

Village Barn in Coastal Area of Java, From “Lumbung Desa” to Village Unit Cooperative in Demak-Grobogan

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the history of institutional changes in food security in the form of savings institutions at the micro-level of rural Indonesia. This research uses the history method using primary sources from documents and oral interviews. The traditional food security institutions in the form of Village Barns could run well because of the support and independence of rural communities. It happened during the colonial period until the beginning of Indonesian independence. After the emergence of modern logistics institutions in the form of the Logistics Affairs Agency (Bulog) and KUD, which were the result of the policies of the New Order government, rural communities became independent. They depended on the government for fertilizers, medicines, seeds, and others. With the presence of these modern logistics institutions, community-based resilience institutions are increasingly marginalized. Its findings indicate a difference in effectiveness between traditional food security institutions and current resilience institutions in ensuring the availability of rice in rural areas. The government needs to re-strengthen community participation-based savings institutions through village granaries.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis sejarah perubahan kelembagaan ketahanan pangan berupa lembaga tabungan pada tingkat mikro di pedesaan Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan menggunakan sumber primer berupa dokumen dan wawancara lisan. Kelembagaan ketahanan pangan tradisional berupa Lumbung Desa dapat berjalan dengan baik karena adanya dukungan dan kemandirian masyarakat pedesaan. Hal itu terjadi pada masa penjajahan hingga awal kemerdekaan Indonesia. Setelah munculnya lembaga logistik modern berupa Badan Urusan Logistik (Bulog) dan KUD yang merupakan hasil kebijakan pemerintah Orde Baru, masyarakat pedesaan menjadi mandiri. Mereka bergantung pada pemerintah untuk pupuk, obat-obatan, benih, dan lain-lain. Dengan hadirnya lembaga logistik modern tersebut, lembaga ketahanan berbasis masyarakat semakin terpinggirkan. Temuan-temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan adanya perbedaan efektivitas antara lembaga ketahanan pangan tradisional dan lembaga ketahanan pangan saat ini dalam menjamin ketersediaan beras di daerah pedesaan. Pemerintah perlu kembali memperkuat lembaga tabungan berbasis partisipasi masyarakat melalui lumbung desa.

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INTRODUCTION

Food has always been a concern in every ruler in Indonesia's history on the Java island. The main food of the people in this area is rice, so the food security policy in providing rice for the people has become an essential issue in every government, from the traditional government to the modern one. During the traditional kingdoms, rice was symbolized by the goddess Sri, the wife of Vishnu, the main god who maintains the universe in Hindu religious belief. Once the rice is noble, the policy of

providing food items has received attention from the state (Wasino & Hartatik, 2019). During the Dutch Colonial period, food policy was prominent during Ethical Colonial Politics (1900-1942). This policy is also known as the prosperity policy. The emergence of this policy was related to the declining food consumption of the Dutch East Indies community rice consumption at the end of the 19th century when the colony was experiencing a booming plantation industry, especially sugar, and coffee. Prosperity policies for food security are carried out by building irrigation facilities, people's credit, and village granaries (Booth, 1989; Van der Eng, 1996). After Indonesia's independence (August 17, 1945), food security policies continued. At that time, the irrigation infrastructure built during the Dutch colonial period increased production, even though it had suffered much damage. Likewise, the people's credit system and village granaries continued without significant changes. In a war situation, the government also implements a policy of restricting the export of food products outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia (Wasino & Hartatik, 2019). Food policy in rice production was very dominant during the New Order era. Since the development plan has emphasized the importance of food security, it strongly stressed that this policy was from when Suharto took office until the end of his reign. The food policy in rice production was extended not only in Java but throughout the islands in Indonesia. The procedure was carried out to revitalize the Ethical Colonial policy in the form of the construction of irrigation facilities, people's credit, assistance, seeds, procurement of fertilizers, agricultural technical guidance, and production shelter (Birowo, 1981; Arifin, 2010; Mears, 1981).

During the New Order, the food security development model was carried out top-down, programmed by the central government, and implemented by local governments. As a result, there has been a uniformity of food in Indonesia in the form of rice, which was initially applied on the island of Java and turned into food for the population throughout Indonesia. As a result of this policy, rice production in Indonesia was the fastest global (Booth, 1989). Food policy in Indonesia has spawned several studies. Heri Suharyanto (Suharyanto, 2011) discusses theoretically the history and conceptual formulation of food security and its implementation in Indonesia. The history of the discussion on food security appeared in the "Conference of Food and Agriculture in 1943". A "secure, adequate, and suitable supply of food for everyone" was introduced at the conference. In its

development, the World Bank formulated the idea of food security as "secure access at all times to sufficient food for a healthy life." In its implementation in Indonesia, a food security system was developed, which includes: (1) availability of food in sufficient quantity and type for the entire population, (2) smooth and even distribution of food, (3) food consumption of everyone that meets the adequacy of a balanced nutrition, which has an impact on nutritional status of the community

