



**Rejection of Young Farmers to the Government
Resettlement Programme**
**The Case of Young Farmers Who Migrated to Urban
Informal Sectors in Jakarta, Indonesia**

A Research Paper presented by:

Lucky Ferdinand Lumingkewas

Indonesia

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Agrarian, Food Security and Environment Study

AFES

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr Mindi Schneider

Dr Saturnino 'Jun' M Borrás Jr.

The Hague, The Netherlands

December 2015

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Acknowledgement

I am trembling when I recall how You facilitated such an amazing journey for me, the most common person from a third-world country, to study in one of the best schools in the world, one of a kind, and live in a place that billions of people can only dream of. I bow and awe in front of Your greatness and kindness, giving all of my respect, honour and gratitude for everything You have done for me, providing me with wisdom, strengths and endurance in completing my postgraduate study. I will let Your divine plan be accomplished through me and may Your name be glorified forever. You are my Lord, my Savior, Jesus Christ.

I also remember my belated dad who must be very proud of me in heaven. I did it dad, far more than you expected from your loving son, graduating a master's degree from a European university.

I also want to thank my wife, Maria Lucyferina; and my children Ludwig Dwayne Lumingkewas, Luvena Kristy Lumingkewas and Luifen Glory Lumingkewas who all come with me to The Hague. They are truly God's precious gifts to me. Without them, completing my master's degree will be much tougher.

My mother, Amelia Mairering who prays for me every day, thank you for your endless love to me. You are still the best mother in the world to me.

I also want to thank my big family who has supported me in completing this study. My mother-in-law; my younger sister, Helmi Elisa Lumingkewas, and her family; my brother-in-law, John Sihar, and his family; my sister-in-law, Merrienne Natalina, and her family; my sister-in-law, Victoria Handayani, and her family; and my brother-in-law, Ayub Jupiter, and his family.

My highest appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Mindi Schneider, and my second reader, Dr. Saturnino Jun Borrás Jr. Your expertise has helped me to see more diverse views of the world and with more critical lens rather than accepting it as it is.

My AFES colleagues who enriched my learning process during our 15 months together, I hope we will cross path in the future.

My Indonesian colleagues who make me feel very proud as an Indonesian, our sincere friendship has proven to be a significant factor in completing our studies.

Last but not least, Ibu Indy Hardono, Pak Gama Iqbal, and everyone in the STUNED team, without you all this journey will never be completed. Thank you, thank you and thank you for making my dream come true.

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Graphic</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Relevance to Development Studies</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Keywords</i>	<i>ix</i>
Chapter 1 : Access to Land as a Critical Reason for Young Farmers Leaving Rural Farming Work	1
1.1. Young Farmers and Government Resettlement Programme	1
1.2. Research Question and Objectives	2
1.3. Methodology	3
1.3.1. The Logic of Using a Case Study	3
1.3.2. Case Selection	4
1.3.3. Case Study Design	4
1.3.4. Case Study Evidence	5
1.3.5. Case Study Analysis and Reporting	6
1.4. Challenges and Limitations	6
1.5. Organisation of Chapters	6
Chapter 2 : Rural-Urban Migration and the Resettlement Programme	8
2.1. Rural-Urban Migration	8
2.2. Resettlement and Why People Reject	10
2.2.1. History of Indonesia Transmigration Programme	11
2.2.2. Transmigration Failure and its Impact	13
Chapter 3 : Food Security as an Important Reason of Resettlement	16
3.1. Shifting the Objective of Transmigration from Demographic to Food Security Issues	16
3.2. Ideological Debate on How to Achieve Food Security	17
Chapter 4 : Young Farmers Who Left Rural Farming Work to Join Urban Informal Sectors in Jakarta	20
4.1. Research Participants' Living and Working Condition	20
4.2. The Profile of Research Participants	23

4.3. Reasons for Leaving Rural Farming Work	24
4.3.1. Access to Land	24
4.3.2. Income	24
4.3.3. Following relatives/friend	25
Chapter 5 : Rejections of Young Farmers to Government Resettlement Programme	26
5.1. Reasons of Rejections: The Distance is Too Far	26
5.2. Factors Supporting the Reasons	29
5.2.1. Javanese Culture	29
5.2.2. High Income	29
5.2.3. Flexible Work Mobility and Job Satisfaction	31
5.2.4. Their Dreams and Hopes to Return to Rural Farming Work	33
Chapter 6 : Conclusion	37
References	39
Appendix I	44

List of Tables

Table 1. Population, Sample, Case and Level of Observation	4
Table 2. Households and Persons Participating in the Transmigration Programme, 1905 - 2000.....	12
Table 3. Research Participants by Age (n=20).....	23
Table 4. Research Participants by Sex (n=20).....	23
Table 5. Research Participants by Education Level (n=20).....	24
Table 6. Research Participants by Origin.....	25
Table 7. Research Participants' income by Type of Work	30
Table 8. Research Participants by Years of Work Experience	31

List of Figures

Figure 1. Research Participants Living Condition.	20
Figure 2. Porter at Kramat Jati Vegetables and Fruits Wholesale Market	21
Figure 3. Vegetable and Fruit Wholesale Market Kramat Jati East Jakarta	21

List of Maps

Map 1. Transmigration Locations in Outer Islands of Indonesia.....	11
Map 2. The Kramat Jati Vegetable and Fruit Wholesale Market in East Jakarta	22
Map 3. Origin of Research Participants	25

List of Graphic

Graphic 1. Rice Prices, 2000 – 2014.....	17
--	----

List of Acronyms

EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GM	Genetically Modified
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
MIJARC	Mouvement International de la Jeunesse Agricole et Rurale Catholique (International Movement of Catholic Agricultural and Rural Youth)
MIFEE	Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
TNC	Trans National Corporations
WHO	World Health Organization of the United Nations

Abstract

More and more rural young people have left their farming work to go to cities. Access to farming land is indicated as one of the major drivers for young people to leave farming work. Higher income, easier access and flexible work mobility particularly in urban informal sectors are indicated as the allure. Their decision to leave their farming work will weaken the country food security in the future. The Indonesian government under the transmigration programme has a plan to return these people back to rural farming work but not in their origin village. The plan is to resettle these people to outer islands of Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua which located thousands kilometers away from their own village. This research investigated why these young farmers rejected the transmigration programme. The researcher interviewed 20 young people of ages between 19 and 29 years old who mostly work as informal workers (porter) at a vegetables and fruits wholesale market in Kramat Jati East Jakarta, Indonesia. One empirical findings from this research is that all 20 young people interviewed (all of whom lack access to land in their respective villages) rejected the transmigration programme mostly because the transmigration are too far and too remote from their villages in Java that would make the transportation cost very high if they want to return to their respective villages. Another empirical finding also shows found out that these young people received better income in Jakarta, above city's minimum wages of formal workers – which is one the highest minimum wages in Indonesia. They also enjoyed their work due to its flexible working hours and work mobility, and easiness to secure employment and resign that will help them a lot whenever they want to return to meet their families. Those factors are believed to contribute to the rejection of the transmigration programme.

Relevance to Development Studies

The Indonesian government has designed a mega resettlement project (transmigration programme) targeting 4 million landless people from rural Java including those who work in urban informal sectors. The mega resettlement project will relocate them to 9 million hectares of new agriculture land in the outer islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. The main purpose of this project is to achieve the national food security through an increase in food production particularly rice. This research investigated why young people working in informal sectors in Jakarta who are one the target groups of this programme rejected it. The research findings are expected to provide valuable information for policy makers and those whose work is related to the government mega resettlement project, particularly since the government has a very ambitious target of 4 million people joining this project. Understanding the reasons be-

hind their rejection will help planners from development agencies in designing a proper alternative programme that will meet young farmers' expectation and reduce any potential conflict.

Keywords

Young Farmers, Urban informal workers, Land access, Rural-Urban Migration, Resettlement, Food Security, Indonesia.

Chapter 1 : Access to Land as a Critical Reason for Young Farmers Leaving Rural Farming Work

1.1. Young Farmers and Government Resettlement Programme

Many literatures and ground field studies have identified that more and more young people are turning away from agriculture (Tadele and Gella 2012, Anyidoho et al. 2012, White 2011, White 2012, Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012). The Global North countries, such as Canada and EU, are also experiencing similar challenges, - : the number of young farmers in Canada decreased from 11.5% to 9% between 2001 – and 2006 and the number of young farmers in EU countries decreased from 9% to 6% between 1990 – and 2012 (Mills 2013).

There were many reasons why those young farmers left farming work. Ben White identified several key reasons such as “the deskilling of rural youth, and the downgrading of farming and rural life; the chronic government neglect of small-scale agriculture and rural infrastructure; and the problems that young rural people increasingly have, even if they want to become farmers, in getting access to land while still young”(White 2012).

Ground research conducted by Getnet Tadele and Asrat Ayalew Gella in Ethiopia, found several other reasons why young people left farming work, one of which was the lack of prestige, whereby farming was perceived as a degrading occupation, “tiring and hard, a life of endless toil with little gain” and parents strongly advised their young people to leave farming work. Interestingly, such came from parents who gained success in farming work rather than from those who failed (Tadele and Gella 2012). Another critical reason found by this ground research for why young people left farming work was access to land. It said that “... many young people are interested in going into agriculture since farming is the tradition and the most natural thing for them to do, but decide to explore other options such as trade and business when the option of becoming a farmer is closed off because they cannot get land”(Tadele and Gella 2012). This research also found that for young people who were not in school, the issue was not lack of interest but the lack of land.

Access to land is also one important finding of a survey conducted by MIJARC in collaboration with FAO and IFAD on Facilitating Rural Youth in Agriculture Activities. “The survey found that 52% of the young farmers that replied to the survey, mentioned access to land as the biggest challenge when they started farming. More than half of the respondents that were not practicing farmers mentioned access to land as one of the main factors that refrains them from starting a farming activity”(MIJARC 2012).

A similar difficulty in terms of access to land also faces Indonesia’s young people. The price of agriculture land in Java has been rapidly increasing in the last 15 years, especially since the price of rice has been increasing as well,

by 304%¹ in the last 15 years, leading to many rich investors buying agriculture land to plant paddy. It is almost impossible for young people to purchase agriculture land in any parts of Java island.

My research supports findings that the combination of the above mentioned factors was believed to be most critical, and has caused millions of rural young farmers in Indonesia to migrate to urban areas and find alternative work in informal sectors. Cities like Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bandung, Bekasi, Semarang, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya are those young farmers' main destinations.

The Indonesian government tried to offer a solution to this land access issue by providing land and accommodation for young farmers under a resettlement programme called the Transmigration programme. This programme was started in the Dutch colonial era and implemented until recently. The new administration under President Joko Widodo revived it through the launched of a programme to relocate 4 million farmers from Java to other less populated islands such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua (Ministry of Rural Development Indonesia. 2015). Nine million hectares of land have been prepared for this programme whereby each participant will receive 2 hectares of land. The main objective of this resettlement programme is to achieve food security and food self-sufficiency. In this case, young farmers are considered to be the potential target for participation in this programme. Special attention is given to young farmers who have shifted their livelihood from rural farming to work in urban informal sectors. This study investigated why young farmers rejected the current transmigration programme.

It seems that providing land under a resettlement programme is a good option for those young farmers who already work in urban informal sectors but not all of them welcomed to the idea.

1.2. Research Question and Objectives

Considering that a number of young farmers have refused to participate in Transmigration programme, my main research question is:

Why have they refused to participate in the programme while they would otherwise be provided with free land and accommodation?

The sub questions are as follows:

1. What factors influence young farmers' rejection to the programme?
2. How do young farmers perceive their future?
3. What do young farmers need and/or want in order to stay and/or return to rural farming work?

This study would sought to explore reasons young farmers have for leaving farming work in rural areas and moving to urban areas to work in informal sectors, or their reasons for rejecting the government resettlement programme although they would otherwise receive 2 hectares of land without

¹ According to Indonesia Statistic Office (Indonesia Statistic Office 2015), the rice price in year 2000 was Rp. 2,313 and increase to Rp. 9,352 in year 2014 or 304% in 15 years (see graphic 1 for more detail).

charge, including accommodation, farming tools, technical assistance as well as financial support until they are able to harvest and sell their crops².

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. *The Logic of Using a Case Study*

I intensively investigated young farmers who left rural farming work and migrated to Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city, to work in informal sectors as my case study, as suggested by Gerring (2007: 20) that "A *case study* may be understood as the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of cases (a population)(Gerring 2007). *Case study research* may incorporate several cases, that is, multiple case studies". I prefer to use this case study – using qualitative data collection method – rather than cross case study – using quantitative data collection method – due to my purpose of study which is to investigate closely why young farmers chose to leave rural farming work, refused to participate in the government resettlement programme, and instead joined informal sectors in urban areas.

