

The Remittance Forest: transforming agrarian spaces with mobile labor

汇款成林：劳动力流动如何创造农业资本



Nancy Peluso 南希·佩卢索

Based on research with Agus Budi Purwanto

Remittance Forest: Agrarian landscape infused with power relations

“汇款林”：贯穿着权力关系的农业景观

Men tied to forest labor 男性束缚在林业劳动中

Women = mobile labor to stronger economies
女性更发达的经济体中充当流动劳动力



New resources change local economy and ecology of forest

新的资源改变了地方经济和森林生态



Mobilities help change forest power relations: forest land use and property rights

流动改变了林业中的权力关系：林地利用和产权





The global care economy: eldercare, child care, domestic work

全球照料产业：老人照料、儿童照料、家政服务

Women's bodies = sites of accumulation

女性的身体成为实现积累的场域



But different than in 19th century Europe—

但是不同于19世纪的欧洲

Because of the differences – stronger economies and conditions for saving 由于存在这些差异——更强的经济体和进行积蓄的条件



Materialities of environment at home enables investment in dairy cows 家乡环境的物质条件促成了奶牛养殖和投资的兴起

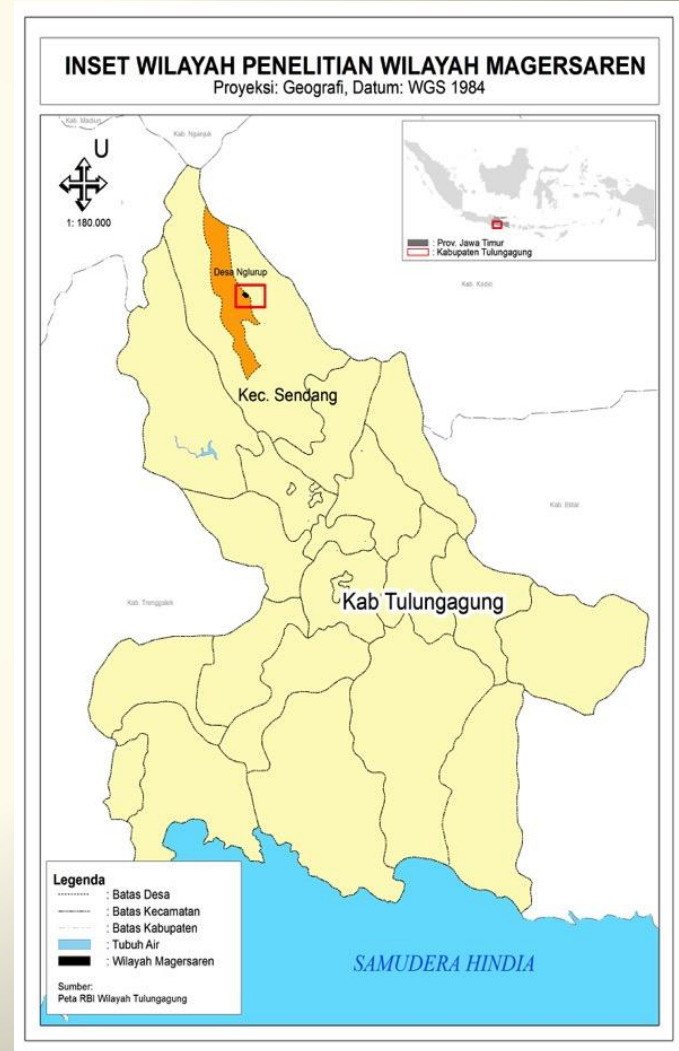
Contradiction of structures of migration:

Extract surplus but enable savings 迁移结构中的矛盾：对劳动力剩余的攫取，但是能够进行储蓄

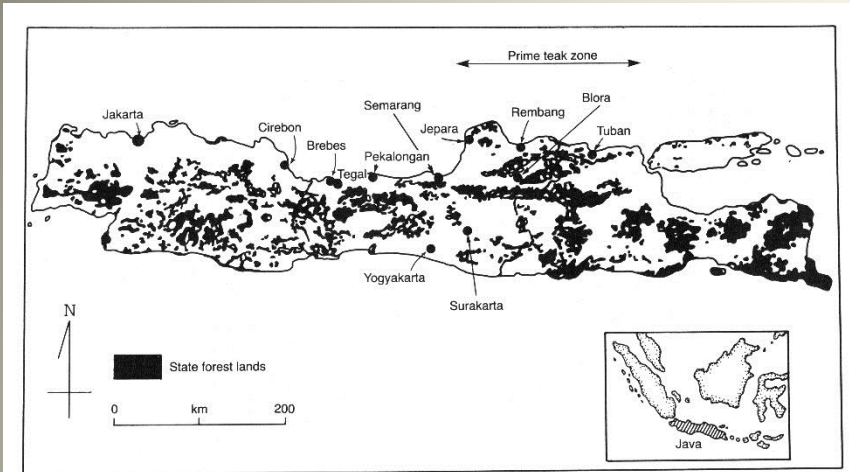
Java, East Java

爪哇，东爪哇

Tulung Agung
 Forest workers' settlement
 (magersaren) 图隆阿贡——林业工人的定居点



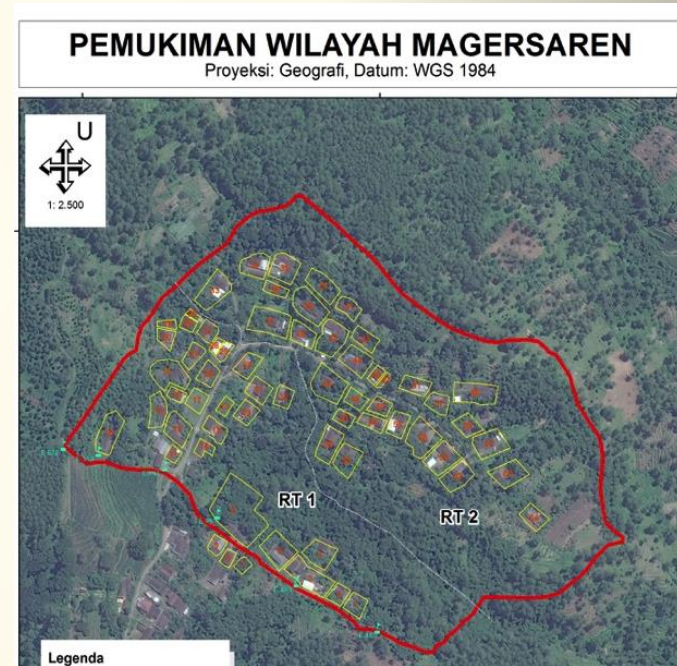
State forest lands, Java 爪哇的国家林场



2.1. State Forest Lands on Java, 1938-1990

Forest village settlement (magersaren): 61 households. Land owned by State; forest species (pine and mahogany). Understory expanding and owned by state

林业村庄所在地(林业工人定居点): 61户居民; 土地归国家所有; 树种为松树和红木; 林下植被不管扩大且归国家所有



Workers: Landless by definition 工人: 名义上无地的

View of magersaren 村庄概览



Forest Work is Men's Work: 林场工作是男人的工作

especially on main species 特别是对于主要树种

-logging, thinning, clearing, tapping resin 砍伐、修剪打薄枝叶、清扫、采脂

Intercropping at reforestation time included women (crops in the understory) 造林时节间作劳动会有女性参与（在林下种植作物）

Men: tied labor in forest; obligation 男性：被束缚在森林当中；是一种义务

But 7 decades living there (1952-present) 但是已经在此生活70年了（1952至今）

Different forest materialities, different labor demands of forest work 不同的森林物质条件对林业工作有不同的劳动需求