Thus, the food and nutrition security system not only concerns the production, distribution, and provision of food at the macro (National and Regional) level but also concerns the micro aspects, namely access to food at the household and individual levels as well as the nutritional status of household members, especially children and pregnant women from poor households. Simatupang (2007) explains that developing countries such as Indonesia make a strategic security policy for the issue. Food security is an essential instrument in measuring the welfare of people in rural areas. This food security can be done in various ways, either through economic development, infrastructure, or other efforts. Food security between times and seasons requires community support and involvement to establish harmony (top-down). Along with the development of traditional food security, rural communities have experienced marginalization and are increasingly marginalized after government intervention in supporting modern logistics in the form of Bulog (Logistics Affairs Agency) and KUD (Village Unit Cooperatives).

The study of food security gave birth to the study of food policy. Achmad Suryana (Suryana, 2008) discusses the rice production food policy, which gives birth to food security in Indonesia. With a historical and economic approach, it explains the role of the Government of Indonesia since its independence until now, which has always been consistent in food policies to achieve food self-sufficiency. As a result of this policy, Indonesia has achieved self-sufficiency in rice since the 1980s.

In addition to the policy aspect, food security study relates to cultural issues. The research of Wasino (2006) shows that the food security culture in rural Grobogan has existed since the colonial period. It is done by setting aside farmers' crops and storing them independently in the village barn. The local government is also trying to institutionalize food security institution in each village in most villages in the Grobogan Regency. Furthermore, Hartatik & Wasino (2020) has stated that several obstacles caused the traditional village barn in

Grobogan Regency to decline. The reasons for these setbacks include: (1) The need for better knowledge of bookkeeping, (2) Lack of awareness of the return of granary credit, (3) Shrinkage of grain due to the quality of the returned grain, (4) Dishonest granary administrators, (5) Lack of attention from the government

Meanwhile, Rachmat et al. (Wasino, 2006) also explained that the role of this barn has decreased due to several factors, including the implementation of the Green Revolution program, which affects agricultural technology that is not following the community's traditional barns, the presence of the Bulog institution which stabilizes the price of grain so that people do not require food reserves, the emergence of various food variants to rural areas due to the influence of globalization so that rice is not a food that must be in the household of farmers, as well as the uneven development of food project-oriented, have contributed to food security institutions in the form of village barns experience destruction. Harjito et al (2016) also briefly studied the Village Barn in Dempel Village, Geneng Ngawi District. He analyzed how a food barn in the village could survive as a food security institution. On the day of the analysis, he stated that the Village Barn in Dempel Village still exists because of good accountability, although it is still experiencing several obstacles, primarily legal. Based on the above background, many studies on food security have been carried out, but studies at the micro-level with cases of poverty-prone areas have never been carried out. One area on Java island that has historically been prone to poverty is the Grobogan Regency, the former Residency of Semarang, Central Java Province. This research seeks to find the historical roots of food security institutions for rural communities in the Grobogan Regency. The study covers the period from the colonial period in the form of the traditional village institution to the development of the Village Cooperative Unit or *Koperasi Unit Desa (KUD)*, which functioned as a food security institution in the countryside during the New Order era.

Previous researchers have carried out previous research on village community-based food security. The village community tends to form an institution as a bastion of community food security. The main reason for establishing the institution is to increase household income, develop society and save for emergencies (Mutebi et al., 2017). Local institutions play a role in maintaining livelihoods and food security at the village community level (Tolosa, 2005). Institutions have rules of the game

that can enhance or limit livelihood activities and community survival strategies (North, 1990) that regulate social interactions. Rural communities practice several local institutions, and institutions shape behavior and exchanges (Dobler, 2011). It can determine rules formally or informally. Formal institutions are designed in traditional settings, such as constitutions, political institutions, and property rights.

Meanwhile, informal institutions are habitual behavior based on socially shared rules, usually unwritten. Informal institutions broadly impose themselves through obligation mechanisms, such as patron-client relationships or clan networks (Jütting, 2007). They also have an economic context as a strategy for gaining access to livelihood assets (Tolosa, 2009)

Negera research results show that programs and policies targeting food security must support informal institutions that have successfully reduced hunger (Negera et al., 2019). The Kesanta Study provides evidence-based information that can motivate development practitioners to promote and improve the community-based savings and loan group model as one of the critical interventions for poverty alleviation (Kesanta, J., & Andre, 2015). Even with minimal external support, long-term food security can be achieved (Oyo, B., & Kalema, 2016). Existing research results show mixed results. Therefore, research on community-based food security is still essential to do.