Referring to the explanation given by Gerring (2007: 20-26) on several key terms of case study research such as the level of observation, case, sample and population below:

"The population of my case study is Indonesian young, male and female farmers aged between 15 and – 29 years old who left rural farming work and joined urban informal sector; I took young farmers coming from Java as the biggest population of farmers in Indonesia as the sample; and the case I specifically looked at is the case of 20 young farmers from Java working in informal sectors at a specific location in Jakarta (i.e. Kampung Tengah) who rejected the government resettlement programme, and my level of observation is similar to my case study which is 20 young farmers from Java working in informal sectors at a specific location in Jakarta who rejected the government resettlement programme. For the purpose of this research I only interviewed those who rejected the resettlement programme but interestingly during my field research I never met those who wanted to join the transmigration programme. In order to ensure that my research participants used to be farmers and knew how to plant paddy, I gave them filter check question"(Lucky Lumingkewas. 2015).

² Since Indonesia second president, the transmigration program provides land, a house and a living allowance intended to support the people until the first harvest (Fearnside 1997: 555). This type of transmigration program is called general transmigration.

Table 1. Population, Sample, Case and Level of Observation

Population	Sample	Case	Level of Observation
Indonesian young farmers who left rural farming work and joined urban informal sector	Young farmers (who left rural farming work and joined urban informal sectors) coming from Java as an island that has the biggest population of farmers in Indonesia	20 young farmers from Java who left rural farming work to work in informal sector at a specific location in Jakarta (Kampung Tengah, East Jakarta) and rejected the government resettlement programme	20 young farmers from Java who left rural farming work to work in informal sectors at a specific location in Jakarta (Kampung Tengah, East Jakarta) and rejected the government resettlement programme

1.3.2. Case Selection

The case that I have selected is a typical case, as explained by Gerring (2007: 91-93) “The typical case exemplifies what is considered to be a typical set of values, given some general understanding of a phenomenon. By construction, the typical case is also a representative case”. To make it more representative, I have selected Javanese young farmers who migrated to Jakarta to work in informal sectors for two reasons:

“First is because Javanese farmers constitute the majority of farmers in Indonesia. By selecting Javanese farmers as the case, I would have the highest possibility to represent all Indonesian young farmers. Second because Jakarta is the biggest city (by population) in Indonesia and has the biggest number of informal job Indonesia. By selecting Jakarta as the city for my case, I would have the highest possibility to represent all Indonesian young farmers who left rural farming work and moved to work in informal sector”(Lucky Lumingkewas. 2015).

1.3.3. Case Study Design

The definition of case study design according to Yin (2014:27-69) below:

First is construct validity. Construct validity is the operationalization of a concept as intended during the study. In my research design, I used many literatures and prior field research on the phenomena of many young people turning away from rural farming work and moving to a city to find non-farming jobs. I also used literatures of rural-urban migration and resettlement as those literatures provided with concept on why young farmers rejected the government resettlement programme and why they leave rural farming work. I

also used food security concept since the main reason of the current government resettlement programme is to achieve food security.

Second is internal validity. Internal validity is “seeking to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions” (Yin 2014: 46). In my case study I investigated a causal relationship between access to land and their decision to leave the rural farming work. Is the location of transmigration programme has a causal relationship with their decision to reject the transmigration programme?

Third is external validity. External validity is “defining the domain to which a study’s findings can be generalized” (Yin 2014: 46). In my case I used theories and other research findings on rural-urban migration including why young people turn away from rural farming work and why they rejected the resettlement programme to support my findings and be generalized.

Fourth is reliability. Reliability refers to research findings replicability (with similar procedures of data collection) with the same result by other researchers. In order to increase the reliability of my research, I established a comprehensive database of my field research (name of research participants, addresses, contact numbers, ages and pictures) to allow other researcher use similar procedures with a high probability of a similar result.

1.3.4. Case Study Evidence

In the data collection, I used several sources of evidence including documentation such as other case studies on young people and farming; direct observation; and interviews (unstructured/open ended and focused interview). For 2 weeks between 15 – 30 June 2015, I lived among my research participants in Kampung Tengah East Jakarta to make a fully involved observation of their daily lives and obtain much easier access to meet them since most of these young people could be interviewed only between 11:00 p.m – 03:00 a.m, during their working hours. Most of my research participants worked as porter in Jakarta’s central fruit and vegetable. They unloaded heavy packs of vegetable and fruits from trucks coming from rural areas to whole sales shop inside the market and loaded them back to retail buyers’ truck or cars.

At the first initial research period, I made a gate keeper technique (King and Horrocks 2010) to gain access to the community. I need to meet someone who already live and part of the community who can help me in providing access to more young farmers who work as informal workers in wholesale market. I have a colleague who live there and work as a volunteer of education programme for poor children in the location. She helped a lot in introducing me with people there including finding my accommodation. I also met another gate keeper who lived close to my accommodation and work as driver at the central market. He brought me to the market and introduced me to other drivers. I also needed to find someone to introduce to the porter. I did and through him I was able to meet and interview other porters. I also met someone who sold food on the street and through him I was able to meet and interview more street food sellers.

1.3.5. Case Study Analysis and Reporting

I used a Pattern Matching technique to analyse my case study, as suggested by Yin (2014: 143-147). I compared my case study findings with findings I had predicted before I collected the data.

In reporting my case study, I am using a linear analytic structure (Yin 2014: 186). “It is started with the problem I researched in my case study, the review of relevant prior literatures, methodologies I used to collect data, the analysis of findings and conclusion”(Lucky Lumingkewas. 2015).

1.4. Challenges and Limitations

Challenges during the field research were mainly related to three things. The first challenge was related to rapport building with research participants that needed extra time to develop trust. To solve this challenge, I made intensive approaches to several key persons at the locations and asked them to introduce me to their friends who had potential as research participants. The second challenge was related to the concept of transmigration which not every potential research participants were familiar hence extra time was needed prior to each interview to provide explanation about meaning of the concept. The third challenge was related to the interview schedule. Most of research participants in particular the porter and drivers, had very late working hours between 10:00 p.m – 03:00 a.m. I needed to be able to adapt my interview schedule to their working hours. Another challenge I faced was related to their high mobility during their working hours, requiring me to be extra patient to wait until they had free time and could provide around 1 hour of their time for an interview.

This research has limitations, in that I only interviewed Javanese informal workers since I used a Typical Case Study in order to have adequate representation of the population as explained in details in section 1.3 above. However since this report mainly discusses migrant informal workers’ rejection of the resettlement/transmigration programme to the outer islands of Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua, non-Javanese migrants particularly those from those outer islands will be interesting target participants to be included. Will they refuse to return to their own provinces and receive 2 hectares of land including accommodation and other incentives for free? This in turn limits the conclusion I have drawn in that it does not take non-Javanese young farmers into account. Thus the generalization and representativeness of my research will be limited to Javanese young farmers. However since the transmigration programme targets mostly Javanese farmers, this research result will provide the government with more accurate information regarding Javanese young farmers.

1.5. Organisation of Chapters

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the research where young farmers who already left rural farming work and move to work in informal sectors in a city rejected the transmigration programme in which the government will provide them with 2 hectares of land, including accommodation and others

incentives. This is interesting since access to land said to be a critical reason for them to leave rural farming work. In this regards, my research questions is what are the reasons for them to reject the transmigration programme? This chapter also discusses the methodology I used to collect data and analyse the findings using theoretical frameworks. Challenges and limitations are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework of push and pull factors in rural-urban migration including rural-urban migration in Indonesia. The Indonesia current government has specific resettlement programme to increase food production and achieve food security. The programme was called transmigration and targeting rural and urban migrant people to be resettled to outer islands in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. In this chapter, I also briefly described the history and impact of the transmigration programme in Indonesia. Currently the transmigration programme has very ambitious target i.e. relocating 4 million Javanese farmers.

Chapter 3 describes briefly the concept of food security and discusses a debate on how to achieve food security between productionist paradigm (Lang and Heasman 2004). The dominant ideology adopted by politicians, policy makers and business people in Indonesia is the productionist paradigm, that the transmigration programme is one of the priority programmes of the Indonesian government to increase food production in particular paddy to achieve food security.

Chapter 4 discusses the context of my research location and the profile of my research participants, mostly young farmers from Central Java who have left rural farming work and migrated to Jakarta to work in informal sectors at a vegetables and fruits wholesale market in Kramat Jati, East Jakarta. There were 20 research participants involved in my research and mostly working as porter at the wholesale market. In this chapter I also explain the comparison between the push-pull theory of rural-urban migration and the empirical data I gathered during the field research from young farmers who migrated to urban areas.

Chapter 5 discusses the comparison between the predicted reasons behind the rejection of the resettlement/transmigration programme– due to distance from the resettlement locations to their hometown – and the empirical data I gathered from the young farmers who worked at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. I also present findings on the factors that drove young farmers' rejection to the transmigration programme including their future expectations to return to their villages in Central Java to start up a small business using their own saving and to do farming work if they have agricultural land. This empirical data proved that young informal workers in Jakarta rejected the transmigration programme because the resettlement locations are distant from their villages. This will jeopardise the government's aim to get 4 million farmers to participate in the transmigration programme.

Chapter 6 concludes the report with what these urbanised young farmers consider as crucial and what policy implications the findings have for future transmigration programmes.

Chapter 2 : Rural-Urban Migration and the Resettlement Programme

2.1. Rural-Urban Migration

The phenomenon of the increasing number of young people who leave rural farming work and migrate to cities can also be seen as part of the rural-urban migration concept. Michael P. Todaro identified the rural-urban income differential and the probability of finding an urban job as two critical factors to migrate³ (Todaro 1995). While many studies found that the income differential is key to rural-urban migration, other studies also suggested that there are also others critical factors contributing to rural-urban migration.

There are many determinants that influence an individual to migrate from a rural area to an urban area, which are identified as rural push and urban pull factors. A rural push factors is a factor in a rural that pushes the residents to leave that rural area such as poverty, unavailability of job, lower income, poor infrastructure, etc. An urban pull factors is a factors in an urban area that pulls rural people to come to that urban area, such as higher income, more opportunities for formal jobs, flexibility of entering informal jobs, advanced infrastructure, etc. Both types of factors are working together and provide explanation for why millions of people leave their villages to go to cities leading to urbanisation.

Field studies in less developed countries, including Bangladesh, India and Indonesia, support the concept of pull and push factors. AKM Ahsan Ullah conducted a rural-urban study in Bangladesh focusing on Dhaka city. He investigated factors contributing to migration processes in Bangladesh. He concluded that “migration is influenced by both “push” and “pull” factors, such as the search for work, landlessness, extreme poverty, loss of income, easy access to informal sectors in cities, and joining families or relatives” (Ullah 2004). Another study on rural urban migration in the same city, Dhaka Bangladesh that was conducted in 2013 by Istiaque and Ullah (Ishtiaque and Ullah 2013) also concluded that urban pull factors - availability of jobs, getting access to city’s informal economy and bright city light- , and rural push factors - natural disaster, the lack of employment opportunities, the lack of food/crop failure, a financial crisis, maladjustment in family/community and influence by a family members predominantly influence the migration status, however urban pull factors are comparatively significant (Ishtiaque and Ullah 2013).

Another study on rural-urban migration taking place in Bangladesh was conducted by Hossain (Hossain 2001 as cited in Sridhar K.S.et all, 2013). Hossain studied rural urban migration in ten villages in Comilla district, Bangladesh. His study mainly focused on migration differentials and determinants. He found poverty, job searching, and family influence as the main push factors for out migration, and better opportunities, prior migrants, and availability of

³ Michael P. Todaro see the rural-urban migration more as the negative aspect and suggested to do reformative pro rural development in order to reduce the rural migration to urban.

job as the main pull factors for migration (Sridhar K.S., et al, 2013: 291). Sridhar K.S et al also found through their research in India that “the lower the level of education of the migrant, the greater the importance of the push factors whereas with increasing level of education of the migrant, pull factors become more important in migration” (Sridhar K.S. et al, 2013: 287-288). Another study on factors causing labour migration that was conducted by Hari Sundar and Sudharani Ravindran (Hari Sundar G Ram and Ravindran 2013) in Ernakulam district India concluded that recognition was also a critical factor for rural people to migrate to urban areas. Other factors found during the study included employment problems, improvement in career, family, family involvement, marriage, compulsion, available facilities, financial problems and adverse situation (Hari Sundar G Ram and Ravindran 2013).