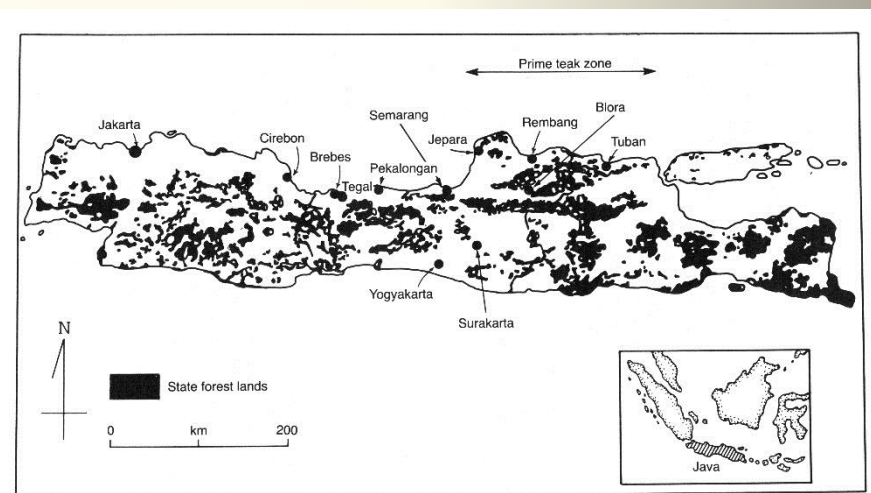
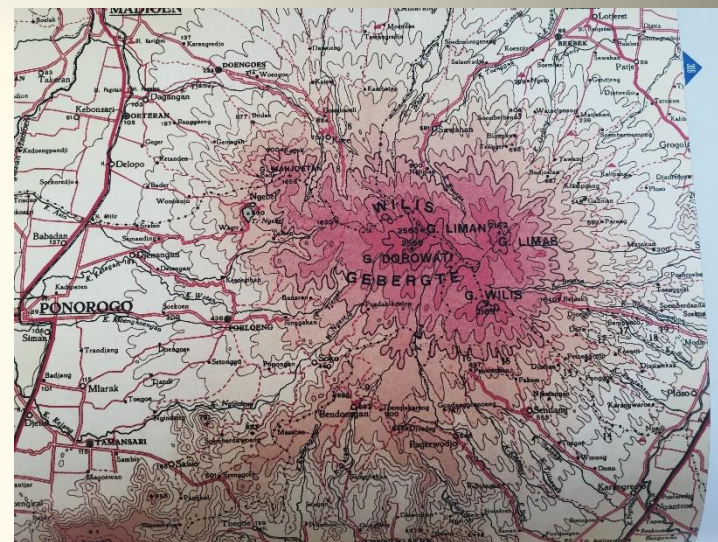
Magersaren: borrowed forest land 定居点：借来的土地



Enclosure and the political forest in Java

爪哇的圈地和政治林

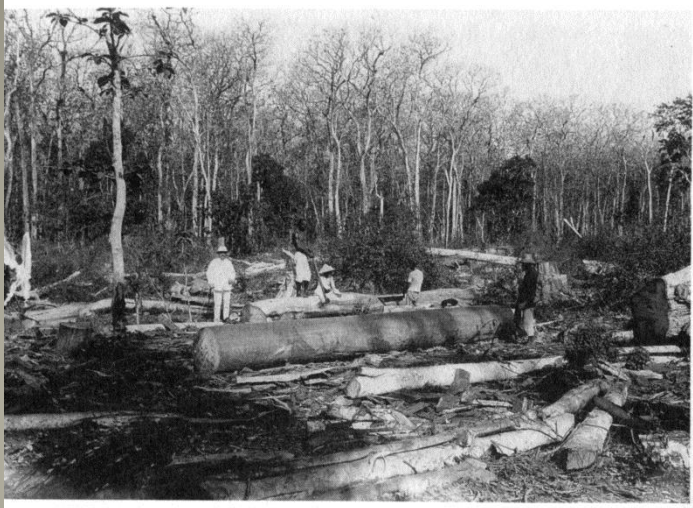
- Colonial constitution 1848 “free” and “unfree” land 1848年的殖民宪章区分了“自由”的土地和“不自由”的土地
- Agrarian Act 1870 – State land leases to corporations 1870年的农业法案：把国有土地出租给公司
- Colonial Forest Laws/Land殖民地森林法/土地
 - 1865, 1875, 1890, 1927
- Mt. Wilis Forest reserved (1936) 1936年维利斯山建立森林保护区
- 1950 Republic of Indonesia Colonial forest law 1950年印尼共和国成立，翻译并通过了殖民地森林法
- State Forestry Corporation formed 1961, 1978 国家林业公司于1961年成立，1978年扩展到了整个爪哇地区
- National Forest Law 国家森林法 1967, 1999



2.1. State Forest Lands on Java, 1938–1990

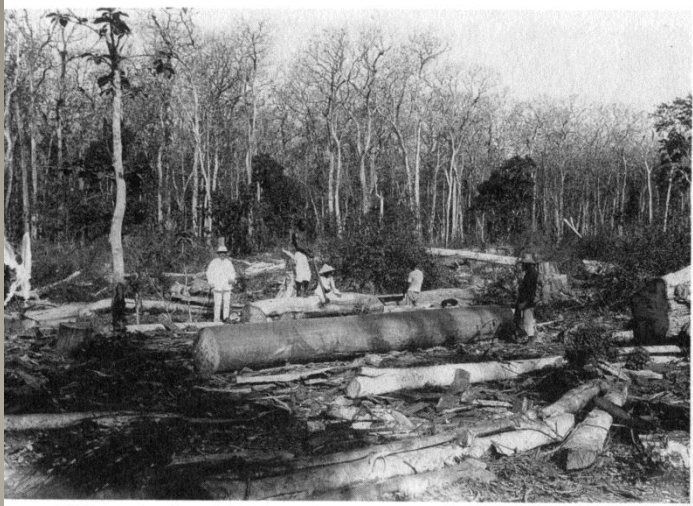
Primitive accumulation, political forests, social forests

