselves. These themes for researchers, are considered to have had saturation in the field of agricultural research. For this reason, in this context the researcher tries to present a new logic in looking at the context of land institutional changes, namely by showing how changes in land institutions can have positive implications for local farmers, one of which is in the process of forming the identity and value structure of local farmers on land.

Therefore, this research holds the main thesis that the factors forming the life span and development of 'self' farmers are the conditions of 'land modernity' in the form of changes in land use and function. In dissecting and proving the thesis, researchers will rely on Giddens's concept of the Trajectory of self as an analytical knife. In exploring the concept there are at least three key words held by Giddens, namely resources, agents, and rules (Structure). Therefore, in this study, the structural regulation made by the land ruler will certainly have implications for farm laborers, who are able to determine themselves in the space and time system. Here, researchers will explore further the limitations of the 'presence' of individuals (local farmers) that are transcended by 'stretching' social relations across time and space, which then becomes the main point for the formation of local farmers' identity formulation in agriculture. Some elements in space and time, always undergoing changes that are situated.

Thus, based on the logic of the above, this study seeks to demonstrate the practices of the local farmers' trajectory at the level of land reform in the Agrotourism Zone. To explain this, this article tries to answer at least 2 parts of the question. First, how can the level of land institutional change shape the identity of local farmers? second, how do local farmers reflect their identity when facing an agricultural crisis? These two questions become the main questions that researchers will answer in this article. However, in answering these questions, it

should be noted that the researcher focused on the empirical conditions that occurred in Poncokusumo District as an Agrotours Zone. As an Agrotourism zone, Poncokusumo is undergoing a process of land tenure change that is very rapid compared to other agricultural zones in the other Regions, because after all the designation of the area as an Agrotourism zone is also related to the local political situation, economy, and social environment situation. This then has a significant impact on the lives and identities of local farmers.

Research Sites and Method.

This research was conducted in Poncokusumo Subdistrict, Malang Regency, Indonesia. Poncokusumo is the location has the characteristics of an agricultural village declared as Agro Tourism. This research uses data collection methods such as observation, in-depth interviews, transect walks, focus group discussions (FGD), interviews and secondary data analysis with purposive determination of informants using snowball. In the rules of the research method, this research is included in the type of explorative qualitative research, which seeks to reveal broadly the phenomenon of institutional change in the agricultural sector by using a case study approach as part to uncover the perspective of the farming community. In addition, to understand the community (individual farmers) both landowners, tenants and farm laborers, in this study will also be operationalized with a phenomenological approach.

Institutional Consequences: Trajectory of The Self in Time and Space.

A central aspect of structuration theory is the emphasis Giddens places on Time and Space. Both concepts are central at all levels of his theory, and one of the ways in which Giddens defines structure and rules is through what he calls the 'binding of time and space'. When Giddens wrote the concept of 'the structure that binds time and space', he not only refers to the cohesion of the social system of time and space, but also to the basic organization of individual experience, or in short is 'the way the world governs the world around us'. For Giddens the most strategic way to describe institutions and evolution is to trace how individuals or communities define and manage situations that are determined by temporal and spatial boundaries (Craib, 1992). This relationship is then traced repeatedly to the schedule of movements of people to and from situations determined and controlled by other institutions. Because according to Giddens who have an institutional role is not an individual but a unit of space-time. The most important part is not how to play the role, but how to respond and learn the praxis of a situation. People change roles, either in their daily movements or in the process of making institutional consequential choices in their own lives, by choosing to move to (or by being forced into) a certain kind of situation. The basic unit of social structure for Giddens is not the status and role of the individual, as we have been taught, but the situation with prescribed conditions, which we enter and exit and our current behavior is shaped by it. The situation institutionalized by its moral and practical arrangements creates individual obligations and strengths, creates activities, not their role which is causally important.