Indonesia like other developing countries has similar rural-urban experiences. The country’s stable economic growth and fast transformation from an agricultural to industrial society has provided a foundation for massive movement of rural people to cities to fuel the urbanisation process. However not all the poor landless rural people who migrate to town were absorbed in manufacturing industrial job, in fact millions of these people abandoned in urban informal sector. Tania Li described these people as Surplus Population (Murray Li 2009, Li 2010). According to Bernstein (Bernstein 2004) the failure of the capitalist system to provide a wage job for the disposed poor rural people has been central in the current agrarian question.

However, unlike Todaro, and other researchers that saw the negative aspects of rural-urban migration, Chris Manning and Xin Meng believed that rural-urban migration contributed more positive impacts on rural poverty reduction and said that the movements “benefit those who migrate and those who remain behind” (Meng et al. 2010). They edited a book title: *The Great Migration: Rural Urban Migration in China and Indonesia*⁴. There are several other field researchers concluded positive impacts of rural-urban migration such as driver of growth and poverty reduction in rural areas through remittances and important livelihood diversification strategy for the poor groups of any country (Anh 2003, Islam 1996, Berner 2000 as cited in Ishtiaque and Ullah 2013: 46).

Another critical researcher on rural-urban migration is Tamara Jacka (Jacka 2014). She did field research on rural-urban migration in China, focusing on vulnerable groups left behind in the countryside such as women, children and the elderly. Millions of Chinese rural young people moved to cities to find wage jobs, leaving rural farming work and their families, including wives, children and the elderly in the respective villages. Those vulnerable groups were abandoned by their families.

On the other side of the food security coin, if all young people leave the countryside - and leave the women, children and the elderly behind - who will work on farming land? Who will produce crops and feed people in both rural and urban? These important and urgent issues are at the heart of rapid urbanisation processes that happen in all developing countries and thereby need sufficient attention from policy makers.

⁴ The book is the first major publication of the Rural-Urban Migration in China and Indonesia (RUMiCI) project. It outlines the results of the first of five annual surveys on rural-urban migration in China and Indonesia to be undertaken from 2008 to 2012.

The current government transmigration programme is part of the government effort to achieve food security through inviting urban migrant people to return to rural farming work at relocated areas in outer islands.

At section 2.2, I discussed resettlement and the Indonesia transmigration programme more detail.

2.2. Resettlement and Why People Reject

Resettlement can be found in every country in the world and it has been a controversial topic since it is mostly rejected by those who become the objects of a resettlement project. Resettlement has mostly been done in a forcibly manner, without proper and adequate procedures, regulations and policies, resettlement projects may violate the basic human rights of the people who become the objects of the resettlement, as identified by Michael Cernea (Cernea 1995).

Gary Palmer defines resettlement schemes as “those designed to relocate people dislocated by wars, development projects, and overpopulation” as cited by Keith Sutton (Sutton 1977). Sutton added that Palmer considers that they are designed, 'no matter what the original motive is, to contribute to the national development by producing a cash crop for the international market or a food crop for the domestic market' (Sutton 1977).

Resettlement is implemented in two ways i.e. voluntary and involuntary although according to Brooke Wilmsen and Mark Wang these two concepts is a false dichotomy based on their research at two resettlement projects in China (Wilmsen and Wang 2015). The most ideal one is the voluntary resettlement whereby the population have the willingness and self-motivation to move to places that have been prepared by the government. Conversely, the involuntary resettlement was the type of resettlement whereby the population were forced to move to their new places without their willingness. This kind of resettlement – mostly caused by dam project development that was required very large scale area – although has been equipped by protocols and guidance (Cernea 1988) mostly ends with conflict and potential human rights violations (Bennett and McDowell 2012, Cernea 2008, Modi 2011, Price 2009). The involuntary resettlement in long term if not handled well and intensive assistance by government also did not provide much benefit for the resettled people (Fujikura and Nakayama 2013, Takesada et al. 2009a, Takesada et al. 2009b, Wilmsen et al. 2011). One good practice from Srilanka involuntary resettlement that satisfied the resettled people in the long term is to incorporate educational opportunities for their children in the resettlement plan. (Takesada et al. 2008)

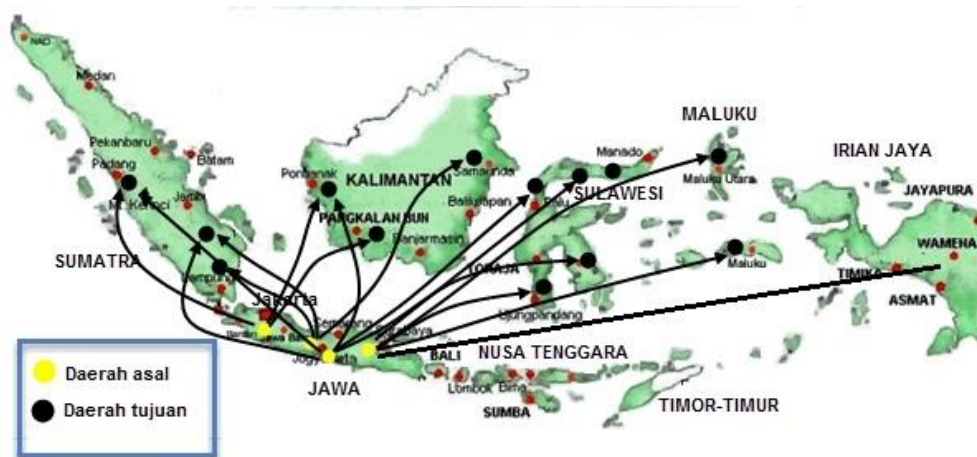
In the context of urban resettlement focused on by this research, Michael Cernea who conducted a research on resettlement in the urban setting mentioned that distance between departure and relocation sites is a critical variable in urban resettlement (Cernea 1995). Resettlement sites which are too far will create difficulties in term of unaffordable transportation costs, livelihoods and cultural disruption in their new environment.

For an extreme case, such as Indonesia, urban people have been resettled to the outer islands of Sumatera and Kalimantan in the transmigration programme, which are located thousands of kilometres away (see map 1) from their original habitat in cities, to work on new agricultural land in remote rural areas. Without proper skill development and intensive technical assistance on the ground for city dwellers who suddenly have to change their livelihoods to

farming work, the resettlement programme will be a big failure (Fearnside 1997).

Given those factors it is inevitable that many people will reject the resettlement programme in many parts of the world as well as in Indonesia. However there were also several success resettlement programmes such as one in Malawi (Mueller et al. 2014). Malawi government has facilitated rural to rural resettlement for their rural landless farmers and provide them with farming land. In his research, Mueller et al. examined whether a resettlement project in Southern Malawi improved food security in the long term. They found out that household achieved greater long term food security.

Map 1. Transmigration Locations in Outer Islands of Indonesia



Source: www.mikirbae.com ('Pengertian Dan Bentuk Mobilitas Penduduk'2015)

2.2.1. History of Indonesia Transmigration Programme

Indonesia dubs its resettlement programme the “Transmigration Programme”. Philip M. Fearnside defines transmigration as “Indonesia’s programme of transporting millions of people from the overcrowded islands of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok to settlement areas in the outer islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) , Sulawesi (formerly the Celebes) , and Irian Jaya (Indonesian New Guinea)”(Fearnside 1997). The Indonesia’s transmigration programme has started long before Indonesia claimed its independence from the Dutch colonial in August 1945. According to Fearnside (Fearnside 1997) it started in 1905 when people were moved from the high density island of Java to the less density island of Sumatera.

The transmigration programme has passed several phases since 1905. Table 2 below describes each phase and the numbers of households participating in the programme (Fearnside 1997):

Table 2. Households and Persons Participating in the Transmigration Programme, 1905 - 2000

Phase/Year	Number of Households	Number of Persons
Dutch Colonialism (1905 – 1941)	5,922	27,338
Japan Colonialism (1942-49)	0	0
Indonesia's First President era (1950-65)	84,576	390,402
Indonesia's Second President era (1966-2000)	925,486	4,286,054
Total	1,351,210	6,266,394

The above total figure only takes into account the number until the second president's era. Between 2000 and 2015 the transmigration programme was still implemented but due to the economic crisis and reformation era in 1998 influencing all ministries, the number of participants dropped and the detailed numbers of households and persons participating during that period were difficult to find.

The objective of the transmigration programme in each phase varied, depending on political and economic situations at that time. The first waves of transmigration in 1905 and during the Dutch colonial occurred mainly due to an ethical reason of improving the welfare of Javanese people who already overcrowded the island and had very limited access to land (Setiawan 2005). According to Setiawan, another implicit reason for the waves of transmigration during the Dutch colonialism was also to provide cheap labours for Dutch plantation companies and Dutch oil companies in Sumatera (Setiawan 2005).

During the former President Sukarno's administration, the transmigration programme was implemented with a view to improving the national unity and people's welfare (Setiawan 2005). The challenge facing the first president's administration was how to improve unity as a new nation since several ethnic groups wanted to establish their own government and be separated from Indonesia. This explains why the transmigration programme was used to achieve that goal.

The objective of the transmigration programme that is related to food security (formerly called food self-sufficiency) was first introduced during the former President Suharto's administration (Setiawan 2005). The specific objective was to increase rice production through the opening of new agricultural land at transmigration locations, not only in Sumatera but also in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. During the thirty years of former President Suharto's ruling, transmigration recorded the highest number of people participating. At least 4 million people were transported to new transmigration locations. While Indonesia succeeded in achieving its rice self-sufficiency goal in year 1984, the contribution of rice production from transmigration location was very small. The highest contributor to the rice self-sufficiency was still

Java. However, from political lens, according to Budiardjo, transmigration during this period is a “means of enforcing the Government's model of "top-down development" and extending its control over remote and "troublesome" areas”(Budiardjo 1986).

In the beginning of the reformation era, the overall evaluation shows that the old paradigm of transmigration in relation to demographic issues – moving people to less density islands to reduce overpopulation in Java – was a failure. Consequently, the new paradigm was introduced, as stipulated in Law 5/1997 (Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration Indonesia 2007). It was said that the new transmigration paradigm was related to economic development in order to improve the economic welfare of transmigration locations, reduce the economic gap between Java and non-Java and strengthen unity as a nation.

2.2.2. Transmigration Failure and its Impact

As the largest resettlement programme in the world, as mentioned by Gondowarsito (Gondowarsito 1990), the transmigration programme has resettled around 6 million people from rural Java to the outer islands of Indonesia. After 110 years of implementation since 1905, transmigration has attracted many criticism for causing environmental degradation, human rights violations, and ethnic and communal conflicts between migrants and local indigenous people.

The main and major failure of this programme is related to its original purpose of solving the demographic issue to reduce the population pressure on Java overcrowded island. The total number of transmigration participants during its peak period of 1979-89 was approximately 3,5 million people, while the annual Javanese population growth in 1990 was 2.1 million or 1.98% (Fearnside 1997: 558). The total number of transmigration participants was insignificant compared to Java's population growth rate. There was an indication that many transmigration participants returned to their village in Java for different reasons. The development of Java has far more enhanced than that of the outer islands which does not only push transmigration participants to return back to Java but also people who are originally from those outer islands to migrate to Java in order to find employment. As observed by Fearnside that “the number of people moving to the outer islands (not only transmigrants) has dropped since the 1980s to about the same level as prevailed in the late 1970s. In contrast, the number of people moving from the outer islands to Java is about four times higher than during the late 1970s” (Fearnside 1997: 558).

Another failure is related to the agricultural issue. The selection of transmigration locations often fail due to poor planning as a consequence of a very ambitious target and corrupted bureaucrats. Many transmigration locations are not suitable for agriculture (Fearnside 1997: 559). They are also too remote and too far from economic centres, creating a problem for transmigration participants when they have to sell their agricultural commodities. They also have to pay a higher price for agricultural inputs due to the location remoteness. Marriel Otten even critics the transmigration programme has brought many migrants to the edge of starvation (Otten 1986).

The transmigration programme also has many negative impacts on several aspects, including the environment, human rights and social and cultural lives. The most criticized aspect of a World Bank⁵ supported programme is the environmental impact as noted by Fearnside (1997: 553), ('Indonesian Transmigration: The most Irresponsible Project the World Bank has Ever Funded'1985).

