

Social Structure of Banyumas Regency

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Abstract— This study aimed at finding out some factors which affected social structure dynamics in the area. This research used historical method with 5 steps which were: heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and explanation. The results of this research can describe that: 1) forced cultivation system which is a combination of economic system of Western capitalism with feudal traditional economic system was done to exploit Banyumas as a colony, 2) in the implementation of forced cultivation, the colonial did an intervention to the farm and strict labor. The policy has encouraged the social dynamics in Banyumas, in the form of a shift in social structure and institutional function in rural society in the area.

Keywords: *social dynamics, community, rural*

I. INTRODUCTION

The (common) farmers' tradition in Banyumas in its development has gone through a process of shifting as a result of colonial penetration since the forced cultivation system was implemented (1838). The bond of common tradition which hierarchically tied to great tradition of the Palace (Surakarta) faded. The loss of the palace's control over the behavior of the commoners in Banyumas gave the society a freedom to seek their own cultural form. One interesting phenomenon that needs to be studied further is, the widespread of social changes and shifts of traditional values in Banyumas. The society's identity then became rough and transparent (*blaka suta*) which stick to the rural society in Banyumas until now (Pauwert, 1977 : 148)

The study of social life in Banyumas in the past can enhance the understanding of value because of historical awareness for young generations that can be viewed from two sides, which are: 1) historical awareness as a psychological phenomenon, in the form of a constructive understanding of past experiences characterized by the possession of a time perspective and enable to distinguish the dimensions of the past, present, and future, 2) historical awareness as historic phenomenon can be seen from the capability to understand spiritual symbols, such as soul of the times, historical vision, and cultural values (Suryo, 1991:5)

II. RESEARCH METHODS

In order to be able to reconstruct the events happened, certain rules required in historical research methods were needed, which consisting of 5 (five) steps, they were:

1. Heuristic, is an activity to compile historical traces coming from the era, including goods, printed, written, or spoken relevant materials (Renier, 1997: 113).

2. Criticism (extern and intern), is verification step to criticize the sources found, either about the authenticity or the credibility.
3. Interpretation, is an activity of interpretation and conclusion of trusted testimony from the authentic sources (Gottschalk, 1975: 95-96).
4. Historiography, is an activity of forming trusted facts and testimonies into meaningful description. For history researchers, traces are the evidences from a series of events composed by them (Renier, 1997: 128).
5. Explanation, is a process of working the isolated single facts (*explicanda*) which do not have meaning yet. At this stage, complete facts with more meaningful explanation are produced (Alfian, 1995: 1-2).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Basis of Traditional Social Structure in Banyumas Residents as Source of Labor

Until 1800 the life of Javanese society was still entirely agrarian while the embraced economic system was still closed. In the years 1800-1850 people with such way of life reached 70% (Peper, 1975: 14). With that condition people tended to have high birth rate and dense population. According to the analysis of Paper (1975: 14-15), the criterion of high birth rate is about 4% to 5% per year. Meanwhile the mortality is about 2.25% - 2.50%, so the population growth in Java at that time was estimated to reach 2.25% per year. It was supported by the report proposed in the time of Raffles' rule (1811 – 1816). It was stated in the report that in the fertile central areas of rice cultivation in Central Java the population was already categorized as dense (Breman, 1971: 13).

If noticed, there was always a link between population densities with production development stage.

The interrelationship meant was the agricultural production and the development of entirely agrarian population which affected each other. The life of agrarian society really depended on the level of the agricultural land fertility. Therefore, population density is so related to their standard of economy (Gelderen, 1974: 22).

In this relation, the high population density in Java in the third decade of the 19th century, was stated that for the fertile regions of Java the population density is higher than the population density in the most densely populated countries in the world. As pointed out by Breman (1971: 27) as follows:

The average world population density reaches 250-400 people, while in Java has reached 600 people per km². This is due to rapid population growth, about 2.5% per year. As an illustration, the population of Java in 1795 were about 3,500,000 inhabitants, and in 1815 it increased to 4,499,250 inhabitants. Meanwhile in 1830 the population in Java has reached 7.054.833 inhabitants.

Traditionally, the importance of an area is always present with the level of soil fertility and population density. Therefore, fertile areas are considered as the economic and labor resources. The average of population density in Java in the 19th century was 600 inhabitants/km² (Boeke, 1983: 78). That level of population density was various based on the level of soil fertility

Table 1. Java Population Density in 1800 (per km²)

No	Name of Area	Density Level/km ²
1.	Bandung Plateau	671
2.	Cirebon Plain	657
3.	South Central Java & Serayu Valley	679
4.	Bojonegoro and Surabaya Plains	580
5.	Malang Plateau	512

Source: Gelderen, J.van, 1974, *Tanah dan Penduduk di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Bhartara, p. 22.