Much of Giddens's discussion of space-time differentiation is about the way the system - or perhaps more accurately in terms of structuration theory, the practices that shape the system - in managing time and space. Human action (social practice) in the theory of structure is viewed as a process, viewed as a dure, as a continuous stream of action into a routine (Giddens, 2010). Bagi Giddens, "the routinization of encounters is of major significance in binding the fleeting encounter to social reproduction and thus to the seeming 'fixity' of institution" (Giddens, 1985). This phase and space were then understood by Giddens as a constitutive element of community action and organization.

In short, Space in structural theory is referred to as the "locale" which refers to the use of space as the "backdrop". Locale is closely related to the concept of regionalization, namely the determination of the region of time space in connection with routine social activities. The three elements in the spatial dimension (Routinization, Locale and Regionalization) are interrelated, the emphasis being on the capacity of agents to carry out a process of reflexivity over the position of consciousness they have. That space and time shows the process (s). Giddens distinguishes three dimensions of time during the process of social practice, namely:

- Duree (reversible time): a day-to-day experience, relating to the continuity of day-to-day reversal. Formed from day to day activities.
- Irreversible time: the life span of an individual (body time), related to the life span of an individual's life that cannot be reversed.
- Longue duree institutions (reversible time): regarding the long-term sustainability time and can be updated from institutions is institutional time both in terms of conditions and outcomes of social activities that are patterned in life continuity daily.

Giddens (1985) states that people always experience changes according to the level and capacity of agents to regulate social structure. The position of an agent who is able to interact with the structure, of course, has the resources (resource) and awareness (practical-discursive) as the capital to do the agency. For this reason, there is no stagnant society when there are productive agents that change their structure according to the time and place. This is referred to as trajectory. To simplify the practice of trajectories can be seen in the scheme below:

Giddens (1991) says that trajectory is the formation of a reflexive life span that tends to be an internal reference. This is marked by changes in structure, so as to be able to change the routine community in a fairly broad term and in accordance with time. The power of structural change is triggered by the agent's capacity, towards something that is oriented towards achieving its goals. The most obvious example is the conception of community development starting from the areas of gardening, pondering, agriculture, industrialization, and globalization.

Results and Discussion

Local farmers' identity traces: agent's reflection stage and structure in space-time

In 1832 the Dutch colonial government launched an expansion of the Malang Regency area to be activated as an area that had a coffee commodity advantage. At that time the development of coffee became the leading center of Malang Regency, especially coffee commodities originating from Ngantang and Penanggungan. The Dutch government exploited this potential to carry out a monopolistic political economy of the world market economy, so that coffee production could be sold to European countries. But unfortunately coffee

commodity still does not have a big influence on the Netherlands (VOC), the low rice commodity produced by Malang does not pay special attention.

As written by Elson (1985) in Hudiyanto (2015) said that Malang was not prioritized because it lacked high productivity related to the availability of rice or rice. So the VOC liquidated Malang Regency and integrated it into Bangil Regency in the late XVIII century, with the reason that it did not give too much rice to the VOC. As a result of the policy issued by the Netherlands, it was divided into six divisions of land area by region in 1815 and 1828, as follows:

Tabel 1. Agricultural area

Region	1815 (Ha)	1828 (Ha)
Pasuruan	12.420	13.850
Bangil	8.199	8.189
Kraksaan	6.330	8/797
Malang	2.487	4.780
Probolinggo	2.614	2.722
Lumajang	727	1.972

Source: (Elson, 1985, p. 19)

Based on the above table it is clear that the VOC has divided the paddy fields as agricultural production areas. Politically the distribution of paddy fields is directed at the commodity of rice, sugar cane and spices as a provider of basic needs on an international scale (Hudiyanto, 2015). The development of special plantation areas in the Malang region began to be driven since 1826, since then the idea of the Governor General Du Bus de Gisignies who wanted to increase production capacity and increase attention in the South Malang area. The condition of the coffee commodity is a superior product and provides benefits for the Netherlands, so that Malang Regency cannot be separated by the interests of the world market monopoly by the Dutch.¹