Labeled “the World Bank’s most irresponsible project” by Survival International (1985), multilateral bank financing of this programme has long been a focus of criticism because of its impact on deforestation and human rights. In 1986, transmigration was singled out by a consortium of 14 environmental groups as one of the “Fatal Five”— the five projects chosen as illustrations of inadequate environmental safeguards in World Bank lending procedures, the others being the Polonoroeste Project in Brazil, the Three Gorges Dam in China, the Narmada Dams in India, and the Livestock III project in Botswana.

Most transmigration locations used to be forest areas (Secrett 1986). According to The Tropical Forestry Action programme, it was estimated that 300,000 ha/year had been cleared for transmigration location establishment or around 3 ha per household per year, assuming that 100,000 households per year arrived at transmigration locations (Indonesia Forest Ministry and FAO 1991). Given that the total number of transmigration participants in its peak period during former President Suharto’s era was 1.2 million households, we can conclude that around 3.6 million hectares of forest were cleared. Deforestation continues at transmigration locations although the programme could be considered inactive after the former President Suharto’s era ended.

Anna Lou Abatayo from the University of Hawaii after conducted research on the connection between transmigration and deforestation concluded that transmigration has indeed led to deforestation (Anna Lou Abatayo. 2015). The similar conclusion also made by Whitten (Whitten 1987a, Whitten 1987b).

The transmigration programme has also been widely known for its negative impacts on human rights and the land dispossession of ethnic minorities. During the Suharto era, many transmigrants were forced to leave their villages and join the transmigration programme. Many people who rejected the transmigration programme and led a protest rally were killed by the military. The transmigration programme in Papua was also full of controversy due to the land dispossession the ethnic minority (Colchester 1986). Most Papuans have been suspicious of the government transmigration programme that they consider as a way to introduce the domination of Javanese and Muslim people to the population. Blessed with rich natural resources⁶ with a population of

⁵ “World Bank financing promoted the program directly over the 1976–1989 period and continues to underwrite other settlement models that have supplanted earlier programs. The bank projects included creating and strengthening a Ministry of Transmigration, which also carried out settlements of types other than those financed as discrete components of bank loans” (Fearnside 1997: 553).

⁶ Freeport Macmoran company a US Gold and Copper company that has been operating in Papua province since 1967 or 48 years ago recorded an annual income of

only 3,032,488 people (Papua Province Statistic Office. 2014) or only 1% of the Indonesia's total population, 95% of which are Christian, in a predominantly Muslim country, this poor province - the furthest province from Jakarta and thereby receives less attention from the central government - will easily be suspicious of the government transmigration programme. This has led to bloody social conflict between Javanese transmigrants and indigenous Papuan people. For a nearly similar reasons, bloody social conflicts between Javanese transmigrants and indigenous local people occur in Maluku, Kalimantan and Sumatera.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the productionist paradigm adopted by the current government in which the transmigration programme is used to achieve food security, and a mega project the government has to relocate 4 million landless farmers from Java to the outer islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua.

USD 3.07 billion in year 2014 (Guittara and Triatmodjo 2015). This amount is very big for an island of 3 million people.

Chapter 3 : Food Security as an Important Reason of Resettlement

3.1. Shifting the Objective of Transmigration from Demographic to Food Security Issues

The current Indonesian government has launched an ambitious transmigration programme to move 4 million people from Java island to other outer, less-inhabitant islands, such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua and open 9 million hectares of land including forests for this programme. An MoU between three related ministries: the Ministry of Rural Development and Transmigration, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, and the Ministry of Land Affairs to open the 9 million hectares of land was signed in May 2015 (Minsitry of Rural Development and Transmigration, 2015).

The transmigration programme has experienced a major shift from its first objective related to demographic issues to food security issues. This major shift has been stipulated in Article 2 of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Regulation Number 15/2007, reading (Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, 2007):

“The development of transmigration area is to support:

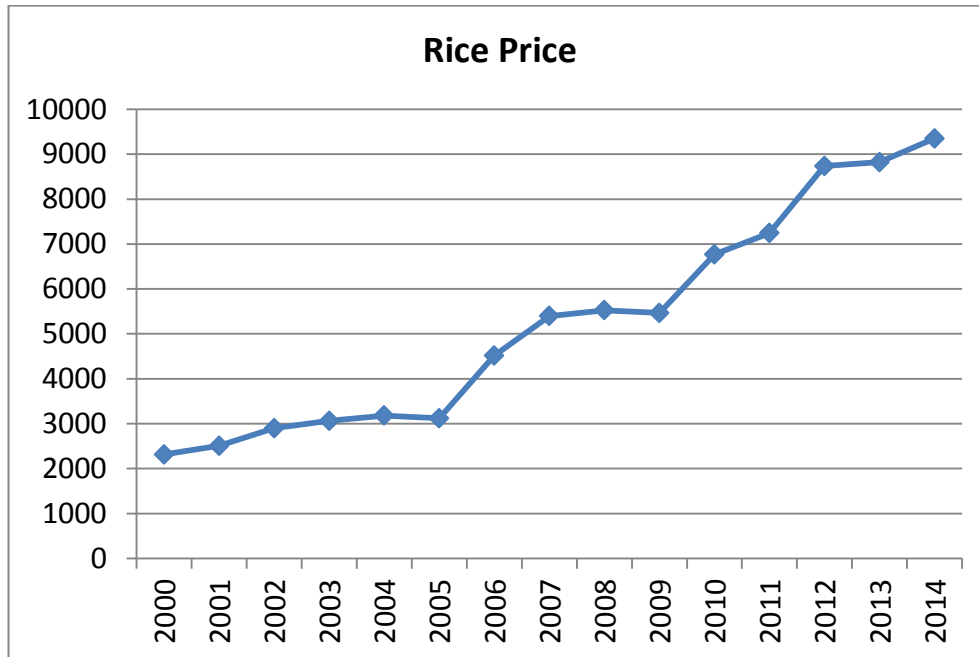
- a. Food security and accommodation needs*
- b. Alternative energy policy in transmigration area*
- c. National Defence*
- d. Equal economic growth and investment*
- e. Unemployment and poverty reduction”*

In the ministerial regulation above, there is not any single word related to demography or population mentioned as the objective of the transmigration programme. The reason could be that the government is already aware that moving people out of Java for demographic reasons does not serve the purpose as Java’s additional population is higher than the total number of transmigration participants plus incoming migrants from outer islands. The other reason could be more political sensitive since transmigration was suspected as a way for Javanese and Muslim people to politically take over indigenous domination in other islands, including Papua which is a predominantly Christian island. Against this backdrop, the objective of transmigration that is related to demography has been deleted from transmigration regulations.

The current government’s objective of transmigration that has appeared very dominantly in the media during the last one year is to achieve food security (Detik.com 2015, Metrotvnews.com 2015, Kompas.com 2015, Republika.co.id 2015). The Minister of Rural Development and Transmigration always referred to food security every time he made a statement in the media regarding the objective of the transmigration programme. Transmigration also has another objective which is related to National Security. The selection of border areas adjacent to Malaysia in Kalimantan and Papua New Guinea in Papua as transmigration locations was designed to tackle the long debated issue of the large number of Indonesian citizens living in border areas that renounce their citizenship and move to Malaysia or Papua New Guinea due to the severe lack of attention from Indonesia’s central government.

In the last 10 to 15 years, food security has been a very strategic and significant issue in Indonesia. The price of rice spiked by 304% between 2000 and 2014. The graphic below shows a significant increase in the price of rice in Indonesia.

Graphic 1. Rice Prices, 2000 – 2014



Source : Statistics Indonesia (Indonesia Statistic Office 2015)

3.2. Ideological Debate on How to Achieve Food Security

Both FAO and WHO use the definition of food security from the 1996 World Food Summit, that is “Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”(FAO. 2008, WHO. 2015)

Debates on how to best achieve food security whether through increasing food production or improving the local food system also include an ideological debate between those who believe in large-scale farming versus those who believe in small-scale farming.

According to Tomlinson, the ideological debate between the two camps is called the “New Productivism” and the “Ecological Food Provision” (Tomlinson 2013). The new productivism assumes that there is not enough food in the world to feed everyone adequately. So the solution according to this camp is to increase global food production and to strengthen global trade in order to ensure food availability, food access and food utilization. People (politicians, scientists, agricultural industry, biotech industry) standing on this camp that represent the current dominance of global food policy discourse, have agreed that the world needs to increase its food production by 70-100%

by 2050. However, FAO who first published the statistic as argued by Tomlinson has “never intended as a normative goal of policy” and, “secondly, to do so would exacerbate many of the existing problems with the current global food system” (Tomlinson 2013: 82). This camp believes that an increase in food production by 70-100% by 2050 will be achieved through large-scale farming with high technology interventions.

The ecological food provision has a different view, opposite to the new productivism perspective. The ecological food provision views that there is enough food for everyone but the problem is on the distribution issue. Social issues such as poverty, gender imbalance, injustice, race/ethnic/colour discrimination etc. need to be resolved first rather than increasing food production.

Prior to Tomlinson, in their book titled “Food Wars: The Global Battle for Mouths, Minds and Markets”, Tim Lang and Michael Heasman (Lang and Heasman 2004), describe that there are two conflicting views between three food paradigms in which the first two paradigms believe in increasing production using technologies and large-scale farming and one last paradigm believe in small-scale farming using local skills and technologies that maintain harmonious relations between agriculture and ecology. The first paradigm is called the Productionist paradigm, focusing on the quantity of food rather than the quality. The second paradigm is called the Life Science Integrated paradigm. This paradigm became dominant in early 21st century. One clear difference between the Productionist paradigm and the Life Science Integrated paradigm is about the use of biotechnology rather than chemicals to increase production. One central characteristic of the second paradigm that became the focus of the media, markets and policy is known as GM (Genetic Modification)⁷ “GM seeds and the chemical inputs they require are reshaping the biological base of agriculture production at a speed that is unprecedented in human food production” (Lang and Heasman 2004: 22). The third paradigm is called the Ecology Integrated Paradigm. This paradigm is the contrary of the two paradigms described above. Although this paradigm is also grounded in “the science of biology, it takes a more integrative and less engineering approach to the nature... it aims to preserve ecological diversity. It takes a more holistic view of health and society than the more “medicalised” one of the Life Science Integrated paradigm” (Lang & Heasman 2004: 26-27). If the Productionist paradigm and the Life Science Integrated paradigm rely on large scale homogenous plantations owned by a few giant chemical and biotech companies to increase production, the Ecology Integrated paradigm relies on small-scale farming activities by smallholders who use local skills and traditional knowledge applied with modern understanding.

Philip McMichael and Mindi Scheneider (McMichael and Schneider 2011) who also identified these debates and in their review of the recent food crisis and the future agriculture and food security concluded that a paradigm shift in development policy and strategies is required to give more attention to

⁷). GM crops has been so dominant in US and by 2014, 94% of soya bean and 93% of all corn planted used GM crops. The GM crops plantation area worldwide by 2014 recorded 181.5 million hectares (87% in North and South America). But the current growth of the plantation area has been significantly decrease from 125% in late 1990 to 6.3% in 2010 (Zhou 2015).

cultural diversity and biodiversity that provides space for “stabilising small farming cultures and local ecological knowledge, and on recognising the claims made by the food sovereignty movement for a central voice and an alternative narrative of future sustainability” (McMichael and Schneider 2011: 135).

Based on the above ideological debates, it is clear that dominant policy and strategies on food security in the context of Indonesia follow the Productionist/New Productivism paradigm⁸. Thus, it is clear that the transmigration programme follows the logic of the two paradigms, focusing on increasing food production to achieve food security (i.e. the Productionist paradigm and the Life Science Integrated paradigm). It does not follow the logic of the third paradigm (i.e. the Ecology Integrated paradigm). Transmigration has well known as one of the most irresponsible project funded by the World Bank that increased deforestation and had negative impacts on the environment.

Literatures and prior field studies on rural-urban migration and resettlement have been reviewed in this and previous chapters. In Chapter 2, I reviewed literatures and field studies on rural-urban migration with a view to understanding why young people leave rural farming work, and in this chapter I reviewed the concept of resettlement and people’s reasons for rejecting it, including Indonesia’s transmigration programme and its impacts on the environment. I also discussed the concept of food security and debates on how to achieve it.

In the following two chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), I will explain my primary data and research findings as well as the analytical part of my research. In the next chapter, I will describe my research participants’ working and living conditions and profiles. I will also presents their reasons for leaving rural farming work and choosing to work in informal sectors in Jakarta.

⁸ Another mega project to increase food production in Indonesia is called the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE). Several large investors or Trans-National Corporations (TNC) – including Wilmar International, Artha Graha and Medco Group - have shown their interests. They are interested in growing a wide array of food crops, including rice, corn, soybean, sugar cane and palm oil (The Jakarta Post, 2015). The Indonesian government is facilitating this mega project and has invited foreign investors from the Middle East to invest in million hectares of land in Papua. This kind of land grab is already identified by Borras and Franco (Borras Jr and Franco 2014) and serves the interest of Global North governments to secure future food and energy.