原始积累、政治造林与社会造林



- Primitive accumulation drove 19th century agricultural and forest plantations 以19世纪的农业和林业种植为对象的原始积累
- State territorialized forest governing separated villages from political forest 国家对森林治理划定区域，将村庄与国家林场分隔开
- Political production forests under powerful state enterprises 国家的政治性林业生产由强大的国有企业负责

Continued 接上



- State foresters resist social forestry which gives local people greater access to the forest 国家护林员拒绝社会人员参与森林管理，不给当地居民更大的森林使用权
- But this exclusion was not only bad for people but bad for forest 这种排斥不仅有损当地居民的利益，也对森林不利
- Major forest violence with fall of Suharto and Asian Economic crisis 随着苏哈托的下台和亚洲经济危机的爆发，出现了大规模的森林暴乱

Labor Migration and its Effects 劳动力流动及其作用



“Temporary” worker housing on forest land, 67 years after
Magersaren formed 林地中工人的“临时”住房，在定居点成立67年后



Forest worker settlement history 林业工人定居史

4 key moments of forest --migration relations :

森林-迁移关系中的4个关键时刻

- 1952: form magersaren, migration onto the forest land 成立定居点，迁移到林地当中
- 1982-4 transmigration out to other Indonesian islands (permanent) 跨地区流动到印尼的其他岛屿（永久性的）
- 1998-2004: Asian Econ Crisis/ Reformasi: forest violence 亚洲经济危机/*Reformasi*运动：林业暴乱
- 2000s: transnational labor migration increases—forest landscapes start to change 跨国劳动力流动增加——林业景观发生变化



Game changer: Dairy cows

谁改变了游戏规则：奶牛

- In Tropics, dairy cows most productive in montane areas. 在热带地区，山区的奶牛产奶量最高
- Cows produce milk that is mostly sold—milk is a new commodity in magersaren 奶牛产的奶几乎都是用来销售的，牛奶是森林工人定居点上的一种新兴商品
- daily milk production provides subsistence incomes 每天的牛奶生产带来了生存的重要收入
- Cant graze cows in forest but their pens are on forest land—in the magersaren 不能在森林中放牧奶牛，但是可以在林地上圈养——在森林工人定居点



Continued 接上

- Cows introduced in slightly lower elevation upland villages in 1980s and 90s... 奶牛在20世纪八九十年代被引入了海拔相对较低的高地村庄
- infrastructure for milk marketing followed, benefiting magersaren 随后建立了牛奶销售的基础设施，森林工人定居点从中受益
- cows easier to buy than land 奶牛比土地更容易买卖
- Migrant women send money home with instructions 在外务工的女性在寄钱回家的同时也带回了指示
- Sometimes instructions are followed 有时候指示随之而来



Imagine a slide on labor migration.

想象一下劳动力流动的趋势

- Trends in indonesia labor migration; java; east java; tulungagung. 印尼的劳动力流动趋势；爪哇、东爪哇、图伦阿贡

Imagine a graph here with numbers going up, up, up 想象一张数字持续增长的图表

Magersaren labor migration (2015)

森林工人定居点的劳动力流动

- 72% of households at least one member who has migrated for work, past or present. [those never migrating, mostly widows] 72%的家庭中至少有一人曾经外出务工或是正在外务工（那些从未外出的人大多数是寡居者）
- 39 % of households have someone currently migrating domestically or internationally for work. 39%的家庭中有人目前正在国内或国外务工
- 69% of current labor migrants are women, most married or divorced with children. 目前的流动劳动力中有69%是女性，大多是已婚或离异后带孩子生活
- 70 % of current women migrants are working in Asian cities, (maids, elder caregivers or childcare) 目前70%的女性务工者是在亚洲城市打工（女佣、照料老人或儿童）
- Of women not migrating now but who migrated in the past, only 14% went internationally. 那些曾经在外务工但目前没有外出的女性中，只有14%是跨国流动的
- Time away ranges from 2-12 years, with month breaks between contracts 外出的年限从2年到12年，不同的雇佣合约之间只间隔1个月