At that time Madurese and Chinese residents came to the Malang region with the motive of being involved in coffee and sugar cane plantations. Madurese residents play the role of casual laborers and work in agricultural fields or rice fields, while the Chinese population act as traders. The process of distributing coffee from the electric district in the hinterland to the city electrical parts requires quite a long time, then after arriving in the city will be sent to the port of Surabaya. Finally an increase in production results, as in the table below:

Tabel 2. The Production rate

No	Year	Production (pikul)
1	1818	8.600
2	1819	10.000
3	1820	10.600
4	1821	22.400
5	1822	22.700
6	1823	34.700
7	1824	32.900
8	1825	28.000
9	1826	45.000
10	1827	46.000

Source: (Elson, 1985, p. 19)

¹ (In 1827 it was noted that the population of Malang Regency as many as 40,000 people could produce 57,000 piculs of coffee (source; Lakeman, 1924: 14 in Hudiyanto, 2015). Especially for coffee farmers who work as farm laborers, they have never been paid less than 40-50 cents. Coffee plantations are spread across the Pakis, Penanggungan, Batu, Ngantang Districts. (Algemeen verslag efdeeling Malang, 1847)

The table above clearly shows that the increase in coffee production annually is around (400 picul-1000 picul). This existence was driven by the existence of a regulation issued by the Dutch Governor who wished to increase the capacity of plantation production in the Malang region. Based on structural analysis (S-D-L), Giddens said that the three elements are interrelated and are within the structure of society. Functioning when social interaction in the community has taken place, how exactly the position of land or land as a resource is the main key for the Dutch. Through the monopoly political land which was run by the Dutch could take place, regulations, values, farming / gardening systems, division of labor, and pricing determined by the Dutch. While the mobility of Madurese and Chinese citizens as farm laborers and traders actually supports the development of coffee and sugar cane plantations.

The existence of agricultural land and plantations in the Dutch period depended on commodity-oriented policies to meet the needs of the global community. Here it can be analyzed, that the role of Governor General Du Buss as a determinant of land use policy, provides opportunities for local residents to be involved as laborers, and Chinese as traders. This is the starting point for the Dutch to bring modernity to local agricultural lands, because this phase of land is conditioned on Global demand. So this has an effect on local farmers who previously only became pentane subsistence for their own needs, turned into farm laborers in a very broad sense. Moreover, they were given a stipulation of wages of not less than 40-50 cents, which then became the main source of income for the local population.

In the end Modernity of land also gave rise to a clear division of labor on land. The men as the cultivators of agricultural land, while the women as the plant nurses. Then, opening access to railroad facilities further strengthens the mobility of transporting plantation products both coffee or sugar cane. In this situation the demand for stability of plantation products is highly prioritized, the opening of transportation routes is increasingly attracting people from outside Malang to be involved in coffee and seed plantation activities. So that the increase in the yield of coffee plantations is getting higher, and on the other hand the number of residents and inter-ethnic marriages occur by itself, demands to have a place to live and the availability of markets for local residents as a support to meet their daily needs. Indirectly, local residents gradually formed family institutions, markets, and others as a process of society adjusting to the political situation at that time.

The role of the mantri of coffee is to refine the coffee beans to the coffee refiner and after that is sold to the coffee license (distributor company).² At that time the salary of a paramedic's salary was only 75 rupiahs, in some regions applying a matri system such as Malang, Pakis, Lumajang, Bangil, Kraksaan, and Pasuruan. This then made the western and northern Malang known as a national and international coffee producing area. Whereas the southern, southwest and southeast of Malang are sugar cane producers (Elson, 1985; Hudiyanto, 2015).

In the southern, southwest and southeastern Malang, sugarcane production is the main seed. The main centers of sugar cane production are along Bululawang, Gondanglegi, Dampit, Sumberpucung, and Wajak. The sugar cane district area stimulates the surrounding area, for residents who are experienced as laborers who work in the industry, they immediately apply it on their land. So that the sugar cane commodity expanded in the Pakis, Poncokusumo, Dampit, Sumbermanjing, Sumberpucung and Pakishaji areas (Meijer, 1928).