Chapter 4 : Young Farmers Who Left Rural Farming Work to Join Urban Informal Sectors in Jakarta

4.1. Research Participants' Living and Working Condition

My research participants (see Annex I for more detail information) live in a slum area in Kampung Tengah, Kramat Jati, East Jakarta. There are thousands of migrant workers from rural areas staying in this area. Most of them are informal workers, working as porters at a vegetable and fruit wholesale market. They rent a modest house from a local landlord. The rental cost ranges from IDR 400,000 to IDR 600,000 per month, depending on its facilities and size.

Figure 1. Research Participants Living Condition.



Source: Field research 2015

Figure 2. Porter at Kramat Jati Vegetables and Fruits Wholesale Market



Source: Field research 2015

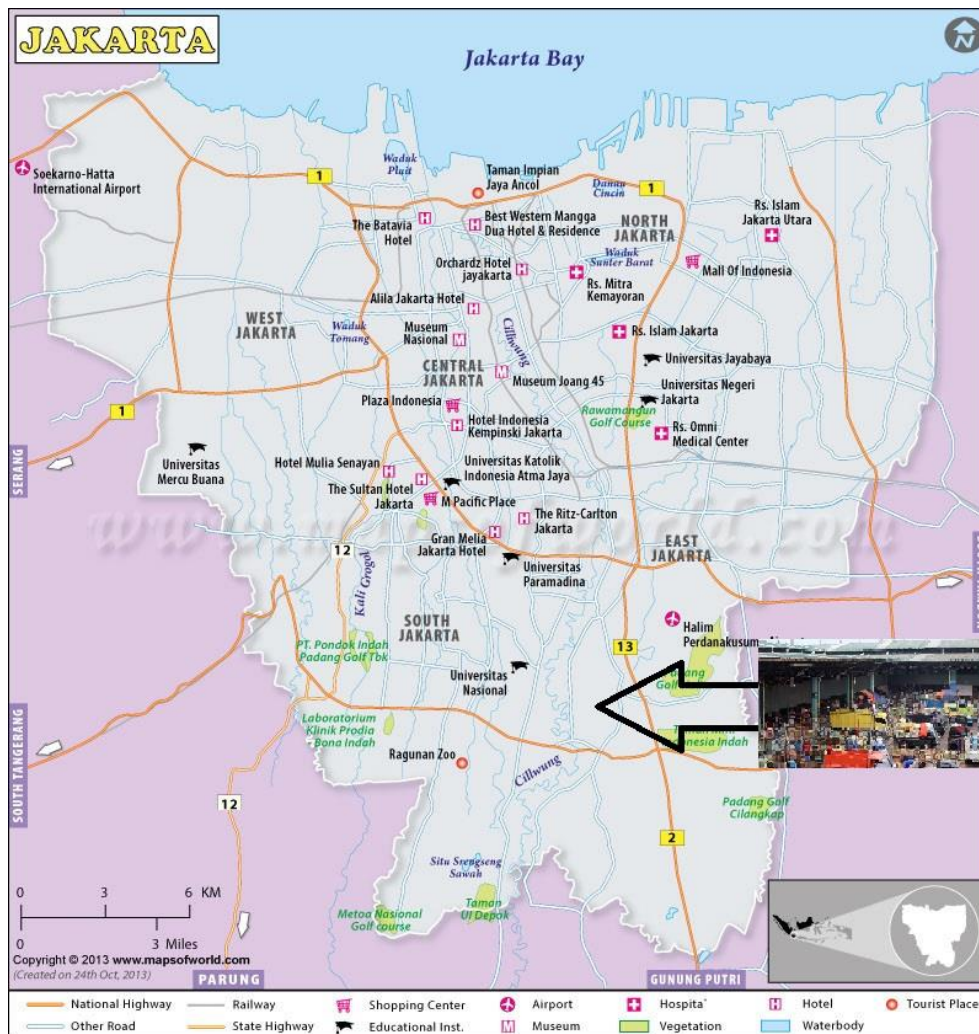
If one customer has one tonne of vegetables s/he needs to load to a small car and s/he uses the services rendered by the porters, one porter will load at least three tonnes of vegetables every day.

Figure 3. Vegetable and Fruit Wholesale Market Kramat Jati East Jakarta



Source: Field research 2015

Map 2. The Kramat Jati Vegetable and Fruit Wholesale Market in East Jakarta



Source of map: www.mapsofworld.com ('Map of Jakarta'. 2013)

The Kramat Jati Vegetable and Fruit Wholesale Market is located in Kramat Jati Sub-district, East Jakarta. This is the biggest wholesale market for vegetables and fruits in Indonesia with a total area of 14.7 hectares. Most supermarkets and traditional markets in Jakarta and its surrounding cities get their supply of products every day from this wholesale market. The vegetables and fruits coming into the wholesale market are mostly from West Java, Central Java, East Java and several provinces in Sumatra, including Lampung and North Sumatra.

The market was established in 28 December 1973. There are currently 1,835 wholesalers in the market with 1,000 tonnes of daily transaction volume. It is estimated that 10,000 visitors visit the wholesale market every day ('Profile Pasar Induk Kramat Jati'2015)

4.2. The Profile of Research Participants

This section and the following tables present demographic information related to my research sample. For this purpose, I use the 2013 national data on agricultural workers (Indonesia Agriculture Ministry 2013) to be compared with my sample.

Table 3. Research Participants by Age (n=20)

Age Group	Sample (%)	National (%)
15 – 19	15	5.43
20 – 24	45	7.28
25 – 29	40	9.47
30 – 34	0	12.10
35 – 39	0	11.29
40 – 44	0	11.88
45 – 49	0	10.45
50 – 54	0	10.63
55 – 60	0	7.47
60+	0	13.99
Total	100	100

The majority of my research participants are between 20–24 years old (45%) since the case study I have chosen is young farmers. The national data provides an interesting fact that agricultural workers are mostly 60+ years old (13.99%).

Table 4. Research Participants by Sex (n=20)

Sex	Sample (%)	National (%)
Male	95	63
Female	5	37
Total	100	100

The majority of my research participants (95%) are men since I have chosen to study young farmers who work as porters at a wholesale vegetable market. The national data provides information that agricultural workers are predominantly men (63%), rather than women (37%).

Table 5. Research Participants by Education Level (n=20).

Education level	Sample (%)	National (%)
No attend school	0	10.58
Elementary school (graduated and not graduated)	55	63.54
Junior High school (graduated and not graduated)	45	15.56
High School	0	9.51
College/Universities	0	0.81
Total	100	100

The level of education of my research participants is mostly elementary school (55%), and this is consistent with the national data stating that the level of education of most agricultural workers is elementary school (63.54%).

Nearly all of my research participants (18 out of 20) are temporarily migrant workers or circular migrants, meaning that they regularly return to their villages –once a month or twice a month – to visit their families (50% of them are married and leave their wives and children in their respective villages). Affordable transportation and easy accessibility allow them to regularly visit their families. Several of them even still help their parents during the rice harvesting period in their villages. During such period they need to leave their urban work for at least one week.

4.3. Reasons for Leaving Rural Farming Work

4.3.1. Access to Land

All (100%) of my research participants do not have access to farming land in their respective villages. This factor has become a critical push factor for young people to leave farming work in their respective villages in order to find non-farming work in cities. This empirical finding has been predicted in Chapters 1 and 2 (White 2012, Tadele and Gella 2012, Ullah 2004).

4.3.2. Income

The majority of my research participants have higher income than what they received from rural farming work, even higher than Jakarta's minimum wage which is the highest minimum wage in the country. The higher income they receive from informal work in Jakarta has become a pull factor for young people to leave rural farming work. This empirical finding has also been predicted in Chapter 2, as explained by Todaro (1995), Hossain (2001) and Sridhar K.S. et al. (2014). Further explanation on my research participants' income is provided in Chapter 5 as income is also one of critical factors that young informal workers use as a reason to reject the resettlement programme.

4.3.3. Following relatives/friend

The majority of my research participants left their villages because their relatives and friends invited them to come and work in the city. Table 6 below shows that the majority of them came from the same place.

Table 6. Research Participants by Origin

Origin	Numbers and %
Central Java	19 (95%)
East Java	1 (5%)
Total	20 (100)

Interestingly out of 19 research participants who came from the same province, 11 came from the same district (i.e. Batang district) and at least seven of the 11 research participants came from the same sub-district and village: Pretek village, Pecalongan sub-district (see map 3. Origin of Research Participants).

Map 3. Origin of Research Participants



Source: www.welt-atlas.de ('Map of Java'. 2015)

Chapter 5 : Rejections of Young Farmers to Government Resettlement Programme

5.1. Reasons of Rejections: The Distance is Too Far

As predicted in Chapter 3 that the distance of the resettlement locations is a critical factor for people to voluntarily participate in the resettlement programme (Cernea, 1995: 57), almost all research participants mentioned the distance between the transmigration locations and their villages which is too far as the reason for rejecting the government resettlement programme. Most of them knew that the programme relocates people to very remote locations in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. They knew that the transportation cost would be very high to return to their villages and thereby they would not be able to return to their villages as often as they currently do as porters at the wholesale market. As porters at the wholesale market they can return to their villages whenever they want to and only need six hours to travel by affordable bus or train.

The poor image of the programme was not clearly or significantly mentioned as the reason. One research subject apparently has first-hand positive experience working on land owned by a former neighbour who already became a successful farmer at a remote location in East Kalimantan under the resettlement programme. The following profile of Bambang Irtanto is based on my interview, illustrating the failure of the programme's good image at attracting him to participate in the resettlement programme.

Bambang Irtanto, 23 years old, is working as a porter at the Kramat Jati vegetable and fruit wholesale market in East Jakarta. He is married and has one child whom he left in his village with his wife. Bambang was originally from Pretek village, Pecalungan sub-district, Batang district. His village is located 384 km to the east of Jakarta. Bambang clearly mentioned that he left his village because he did not have farming land to make a living. He is only an elementary school graduate. Working as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market for 3 years, Bambang currently has three loyal retail customers. He receives around IDR 100,000 every day. He sends some to his wife in the village once a week.

What is interesting about Bambang is that he has experience working for a few years on transmigration agricultural land owned by his former neighbour in East Kalimantan. According to Bambang, his former neighbour left their village to participate in the transmigration programme to East Kalimantan a long time ago, during former President Suharto's era. Now his former neighbour has succeeded and has six staff members to work on his seven hectares of farming land, producing several commodities, including rice, corn, chilies, vegetables, etc. His former neighbour also has several vehicles to bring the commodities to the market. But according to Bambang, the transmigration site was too remote, very far deep into the forest. The market opened only once a week and needed around 3 hours to be reached. From his village in Central Java, he boarded a big ship for two days to East Kalimantan and continued the journey by car for another day to reach the transmigration site.

Despite the experience of working and living at a transmigration site and his former neighbour's success, he remains uninterested in participating in the transmigration programme. He said that it would take a lot of efforts to succeed since migrants would need to clear and work

on forested land before it could become fertile farming land. According to him, his former neighbour is truly a hardworking person and has good luck that is owned by only a few people. He believes that everyone has their own destiny.

Conversely, he plans to work as a porter at the wholesale market for the next several years; and once he has enough savings he will return to his village to start up a small, non-farming business. He said that owning farmland in his village would be impossible since the land price was not affordable. He said, "The land price in my village is like a gold [price] now". According to him, if people want a good income from farming, they will need big scale farming land. Production from small scale farming land is sufficient for self-consumption only, but not for business. He said only rich people had big scale farming land.

Learning from the story of Bambang Irtanto above, there are three interesting facts: 1) Bambang left his farming work in his village because he did not have access to farming land; 2) Bambang worked on his village neighbour's farming land at a resettlement location in East Kalimantan and admitted that his neighbour became a very successful man due to the government resettlement programme; 3) Bambang will return to his village once he has enough savings from working as a porter but he will not be a farmer since he knew that he needed a sufficient area of land to make a good living from farming and that it is impossible for him to have a sufficient area of farming land since the land price is too high. Given the aforementioned three facts, it seems Bambang has very good reasons to participate in the government resettlement programme whereby he will have free access to two hectares of farming land. Yet, he remains uninterested in participating in the resettlement programme and thereby copying his former neighbour's success. He also mentioned that difficult access is a big challenge in the resettlement programme and that existing infrastructure at resettlement locations is lacking.