It can be argued that the population density for some fertile areas in Java since the early 19th century has shown a very high density. This exceeds the world's population density at that time which ranged from 250-400 people/ km² (Boeke, 1983: 78). Even the population density in South Central Java and Serayu Valley placed the highest rank. Serayu valley can be defined as the main area of Banyumas, meaning that the population density in Banyumas is very high, reaching 679 / km² (Gelderen, 1974: 22).

The more accurate calculation for population is the calculation of the population number conducted in 1830, which was still calculated in the form of work units called census. Traditionally, census is a work unit consisting of 4-5 workers (male) taken from farmer's family. There is a time when one family had more than one census, but commonly one census is for more than one family (Peper, 1975: 81, Niel, 1987: 120). At the beginning of colonial time, the entire Banyumas was known to have around 7.416 census. (ANRI Banjoemas 11.4, 1830).

The data about the number of population in Banyumas which are really close to the reality are the census conducted by the colonial in 1834. At that time the population in Banyumas were 397.685 inhabitants. That amount of population were spread in four regencies, which were 110.158 inhabitants in Banyumas, 117.889 inhabitants in Purbalingga, 52.137 inhabitants in Banjarnegara, 81.137 inhabitants in Purwokerto and 36.152 in Dayeuhluhur (ANRI Banjoemas 48, 1834, ANRI Banjoemas 20, 1838).

Traditionally, villages in Banyumas are not only the basis of economy for the central government but also the basis of labor. Besides giving some of their crops to the authority, farmers are also responsible for some other works (Burger, 1962: 97, Hayami & Kikuichi, 1987: 12). Therefore, the area with fertile soil and dense population become potential resource either economically or viewed from the labor sector point of view. For the royal government, people have to give their crops as the tax, corvee labor, and conscription (Breman, 1971: 13).

Actually, the essence of working relationship between society and traditional leaders are very diverse. According to Vink (1984: 87), those works can be categorized into three forms, which are:

- 1) Working as tax, is working for the leaders' interests so the society can plant in their working land.
- 2) Working for the community, which is working together with other members of the community that is also intended for the benefit of all members of the community.
- 3) Working for individual's interests, is the form of work that is intended as remuneration, which is expected to obtain certain rewards, if the time comes.

It can be stated that high population density is very profitable, as a supplier of labor to the authorities. At the end of Surakarta's rule (1830), Banyumas was able to surrender not less than 2,600 men to do corvee work at the palace (Hugenholtz, 1983: 170).

Land Ownership as The Basis of Social Status

For farmers in rural, farm places crucial position for their life. Traditionally, rural society have certain rights over the land in the village which called communal title (*beschikkingsrecht*). This kind of right is a right to use a certain working land. (Haar, 1950: 63). The concept of land authorization is traditionally different with the western concept which has more to do with *property* or *eigendom*. In the time of Mataram kingdom, the land in the territory of the kingdom was placed under the control of officials appointed by the king or the authorities in the palace (Pigeaud, 1960: 525).

The authorities were actually not the owners of the land, but politically they have a right over the land in their territory which theoretically also have a right to rule and enjoy the crops based on the prevailing custom. According to Wiradi (1989: 68), some parts of the land in kingdom's territory are purposed for the interest of religion, village, and farm.

The history of village land came from the work of pioneer farmers who did the opening of farm together. The result of course was claimed as joint land (communal). If the entire people work together in opening the farm for their interest, so the land would be the village's land (Meer, 1979: 66). Meanwhile, the joint land belongs to the communal between the village and the workers (Kroef, 1984: 146). The opening of Individual land may also be made under the permission of the village leader, and it is possible as long as there is no right violation (Haar, 1950: 104).

The status of land ownership in Banyumas until the beginning of XX century showed different symptoms. The status of communal land ownership was well-known in Purwokertom Purbalingga, Cilacap, Banjarnegara and the main area of Banyumas itself. But for individually owned land was hardly found in the main area of Banyumas (Tauchid, 1952: 124). The status of individual land ownership in the area was commonly obtained from generation to generation which also called the land of *yasa*, *cokrah*, *pusaka*, or inheritance (Kroef, 1984: 149).

The change of the status of land ownership also occurred in Banyumas (*mancanegara kilen*), whose area was up to eastern Priangan. In the time of Amangkurat I the territory was placed under the direct king's rule (Graaf, 1986: 123-124). Together with it, the status of that territory was changed into taxation (*pemajakan*) area, led by sovereign *mantri* who controlled the free zone. The free *Mantri* could determine the tax collection toward the people and was given a freedom to determine the kind of his own tribute for the king (Kartohadikoesoemo, 1965: 75).

