

Original Paper

The Degeneration of Farmers: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study in Sawarna Banten

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Abstract

A threat to the Indonesian strategic programs in Food Security and Food Sovereignty is the degeneration of farmers. Self-sufficiency in food provision has long been Indonesian national strategic programs for years though the ongoing significant lost in farm households could be a call for the Indonesian local governments to find out how and why re-generation of farmers is vital in maintaining the self-sufficiency. This critical ethnographic case study argued for social economic aspects influencing degeneration of farmers to arise namely aging community ought to anticipate with multi approaches solutions. The research aims to provide deep realistic insights to degeneration of farmers in Sawarna village and is expected to contribute to intellectual discourse in food security strategic responses.

Keywords

degeneration, government, intervention, policy, security, sovereignty

1. Introduction

This study is making the case that Indonesia has lost a generation of farmers in the agricultural rice production due to socio-economic aspects influencing views of farmer's professionals. The term "degeneration" of farmers used in the paper is defined as a way to explain how rice farmers leave their lands and in actual fact could be influenced by multilayer's aspects which in turn make the degeneration issue is systemic. To some extent, the underlying aspects are complex and multilayered in nature. A critical ethnographic case study was conducted in Sawarna Village, famous for its reputation as granary for Banten Province located in West Part of Java Island, Indonesia. This research aims to identify the socio-economic aspects that encourage the growing tourism industry in the village and its impacts to particularly in declining numbers of farmer's professionals as a socially acceptable occupation.

The developing food self-sufficiency facts in Sawarna Village are potential that could be seen from the

possession of farm lands in the village. 63.15 percent (780 of 1,235 households) posses their own farm lands occupied approximately 10 hectares of lands per household.

Table 1. Possession of Farm Lands in Sawarna Village

Land Possession	Numbers
Numbers of households posses their own farm lands	780 households
Numbers of households who do not posses their own farm lands	455 households
Posses lands < 10 Hectares	780 households
Posses lands 10-50 Ha	-
Posses lands 50-100 Ha	-
Posses lands > 100 Ha	-
Total numbers of households	1235 households

Source: Village potential resources manuscript, January 2016.

The rice production in Sawarna is quite high, namely 2,004 ton of 334 hectares of paddy fields (Lebak Statistical Board, 2016). Problem comes in when wereng pest attacks most paddy fields in Sawarna. When pesticides and other chemical substances start to loose their ability to fight pest, the local farmers are not well prepared with farming insurance programs and lead the locals to have to survive neediness in terms of alternative income earning in particular. In addition, the facts that tourism sectors are growing rapidly, some famers possessed their own lands have to sell their lands to private owned companies then becomes labours in the lands they used to possessed. Some of lands are over functioned from paddy fields to home stays, though the Indonesian government law No. 41 year 2009, by regional law of Banten Province No. 5 year 2014 on protecting sustainable agricultural lands clearly states the strict regulation for a province to provide 169,515, 47 hectares of agricultural lands in minimum. On the othed side of the coin, Sawarna is also known for its tourism attractions that have noted 17,704 domestic tourists in 2015 including 190 foreign tourists within the same year (Lebak Statistical Board, 2016). It comes no surprise that growing numbers of homestays exist in.

Table 2. Numbers of Homestays in Sawarna

Numbers of Homestays	Name of Homestays	Numbers of Rooms Showing the size of the Homestays	Types of Homestays
1	Famili	9	Permanent House
2	Angsana	7	Permanent House
3	Citro	6	Wooden-stilt Houses
4	Anggra	2	Permanent House
5	Aura	7	Mixed of Permanent house and Wooden-stilt houses
6	Niken	7	Mixed of Permanent house and Wooden-stilt houses
7	Batara II	7	Wooden-stilt houses
8	Millang	10	Wooden-stilt houses
9	Asep	6	Wooden-stilt houses
10	Widi	27	Mixed of Permanent house and Wooden-stilt houses
11	ABG	4	Wooden-stilt houses
12	Clara	10	Wooden-stilt houses
13	Aditya	4	Permanent House
14	Bayu	4	Wooden-stilt houses
15	Mita	6	Permanent House
16	Tanjung Layar	10	Permanent House
17	Restu	10	Permanent House
18	Java Beach	15	Mixed of Permanent house and Wooden-stilt houses
19	Aldista	2	Permanent House
20	Mega Aura	10	Permanent House
21	Harto	5	Permanent House
22	Repli	4	Permanent House
23	Elsa	6	Permanent House
24	Melati	4	Permanent House
25	Kang Hendi	10	Permanent House
26	Reuay	4	Permanent House
27	Encuh	4	Permanent House
28	Cacih	4	Permanent House
29	Ence	4	Permanent House