METHOD

The research was conducted using critical historical methods and qualitative research. Historical research follows four stages: heuristics or source tracing, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Tosh, 2015; Hartatik & Wasino, 2020). Historical sources are traced to archival studies at the Jakarta National Archives and contemporary publications at the KITLV library (now included in a special collection at the Leiden University Library), Jakarta National Library. Historical sources were also obtained from the District and Provincial Food Security Service, Central Java Provincial Archives Service, Central Java Regency Grobogan and Central Java Statistics Agency, Local Newspaper Archive Depot, Suara Merdeka, District Central Statistics Agency, Grobogan District Food Security Agency, Agriculture and Forestry Service. Other documentation bodies are accessed online. In addition, interviews with local people's memories were also conducted using the history of the oral

method.

The historical sources obtained were critically assessed regarding the authenticity and credibility of the information. The results of this source assessment are in the form of historical facts that are read from historical sources. The separate facts seek relationships with each other by interpreting the relationships between the facts found. After the connection between facts has been analyzed successfully, the last job is synthesizing them in historiography or historical writing. The writing model is carried out chronologically and thematically, meaning that historical stories are built based on time chronology from the Dutch Colonial period to the New Order, which consists of themes in the sub-sections. Interviews and FGD methods were also carried out to complete the historical description. Interviews were conducted using a snowball model from informants recorded in the document and followed by other informants who emerged and developed during interviews in the field. Discussions focused on selected informants, such as the administrators of the Lumbung Desa institution, KUD, policymakers, and the community and members of the two credit institutions in the rural Grobogan Regency. The results of interviews and research in the field are then processed to make a description and table of the development of the food security institution. FGDs were conducted to check the information obtained from documentary and interview sources. FGD participants were taken from several informants who were determined in simultaneous interviews.

THE VILLAGE BARN, FOOD SECURITY INSTITUTION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In the socio-economic history of Java, the Grobogan Regency area was known as a poor area during the colonial period. This portrait of poverty can be seen in the famine that occurred in the mid-19th century (Fernando, 2010). The research results conducted by Elson (Elson, 1985) show that the decline in prosperity or poverty of the population in *Afdeeling* Demak and Grobogan is caused by many factors. The influencing factors are changing natural conditions, disease outbreaks, high taxes, a labor force not commensurate with existing jobs, and rampant corruption among indigenous leaders. Based on historical sources, the terrible famine was caused by two factors, namely natural conditions and poor government management. Natural disasters in the form of floods and workloads due to forced cultivation as well as high taxes made it diffi-

cult for people to obtain food, so there was a famine; even as a result of the disaster, many people moved to other areas (Supriyono, 1987; Wasino, 2006).

The shortage and hunger of the people in *Afdeeling* Demak and Grobogan continued to recur at the end of the nineteenth century. The report of Assistant Resident W. F Luther stated that from 1899 to 1901, the Grobogan *Afdeeling* area experienced a very severe food crisis. Floods and crop failures caused the food crisis (S.n, n.d.). The natural factors that caused famine in the Grobogan area were floods and drought during the dry season and diseases that attacked food crops, such as local terms: "*sundep*", rats, "*beluk*", and "*mentek*". Flood disasters often occur in rice fields bordering Demak Regency.

Meanwhile, the drought during the dry season hit rice and dry fields (S.n, 1902, p. 45). The colonial government tried to deal with the food crisis in Grobogan comprehensively. One of the efforts is to increase food security by establishing Village Barns. This food-saving institution is based on a community culture known as "*gotong royong*," a tradition of sharing life with the people in Java.

Village granaries have historical roots as far back as the mid-19th century. Since forced cultivation, the foundations for establishing village granaries have been laid. Farmers became accustomed to selling their paddy seeds with the spread of money in the countryside. This resulted in the scarcity of rice seeds when farmers had to plant rice during the planting season. The Dutch government recommended the establishment of granaries in Java villages under the village administration's coordination. However, on January 25, 1866, the government regulated farmers to store their paddy seeds. (Suharto, 1988). This policy change was based on the government's finding that there was much chaos in the storage of seeds due to this forced system, with good seeds mixed with bad seeds.

Religious institutions also initiated the strengthening of food storage and credit institutions. In the Malang area, in 1890, Zending set up a "*Lumbung Miskin*." Able-bodied Christian residents provided post-harvest paddy to be donated to supply the rural population who were deemed deserving: the elderly, the disabled, orphans, widows, and other poor people. The paddy is also loaned without interest to widows and poor people who can work. It was also loaned to farmers who owned rice fields whose prosperity had declined due to illness or other reasons at an interest rate of 25% per year (Suharto, 1988). Simi-

lar village barns were also established in many places in Java. However, there was much misappropriation due to a lack of good management, especially regarding supervision. To overcome this, the Dutch East Indies government adopted a banking management system to ensure the sustainability of the village granaries. The first village lumbung institution based on good management was established in the Purwokerto area, Central Java Prefecture, in 1898. This village banking institution resulted from modifying and reorganizing the pre-existing "village barn" tradition with modern banking carried out by Wolff van Westerrode. (Suharto, 1988). *Lumbung desa* was then widely implemented in several areas in Java, including in the *Afdeeling* of Demak and Grobogan in the Semarang Karesidenan.