Site-specific conditions of possibility form

Remittance Forest 独特的区位条件使“汇款林”成为可能

Men's forest labor in the magersaren: Privileged access

男性承担定居点上的林业劳动：优先进入权

Understory not planted under pine: less than 10% intercropped with workers' dryfield crops

松树的林下地带没有进行种植，只有不到10%间种了工人的旱地作物

Prior Introduction of cows and milk infrastructure in other villages

其他村子已经引入奶牛和牛奶生产销售基础设施

Foresters introduced grass to nurseries on forest land, later sold to villagers

护林员在林地上的苗圃里种草，随后卖给村民

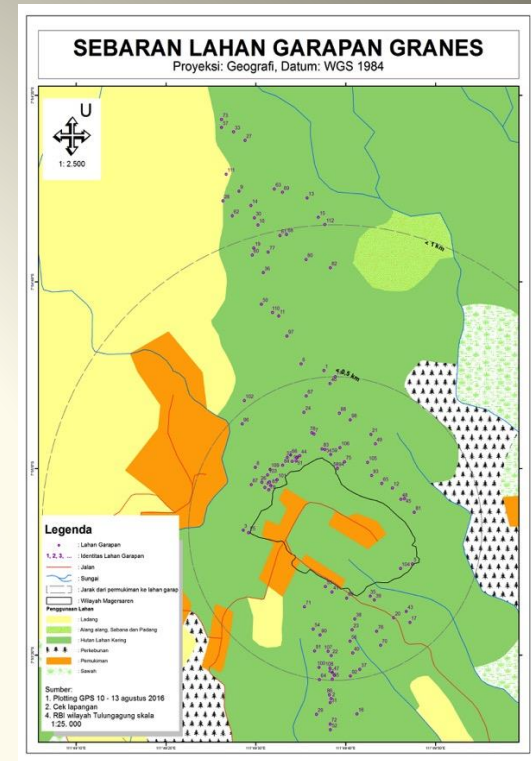
Elephant grass more productive of biomass than rice: subsidy from nature 大象草比水稻富含的生物质更高：来自自然的资助



Informal property in the understory

林下植被的非正式资产

- Understory covered in elephant grass (800-900 ha) 林下覆盖了大象草 (800-900公顷)
- Plots registered with forest village council secretary 这些地块已经在林场村庄委员会经过登记
- Magersaren-driven property/access arrangements in understory Magersaren 推动的对林下资产和准入权的安排
- New source of land for magersaren household production, though not permanent rights Magersaren 家庭生产的新的土地来源，尽管没有永久使用权
- end of “claim” comes when the forest must be cut – 当森林必须被砍伐的时候，他们的使用权也将结束



SHARING Th. 2015

1. WARI : 40.000	32. SIJAT : 40.000
2. KATADI : 40.000	33. Wande : 30.000
3. WASEB : 50.000	34. Badi : 50.000
4. YATENI : 40.000	35. SUKADI : 50.000
5. SUSUD : 40.000	36. GIAT : 20.000
6. EDI : 50.000	37. Prianto : 40.000
7. SATEM : 20.000	38. wiji : 40.000
8. YOTIO : 40.000	39. SUKANI : 20.000
9. JATUG : 30.000	
10. GUNARIM : 40.000	40. SUKADI A : 30.000
11. BADI : 20.000	41. UBI : 40.000
12. MISHI : 30.000	42. JANI : 30.000
13. WARIG : 30.000	43. JANI : 40.000
14. SUMARNO : 40.000	
15. ARIFIN : 20.000	1.510.000
16. PARNI : 20.000	40.000
17. YULI : 40.000	1.470.000
18. JUMARI : 50.000	
19. SULIS : 30.000	
20. AMDIK : 30.000	
21. MARI : 50.000	
22. MURDIN : 30.000	
23. KATIMAN : 30.000	
24. SUGIHO : 20.000	
25. KASRI : 20.000	
26. SUMAR : 30.000	
27. SIJAT : 40.000	
28. YODIMAN : 40.000	
29. SIKAR :	