30	Udin	8	Permanent House
31	Bidadana	4	Permanent House
32	Barna	3	Permanent House
33	Andrew	8	Panggung
34	Soni	3	Permanent House
35	Batara	6	Permanent House
36	Clara	5	Permanent House
37	Sumar	3	Permanent House
38	Barbara	3	Permanent House
39	Seroja	4	Permanent House
40	Eek	3	Permanent House
41	Swarna	6	Permanent House
42	Katapang	3	Permanent House
43	Tumenggung	6	Permanent House
44	Hula-hula	7	Permanent House
45	Padi-padi	6	Permanent House
46	Aliya	5	Permanent House
47	Cihaseum	4	Panggung
48	Gina Ripki	12	Permanent House
49	Sabumi	2	Permanent House
50	Sabumi2	4	Permanent House
51	Cariang	8	Permanent House
52	Nopa nopi	4	Wooden-stilt houses
53	Dedi	3	Wooden-stilt houses
54	Aurel	2	Wooden-stilt houses
55	Ade	6	Permanent House
56	Batara III	3	Permanent House
57	Java Beach II	7	Permanent House
54	Villa	2	Wooden-stilt houses
55	Ade	6	Permanent House
56	Batara III	3	Permanent House
57	Java Beach II	7	Permanent House
58	Villa	5	Villa
59	Villa	3	Villa

The tables shows the growing numbers of homestay as an alternative accommodation offered for the tourists to overcome the problem unable to accommodate the overflowing numbers of tourists coming to Sawarna especially over the weekend arrivals by local entrepreneurs. As a consequence of the nonstop efforts of tourism atmospheres and fashions in the village, the tourism activity, which then becomes an industry, had practiced a rapid growth and gained significance in local's economy. Homestay is then seen as a tourism invention which was introduced to give a chance to the tourist to stay with chosen local family and experience their daily lifestyle and learn their cultures. The local government does not list the homestays as a part of accommodation industry because of its initial concept is more focused on lifestyle and experience which include culture and economic activity. Currently, there are 59 homestay recorded offering 227 rooms.

Homestay has large contribution towards the growth of eco-tourism and heritage tourism, whilst eco-tourism and heritage tourism was introduced to promote nature, culture and adventure aspects of Banten Province where the village is parted of. Homestay is one of the valuable means for the locals to share their way of life and cultures to outsiders or tourists. So, the locals see this industry as an industry that has exceptional local plea and ropes the growth of its goings-on. The local government seems to have also viewed this industry as an opportunity for rural community to participate in tourism industry and encourages the households to take this prospect as chance to complement and create household alternative income.

Again, most local farmers view tourism industries as promising alternative incomes having seen to the massive paddy failure. The search for alternative incomes earnings such as motorcycle taxis driver, food stallers (kiosk), home stays and so forth going along with the development of tourist industries. The casual jobs drive nearly all local people to leave farmer professions. Economic survival influence not only the local farmers per se but also their families and relatives. Serious attention from the Department of Agriculture, particularly in educating proper farming techniques. The attentions nevertheless should be in line with the socio-cultural understanding of the locals. Local farmers underline the way government doing the supervising program so far as disempowering farmers instead of blending in with the farmers either socio-culturally or economically. Accordingly, official economics supports could help with both farmers trapped in illegal rice dealers, making them fall in huge debt, and on top of all ruin the market price of locally produced rice and being too low. Loosing benefits from paddy fields is a main crisis of farmer' degeneration. Tourism industries now major attractions. As the two vies as a quick money related with surviving economic crisis caused by the systemic issues in local agriculture.

Limited financial supports are argued to be the main reason why barely no action taken from the local government to come up with policy actions controlling the invasion. No government control in determining market price on local agriculture products seemingly put farmer on the views that farming jobs are not worth doing economically compared with working in either tourism or industrial sectors. For example, a kilo of "singkong" (cassava) is worth only 1000 rupiahs (AUD 10 cents) on market.

The cassava takes huge efforts to bring in from arable land. As a comparison, a person working as a motor vehicle taxi driver in the village can earn up to 1 million rupiah per day (AUD 100).

The tourism activity at Sawarna is developing fastly. Locals sell lands to companies as to work in the tourism sector. Seven companies have bought lands from the locals, some of them are PT. APS that have occupied wide hectares of land where which locals work as laborers, PT. Gama that works in mining and cemen industries, and PTPN. The threat though is the land conversion to be used for tourism sectors, taking over rice field and continuing to build homestays.