The Lumbung Desa institution is a form of government responsibility to reduce the impact of poverty due to bad lending traditions in line with the development of capitalism in rural Java from the late 19th century to the early 20th century. Some traditions of buying and selling that are seen as causing poverty are "*adol wulu pemetu*". This untimely sale of crops is because people have been trapped in debt before the harvest, especially during food scarcity (*paceklik*). In this buying and selling system, farmers have mortgaged their crops before the harvest arrives, so they cannot enjoy the harvest when it is time to harvest (Wasino, 2017; Wasino, 2018)

The village granary is present to overcome the problem of entrapment of farmers by loan sharks who ostensibly help farmers during times of hardship. The role of lumbung institutions in overcoming this difficult period before harvest is theoretically very effective because it follows the village community's culture (Handayani, 2008). This village granary, during the Ethical Colonial Policy, became one of the supporters of the prosperity policy of the Dutch East Indies Government, in addition to irrigation, education, and immigration. To develop these village granaries, the government cooperates with the lowest level of local government, which also functions as the traditional leader. With the support of the lowest local government, village granaries in Java flourished. Almost every district in Java built village granaries in the second decade of the 20th century as a medium for farmers' savings and poverty alleviation (Rinaldi, 2017)

In the *Afdeeling* of Demak and Grobogan, The village barn was first tested in the Kawedanan (district) Wirosari area in the early twentieth century, when the Ethical Policy was introduced in the Dutch East Indies. Wirosari is the Grobogan

Regency's easternmost region, bordered by Blora Regency. The local controller (Dutch Colonial official at the district level) proposed building a barn. At first, the local authorities and people did not receive the idea well. Still, after going through socialization and coercion, establishing a village barn in this area could be implemented. Lumbung Desa turned out to have a positive influence in overcoming the food crisis. The success story of building barns in the district facilitates the dissemination of these food-saving institutions to several areas in Grobogan Regency (Hartatik, 2011)

The barn building was built jointly with the village community, built in "gotong royong" (appointed together). Barn buildings made of wood are located around public roads in the countryside. The floors and walls are made of bamboo, a readily available material in the farmers' yards. The roof of the barn uses tiles or coconut leaves. The location of the building is next to the village head's house to maintain the security of stored rice.

Barn management is effortless. Each farmer who works one "bau" of land (3/4 hectare) must submit 1 "pikul" of rice with the following conditions: (1) One "pikul" of rice is stored to provide seeds; (2) One "pikul" is for capital for rice field cultivators; (3) One "pikul" is held as food reserves to be issued in the lean season.

Receipt of rice deposits is carried out after the harvest period arrives. The mechanism for delivering rice to the barn varies. For example, in the Kredenan sub-district, farmers hand rice to the barn by tying it and giving it a unique mark from paper or corn leaves with a specific color. The rice is dried for 14 days in the village head's yard before being put into the barn. In Wirosari and Tanjung Sari villages, farmers' serial numbers give bamboo "welat" markings in the middle of the rice ties (*gedeng*). The list of rice entered is made in simple order using Javanese, the language known to the local community. The fraud control mechanism is carried out using local wisdom. The barn door is equipped with three keys: the first key is held by the "lurah" (village leader), the village elder holds the second key, and the lower district has the third key (S.n, n.d.). Thus, although the initial idea came from Dutch colonial officials, implementing Lumbung Desa was based on the local community's culture (Deel, 1905). The village granary developed in Wirosari District became a model for developing village granaries in other districts in the *Afdeeling* Demak Grobogan region. This institution was in line with the Ethical Colonial Policy being

Table 1. Average Rice Harvest per District in Pikuls between 1916-1927

| Distrik | 1916-1920 | 1922-27 |
|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| Afd. Demak | 21,77 | 22,8 |
| Demak | 23,35 | 22,21 |
| Wedoeng | 20,43 | 22,81 |
| Grogol | 25,67 | 24,26 |
| Manggar | 18,77 | - |
| Samboeng | 23,36 | 23,71 |
| Singenkidoel | 19,03 | - |
| Mrangén | | 21,01 |
| Afd. Grobogan | 15,16 | 19,73 |
| Poerwodadi | 13,66 | 18,35 |
| Grobogan | 15 | 19,79 |
| Wirosari | 14,65 | 16,77 |
| Kradenan | 17,33 | 17,01 |
| Manggar | Na. | 24,79 |
| Singen Kidul | Na. | 21,67 |