Residents who pursue their sugar cane production deposit their harvests in the sugar factories in Kribet, Sempal Wadak, and Panggungrejo (Elson, 1985; Hudiyanto, 2015). At that

² Business holders or coffee grinders may operate after obtaining a license. The licensee functions as a supplier, a company engaged in the coffee commodity sector. For example NV. Koffiepellerij Sisir, F. Godia, G.C Verstage, and P.D Vreede.

time Pakis was also known as a tobacco-producing area, in 1921 the Pakis district produced 41,250 kg of tobacco. The availability of railway transportation facilities (Malang-Surabaya in 1879), tram lines (Malang-Tumpang 1889) greatly encouraged the development of plantations, so that the impact experienced by the poor was acculturation, the emergence of small traders, shops, hospitals, schools and industries (Hudiyanto, 2015).

As explained above, namely in the year 1884-1894 under the leadership of Duke Aria Notoningrat III, the application of openness in developing the agricultural sector was not only on coffee commodities. But sugar cane, rice, durian, corn, vegetables and other types of spices (Elson, 1985). The district area also provides stimulus to farmers who are on the edge, so that farmers who own land and farm laborers who already know how to grow sugar cane, coffee and other types of vegetables, they directly practice on their own land, and farmers directly carry out their agricultural activities directly independent. Of course this is undeniable that the history of providing unique products on the identity of local farmers in the Malang area.

What happens above is a description of how the modernity of land becomes a determinant of how the patterns of agricultural application. Modernity and Globalization determine the formation of rules in farming, wages, hours of work, determinants of crop types, cooperation between middlemen and foremen, distributors of agricultural products to the market, and so forth. The process of the space-time dialect in Locale then creates the Trajectory of Self, namely "the formation of a specific life in conditions of modernity, by means of which self-development, as reflexively organized, tends to become internally referential" (Giddens, 1991). Because it can be seen, the process creates a self-development for local farmers who unconsciously takes place in an organized and reflective manner. Thus forming the identity of local farmers in agriculture, because in the end the process formed what Giddens called, Routinization.

Giddens (2010) says that basically there is a dialectical process between structure and agent, so it is likely that the journey of community development is in line with the power between the two poles. The direction of the development of society is no longer a process that is controlled by the power of agents or structures, but rather a reciprocal relationship between them which together creates (reproduction) of social space.

But the process of dialect between agent and structure in space and time does not stop only in the above phase. The historical space-time track record, led the author to explain in what part of the line of colonialism (connected in 1832) until finally arrived at the leadership of Aria Notoningrat III (1894). Around 62 years of agricultural activities in the Malang region are in the hands of both local and colonial leaders. So that agriculture in the Malang region is inseparable from areas that had been made into plantation and agricultural districts during the colonial period, namely Ngantang, Batu, Bululawang, Pakishaji, Pakis, Poncokusumo and other areas.

Because after all the process has formed a reversible time in agriculture, as well as forming local knowledge which was finally applied and reflected independently by local farmers at that time. Then it cannot be separated from the condition of Indonesia's independence, which provides freedom of individual rights in carrying out political, agricultural, and social activities. Based on the results of an interview with the Village Chief of Poncokusumo, he said that before sugarcane was introduced, the people of Poncokusumo had planted maize and vegetables. The community makes the production of agricultural products only to meet their daily needs.

"In the past, the Poncokusumo people could only plant corn to meet domestic needs, that was before the Dutch entered the mas, yes around the 1830s. But gradually when

a Dutchman came in, residents suddenly followed Dutch orders to support sugarcane production". (Source: Research interview, 2017)

Based on the above statement it is clear that the agricultural activities of Poncokusumo Village have been developing for a long time. Before the entry of the Dutch government, the community had planted rice and maize commodities to fulfill their daily needs. But the nature of agriculture is still subsistent because it is focused on meeting their own needs. The harvest in the form of corn is used as a daily staple, people also use the corn to be exchanged for other commodities. Usually the local people exchange their agricultural products for products that are not in Poncokusumo, such as potatoes, cassava, and others. Before turning sugar cane, most farmers used traditional tools such as hoes and used plows with buffalo or cattle for land cultivation activities.