Figure 1. Land Shifting from Rice Field into Homestays in One of the Sawarna Village Block

2. Income Earnings

The numbers of farmers in Banten is decreasing significantly. This is also shown by the declining numbers of farmer's households in the Province by 33.59 percent (from 892 thousands in 2003 to 592 thousands by 2013). The highlighted point is on Tangerang District, as an instance, 222 thousands household farmers change their profession and those contribute to the continuing decline into 86 thousands of farmers households. Approaching perceived knowledge from for instance Foucauldian perspective allows us to create a new understanding of food security that takes the focus on society (in the form of social-economic and social capital, seen in much of the livelihoods literature and changes its place in the analysis of economic conditions in a given context, and local knowledge and perceptions as outside of, and reacting to, such conditions). The socio-economic approach to food security of the paper argues that the understanding of food outcomes is best constructed from an appreciation of local power and perceived knowledge as inextricably bound up with these conditions by the unfolding of actions in a particular context because such actions require as a precondition. The key

points of access to power and farming knowledge for example are these social relations and categories. Social relations and categories are imminent to local perceptions of economic insecurity. This explains why so many empirically-based food security studies suggest that we must look to local perceptions to understand particular problems and responses. Further, the social differentiation inherent in power and perceived knowledge ensures that power is not uniformly perceived or experienced within a given context, thereby accounting for the variable coping strategies and food supply outcomes we see within regions, villages and households.

Most farmers have lack of environmental knowledge in understanding ecosystem of agricultural production including how to use their farming land productively, such as avoiding excessive use of a single land without any breaking time and to free the land from pest naturally without too much relying on pesticide or other chemical substances. The local government admits the lack of knowledge is due very limited numbers of agricultural extension workers on behalf of the Departments of Agriculture in terms of educating environmental knowledge to the locals. A village is ought to be supervised by one worker. In point of fact, a worker can supervise or responsible to three or more village. The incapacity of the Department of Agriculture in educating farmers seems to worsen the crisis of de-generation. Some farmers can be in-debt for saving harvests by looking out loans to buy pesticide and fertilizer.

Following the former argument, the impact of developing tourism activities on local agriculture-industry is another reason why somewhat the crisis of de-generation is continuing. According to a socio-religious leader, since farming lands have been sold to investors, farmers today could be merely low-rate labors paid by the investors.

Homestay is locally viewed as a facility that provides a chance to stay with selected host family, for the tourists who wish to stay for a long period of time to enjoy the beauty of Sawarna beaches. The villagers opened doors for the tourists and allow them to stay in their families and the house owners provided breakfast for the tourists who stay at their house. Although community participating in the tourism-homestays industry initially was not that much widespread because the homestay industry was just used as an alternative accommodation option besides motels or resort for those who wanted to save on accommodation expenses.

According to one of the locals homestay is a house of an individual having several vacant rooms which are not used for the personal purpose are rented to those who wish to stay in those vacant rooms. Therefore, those vacant rooms have become a source of income to the owner of the house. The provincial government of Banten routinely prioritizes large-scale, export-oriented production over the needs of local growers and consumers. The regional policy has accelerated this dramatic land grab as farmland is now seen by the finance industry as a considerable source of returns. Instead of protecting local farmers from massive evictions, the Indonesian government is further opening the doors to foreign investors. The idea is to increase food productivity in Indonesia.

However, as it may happen nationally, the province also has to cope with uncertainty about commodity prices, instead of producing for export and filling in the local market, prices have become unpredictable.

According to the local farmers in Sawarna, prices of seeds, fertilizers and energy have become very volatile, making it impossible for them to assess our production costs. For farmers, price instability and volatility are worse than simply low prices: It makes it virtually impossible to plan what to grow in the coming season, other than having to deal with catastrophe of plant hoppers and massive palm oil invasion, lack of food reserves and the arrival of foreign financial speculators in agricultural markets. Imported rice for instance is likely cheaper than local product in the domestic market.

At Sawarna, the multilayered aspects mentioned formerly discourage farmers from producing, ultimately raising unemployment, encouraging more people to migrate away from the village, resulting in a paradigm shift of farming production. The shift starts what the study terms as “de-generation”. Global climate change impacts, to some extent, the natural-traditional farming production such as unpredictable weather/climate prediction.



Figure 2. Some of the Sawarna’s Fisherman Nowadays Appear to Fashion to Work in Tourism Industry as Boat Taxi for Tourists to Get to an Island as a Tourism Spot Instead of Sailing as They Formerly Did

3. Food Security in Indonesian Context

Food security is a dynamic concept that has suffered considerable transformations in its matter-of-fact stages within differing circumstance. One of the worth mentioning transformations is the move from an early outlook of food security as a artifact of trustworthy supplies of food to the rising present-day highlighting on food as a particular input in wide-ranging local income strategies (Davis et al., 2001). In this present-day debate, food security could be understood in the course of a focal point not only on economic conditions, but also on socio-economic accustomed local knowledge and local perceptions of those conditions. The present-day focus on local knowledge and perceptions, however, has not yet resulted in a critical debate of the role played by Indonesian society. In most Indonesian rural areas generally, agricultural-based food productions are centered in villages wherein the majority of the villagers work as farmers. Whilst generating incomes from agricultural food production, Indonesian farmers are likely dependent of the changing condition of their natural surroundings such as climate changes and natural resources. Indonesian Directorate General of Rural Development revealed that farming is predominant income earnings in Indonesian villages.