Source: For the years 1916-1920 taken from: Landbouwatlas van Java en Madoera, Agricultural Atlas of Java and Madura Deel II, Uitgegeven te Weltreveden 1926; for the years 1922-27 taken from: A.M.P. A. Scheltema in Landbouw Tijdschrift der vereeniging van Landbouwconsulenten in Nederlandsch Indie, Vierde Jaargang 1928-29.

implemented by the Dutch East Indies Government, namely increasing the prosperity of the people in Java. The development of village granaries paralleled the development of irrigation, which impacted the expansion of land area and rice production. The increase in the amount of paddy production leads to an increase in the amount of paddy that can be stored in barns, on the one hand. On the other hand, with increased storage in lumbung, food security in rural areas is strengthened.

Table 1 illustrates the increase in paddy production following the introduction of village granaries in the Wirosari district, which later expanded to other districts in Afdeeling Demak and Grobogan.

After Lumbung Desa was operational and rice production increased, there was almost no news of hunger and food shortages, although natural factors still caused famine. The village barn has also overcome farmers' difficulties selling grain when the main harvest arrives. Thus, Lumbung Desa is an economic institution that has triumphed in creating food security in some rural areas of Java, especially the Grobogan regency, until post-independence (Wasino, 2009).

THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN SAVINGS INSTITUTION, THE VILLAGE UNIT COOPERATIVE TURNS OFF THE VILLAGE BARN

During the New Order, President Suharto focused on improving the national economy by optimizing the role of the military and Western-educated economists. Economic improvement was carried out with several programs focused on 1). Basic needs, 2). Education and health, 3). Revenue sharing, 4). Job opportunities, 5). Business opportunity, 6). Participation of women and the younger generation, 7). Development deployment, 8). Justice. Therefore, the Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita) policy emerged to create a successful program (Fareza, 2016). This program also reached the Grobogan area, where most people had low economic income. The objectives of "Repelita I" in Grobogan Regency are the same as the program on a national scale at each stage. It replaced the food storage system in the Village Barn with a Village Unit Cooperative (KUD).

Before being introduced, the Village Unit Cooperative was the food security institution introduced by the New Order government as the Village Unit Business Entity (BUUD) in 1966/1967. This institution's main task is to assist farmers in the production process. The primary mission is similar to the village barn, namely the rice savings and loans issue, which is expanded to the problem of sharing rice yields, providing production facilities, and marketing farmers' products. Technically, the BUUD institution buys farmers' grain, grinds it into the rice, sends it to the Logistics Depot (*Dolog*), and distributes fertilizers to meet the needs of farmers, which the KUD then continues.

A Village Unit Cooperative (KUD) was located in every sub-district of Grobogan Regency; this institution is a bottom-up policy from the central government to help farmers from the entanglement of loan sharks. KUD tries to be a helper for farmers when they need fertilizer, medicine, and others by providing credit in installments and paying after harvest. Farmers enthusiastically accepted the presence of KUD in the early stages of development because it was a solution when they needed production needs, especially fertilizers (Rahadian Hadi, 2021). The government provides the distribution of fertilizers through KUD so that KUD has an active role in the rice production sector in the rural Grobogan Regency. Each KUD in each sub-district can distribute fertilizer needs an average of 10 tons. In addition, KUD also provides pest medicines, which

Table 2. Number of Village Barns and Village Banks in Grobogan Regency in 1985-1998

| Year | Village Bank | Number of Workers | Number of Loans Disbursed | The Village Barn | Number of Workers | Number of Loans Disbursed |
|------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1985 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1986 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1987 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1988 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1989 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1990 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1991 | 32 | Na | Na | 248 | Na | Na |
| 1992 | 32 | Na | Na | 251 | Na | Na |
| 1993 | 32 | 16 | 1.213.913 | 251 | 46 | 2.208.074 |
| 1994 | 32 | 16 | 1.352.843 | 251 | 50 | 2.227.535 |
| 1995 | 32 | 16 | 1.398.227 | 251 | 50 | 2.424.771 |
| 1996 | 32 | 16 | 1.424.325 | 251 | 50 | 2.624.051 |
| 1997 | 32 | 16 | 1.274.124 | 251 | 50 | 2.397.794 |
| 1998 | 32 | 16 | 1.332.461 | 251 | 46 | 2.636.403 |

Source: processed from data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Grobogan Regency in 1985-1998

are given on credit. KUD has sub-branches in each village to distribute the fertilizer. For example, KUD Madukoro in Wirosari sub-district has branches in several towns, including Mojorebo, Kalirejo, and Karang Rejo.

However, the village barn still existed, accompanied by the development of large banks. The number of village banks and village granaries spread across Grobogan Regency is quite large, namely 32 for village banks and 251 for village granary institutions. Detailed data from the two people's credit institutions can be seen in Table 2 below. Establishing the two food security institutions for rural communities received a positive response from the community, as evidenced by the number of credits issued, increasing from year to year.