In 1826 since Dutch colonial politics intensified sugar cane in the Malang region, Poncokusumo was finally affected by the policy. Based on the results of interviews with the Village Head (Kades) Poncokusumo stated that sugarcane commodity began to enter since the Dutch occupied the Malang region. The entry of sugar cane into the Poncokusumo region was supported by the interests of the Dutch government to increase sugar exports. The sugarcane commodity planted by the people of Poncokusumo Village is supported by facilities built by the Dutch government in the form of sugar factory (PG), namely PG. Kebonagung and PG. Kreet Baru) and lorries to transport sugar cane to the sugar factory.³ In addition, maintenance of sugar cane trees is relatively easy and does not require a lot of water so that it can make it easier for farmers to pursue and not depend on the season.

The existence of PG. Kebonagung and PG. Kreet Baru has been the driving force behind the development of sugarcane farming, farmers are competing to switch to sugarcane. The reason is that besides sugarcane has economic value, it also does not trouble farmers to plant from scratch. Post-harvest, farmers only clean up the remnants of sugarcane leaves and stems that cannot grow anymore, they don't need to plant sugar cane seeds. The harvest is directly transported using lorries as a medium of transportation for sugarcane farmers.

Farmers' family conditions began to improve, they no longer live subsistently from the results of corn and livestock products. The community began to build a network pattern between landowners and PG managers. The status of the landowner gets respect from the community, their existence is a source of income. The sap or drops contained in the sugar cane tree are also used by the community as a glue / mixture of materials to build a house. However, sugarcane farming activities only lasted until the 1950s, when the Dutch-Japanese transition period, and finally handed over directly by Japan to Indonesia. At that time, the Indonesian government prioritized development from agriculture and economic stability. So that Poncokusumo experienced a change in the commodity of sugar cane into an apple.⁴

Based on the informant's explanation which states that the beginning of the entry of Apple agriculture was in the 1960s. This was conveyed by the Head of Poncokusumo Village, M. Irwan, that the apple commodity was brought by a Dutch national named Pak Joyo (a popular name among the people of Poncokusumo Village). Pak Joyo previously owned an apple plantation in Batu City. This transition is also due to the decline in demand for sugar factories, because the government has been held by the natives. This is based on what happened in the days of President Soekarno, nationalizing Dutch companies around 1956 including the

³ The availability of railway transportation facilities (Malang-Surabaya in 1879), the trams line (Malang-Overlapping 1889) greatly encouraged the development of plantations, so that the impact experienced by the poor was acculturation, the emergence of small traders, shops, hospitals, schools, industries and industries (Hudiyanto, 2015). Based on the source Algemeen Verslag van de Afdeling 1847 said that the development of plantations had an impact on population growth

⁴ The direction of development in the agricultural sector can be seen in the REPELITA program, Indonesia as a country that is able to provide food needs for poor countries.

management of sugar mills and sugar cane fields. In that year the government was driving development in the field of agro-culture, seed aid and plant medicines from the government were easily obtained.

Apple commodity developed rapidly in the Village of Poncokusumo and entered its heyday in the 1970s to the 1990s. Most farmers in Poncokusumo Village grow apple commodities and leave sugarcane. At that time, the apple commodity from Poncokusumo Village was sent to other regions and abroad. Poncokusumo village itself has an apple packing house which is government assistance. In addition, Poncokusumo Village also has an apple cider industry center which is a government aid. Residents flocked to establish farmer groups (poktan) and joint farmer groups (gapoktan), assistance provided in the form of technology tools, medicines, and seeds. The local government of Malang Regency has increasingly increased its assistance through fertilizer and medicine assistance, because that year Poncokusumo was made an Agro-tourism area by the Malang Regency Government.

Capacity of Local Farmers in Changing Agricultural Institutional Patterns

In 1980 the triumph of the apple commodity in Poncokusumo only lasted a while. The decline in the commodity of apples is due to inflation which makes the cost for apple care increased by 200% to 300%. This makes it difficult for farmers to finance apple production. The price that increased sharply made the profit of apple sales decrease. So the farmers do not have the capital to play.