The ongoing establishment of “food security” concept in Indonesia champions four conceptual frameworks in measuring the term “security” (UNTIRTA, 2017), which are “availability”, “access”, “utilization” and “stabilization”. Difficulties arise, however, when an attempt is made to put the frameworks into practice in Indonesia. The use of national policy to respond all regional issues may be linked to regulating policies in terms of strengthening institutional capacities in rural areas particularly that could support the wellbeing of farmers.

A study by The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI, 5 October, 2015) revealed four factors leading to continuing loss of farmers in Indonesia. Firstly, the decreasing numbers of farmers own their own lands, shifting farming from family-owned business to industry. The second factor is the aging problem of farmers. The study provides a census showing that most farmers nowadays are in the age of 45-50, meaning less on their productivity. Thirdly, the elder farmers could be in fact have only very basic education, elementary level at most, which then might find it hard to adapt agricultural technology. The next factor is farmers professional is not correlated with adequate income earning. Young villagers may seek other professions rather than following their parents to do farming jobs. This study aims to explore those interconnected factors and to test out as to whether the factors are in actual fact can be the basis of the argument of “de-generation” of farmers.

Based on statistics published by BPS (2012) approximately up to 2009, 57 percent of Indonesians live in 79,075 villages and were relied on the villages for their living earnings (General Guidelines on Governing Villages, 2014, p. iii). The data reported here appear to support the assumption that the existence of villages has had a significant contribution for the country and to confirm Indonesia’s identity as agraris country. Thus it is believed that a proper joint-up strategies that could network national development policies, agricultural-plantation sectors and livestock sectors would likely lead to the prosperity of the rural community.

4. Methodology

The research approach is qualitative explorative. Critical ethnographic (Riswanda, 2015; Riswanda et al., 2016a, b) case study was taken to describe and to interpret socio-cultural system shaping the degeneration of farmers issue. The idea is to drawing out themes from socially excluded communities in particular context. Jackson (cited Riswanda, 2015; dan Riswanda et al., 2016) revealed that discussing the “voice” epistemology in qualitative research is really about how “voices” should talk for themselves or in other words “let voices speak for themselves”. This study investigates certain facts in which “voice” should have been given to those excluded in the decision making cycles on a policy where they are at the receiving ends in fact —“to give voice for the voiceless”.

The study is on critical systemic thinking tradition that goes with a mixed combination of methods. Combining critical ethnography (McIntyre-Mills, 2006c) and case study (Yin, 1994; Stake, 1995) aims to bridge the voicing (by way of narrative interview), in which researchers are using multi-lenses by considering different views in differing contextual situation. Multi-stage purposive technique applied to discover and to sample the people in a network, where “each person or unit is connected with another through a direct or indirect linkage” (Newman, 2004). Sampling “begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out on the basis of links to the initial cases” in anticipation that “no new names are given, indicating a closed network, or because the network is so large that it is at the limit of what [the researcher] can study” (Neuman, 2004, p. 140).