Village Banks and Village Barns channeled loans to the community during the New Order era. The data above shows that from 1993 to 1996, the number of loans at the village bank or village barn continued to increase. However, in 1997, there was a significant decline. Furthermore, in 1998 it experienced an increase again even though it had experienced a crisis at the national level (BPS Kabupaten Grobogan, 1985, 1986, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994).

The modern village barn management system must be distinct from market prices for staple foods, especially rice. In Grobogan Regency, especially for the I.R. 36 rice variant, the price is quite competitive with other regions. The market price in 1986 was 292.54 rupiah, while in 1987, the cost of

dry grain was 350.00 rupiah, and in 1988 it was 408.46 rupiah. The farmers' rice production experienced an increase in income after the central government built the Kedung Ombo reservoir, which was used as a water reservoir for the districts in Central Java, namely Boyolali and Grobogan, but was able to irrigate rice fields up to Pati district. Agricultural development in Grobogan Regency during the New Order era could not be separated from the construction of irrigation canals and the Kedung Ombo Reservoir dam, which was built with the Serang River current dam, which was planned in 1985 to be precise in Rambat Village and Kalibancar Village, Grobogan Regency (Handani et al., 2017). With the existence of the Kedung Ombo Reservoir, the agricultural pattern in Grobogan Regency had changed. The cropping pattern had changed to rice-paddy-*palawija* because farmers no longer worried their fields would not have water (Handani et al., 2017). With this farming system, farmers can harvest twice in one year with increased yields deposited into the rice barn. The problem of seeds and food was no longer in this district (Joko Susilo, Rahadian Hadi, 2021). In addition, a credit institution in the form of a Village Barn in Grobogan Regency also appeared as a bank with a credit function, namely BKD (*Village Credit Bank*). This institution is managed by the National Banking Institute, Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI). The distribution of the development of people's credit institutions in rural areas of the Grobogan Regency can be seen in Table 3 below (Grobogan, 1995).

Table 3. Number of Credit Banks in Grobogan Regency in 1995

| District | Bank Kredit | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Number of BKD | Number of Workers | Number of Credits Disbursed |
| Kedungjati | 4 | 2 | 23,023 |
| Karangrayung | 16 | 5 | 263,267 |
| Penawangan | 20 | 6 | 284,425 |
| Toroh | 15 | 5 | 459,353 |
| Geyer | 6 | 1 | 58,589 |
| Pulokulon | 12 | 3 | 162,333 |
| Kradenan | 13 | 4 | 275,254 |
| Gabus | 12 | 3 | 327,679 |
| Ngaringan | 12 | 2 | 250,108 |
| Wirosari | 14 | 4 | 303,285 |
| Tawangharjo | 11 | 6 | 125,524 |
| Grobogan | 8 | 4 | 116,936 |
| Purwodadi | 17 | 5 | 310,584 |
| Brati | 8 | 2 | 54,097 |
| Klambu | 9 | 2 | 79,786 |
| Godong | 27 | 8 | 427,968 |
| Gubug | 20 | 6 | 183,916 |
| Tegowanu | 18 | 6 | 119,405 |
| Tanggunharjo | 9 | 9 | 49,217 |
| Jumlah | 251 | 75 | 3,896,951 |

Source: Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) Purwodadi Branch, 1995 Statistical Data (Grobogan, 1995)

In 1995, there were 19 sub-districts in Grobogan Regency, which already had credit banks. Most credit banks were located in Godong District, while Kedungjati District had a few village banks, namely four units. The total number of village banks in 1995 was 251, with 75 workers. The number of loans in 1995 in the sub-districts varied. Although Godong District had the most significant number of village banks, the largest number of loans was in Toroh District, while the least was in Kedungjati District. The total credit disbursed by the Credit Bank in Grobogan Regency in 1995 was Rp. 3,896,951-. The high activity of savings and loans in 1995 showed that the economy in Grobogan Regency was increasing in line with the programs implemented during the New Order era in agriculture. Apart from banks in Grobogan Regency, Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD) were also rapidly emerging. Cooperatives had a more flexible nature and were a development of the Village Bank, which functions to improve the welfare of all cooperative members. The result of KUD during the New Order can be seen in Table 4 (BPS Kabupaten Grobogan, 1985, 1986, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994).