During the reign of Amangkurat I, there was a lot of land rights taking over by the king in the area of Banyumas, regardless of the personal rights that prevailed

on the land. According to the King's assumption, the people of Banyumas who owned the rights to a farm basically had only the right as a working farmer (Schrieke, 1975: 35). As the consequences, the owners of land right who became the working farmers must give up half of their gross crops from every harvesting season. This kind of thing was considered as a proof that the farm belonged to the kingdom, farmers were only the workers who should follow the profit sharing system (Kartohadikoesoemo, 1965: 35).

In Banyumas, land tenure (*bengkak*) which reach about one-fifth of the land are free from the tax required by the royalty. Thus another 4/5 of the land is the land owned by the king planted and harvested by the farmers with the obligation to give 1/2 of the crop. Therefore the rural people who planted it are called *pemaro* (Scheltema, 1985: 134).

The Impact of Colonial Intervention to Social Dynamic

Money economy system in Banyumas had developed broader in the end of XIX Century. The society's life became so dependent on money, which was not only as the means of payment and change but also as the standard of prosperity and symbol of social status for the society in that area.

In the period of the 1880s private asset was massively invested in the business of sugarcane plantations and sugar mills. There was a tendency for entrepreneurs to establish direct contact with villagers in an effort to obtain land and labor. Due to this tendency, the western elements came into the villages, not only geographically but also structurally. With the presence of direct contact between entrepreneurs and villagers, so the structure of Javanese society were getting interfered. As the consequence, the society's individual spirit slowly appeared to the surface (Burger, 1983: 11-12).

The tendency of land control individually proceeded more quickly, so the opportunity of land submission from farmers with narrow land to farmers with large land became very open. The conveyance like that is possible to happen, considering the farmers are getting stuck in the economic arena of money. Money could be something really meaningful for them to fulfill their daily needs (Bremen, 1971: 44-45, Lyon, 1984: 168). In Banyumas, the process of conveyance over a land can be done through various kinds of sale and purchase activity. At least, the people do three kinds of sale and purchase agreements that are by freelance selling, pawn selling, and annual selling. Based on the existing terms in Banyumas those three kinds of sale and purchase are *ngedol dongkelan* atau *ngedol plas*, *ngedol sende*, dan *ngedol tahunan* (Haar, 1950: 76).

Freelance selling (*ngedol dongkelan* atau *plas*) is a submission of a land area to other person by paying some money agreed earlier, with a condition that the right over

the land is handed over to the buyer. The selling pawn (*ngedol sende*) is a submission of a land area by paying some money in cash or giving things, but the owner of the land will still have the right over the land if the buyer can pay it back. Meanwhile, annual selling (*ngedol tahunan*) is a submission of a land area to other person for some years based on the agreement with the payment. After the due date, the land is returned to the land owner without any conditions. (Hakim, 1965: 6, 20, dan 61).

The more conveyance over a land showed strong indication that there was imbalance between the earning and spending in the environment of farmers' family. Borrowing money with high interest became the solution to overcome this problem. As the consequence, the worse financial condition was faced by them instead of getting the balance back. This kind of thing was considered as typical symptom of the influence of western economic system which was commonly called as "evil" power of money economy. (Renneft, 1974: x).

The spread of money economy system was getting more influential toward the presence of social shift. Conveyance over a land followed by the presence of big number of landless farmers had placed the farmers with right over their land became so crucial. The determination of labor faced a shift from the headman of the village became the responsible of the land lord (Temple, 1989: 86). However, in the absence of a change in the production process, the basis of the labor decision will still determined by the social responsibility of the village (Jaspan, 1961: 13). The holders of land rights who generally act as community leaders become stronger in their positions. In Banyumas, they are known as 'kuli' which related to the ownership of farm called 'kulen' (Kano, 1984: 50).

They can be divided into two groups seen from the area of land they own. Those two groups are *kuli kenceng* dan *kuli kendho*. *Kuli kenceng* has minimally 1 *bau* (0.70-0.74 ha) farm, while *kuli kendho* has a farm less than that (Tjondronegoro & Wiradi, 1984: 44-45). According to the Banyumas society, *kuli kenceng* is more known as *kuli gladak*, *kuli baku*, or *kuli kuat*. Meanwhile, *kuli kendho* is more known as *kuli cilik* or *kuli rempo* (Haar, 1950: 74).

The group of landless farmers are usually called *numpang* atau *bujang*, which is the biggest group of rural society. They live under hard economic pressure. To overcome their problems, they usually work as wage laborers in sugarcane plantations or sugar mill (Aass, 1984: 126). It is done based on the rational work contract system supported by the intensive working relationship (Cahyono, 1991: 10).

Such reality shows that rural society has involved themselves to broader working relationship. Further change from the shift of land ownership and development of wage laborers has given really broad effect to the social

economy life of rural society. It will make new symptoms in their life which lead them to defeodalization process (Onghokham, 1984: 24, Suhardi, 1992: 20).