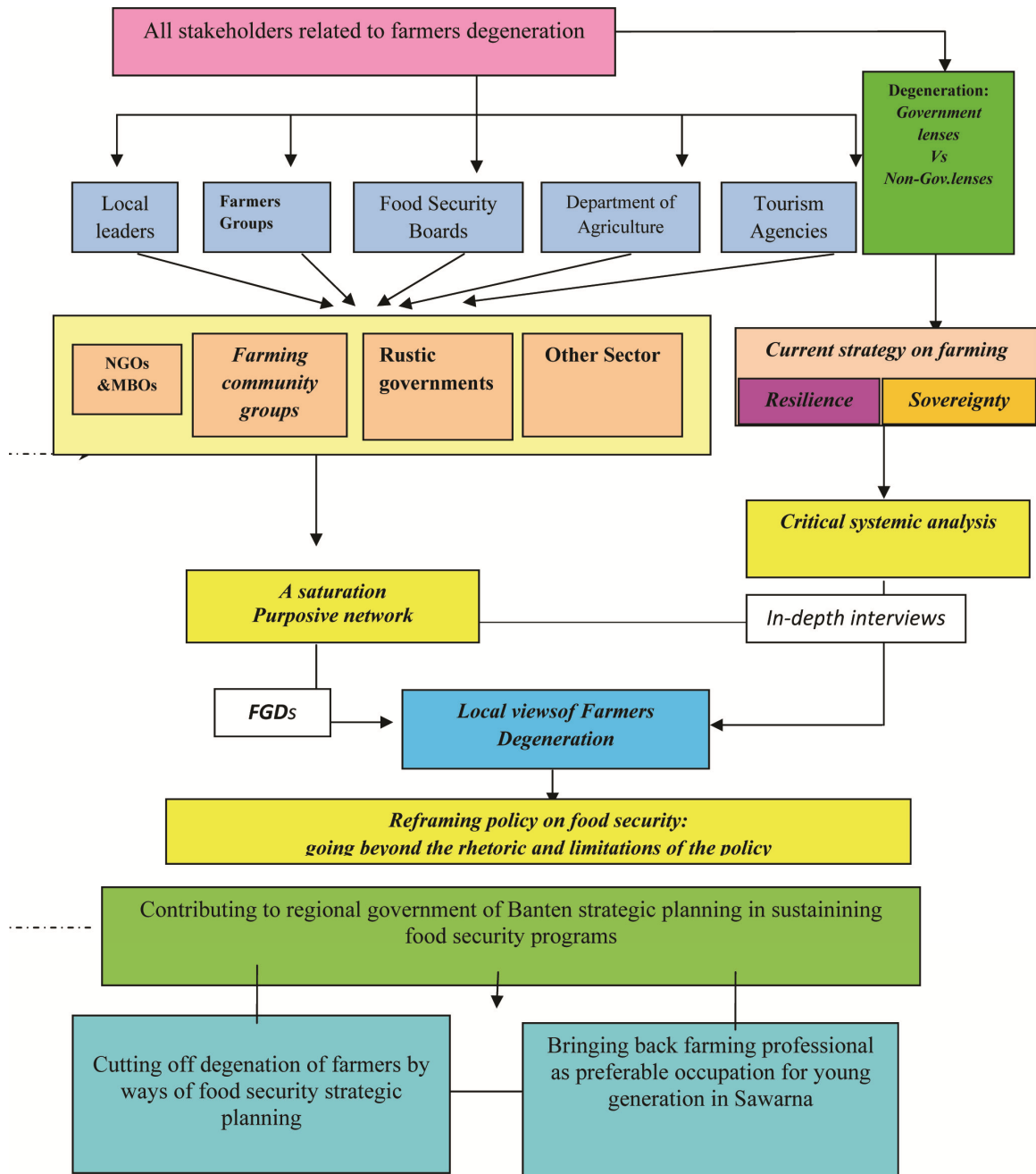


Figure 3. Research Map: The Degeneration of Farmers: A Critical Ethnographic Case Study in Sawarna Banten

5. Result and Discussion

Lack of knowledge in modern farming techniques is an issue regardless another related fact people in their productive ages seems to have lost their interests in farmer professional. Again, promising and permanent incomes have attracted these people to let their parents (who are now mostly in their elderly) do farming jobs. Sharing system (“maro” in Bahasa) is an actual farming production method where people rice-farm in group to do a single land. The system fits the local culture with strong solidarity.

The government missed out adapting the system to their strategic programs. Natural economic market runs the system and so benefiting farmers to the extent where they can do farming and other works at the same time, but also create another issue. Mining industries are developed in the local area among agro-business industries. Some farmers are doing double job, laboring and farming with which the former has a threat to de-generate farmers professionals.

Most farmers have lack of environmental knowledge in understanding ecosystem of agricultural production including how to use their farming land productively, such as avoiding excessive use of a single land without any breaking time and to free the land from pest naturally without too much relying on pesticide or other chemical substances. The local government admits the lack of knowledge is due very limited numbers of agricultural extension workers on behalf of the Departments of Agriculture in terms of educating environmental knowledge to the locals. A village is ought to be supervised by one worker. In point of fact, a worker can supervise or responsible to three or more village. The incapacity of the Department of Agriculture in educating farmers seems to worsen the crisis of de-generation. Some farmers can be in-debt for saving harvests by looking out loans to buy pesticide and fertilizer.

Following the former argument, the impact of developing tourism activities on local agriculture-industry is another reason why somewhat the crisis of de-generation is continuing. According to a socio-religious leader, since farming lands have been sold to investors, farmers today could be merely low-rate labors paid by the investors. Some investors look out for lands in Sawarna for the reason of mining purpose. Massive invasion of China's investments result in urban lifestyle and mindset worsen the crisis of de-generation of farmers. Chinese workers being imported from China are valued to be ignoring sanitations. One of the extremes examples that the workers can sometime defecate in places where toilets are actually available. Since the workers are placed in employee mess, locals view the as the company (Semindo) try to socially exclude the workers. They are rarely seen around Darmasari or other local settlements other than the giant cement factory sees. The daily cement production also polluted air in the surrounding areas for being dusty all days and sour throat may be felt as people coming across the areas (Narrative interview with Om Pejabat (pseudonym)), Head Deputy of Human Development, Social and Culture, Regional Planning and Development Agency.



Figure 4. The Photos Show a Massive Land Conversion Coming with Its All Impacts to Local Farming and Farmers from a Foreign Company

Again, most local farmers view tourism industries as promising alternative incomes having seen to the massive paddy failure. The search for alternative incomes earnings such as motorcycle taxis driver, food stallers (kiosk), home stays and so forth going along with the development of tourist industries. The casual jobs drive nearly all local people to leave farmer professions. Economic survival influence not only the local farmers per se but also their families and relatives.