The collapse of the apple commodity is compounded by natural conditions which make it impossible to produce abundant apples. Pests attacking the apple commodity are increasing, making the need for pesticides also increase, even though the price of pesticides is experiencing a sharp increase due to inflation. Changes in weather also affected the decline in apple production in Poncokusumo Village. Farmers find it increasingly difficult to estimate the planting period of apples that depend on the season. Apple trees will produce good fruit and lots, if planted in the dry season. Seasonal changes make the time of the dry and rainy seasons more difficult to predict. This makes farmers who are miscalculated and the uncertainty of the season can bear losses and complicate the process of apple production. This is as explained by Bp. Gunawan as follows:

The impact of the family was also an influence, at that time I asked whether there was logging in the forest, the main groups were chaotic after that, monetary crisis, then logging and so on, here and there the forest was directed. After that, the weather was uncertain like this, the problem was that in the past 5 months it could be predicted that the rain started to rain, 6,7,8,9,10, it was the prediction of apples that we could predict farming. Oh, if I deflated for this month, the fruit is here because the leaves of the apple are up, what are the flowers up, not down? So when it rains stamens and pistil cannot come out so it can't harvest another. Chillies and tomatoes, even though it's raining, they still can get fruit, the effect is the apple there After the environment is not supportive, the climate does not support the end it is difficult to bear fruit, besides that expensive medicines then many diseases and difficult to bear fruit so that the high costs and farmers incur losses. (interview October, 2017)

Based on the explanation above, it shows that the decreasing level of productivity of apple production is due to the monetary crisis in 1997-1999. The condition of the goods is more expensive than the intrinsic value of money, so the prices of goods are not affordable and farmers lose a supply of money to provide future needs. To anticipate the monetary conditions of citizens who are not responsible for the preservation of the forest environment, they instead carry out illegal logging. So that forest resilience in the Poncokusumo region also ensures the power of forests in providing and holding the rate of rainwater to prevent landslides or natural

disasters. This condition is also reinforced by the presence of erratic rainfall, so that the prediction of farmers in harvesting activities can not be ascertained and lead to failure. Giddens (in Priyono, 2010) said that actions are divided into two namely discursive and practical actions. Actions that lead to reflexivity to achieve certain goals are a form of discursive action, as well as practically identical to activities that are routinely carried out without the reflexivity of the agent.

In this context it shows that the actions of local farmers, especially landowners, are actually discursive, they consider and predict the time of planting and harvest time. The landowners also know the ideal distance between trees, the type of fertilizer and know the weather conditions that support apple trees. But unfortunately, the prediction is not correct due to the condition of deforested forests, high rainfall, the price of fertilizers, seeds, and expensive medicinal plants.

The condition of an apple tree cannot be compared to the condition of a tree in general, apples that have pistils when explaining to bear fruit are very sensitive to the rain situation. Flowers and pistil are prone to failure to bear fruit when hit by heavy rain, wind, and dust. When the apples have begun blossoming and flowering, they should be illuminated by the sun and be balanced with the wind that is not too strong. This is an obstacle for apple trees during the maintenance process. So farmers began to stop and move on to other agricultural commodities, such as corn, cassava, sugar cane and chrysanthemums. This is an effort to compensate for climate changes and prices that affect the commodity apple.

In 2000-2010 various methods were used by Poncokusumo farmers to survive in the agricultural sector. They returned to using products that they once used, namely, corn, sugar cane, vegetables, and chrysanthemums. The main reason why most people return to old commodities is to choose the type of plant that is suitable in the highlands and can withstand all kinds of seasons. This is an empirical form of what Giddens conveyed as a reversible time institution, namely patterns of space-time dialects and agents that can be repeated at any time, and still have the same function.