I interviewed 12 porters, 11 of whom came from two adjacent regions in Central Java: Batang and Pekalongan, and only one porter came from Jember, East Java. The 11 porters from Batang and Pekalongan have similar reasons for rejecting the government resettlement programme: the remote or far location from their parents' villages, difficult access and poor infrastructure. I also interviewed three drivers and four street sellers -mostly came from Central Java- that had similar reasons for rejecting the government resettlement programme. One subject who also worked as a porter, however, had a different reason. His name was Muhammad Bagir, 19 years old, coming from Jember, East Java. Below is a short story of Muhammd Bagir

Muhammad Bagir came from Jember, East Java Province, around 1,000 km to the east of Jakarta. Bagir, a 19-year-old, junior high school graduate, has been working as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market for more than one year, since February 2014. His uncle, who owns a fruit wholesale shop, invited him to work at the wholesale market. He receives IDR 35,000 net in fixed income from his uncle every day. His uncle also provides him with free accommodation and meals. He also has permanent working hours from 07:00 a.m. to 05:00 p.m. (the first shift) every day, including on Saturdays and Sundays. The only holiday he gets is when there is no fruit supply from producers. Comparing his current income with his income when he was working as a farmer in his village, he said that his current income was higher. He received IDR 40,000 per day as a wage farmer in his village, but he had to buy his own meals and paid for the transportation cost from that amount. Further, at the wholesale market he works every day and thereby makes much more income per month, while

in his village he only worked for several days a month. He clearly mentioned that he enjoyed and preferred working as a porter at the wholesale market rather than as a wage farmer in his village. He also mentioned that not only his uncle recruited him to work at the wholesale market, he also recruited his older brother and his neighbour. The three of them were recruited at once last year. His older brother's and his neighbour's working hours start from 07:00 p.m. to 05:00 a.m. (the second shift) for the same amount of income.

Regarding the transmigration programme, different from other young, former farmers, his rejection to the transmigration programme was not driven by the remoteness or the far distance of the locations. Rather, the reason was the condition of the land that would require him to work on it for a few years to make it productive. A far and remote location is not a big problem for him insofar as he can receive higher income than the current one.

Talking about his future, he said he wanted to be like his uncle, owning a wholesale shop at a wholesale market and generating high income. Again, different from other young, former farmers, Bagir does not want to return to his village. Instead, he wants to stay and even own a house in Jakarta. His main reason is that he likes a lively city, not as quiet as his village. He claimed that he loved meeting a lot of people, which could not be done in his village because the distance between his home and his neighbour's house was very far..

For Bagir the remoteness of transmigration locations is not a big problem as long as he can receive higher income. He is not interested in participating in the transmigration programme because the programme will not immediately provide him with income like what he receives as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market.

The only female subject, Yatmi, also has a different reason from those of other participants. She is not interested in the transmigration programme because her husband does not have a farming background although she farmed when she had still lived in her village. Below is her short story.

Yatmi, 28 years old, has two children: 8 and 5 years old, and when the interview was conducted she was four-month pregnant. Her husband works as a parking assistant at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. Yatmi came from Kebumen, 460 km to the east of Jakarta. She left her village in 2000 when she was 14 years old. Her friend invited her to work as a nanny in Jakarta. In her village, she helped her parents with farming work particularly during harvest periods. Her poor condition pushed her to go and find a job in the city.

Her work now involves cleaning onions to be sold by a wholesaler at the wholesale market. She picks up 1-2 sacks of onions and brings them to her house to be cleaned. The cleaning process of 2 sacks of onions may need almost 12 hours, resulting in 2 kg of clean onions. The income she receives from cleaning 1 kg of onions is IDR 5,000. Thus, if Yatmi can clean 10 kg of onions, she will only receive IDR 10,000 in income per day. Her husband's income is between IDR 30,000 – 50,000 per day. She needs to pay IDR 250,000/month for house rent including water and electricity.

Regarding the transmigration programme, Yatmi left the decision to her husband. Her husband was born in Jakarta and does not have any experience as a farmer. According to Yatmi, her husband will not be able to survive living in a village and working as a farmer. Yatmi claimed, however, that she would like to live in a village in the future, but it would depend on her husband

5.2. Factors Supporting the Reasons

As predicted in Chapter 3, the long distance between the resettlement locations and their original villages is a critical factor for several reasons, including social and cultural disruption, economy activities, and livelihoods (Cerne, 1997: 57). Below are factors related to culture, income and job satisfaction that support their rejection of the transmigration programme, including one last factor related to their hope to return to their villages in the future.

5.2.1. *Javanese Culture*

The interviews I conducted indicate that the majority of research participants have very close relationships with their families in their respective villages. It seems that they do not want to be separated too far and too long. Their current jobs in Jakarta with many opportunities to return home are more than enough compared to the government resettlement programme whereby they must leave their village and go to Kalimantan, Sulawesi or Papua. To enable them to maintain close relations with their families, they need a job with many opportunities to return home to meet their parents and their big families.

The very famous Javanese proverb: “Mangan ora mangan asal ngumpul” - roughly translating to “To eat or not to eat as long as we are together” - seems to be true in this case. For Javanese people, together as one family is above everything else, even if it means they will starve.

Why is there a case like Bagir’s, who rejected the transmigration programme for a different reason? While Bagir came from Jember, East Java, his ancestor came from Madura island, an island in the north of East Java Province. Madura people are very famous to have an adventurous spirit are good sailors. The famous Javanese proverb “Mangan ora mangan asal ngumpul” does not apply to Bagir’s ethnic group. This explains why Bagir does not have any problem about the programme locations which are very remote and far from where his family lives in his village. For him as long as he can get higher income, he will go to that place regardless of how remote and far it is. His rejection to the resettlement programme is driven by the fact that working on newly-cleared land will not immediately generate income as opposed to working as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market.

5.2.2. *High Income*

Table 7 below lists research participants’ income.

Table 7. Research Participants' income by Type of Work

No	Type of Work	Range of net income per day (IDR)	Per month	Jakarta's Monthly Minimum Wage in 2015 ⁹
1	Porter	50,000 – 150,000	1,500,000 – 4,500,000	2,700,000
2	Driver	200,000 – 300,000	6,000,000 – 9,000,000	
3	Street seller	100,000 – 125,000	3,000,000 – 3,750,000	
4	Peeling onion	10,000	300,000	

It is clear that their income is higher than Jakarta's Minimum Wage in formal sectors which is currently one of the highest minimum wages in Indonesia. This factor is believed to be a key factor behind research participants' rejection to the transmigration programme.

The porters' income relies on the number of customers with whom each of them has established long-term relations. The customers are retailers from traditional markets around Jakarta who come to the wholesale market every day to buy vegetables or fruits. The interviews indicate that a porter with IDR 150,000 in income per day must have more than three retailers as their loyal customers. They can have a minimum of three customers using their services in one day. Porters generating IDR 50,000 in income per day do not have loyal customers yet. Most of the time, they only wait for orders from retailers. They may be new in the business or unable to establish long-term relationships with any retailers. Retailers and the porters usually communicate by mobile phone. They inform the porters when they will arrive at the wholesale market and the porters can meet them there. After the retailers buy all the vegetables/fruits, they give all the receipts to the porters, and the porters pick up the vegetables/fruits from each wholesaler to be loaded onto the car. Porters' income listed in Table 7 above is a net amount, meaning that expenses for meals and cigarettes have already been deducted.

Drivers' income at the wholesale market is calculated in a similar logic to that of porters. The more local customers/retailers they can get from traditional market, the more income they will generate. Expenses for fuel, meals and cigarette have been deducted from drivers' income listed at Table 7 above.

Street sellers' income relies on how many locations they go to. The four street sellers I interviewed sell cakes liked by most school children. That is why they always sell their cakes in front of elementary school buildings. In this regard, if they have several locations to sell their cakes, they will have more income.

Three of the four street sellers work as wage workers. Their income is one-third of the total daily revenue. All the ingredients and equipment to make cakes are supplied by an employer. They also get free accommodation from

⁹ DKI Jakarta's monthly minimum wages 2015 is one the highest in Indonesia ('Indonesia: New 2015 Minimum Wage in Jakarta'2015)

their employers. One street seller runs his own business and receives all the revenue, but needs to pay for accommodation and cakes ingredients as well as equipment to make the cakes.

The peeling onion job is mostly done by women. They receive orders from wholesalers and clean the onions at home. They receive IDR 1,000 in income per kg and usually can clean 2 sacks of onions per day, resulting in 10 kg of clean onions and rewarded with IDR 10,000.

5.2.3. Flexible Work Mobility and Job Satisfaction

Most of the research participants I interviewed have very high work mobility. Only one of 12 porters I interviewed never had any other types of work before (other than working as a farmer in his village and now as a porter). The other 11 porters have had other types of work before. Most of them used to work as construction workers at high-rise buildings or real estates before working as porters. They even came to Jakarta at a very early age of around 14 years old after they dropped out in their villages. In most cases, their older friends who already worked in Jakarta invited them to come and work in the city. The following is a short story of a young farmer who left his village when he had been still very young.

Sarip, 29 years old, offers his car and himself as the driver at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. He is married and has a six-year-old child. He dropped out of elementary school and left his village to go to Jakarta when he was still 13 years old. A friend of his asked him to assist him with food street selling in Jakarta. He worked for 2 years and returned to his village. He went to Jakarta again and worked for many other types of work and ended up at the Kramat Jati wholesale market 8 years ago.

But interestingly, most of research participants I interviewed have been working for several years at the wholesale market. Especially the porter, while their working condition is very hard and tough, they prefer to remain working as porter rather than moving to other types of work. My interviews with them showed that they prefer to stay because they like the income they receive and the time flexibility they have during work, they can take a rest whenever they want, significantly different from their previous construction wage work in that they could not stop anytime they wanted or take a rest during work. Most of the porter I interviewed have been working for three years and plan to continue working there until they have enough savings to return to their villages and start up their own businesses in their respective villages. Table 8 below lists research participants' years of experience.

Table 8. Research Participants by Years of Work Experience

Years work experience	Numbers and % of research participants
Less than 1 year	2 (10%)
1 – 3 years	15 (75%)
More than 3 years	3 (15%)
Total	20 (100%)

Young farmers' preference to work as porter is also indicated by the presence of two generations of porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. The first generation of porter who have been working since 20 or 30 years ago brought their teenage children from their villages to also work as porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. This can be seen as an indication and at the same time it is also a simple sad fact that porter of the first generation with more stable income remain unable to send their children to a higher education level and have thereby created a social elevator for the second generation. A further study into this matter will significantly contribute to the understanding of poverty in Indonesia.

Building upon my interview, the following profile illustrates the preference of working as porter, as indicated by the presence of two generations of porter comprising fathers and sons.

Ngatori, 21 years old, graduated from junior high school and has been working as a porter since a year ago. He was recruited by his own father who had been working as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market for over 20 years. Ngatori is the youngest son and has an older sister who is married and lives in their village with her husband. Ngatori came from Pretek village, in Pecalungan sub-district, Batang district, Central Java. His village is the origins of many porters at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. Ngatori said that many of his relatives from his village also worked as porter at the wholesale market. For the first year, Ngatori works under his father's supervision. He is still learning how to be a good porter. His father has many loyal customers and later when Ngatori is ready, he will transfer several loyal customers to Ngatori. But now he is still working together with his father. When I asked whether he liked to work in the city or in the village, he said he liked to work in the village for the close proximity to his home but he regretted the fact that he was unable to save money working in the village due to the limited income. He added that he could save money, working as a porter at the wholesale market. Ngatori works from 05:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. Ngatori had heard about the government resettlement programme and when I asked him whether he was interested in participating, he said, "No, I do not want to go because it is far from here". Talking about his future plan, Ngatori said, "I want to return to my village and be a farmer. I will not work here for a long time". But when I asked whether he liked farming work or starting up a business, he preferred to start up a business because by running a business he will not work directly under the sun, as opposed to farming. He also said that many young people liked the idea of starting up a business rather than farming. Working as a porter, Ngatori is able to save around IDR 20,000 – 30,000 per day. He claimed, however, that he was not sure yet what to do with his savings in the future.