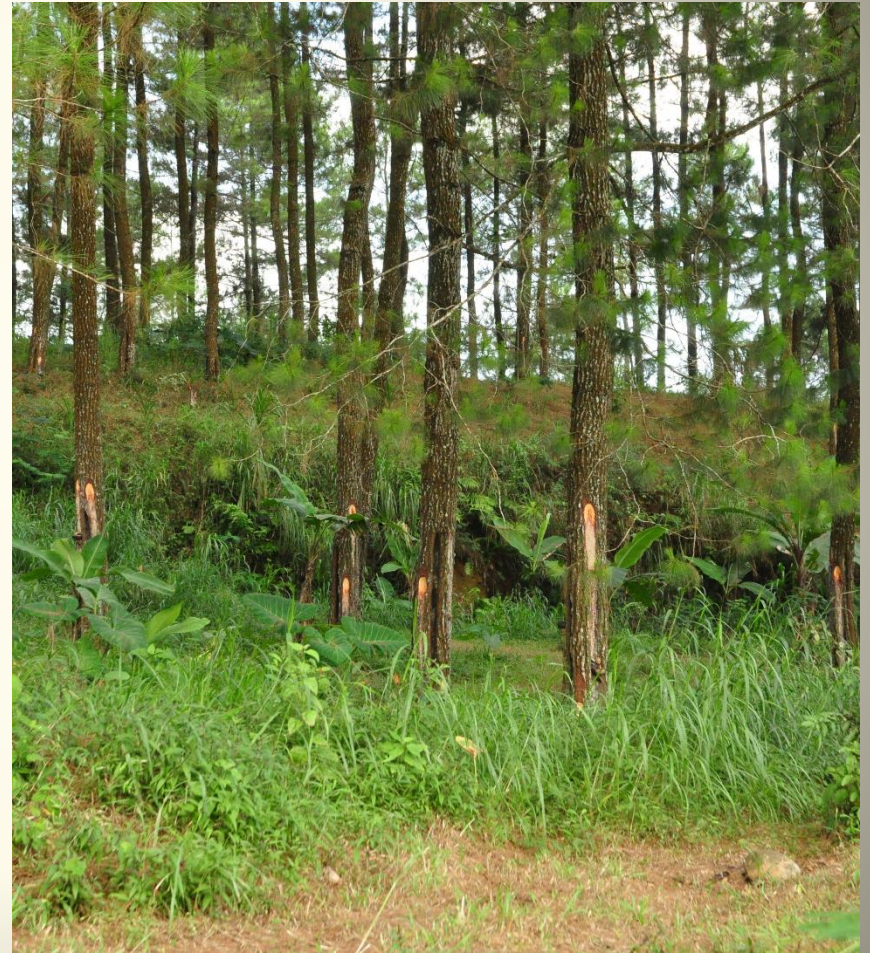
peja (1470.000 x 15%) = 220.500
Sebr = 1.250.000

Jmp
Ripak

State forest work: resin collection

国有林场的工作：采脂

- Resin quotas for SFC district office 国有林场地区办公室下发采脂配额
- Grass plot holders rather than tree plots. 拥有那些种了草的地块而不是树木
- No wages; resin sold, paid every 2 wks 没有工资；树脂卖掉后，每两周付一次钱
- When allocated in $\frac{1}{4}$ ha plots: unlivable 只能分得1/4公顷的地块，不足以维持生活
- Now, 15-25 % of magersaren residents collect the full resin quota for this forest 现在，15-25%的定居点居民完成整片森林的采脂配额



Pine resin, elephant grass, banana border

松树脂、大象草、香蕉界

Property relations: 财产关系

Banana boundary of grass holding 香蕉树作为草地拥有者的边界

Regendering as defined by capital, decision-making, and work 由资本、决策和工作决定的新的性别关系

Women better at household economy 女性更擅长家计

Forest violence and tied men's labor created conditions of possibility 森林暴乱和被束缚的男性劳动创造了新的可能性



The remittance forest as political forest

被建构为“汇款林”的国有林场

Women's reproductive labor more valuable because of political geographical differences in the sites' political economies. 女性的再生产劳动更有价值，因为不同政治经济体的政治地理差异

Conditions of work in forest and structures of migration favor women migrating 林场的工作条件和迁移的结构更有利于女性流动

Migrant women accumulate capital doing socially reproductive labor for others, even though they don't get all the surplus 女性务工者通过为他人提供社会再生产性的劳动来积累资本，尽管她们不能获得所有剩余价值

Stretched household labor leads to changes in forests at home. 被拉伸的家庭劳动分工带来了家乡林业的变迁