Table 4. Number of KUD and Number of KUD Members in Grobogan Regency in 1984-1998

| Years | Number of KUD | Members full | Prospective members |
|-------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1984 | 23 | 21.491 | 57.862 |
| 1985 | 23 | 22.735 | 58.831 |
| 1986 | 23 | 23.857 | 57.840 |
| 1987 | 23 | 25.231 | 28.887 |
| 1988 | 23 | 31.722 | 27.009 |
| 1989 | 23 | 23.179 | 36.313 |
| 1990 | 23 | 54.878 | 28.532 |
| 1991 | 23 | 81.294 | 11.673 |
| 1992 | 23 | 82.210 | 12.307 |
| 1993 | 24 | 84.881 | 14.271 |
| 1994 | 24 | 87.026 | 14056 |
| 1995 | 24 | 90.664 | 19.262 |
| 1996 | 24 | 97.880 | 13.982 |
| 1997 | 24 | 31.660 | 12.809 |
| 1998 | 24 | 81.232 | 12.966 |

Source: Grobogan District Cooperative Data, BPS Grobogan 1984-1998.

From the data above, we can see that the development of KUD in 1984-1998 was relatively rapid due to the number of KUD spread across various sub-districts. In 1993, one KUD was added in the District of Tanggunharjo, so there was a total of 24 KUD. Some of these KUD also continued to experience an increase in the number of full members yearly, up to 97,880 in 1996. However, this number decreased in 1997 to only 31,660 full members. Then, in 1998, the number of members increased again to 81,232.

Some of the names of KUDs that were active in 1994 were Jatimulyo in Kedung Jati, Klampis Ireng in Responsi Harjo District, Telaga Raya in Karang Rayung District, Maliawan and Wiroto in Penawangan District, Manduro and Karya Jaya in District Toroh, Geyer in Geyer District, Kibrendo in Pulokulon District, Lesampuro in Kradenan District, Widoro Kandang in Gabus District, Dworowati in Ngaringan District, Madukoro in Wirosari District, Kendali Sodo in Tawangharjo District, Mutiaratawu in Grobogan District, Sawojajar in Purwodadi District, Pakisaji in Brati District, Anugrah in Klambu District, East Wati *PLK*, West Wati *PLK*, and Wijaya Kusuma in Gubug District, and Saptoprato in Tegowanu District (BPS Kabupaten Grobogan, 1994). However, in reality, the rise of KUDs and Village Banks that replaced the role of Lumbung Desa resulted in a higher level of community dependence on assistance and loans provided by cooperatives or banks.

At the end of the New Order Government,

the Grobogan Regency declared a rice center area (Handani et al., 2017). However, food availability during a famine was still a problem. Farmers sold most of their harvest at harvest to traders. As a result, food supplies run low when the dry season arrives (Wasino, 2006). The Grobogan Regency Government and the Central Java Provincial Government were concerned about this condition. Therefore, at the beginning of July 2002, village officials in 19 sub-districts had to remind the residents to leave or to keep the last harvested grain. However, some residents needed grain savings (Kompas, 2002). In its development, Lumbung Desa needed to function correctly, although the Central Java Provincial Government 1998 had issued APBD I and Bangdes funds to encourage the development of these institutions. Lumbung Desa had a management structure that could have worked better (Merdeka, 2001).

Amid the development of various kinds of banks and cooperatives, in Grobogan Regency, only 51 Lumbung Desa were scattered in some places. The village barns were divided into two groups, namely modern barns and traditional village barns (FGD dated July 3, 2006). The results of observations and information in several places in the Grobogan area show that the Lumbung Desa institution, in the sense of the traditional Village Barn managed by the village institution, no longer exists. Villages no longer had former granary buildings because they had been converted into other structures, especially for village administration offices and halls. For example, in Tambak Selo Village, Wirosari District, the barn building was torn down in the 1980s and converted into a village administration office and a Village Credit Bank (BKD). In addition, Kradenan Village, Kradenan District, became the forerunner to establish a granary in Grobogan Regency during the Dutch Colonial period; however, no granary building can be found.

Furthermore, Ketitang Village, Godong District, one of the mainstay villages for food in Grobogan Regency, also no longer has the former village barn building. Some villages still have former barn buildings, including Selo Village, Tawangharjo District, which has a former sturdy barn building made of teak wood as a support pole. Still, the building has been converted into a village administration office. Likewise, Karang Rejo Village, Wirosari District, still had a former barn building, but the building needed to be better maintained. The building was once used as a storage warehouse for the Madukara Village Unit Cooperative (KUD) dry grain when it triumphed during the New Order

government (Wasino, 2009).

The community formed one village barn and is the mainstay of food security in Grobogan Regency, namely the Sido Makmur Village Barn in Ngaringan District. This barn was established on the initiative of the community based on the needs of the farmers so that they could be independent and not shaken by the existence of the granary institution initiated by the local government because there was a spirit of independence that comes from the needs and desires of the village community.