Serious attention from the Department of Agriculture, particularly in educating proper farming techniques. The attentions nevertheless should be in line with the socio-cultural understanding of the locals. Local farmers underline the way government doing the supervising program so far as disempowering farmers instead of blending in with the farmers either socio-culturally or economically. Accordingly, official economics supports could help with both farmers trapped in illegal rice dealers, making them fall in huge debt, and on top of all ruin the market price of locally produced rice and being too low. Loosing benefits from paddy fields is a main crisis of farmer' degeneration. Tourism industries now major attractions. As the two vies as a quick money related with surviving economic crisis caused by the systemic issues in local agriculture.

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For example, a kilo of “singkong” (cassava) is worth only 1000 rupiahs (AUD 10 cents) on market. The cassava takes huge efforts to bring in from arable land. As a comparison, a person working as a motor vehicle taxi driver in the village can earn up to 1 million rupiah pe day (AUD 100).

6. Shifting in Income Earnings Orientation

Farming activities in Sawarna has shifted from family-basis agricultural to modern agricultural industry. This is to mean that agricultural production today is pretty relying on labours hired by local farmers. The scarcity of resources to do the farming jobs, namely labours willing to be hired are declining along with the attraction of working in tourism and working in factories either in the local surrounding local areas or far out in the nearby cities. As a result, the decline makes labour’s rate becomes expensive and imbalance with grain price produce for instance. According to some local farmers groups, farm labours could be paid up to 50,000 rupiahs a day whereas today labours want to be paid at least 70,000 rupiahs per day. As a comparison, a daily rate to labour in construction work in Indonesia could be 100,000 rupiahs a day, and so farm labouring is seen generally cheap labouring. In Sawarna, most people like to work in tourism sectors. In a peak time, some locals say they could get up to 1.5 million rupiahs a day. Thus, working in tourism sectors could give the locals approximately twenty times higher incomes than labouring in paddy fields for instance.

On the other hand, locals in their young productive ages appear to have lost their interests to follow their parents or great grand parents farming jobs. Better level of education comes along with increasing numbers of school provisions in the village. An interview with local leaders who are also organising farmers groups in Sawarna reveal that local youth now prefer to work in cities for its social prestige the citi-jobs bring in and also the higher incomes they might get than remain working in farming in the village. A questioner accompanied by semi-structured interviews is distributed to 92 students in their third grade of at some local highschoools, 6 teachers, two heads of village governments, three university students who born and breed in Sawarna. Forty two percent of respondents say they are willing to work helping their parents, who are mostly labouring in rice farming, in order to help out with additional incomes earnings. However, around 37.5 percent say they do not want to be farmers in the future due to farmers social status which is seen lower than other occupations in the local area such as managing home stays, civil servants and labouring in factories.



Figure 5. Questionare Distributed to Highschool Students in Sawarna

Narrative interview was then conducted to explore the youth perceptions of farming and farming professionals. Seven of the ninety two students insist that the schools where they study rarely give them topics related to agricultural sectors especially rice farming. One of the student named Melati (pseudonym) even states her interest in Biology which with she thinks should give student chances to have sessions where they can go to farm fields or paddy field connecting the sessions with some school topics. In actual fact, Melati said the sessions have never happened at school. Melati's parents work in the capital city in the Province and own a homestays in Sawarna. Melati's family background clearly shows that her grand parents and her great grand parent work as farmers in Sawarna and now she thinks about going out working in the city in other occupations since the social views of hers and some of her friends at schools of farming professionals are uninterested. School is not the only place having no supports to regerating farmers for the young generation at the local community. The local government seems to nearly have no evidence-based research in accordance with empowering farming and farmers occupations. One of the indication is the lack of demographic data related to pre and post ongoing escalation of tourism sectors in Sawarna. Mr Preman (pseudonym 0 came up with the facts that motor bike taxies (called "ojeg" in Indonesia)) provides more realistic incomes to the locals brings along social prestigious as well. The youth like to be called "gaul" he said as to mean modern and very much urban-look.



Figure 6. Motor Bike Taxis Are Now Inclusive of Boat Taxis That Offer Service to Tourist Wanting to Enjoy the Sawarna Beach

The fact above is paradox with statistic by Indonesian Statistical Board (2016) describing 926 of the locals work as farmers and the rest 139 people are labouring in farm fields owned by other people. Nevertheless, either the statistic or the vilage profile book provided by the government could say precisely how many people have now moved to tourism sectors.

Farming and farmers in Sawarna village are degenerating to a large extent. The degeneration can be seen by the lack of capacity of the agricultural sectors to provide welfare in terms of sustainable income earnings to farmers professions or to those relying their incomes from the local agricultural sectors. The developing tourism sectors on the one hand provides significant alternative income earnings for the locals, whilst leaving farming professionals behind at the least attention. Four underlying aspects can be argued for the on-going degeneration of farmers in the village. Firstly farming is no longer seen by the locals as major source of income earnings. This first aspect seems to have been interrelated with lack of local government supports namely to both maintain the social image of farming professionals as a economically benefical and socially prestigious occuoation. The support should have been started in educating society at schools or informal educational institutions that may call the youth to become farmers. Thirdly, rapidly growing tourism sectors in Sawarna causes shifting over land functions in the village from agricultural production to massive development of hometays for instance. Lastly, better education level among the youth in the village to some extent has moved their interests to see farming jobs for work.