Another story is related to a young porter who was recruited by his father-in-law:

Ahmad Saidin, 26 years old, who came from Pretek village, in Pecalungan sub-district, Batang district, has been married for two years without children. Ahmad graduated from elementary school. He is the first son and has three younger sisters in their village. Ahmad first arrived in Jakarta in 2008 and has moved from one work to another ever since. His first work was as a construction worker. His father-in-law who had been working as a porter for a long time recruited him to work as a porter at the wholesale market. He likes to work as a porter at the wholesale market because of its time flexibility. "I can start and stop working anytime I want". He now has two loyal customers. Ahmad is not interested in participating

in the government resettlement programme because the locations are all too far. "I am not interested because it is far from my parents and family... I prefer to work in my village". When I asked him what type of job he would do if he was to return to his village, he said, "My mother wants me to work as a farmer because she is a farmer... but I am not ready yet.... I want to open a kiosk and sell groceries... but I want to farm as well if I have farming land".

In addition to working as porter, working as drivers and cake street sellers is also favourable to young farmers. One driver has been working for seven years at the wholesale market. He was able to buy his own car through leasing and has only several months to finalise the remaining instalments of the leasing period of almost four years. Before working as a driver, he worked as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market but as in his opinion his body is not as strong as his other friends, he stopped and started working as an assistant driver for his friend.

The cake street sellers also have a similar case. Two of the cake street sellers have been working for three years and are able to save enough money from their work. All of the cake street sellers have been working in Jakarta for many years and had changed jobs for many times in a short period of time before ending up selling cakes. They seemed to enjoy their current work situation and income.

The following profile based on my interview illustrates young farmers' preference to be cake street sellers.

Ahmadun, 23 years old, graduated from Junior High school and currently works as a cake street seller. He came from Pudodadi village, in Karanganyar sub-district, Batang district. The first time he came to Jakarta was 8 years ago. But a long time ago, his parents had come to work at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. One day they felt they were already too old to work at the wholesale market and decided to return to their village. Their children, particularly the older daughter, continued working at the wholesale market. Before diving into the business of selling cakes, Ahmadun often changed jobs, including working as a fruit street seller and a children toy street seller, and at a printing home factory, among others. During those times he received wages, but in 2010 he used his savings to start up a small food business. But he said his business sustained heavy losses and went bankrupt. He started up other businesses. His current cake street selling business was started up three years ago and has been growing well ever since. Then, Ahmadun bought a motorbike to sell the cakes. He recently bought two more motorbikes from the profit of his cake business.

5.2.4. Their Dreams and Hopes to Return to Rural Farming Work

When all participants were asked about their dreams and hopes for the future, the responses can be categorised as follows:

- a) They wanted to return to their villages and start up a small business as well as be a smallholder
- b) They wanted to return to their villages and start up a small business but not farming
- c) They wanted to stay and make a life in the city

Out of 20 participants, 18 of them wanted to return to their villages in the future. Only two of them wanted to remain in the city in the future (Bagir and Yatmi). Bagir wanted to become a wholesaler at the Kramat Jati market

like his uncle. Yatmi knew her husband did not have any experience as a farmer and they did not have access to land, and thereby her choices are very limited. She preferred to continue living in the city with her husband.

These dreams were also factored in when I saw their reasons for rejecting the transmigration programme. They simply wanted to return to their villages someday in the future when they have enough savings to start up a small business. There is no compelling reason for them to accept and participate in the transmigration programme outweighing their dreams to return to their villages.

Most participants' parents have farming land, although it is very small. Those whose parents still have access to farming land wanted to continue their parents' farming work although the production is enough for their own consumption only. They wanted to have a kiosk, while practicing small-scale farming to reduce their monthly food expenditure.

One porter, named Abdul Rozak, has a dream to return to his village to start his own business and at the same time work on his parents' small farming land. He also has dream to buy farming land someday using his savings. The following is his short story.

Abdul Rozak, aged 24 years old, came from Benden sub-village, Pretek village, Pecalungan sub-district, Batang district, Central Java province. Abdul Rozak who graduated from elementary school has been working as a porter at the Kramat Jati wholesale market since three years ago. He is the first son and has one younger brother and two younger sisters. His younger brother also works in Jakarta as an informal construction worker and his younger sister works as a domestic worker, also in Jakarta. His youngest sister is completing her elementary school in their village. Before working as a porter, he worked as an office assistant but only for one month. He also has experience as a paddy farmer before leaving his village. His reason for leaving his village was because the income he received working in the village was not enough. His friend then invited him to go to the city to find another job.

When asked about his future plans, he boldly answered that he wanted to return to his village and start up a small business while working on his parents' small farming land. He said that farming work would be like a saving, he would be able to take its yields in the next three months. He said he preferred to grow corn rather than paddy. Growing corn would give him a higher profit, while growing paddy would be enough only for self-consumption since the profit margin would be too small. He said that the cost to grow paddy would be expensive since he would need to buy many inputs and the risk would be big as well since many insects could attack paddy. Corn inputs and insects are not as many as paddy.

Working as a porter, Abdul Rozak has three loyal customers and is able to have net income of IDR 60,000 per day. Abdul Rozak has been married for three years and now has a six-month-old baby left in his village. He sends his income three times a month to his wife in the village.

Regarding the transmigration or resettlement programme, he is not interested at all although he will otherwise receive 2 hectares of farming land for free. The reason is because the location is far, from his village and his parents, family and friends.

He also mentioned that farming land was very expensive in his village. He did not know the exact price, but he said that it was his dream to buy farming land someday and for that purpose he was saving his income.

Those who wanted to return to their villages to start a business but not practicing farming, the reason was mostly because their parents did not have access to land and they felt they would not be able to purchase land in their village because of the high price. *“The land price in my village is like a gold [price] now,”* said Bambang Irtanto when he explained why it is impossible for him to purchase farming land in his village. He mentioned the land price was *“10 million rupiah for land of 15 × 2 m², far from water sources, and the price of land closer to water sources is even much higher”*.

Bambang and many other participants shared a view that only rich people will be able to have big farming land in their villages. *“If you have big farming land in your village, you will not need anything else in your life,”* said Parmin, a driver at the Kramat Jati wholesale market. According to Parmin, it is impossible for him to buy big farming land in his village with his current income. The only thing he wanted was to return to his village once he has enough money to open a small kiosk. He loves to live in a rural setting, quiet and calm, that he cannot find in the city. The following profile based on my interview illustrates a young farmer’s dream to return to his village.

Parmin, 24 years old, has been offering his car for rent and himself as the driver at the Kramat Jati vegetable and fruit wholesale market in East Jakarta since January 2015. He is married and has one child of two years old. Before, he worked in a rubber company in his village, in Karanganyar, Central Java, 600 km from Jakarta. He had been working there since he had graduated from his elementary school many years ago. Poverty forced him to leave school at a very young age to join the rubber company as a daily wage worker. During his time working in the rubber company, he usually left home at 03:00 a.m. on his bicycle and returned home at 02:00 p.m. He received daily income of IDR 28,000. He worked almost every day. In addition to working in the rubber company, he also helped his brother with his sound system rental company. He learnt how to drive during this time and worked as a driver in his brother company. But it was not a permanent job, only when his brother received an order.

After marriage, his father-in-law offered him an opportunity to run a transportation business at the Kramat Jati vegetable and fruit wholesale market since his father-in-law had worked there for over 20 years and had many loyal customers. He decided to take on the opportunity and leave his job in the rubber company. He sold his motorcycle for IDR 13,000,000 to pay the down payment of his brand new car. His monthly instalment to the leasing company is IDR 2,500,000 for four years. He has had the car since January 2015 and must pay the monthly instalment on time. Every month he is able to get IDR 4,000,000 from his work, IDR 2,500,000 and IDR 1,500,000 of which are used to pay the instalment and for his family living cost and savings, respectively. He is confident as he accumulates more experience he will get more loyal customers and increase his income, as shown by his other driver friends who have long experience and thereby are able to get income double than the amount he receives now.

Interestingly, Parmin has a dream to return to his village and start up his own business in his village. He also likes farming but he is of the opinion that a smallholding will not give enough benefits. However, he feels that it is impossible for him to buy big farming land in the village with his income now. He prefers to live in the village rather than in the city because he likes green trees, the calm setting, and the nature, rather than crowds, noises and traffic jams that can be found everywhere in the city.

He said he did not want to join the transmigration programme simply because the locations are too far and he did not want to live far from his family.

One street seller, Ardi, also has a dream to return to his village to start up a business. It is his first priority. He does not have any plans to farm, however, since farming land is very expensive and unaffordable. He said he wanted to live with his future wife in the village and thereby they would be able to frequently meet each other rather than staying in the city where both of them would be busy with their own work. The following profile based on my interview illustrates a young farmer's dream to return to his village to live peacefully with his future wife.

Ardi Rianto, aged 23 years old, has been selling cakes called "Cilung" on the street since a year ago. He left his village in Bantarsari, Cilacap, around 360 km east of Jakarta in 2007 and worked at several locations before selling cakes. He was a fifth grader when he had to drop out of elementary school. His father has passed away and his mother has been working in Malaysia for 20 years. He does not have brothers or sisters. He was raised by his grandfather and step grandmother. Although his mother is in Malaysia, Ardi maintains regular communications with his mother by mobile phone. His mother sometimes sent him money through bank transfer. His mother also bought him a motorcycle that he kept in the village.

In Kampung Tengah, Ardi stays at free accommodation provided by his boss. Aside from the free accommodation, his boss provides him with ingredients and equipment to make and sell the cakes. He receives 40% of the total daily revenue. He said that the minimum daily net income, including meals, is IDR 60,000. He saves all his income.

Before leaving the countryside, Ardi worked as a wage farmer for several years and also helped his grandfather farm on a small paddy field. He left his village when he was 18 years old. His first job in the city was an assistant construction worker in Bogor, a small city near Jakarta. His friend invited him to work there. He said the main reason for him to leave his village was because there was no regular farming job available. "Sometimes there was a job, some other times there was not. But in the city there is always a job," Ardi explained the reason.

Despite the promise of two hectares of land, Ardi refused to participate in the transmigration programme. His main reason was the distant locations. He has a plan to return to his village in the future, after finding a girlfriend and getting married. He does not want to stay in the city with his future wife because he is afraid they will be busy with their own work, hindering them to frequently see each other. He thinks living in the village will make it easier for them to see each other.

When he returns to his village someday, he wishes he will not be a farmer. He has set starting up his own business as his first priority. Actually he likes farming work but the farming land is too expensive for him and he cannot afford it. He mentioned that IDR 50,000,000 would be enough to buy small farming land only. However, although farming land is too expensive for him, he still has a dream to own farming land to allow him to work on both his business and farming land.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion

This research aims to answer the question about the reasons young farmers who migrated from rural areas to work in urban informal sectors have for rejecting the resettlement programme that the government has recently launched although two hectares of land will be given to them if they are to participate in it. This research question has been more grounded during the research process, it was found that all young people interviewed had difficulty to access agricultural land in their respective villages, either because they had no access at all or the land was too small and could not support their living cost. Access to land became a major issue for the young people interviewed.

The research then found some interesting facts regarding these Javanese young people who work in informal sectors in Jakarta. While they knew that the government would provide them with land, they remain uninterested in the resettlement programme simply because the distance between the locations and their villages is too far. In addition, the higher income, the flexible work mobility (they can leave and return to their jobs anytime) and job satisfaction offered by their current informal work further fuelled the rejection. Their future hopes and dreams are also a crucial factor behind their rejection. Only two of 20 young people interviewed wanted to stay long in Jakarta, while the remaining 18 wanted to return to their village to start a small trading business or open a kiosk. With their current daily income, if they have self-control to always save their money, opening a small trading business or a small kiosk in their respective villages will not only be a dream. For them it is very important to stay close to their families in their villages.

Another interesting fact is that most of them are actually interested in farming work, but they realise that the small agricultural land their parents have will not make enough profits to cover their living cost and that they will never be able to buy additional agricultural land. They are aware that only rich people in their villages are able to have large agricultural land and make a big profit from it. However, they will be very happy to work as farmers if they have access to agricultural land in their villages.

These findings should create great alarm for the government resettlement programme if the government is to recruit four millions of Javanese farmers, including young people. The target seems unrealistic because even when the transmigration programme was implemented by force during former President Suharto's era, the government could only relocate six million people within 30 years.