Choosing sugar cane, because farmers do not spend double the cost of strong sugarcane plants last for 7-10 years without having to unload. After harvesting, farmers do not need to plant from the beginning again. They only need to go down to start at the second harvest stage, and so on. Then the sugar cane plants, which can be utilized each period, have an impact on the growing stems. So that the quantity of the harvest increases, based on the results of the interview the increase in yields reaches 2-3 times from the previous harvest. This is confirmed by the statement of Bp. Gunawan as a sugar cane farmer:

Yes, one time planting. One time cropping until how much, depending on maintenance. Some arrived, about 10 times harvest. So you can harvest 10 times, so let's plant iki yo. The first Nanam is usually expensive, because it requires seeds. Well after the first plant is finished, then 13 months right harvest. (interview, 2017). Choose vegetables, because these types of vegetables are easy to grow in the highlands. Maintenance that is not too difficult and the cost is not too expensive to make a reason for farmers to pursue it. Then even though vegetable crops (kale, tomatoes, chillies, cabbage, long beans, etc.) must be repeated the process of planting, the costs incurred can be covered from the harvest. Instead of choosing apples with unclear advantages (especially during the 1997-1999 monetary crisis) it's better to choose vegetables even though there are few benefits. Their marketing point reaches the Pakis, Pasar Besar, Karang Ploso, Batu, and Malang region. (interview October, 2017)

Ten years the farmers did not stay silent they were in subsistence conditions. Yields from vegetables are not enough to improve the conditions of family farmers and farm laborers. They were motivated to see the presence of a land tenant farmer named Mr. H. Bambang from

Karanganyar making a new breakthrough by focusing on citrus plants as their leading commodity, so far marketing has reached Yogyakarta, Bandung and Jakarta. So that the landowner farmers are motivated to see the breakthrough made by Mr. H. Bambang as said by the land owner Bp. Gunawan and Bp. Heri follows his statement.

The existence of Bp. BB is for me as motivation. Anyone else can why we can't. Maybe because of courage alone, bro, there is no capital owned. But seeing the development of Bb.BB was very fast, until now who try who does not know. Especially the most superior is the orange plant. (research interview, 2017).

Based on the results of the above explanation, it shows that the citrus commodity has entered the Poncokusumo Village since 2010 under the Bp. This success was then followed by other farmers in Poncokusumo Village to this day. The landowners consider him to be a source of motivation for him, the success of planting citrus plants makes the landowners want to try independently and start to build a market. In other fields, land leasing is getting higher, currently the land rent price exceeds the price limit. The land owner leases one hectare of land reaching (40 million / year). This shows that the awareness of the landowner farmers determines the bargaining price of a land to be leased. The reason is that the landowner farmers also calculate between the number of orange trees in one hectare, with the harvest which is then cashed.

The existence of land is an asset for tenants and their owners. So that the tenant farmers and landowners, are very dominant in determining the rules of agricultural structure. As explained in the previous sub-chapter, the colonization of sugarcane and coffee plants depends on the authorities who determine the structure of agriculture, there are rules for planting, wages, farming systems, and marketing rules. Until now the dynamics of agricultural institutional change is determined by the role of landowners and tenants. The pattern of application of structures that contain (Significance-Domination-Legitimacy) is naturally applied in the process of agricultural activities, among the parties involved in it such as tenants, owners, foremen, middlemen, and farm laborers both legitimize the structure. For this reason, the line of the dynamics of changing land connectivity in commodity selection can be seen in the scheme below:

Figure 1. Changes in agricultural institutions

Conclusions and suggestion

The local farmer Trajecktori was formed by the condition of the modernity of land brought by the Dutch. This is the early stage of a local farmer duree formed by the daily experience of farming process formed by the daily experience that is determined by global currents. However, it can then create self-development as a local farmer, which then created the identities of a local farmer in agriculture. To date the position of the farmland had a kill bargaining power as a single resource in determining the identity of local farmers in Poncokusumo. Structural and elite contestants in regulation "the rule of the game" creates a self-development of the local farmers themselves. That means in the practice of trajectories, local farmers are very bound to the agent's orientation and the social context of economic politics in space-time dimension.-political economic context in the space-time dimension.

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