As the development is going on, the scoop of social structure in Banyumas society becomes more complex. The pattern of social structure does not change basically but the existing groups within become more various. To make it clear, Ter Haar (1950: 70), stated:

- a. *Kuli gladag* or *kuli kuat*, is the group of society who have house, yard, and 1 *bau* or more rice field.
- b. *Kuli cilik* or *kuli rempo*, is the group of society who have house, yard, and less than 1 *bau* rice field.
- c. *Lindung*, is the group of society who have house and their own yard, but do not have any rice field.
- d. *Pondok tempel*, is the group of society without any working land (rice field), but they do have house in other people's yard.
- e. *Pondok ringku*, is the group of society with no working land and house. They and their family live with *kuli gladag*.
- f. *Rayat*, is someone who lives with the family of *kuli* and all of their needs will be borne by the *kuli*.

From the definition above, seems that the first and second groups are the evolution of *sikep* farmers. Meanwhile, the third until sixth groups are the fragments of *numpang* farmers. In reality, each status group bear many kinds of obligation based on their position. *Kuli gladag* obviously has the most obligations and is the villagers who rule the most farm. The obligations in the beginning of 20th century were divided into three, which were: *First*, literally the village obligation such as *pancen* work, patrolling, and village *kerigan* work. Second, *janggolan obligation*, is the obligation of *kuli* to give some of their crops for the village's interest. In reality, the rice from *janggolan* is the right of the village headman. Third, social obligation which is *sambatan* and mutual cooperation work which aimed to help the people (Ranneft, 1974: xiii).

Based on the condition of the society viewed from the social structure, so it can be stated that colonial intervention in labor sector and the use of farm for plantation need has led social structure shift in Banyumas. The change has weakened the traditional horizontal social class of the village which is formed based on the right ownership over the land and communal solidarity (Kroef, 1984: 159).

Broadly speaking, viewed from the social structure, society is divided into 3 groups, which are: **First**, the main villagers, are those who own working land, yard, and house. Some of this group are the official of the village or those who feel as the descendants of the village founder. They also get *bengkok* land with various area in every village. The average area of *bengkok* land is 10 *bau* for the

village headman, 6 *bau* for *carik*, 2 *bau* for the head of *dukuh* or *wewengkon*. Meanwhile, for the lower position like the village police, *kebayan*, and *kayim* each get 1 *bau* of *bengkok* land. **Second**, the group of villagers with limited communal obligations. Those who belong to this group are *lindung* or *indung* farmers. **Third**, the group of villagers who do not own communal obligations. They consist of *mondok* or *numpang* farmers. Their position as profit sharing farmers or live in other's house and work for their landlord (Kroef, 1984: 159).

In the next progress, the position of first layer gradually moved aside due to the pressure from the number of population and other economic pressure. Their status fell down and placed the position under, so the layer of lower society has always been bigger in number. In some cases there are also *lindung* farmers who own an area of farm but do not have yard. In Banyumas, this group of farmers is called *gundul* farmers (Kroef, 1989: 159). The last category is *mondok* or *numpang*, is the group which always gets bigger in number. It happens because there is more and more conveyance over a land in rural society. Therefore, the social structure in society shows a pyramid form. The farmers in Banyumas rural area are formed in layers based on their control of rights over a farm. But, by the developing money economy system in farmers' life, the existing social structure can't entirely guarantee the society's prosperity. When the economy system. When the economic system actually developed in society in the early twentieth century, there was an indication that the relationship between prosperity and the rights ownership over a land became looser (Husken & White, 1989: 22-23).

IV. CONCLUSION

The wider money economy system in rural area has not only messed the structural building up in traditional society but has also urged the indigenous elite in a less decisive role. Structural differences are increasingly widespread by the creation of new roles which appear and replacing the traditional role of the Colonial Party with its policies which also have a considerable role in supporting the process of change. The colonial gradually organized a government's rational legal administrative perfection to achieve bureaucratic standards of government according to the West. It caused the traditional political institutions sink so it only became the colonial bureaucracy which was no longer autonomous, but entirely under the control of previous colonial ruler.

The further causes of the widespread money economy system, defeodalization, and destruction processes is the occurrence of values-shocks in rural societies. The village headman is still the main figure who rule in his village, he performs as the representative of the village, although he has different idea with his people.

Related to that, there is a shift in the rural society's loyalty from the traditional officials to the new elite group. They are the free theologians who do not directly involved in colonial bureaucracy network. The term of this free theologian is actually a symbol of the religion elite group who subserve themselves to their religion and keep themselves away from political business or colonial bureaucracy (Sukardi, T, 2014: 127).

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