This study points out five strategic recommendations to cope with the degeneration issue in Sawarna village. The first effort is to manage agricultural commerce with respect to farmers welfare. The local

government needs to come up with proper mechanism in determining the purchase price of grain produced by locals. Inconsistent government intervention in providing the mechanism has made farmers sell their grain to middleman which then put them on low income earnings and in the worst case scenario put them on debts. Advocating programs together with financial supports programs are seemingly vital such as farmers insurance programs and farmers profession cards could be of help with the financial issues most local farmers are dealing with. Some of the issues are crop failures caused by wereng pest and unpredictable climate changes. A sustainable protection program of agricultural land should be executed in line with the implementation of regional law to make sure the programs are delivered properly and well funded by the government. The law needs to include the mutually supporting system to combine tourism sectors and agricultural sectors for providing the locals alternative income earnings such as agricultural tourism by organising tourims agents to work together with farmers groups. Overall, degeration of farmers is a systemic issue and so the solution cannot be seen partially but likely cross-sectoral in essence.

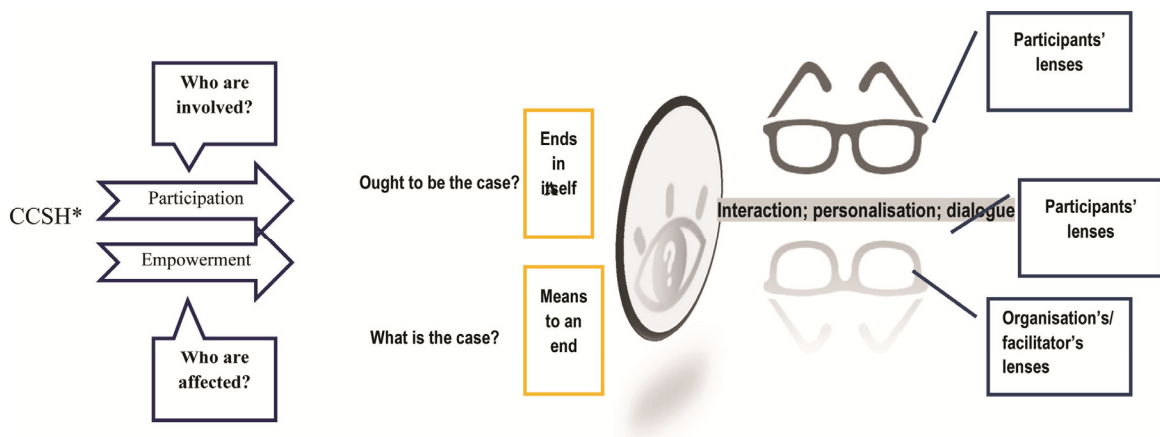


Figure 7. According to Whose Lenses?

In case of Sawarna village, the way “powerholders” come up with a policy response ought to consider, to use Burn’s (2013) phrase, “what matters most”. Three top steps on the “Ladder of citizen participation” coined by Arnstein (1969) is in line with Burn’s argument in taking into consideration the knowledge and perspectives of people that are most affected by poverty. This fits the Indonesian context of degeneration problem, where most decisions to engage in the industry is based on a no-choice and/or false choice decision.

Future development plan and actions should come together with substantial shift citizen participation from merely allowing major power decision-makers to assert that all aspects and all groups of opinions are reflected in the policy strategies to food security, though in fact the response benefit only some of those aspects and groups. Breaking down silos’ (Riswanda, 2015) can be manifested by developing

partnership with farmers groups as genuine representation of voice of the farmers groups, and making sure decision-making power of citizens is delegated equally among groups of citizens with differing views.