References

- 'Indonesia: New 2015 Minimum Wage in Jakarta' (Last updated 2015). Accessed November/10 2015 <<http://www.mondaq.com/x/376480/Employee+Benefits+Compensation/New+2015+minimum+wage+in+Jakarta>>.
- 'Map of Java'. (2015) 'Map of Java'.
- 'Pengertian Dan Bentuk Mobilitas Penduduk' (Last updated 2015). Accessed November/10 2015 <<http://www.mikirbae.com/2015/05/pengertian-dan-bentuk-mobilitas-penduduk.html>>.
- 'Profile Pasar Induk Kramat Jati' (Last updated 2015). Accessed August/11 2015 <<http://pasarindukkramatjati.com/profiles/>>.
- 'Map of Jakarta'. (2013) 'Map of Jakarta'.
- 'Indonesian Transmigration: The most Irresponsible Project the World Bank has Ever Funded'(1985) , *The Ecologist* 15(5): 300.
- Abatayo, A.L., Anonymous 2015. Is Deforestation the Legacy of Transmigration? Working Paper edn. Manoa Hawaii: University of Hawaii.
- Anyidoho, N.A., J. Leavy and K. Asenso- Okyere (2012) 'Perceptions and Aspirations: A Case Study of Young People in Ghana's Cocoa Sector', *IDS Bulletin* 43(6): 20-32.
- Bennett, O., 1950 and C. McDowell (2012) *Displaced: The Human Cost of Development and Resettlement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bernstein, H. (2004) "Changing before our very Eyes?: Agrarian Questions and the Politics of Land in Capitalism Today", *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4(1-2): 190-225.
- Borras Jr, S. and J. Franco (2014) 'From Threat to Opportunity? Problems with the Idea of a " Code of Conduct" for Land-Grabbing', *Yale Human Rights and Development Journal* 13(2): 7.
- Budiardjo, C. (1986) 'The Politics of Transmigration', *The Ecologist* 16(2): 111.
- Cernea, M.M. (1995) 'Urban Settlements and Forced Population Relocation', in H.M. Mathur (ed.) *Development, Displacement and Resettlement*, (1 edn). Vol. 1. pp. 39-73. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD.
- Cernea, M.M. (2008) 'Compensation and Benefit Sharing: Why Resettlement Policies and Practices must be Reformed', *Water Science and Engineering* 1(1): 89-120.

- Cernea, M.M. (1988) *Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects: Policy Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects*. Vol. no. 80. Washington, D.C: The World Bank.
- Chinsinga, B. and M. Chasukwa (2012) 'Youth, Agriculture and Land Grabs in Malawi', *IDS Bulletin* 43(6): 67-77.
- Colchester, M. (1986) 'The Struggle for Land: Tribal Peoples in the Face of the Transmigration Programme', *The Ecologist* 16(2): 99.
- Detik.com (2015) 'Transmigrasi Bisa Wujudkan Ketahanan Pangan' *Detik*, 24 Aug 2015, .
- FAO (Last updated 2008) 'An Introduction to the Basic Concepts of Food Security' (a webpage of FAO). Accessed June/21 2015 <<http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/al936e/al936e00.pdf>>.
- Fearnside, P.M. (1997) 'Transmigration in Indonesia: Lessons from its Environmental and Social Impacts', *Environmental management* 21(4): 553-570.
- Fujikura, R. and M. Nakayama (2013) 'The Long-Term Impacts of Resettlement Programmes Resulting from Dam Construction Projects in Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Sri Lanka and Turkey: A Comparison of Land-for-Land and Cash Compensation Schemes', *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 29(1): 4-13.
- Gerring, J. (2007) *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* / John Gerring. New York, NY [etc.]: Cambridge University Press.
- Gondowarsito, R. (1990) 'Transmigrasi Bedol Desa: Inter-Island Village Resettlement from Wonogiri to Bengkulu', *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 26(1): 48-68.
- Guittara, P. and Triatmodjo, Y. (2015) 'RI Larang Ekspor, Nilai Pasar Freeport Menguap Rp 39 Triliun' *Kompas*, Business. 27 July 2015, .
- Hari Sundar G Ram and D.S. Ravindran (2013) 'Strategic Study on Factors Causing Labour Migration in Ernakulam District', *Parikalpana: K I I T Journal of Management* 9(1): 22.
- Indonesia Agriculture Ministry (2013) 'Statistik Tenaga Kerja Pertanian 2013'. Jakarta: Pusat Data dan Sistem Informasi Pertanian Kementerian Pertanian Indonesia.
- Indonesia Forest Ministry and FAO (1991) 'Indonesia Forestry Action Program: Country Brief'. Jakarta: Indonesia Forestry Ministry.
- Indonesia Statistic Office (2015) 'Harga Perdagangan Besar Beberapa Hasil Pertanian Dan Bahan Ekspor Utama Di Jakarta (Rupiah Per Kuintal), 2000-2014'. Jakarta: Indonesia Statistic Office.

- Ishtiaque, A. and M.S. Ullah (2013) 'The Influence of Factors of Migration on the Migration Status of Rural-Urban Migrants in Dhaka, Bangladesh', *Human Geographies* 7(2): 45.
- Jacka, T. (2014) 'Left-Behind and Vulnerable? Conceptualising Development and Older Women's Agency in Rural China', *ASIAN STUDIES REVIEW* 38(2): 186-204.
- King, N. and C. Horrocks (2010) *Interviews in Qualitative Research: Nigel King, Christine Horrocks*. Los Angeles, CA [etc.]: Sage.
- Kompas.com (2015) '9 Juta Hektar Lahan Ketahanan Pangan Dan Transmigrasi Disepakati Tiga Menteri' *Kompas.com*, 9 May 2015, .
- Lang, T. and M. Heasman (2004) *Food Wars: The Global Battle for Mouths, Minds and Markets / Tim Lang and Michael Heasman*. London [etc.]: Earthscan.
- Li, T.M. (2010) 'To make Live Or Let Die Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations', *Antipode* 41(s1): 66-93.
- Lumingkewas, L., Anonymous 2015. My Journal of Research Design. Essay edn. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies Erasmus University.
- McMichael, P. and M. Schneider (2011) 'Food Security Politics and the Millennium Development Goals', *Third World Quarterly* 32(1): 119-139.
- Meng, X., C. Manning, S. Li and T.N. Effendi (2010) *The Great Migration: Rural-Urban Migration in China and Indonesia / Ed. by Xin Meng, Chris Manning with Li Shi, Tadjuddin Noer Effendi*. Cheltenham [etc.]: Edward Elgar.
- Metrotvnews.com (2015) 'Transmigrasi Bisa Wujudkan Ketahanan Pangan' *Metrotvnews.com*, 24 Aug 2015, .
- MIJARC (2012) 'Summary of the Findings of the Project Implemented by MIJARC in Collaboration with IFAD and FAO: 'Facilitating Access of Rural Youth to Agricultural Activities'', pp. 1-25MIJARC.
- Mills, N.E. (2013) 'The Political Economy of Young Prospective Farmers' Access to Farmland: Insights from Industrialised Agriculture in Canada', Master. The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.
- Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration Indonesia (2007) 'PERATURAN MENTERI TENAGA KERJA DAN TRANSMIGRASI REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR : PER.15/MEN/VI/2007 TENTANG PENYIAPAN PERMUKIMAN TRANSMIGRASI'. Ministerial Decree, .
- Ministry of Rural Development Indonesia (Last updated 2015) 'Atasi Problem Lahan Transmigrasi, Mendes Marwan Teken MoU Dengan Dua Menteri' (a webpage of Ministry of Rural Development Indonesia). Accessed September/9 2015 <<http://www.kemendes.go.id/berita/1464/atasi->

[problem-lahan-transmigrasi-mendes-marwan-tekan-mou-dengan-dua-menteri>](#).

- Modi, R. (2011) 'The Best and the Worst of the World Bank: Involuntary Resettlement and the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP), India', *Development* 54(3): 400-406.
- Mueller, V., A. Quisumbing, H.L. Lee and K. Droppelmann (2014) 'Resettlement for Food Security's Sake: Insights from a Malawi Land Reform Project', *Land Economics* 90(2): 222-236.
- Murray Li, T. (2009) 'Exit from Agriculture: A Step Forward Or a Step Backward for the Rural Poor?', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(3): 629-636.
- Otten, M. (1986) 'Transmigrasi: From Poverty to Bare Subsistence', *The Ecologist* 16(2): 71.
- Papua Province Statistic Office (Last updated 2014) 'Banyaknya Penduduk Provinsi Papua Menurut Kabupaten Dan Jenis Kelamin 2005, 2013, 2014'. Accessed September/2015 2015 <<http://papua.bps.go.id/linkTabelStatis/view/id/37>>.
- Price, S. (2009) 'Prologue: Victims Or Partners? the Social Perspective in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 10(4): 266-282.
- Republika.co.id (2015) 'Program Transmigrasi Tunjang Ketahanan Pangan Nasional' *Republika*, 24 Aug 2015, .
- Secrett, C. (1986) 'The Environmental Impact of Transmigration', *The Ecologist* 16(2): 77.
- Setiawan, N. (2005) 'Satu Abad Transmigrasi di Indonesia: Perjalanan Sejarah Pelaksanaan, 1905-2005', 2005.
- Sutton, K. (1977) 'Population Resettlement — Traumatic Upheavals and the Algerian Experience', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15(2): 279-300.
- Tadele, G. and A.A. Gella (2012) 'A Last Resort and often Not an Option at all': Farming and Young People in Ethiopia', *IDS Bulletin* 43(6): 33-43.
- Takesada, N., J. Manatunge and I.L. Herath (2008) 'Resettler Choices and Long-term Consequences of Involuntary Resettlement Caused by Construction of Kotmale Dam in Sri Lanka', *Lakes & Reservoirs: Research & Management* 13(3): 245-254.
- Takesada, N., M. Nakayama and R. Fujikura (2009a) 'Lessons from Resettlement Caused by Large Dam Projects: Case Studies from Japan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka', *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 25(3): 407-418.

- Takesada, N., M. Nakayama and R. Fujikura (2009b) 'Taking Good Care of Project-Affected-Families in Dam Construction Projects', *International Journal of Water Resources Development* 25(4): 629-639.
- Todaro, M.P. (1995) *A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries*.
- Tomlinson, I. (2013) 'Doubling Food Production to Feed the 9 Billion: A Critical Perspective on a Key Discourse of Food Security in the UK', *Journal of Rural Studies* 29: 81.
- Ullah, A.A. (2004) 'Bright City Lights and Slums of Dhaka City: Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh', *Migration Letters* 1(1): 26.
- White, B. (2012) 'Agriculture and the Generation Problem: Rural Youth, Employment and the Future of Farming', *IDS Bulletin* 43(6): 9-19.
- White, B. (2011) *Who Will Own the Countryside?: Dispossession, Rural Youth and the Future of Farming / Ben White*. The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.
- Whitten, A.J. (1987a) 'Indonesia's Transmigration Program and its Role in the Loss of Tropical Rain Forests*', *Conservation Biology* 1(3): 239-246.
- Whitten, A.J. (1987b) *Transmigration and the Environment in Indonesia: The Past, Present, and Future*. IUCN.
- WHO (Last updated 2015) 'Food Security' (a webpage of WHO). Accessed November/7 2015
<<http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/>>.
- Wilmsen, B. and M. Wang (2015) 'Voluntary and Involuntary Resettlement in China: A False Dichotomy?', *Development in Practice* 25(5): 612-627.
- Wilmsen, B., M. Webber and Y. Duan (2011) 'Involuntary Rural Resettlement: Resources, Strategies, and Outcomes at the Three Gorges Dam, China', *Journal of Environment and Development* 20(4): 355-380.
- Zhou, W. (2015) 'Genetically Modified Crop Industry Continue to Expand.', 'Genetically Modified Crop Industry Continue to Expand.', *Vital Signs*, Vol. 22. pp. 68-72. Island Press.

Appendix I

Data of Research Participants (Real names by Informed consent)

No	Name	Sex	Age	Type of Work	Married/Not Married
1	Abdul Rozak	25	Male	Porter	Married
2	Ahmad Saidin	26	Male	Porter	Married
3	Bambang Irtanto	23	Male	Porter	Married
4	Bambang	25	Male	Porter	Married
5	Ibrohim	21	Male	Porter	Not Married
6	Joko Purnomo	17	Male	Porter	Not Married
7	Junaidi	19	Male	Porter	Not Married
8	Mahfur	22	Male	Porter	Married
9	M Bagir	19	Male	Porter	Not Married
10	Ngatori	21	Male	Porter	Not Married
11	Nuraini	28	Male	Porter	Married
12	Siswoyo	23	Male	Porter	Married
	Parmin	24	Male	Driver	Married
14	Pujiono	27	Male	Driver	Married
15	Sarip	29	Male	Driver	Married
16	Ahmadun	23	Male	Street seller	Not Married
17	Ardi Rianto	23	Male	Street seller	Not Married
18	Bambang Hermansyah	25	Male	Street seller	Not Married
19	Mujianto	23	Male	Street seller	Not Married
20	Yatmi	28	Female	Onion peeler	Married