In principle, the Village Barn had to have a code of, by, and for the people. The Sido Makmur farmer group applied this principle to withdraw dry rice from 10 kg members with 82 members 2007. The following year, lent rice was sent to those in need. Starting from this, then built the Sido Makmur farmer group warehouse was built. The warehouse location was next to the current building of the Sido Makmur farmer group so that the grain could be collected immediately after it was collected. Before the existence of the food warehouse, the grain was in a separate warehouse belonging to the management. In addition to the contribution activities, this farmer group has a regular monthly schedule, holding a meeting every 10th to ascertain whether each member's house still has food stock. If the member's food stock has run out, the food warehouse (barn) grain will be issued according to need. This farmer group also applied a borrowing system; each member who borrowed one quintal of grain must return as much as one quintal of 10 kilos and may not return it in the form of money; it must be as goods. It meant the additional 10 kilos would be in case of shrinkage, being eaten by rats, and so on. The agreed mechanism was that when the barn was opened, the farmer would register and write down the amount of grain to be borrowed; it could be 10 kg, 20 kg, or 50 kg, according to their ability (Hardiyono, 2021).

Administratively, the Sido Makmur Village Barn (Ngaringan) had 23 people. The management did not impose operational costs, meaning there was no reward for the administration; it was just that during Eid al-Fitr, there were gifts from the chairman for all the management. The community admitted that the existence of the barn immensely helped them; even some people who previously were not willing to become members finally registered as members of farmer groups. The requirement to borrow grain from the barn was a member of the officially registered Sido Makmur farmer group. The system members of farmer groups had implemented to remind each other of the regular

meeting dates. The rules for members of farmer groups were to save a mandatory deposit of Rp. 10,000, - at the monthly meeting as well as the social gathering. Every member of a farmer group must follow these rules (Rahadian Hadi, 2021).

Based on the data in the field and information from the management, there were no severe problems in the direction of the Village Barn because there was a culture of reminding and an orderly society. In addition, all were present at the regular meeting on the 10th because it was related to absenteeism or attendance lists. The implication of absenteeism is the reduced opportunity to receive assistance from the government, such as seeds, drugs, and fertilizers. For example, when there was assistance with corn seeds from the government, members who attended would get a higher amount than members who were not present. Regarding infrastructure, the Sido Makmur Farmers Group's barn was adequate to protect it from rat pests. Before the rice was stored in the barn, there was an inspection from the management so that if the grain was below the standard, it would be tracked because the administration labels each member's savings. The labeling of the name by the management was intended so that the grain was distinct from that submitted by other members. Adding 10 kg to every quintal also caused the grain stock to grow. However, during the establishment of the Village Barn, there was a food crisis due to a planthopper attack in 2010. This situation resulted in crop failure, so rice production decreased drastically. Anticipating this condition, Sido Makmur's Barn has succeeded in overcoming this problem by lending rice to farmers for consumption and seeds in the next growing season, so the Village Barn was proven to resolve the issue of food insecurity (Hardiyono, 2021).

On the other hand, the modern Village Barn made by the local government in Grobogan Regency from the results of data searches in the field could have gone better, like the Ngaringan Village Barn. It was because the policy is in the form of top-down, so it was not rooted in the culture of the community. The modern village barn from the government was not in rice paddy but in the form of savings and loans in the form of money from the management to members of the village barn—the failure to return the Lumbung Desa savings in each village that received the assistance of Rp. 20,000,000 - million per village was because the loan money was for non-farmers production purposes but for other needs, such as paying for school, household consumption, and others (Joko Santoso, 2021). This

condition was ironic when compared to the success of the village barn during the Dutch colonial period. At that time, Lumbung Desa developed and received the support of the village community and succeeded in creating food security in the Grobogan countryside. It is because the Village Barn was set based on the cultural values of the local community. In this regard, the revitalization of the Village Barn was essential.

CONCLUSION

The study concluded that there had been a change in the community's food-saving institution. The Village Barn in the Grobogan area has long historical roots. This established institution was in many places in the Grobogan area from the second decade until 1930. Since its establishment in the 1960s, it has become a resilience institution in rural Grobogan. After the New Order era (1966), this food security institution was replaced by *BUUD* and eventually became *KUD*. The change from a food-saving institution to a modern one was initially quite effective in ensuring food security. However, once government intervention weakened, the agency could have provided food in rural areas more effectively.

The traditional village barn dating from the Dutch colonial period no longer exists. The remains of the barn building are still there, but they are no longer used as a place to store the farmers' grain; many of them have changed their functions into village offices and other purposes. Traditional village granary institutions exist to the present because they come from the community and have a spirit of independence from the community. In contrast, the form of modern food security institutions or *KUD* eliminates the independence of rural communities. The destruction of traditional food savings institutions resulted in low community participation in building food security in rural areas. There was a change in the mentality of farmers who handed over the responsibility for food security to the government, which caused a decrease in food security when government intervention weakened. In the future, the government needs to revitalize food-saving institutions in bulk by building community participation in village granaries.

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