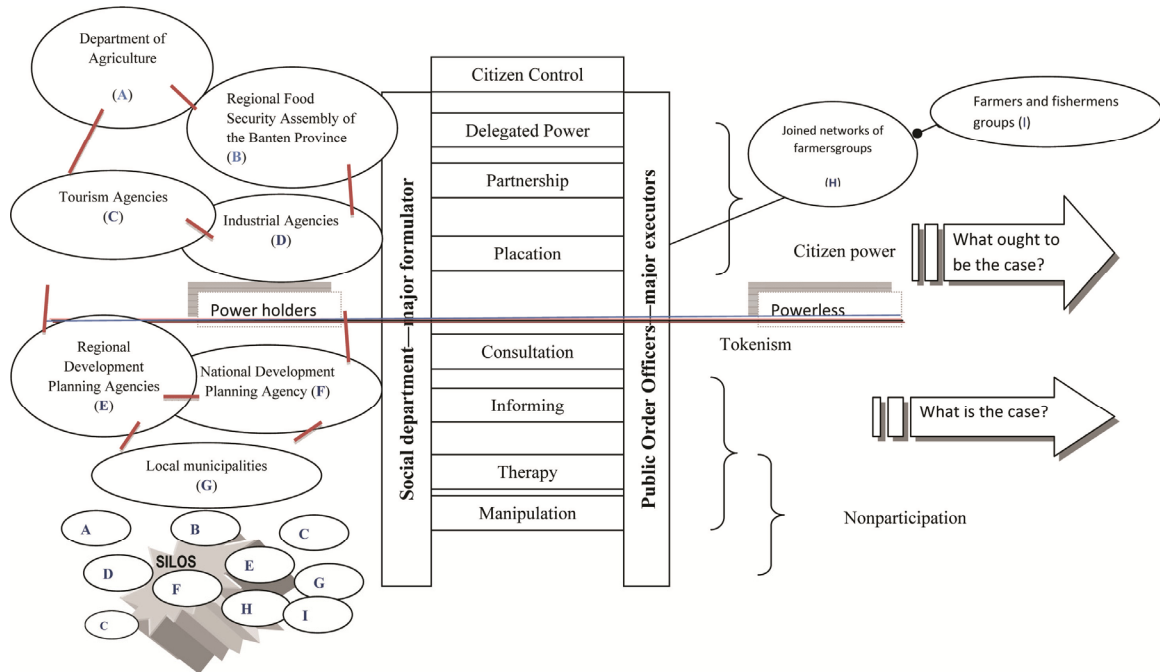


Figure 8. Breaking Down Silos Based on “What Is” and “What Ought to Be” the Case

Source: Adapted from Arnstein, SR 1969, “A ladder of citizen participation”, *JAIP*, Vol. 35, No. 4, July, pp. 216-224.

Following Burns (2013), policy decision makers ought to “experience” the reality of choices left for people living in poverty, and of this case sample are local people surviving difficult. They need to acknowledge the complexities of daily lives of the locals in Sawarna village people that often have to involve in alternative income earnings to get out of the poverty line. A way to “experience” can be by taking into account lived and witnessed experience of those living with neediness, and get lack of access in determining what they need at the same time, when making a policy response. For policy decision makers to really understand the complexities of lives led by locals in Sawarna, they need to experience in a real way the choices that people have to make on a day-to-day basis.

“Silos” happens to all sectors working on policies related to food security strategies. What is the case shows degree of participation of Indonesian policy making of food security at this moment in time, that is in between consultation and placation. Departments and sectors, either in national or local level governance, appear to have worked in silos in dealing with degeneration of farmers. Each department and each sector work in separate distinct ways on formulating policy related to food security strategies; interpret the outdated farming agricultural programs in somewhat different ways. Policy responses to

the issue thus result in complete silos. It seems to be why then efforts in coming up with policy responses to degeneration of farmers are rarely found and have never met an end point wherein a common understanding becomes the decision making grounds for any policy actions on the issue. “Participation” and “empowerment” programs with pre-determined ends by people outside the boundary of participants or groups of whom to be empowered; program facilitators assumed the needs of the participants; the nature of the program is “direction”; end benefits of the programs likely go to the organizations empowered the programs. “Participation” and “empowerment” programs with “*learning and enskilling*” as the key objectives; participants or groups to be empowered gain benefits of the programs through knowledge transfer; the nature of the program is “interaction”.

7. Conclusion

Drawing on critical systems heuristic by Ulrich (1983, 1987a, b, 1988a, b) is worthwhile for policy makers in designing participation-based agricultural programs of support for issue of de-generation of farmers. The narrative of this paper reflects a slippery side of the concept “empowerment” every so often used to local society in Sawarna village and then is so-called “empowering rural people” or also is often called. Clearly, the pre-determined programs has means to receive a moral order end to benefit the people participating and to benefit the society in general to be free from the influencetourism secto may bring in to the factual today condition of the society. Their vulnerability is to be empowered using the lenses of those running the program.

As Arnstein (1965) argued, it is important to define what kind of participation that citizens can engage in. The “ladder of citizen participation” goes beyond the rhetoric of self-support participation, citizen engagement and total control of government as power holders. Instead, the ladder leads to a greater understanding of what so-called participation in terms of investigating to what extent people are participated in a policy decision making process and vice versa. In terms of food security policy-making, the degree of citizens participation is in between “consultation” and “placation” place on the ladder. This shows a discrepancy between power holders and the powerless in making a policy decision. According to Arnstein (1969, p. 216), there is a slippery side between “citizen control” and “manipulation”. Participating citizen should be able to or should have the capacity to oversee their lives and environs including how to give voice to urgent the regeneration farmers programs.

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