



# **Indonesian Urban Farming Communities and Food Sovereignty**

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## List of Acronyms

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
IAASTD	International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
KRKP	<i>Koalisi Rakyat untuk Kedaulatan Pangan</i> , People Coalition for Food Sovereignty
LVC	La Via Campesina
SPI	<i>Serikat Petani Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Farmers Union
UA	Urban Agriculture
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
UPH	Urban- and peri-urban horticulture
WFP	World Food Programme

## **Abstract**

This research paper has attempted to examine how and to what extent urban farming communities and food sovereignty in Indonesia engage each other. It is done by two ways: 1) examination of two pillars of food sovereignty practised among urban farming communities namely localisation of food system and nature stewardship; 2) examination on how peasantry-based food sovereignty movements see the significance of urban farming communities in applying food sovereignty concept and to build mutual linkage between them. Case study from three cities – Jakarta, Bandung and Bogor – shows that food sovereignty discourse has not (yet) much exposed the urban farming communities because, 1) urban farming as movements has different historical background and root of emergence with food sovereignty concept that was brought by rural peasantry-based movements, and 2) so the both also have different social characters and political views. On the other hand, the representatives of food sovereignty movement suggest at least two important prerequisites to strengthen the construction of food sovereignty among urban food advocates specifically 1) building consumer consciousness on food system among urban groups, and 2) building urban and rural solidarity.

I argue that the emergence of urban farming movements can be a sign of the beginning and transition phase of food movement into urban setting that further can be a great chance for food sovereignty to fulfill the discourse on more sustainable and just food activism. For this, it needs more inclusive food sovereignty movements toward urban population, yet the urban communities should frame their activism to be critical to the existing industrialized food system. As initial research on this issue in Indonesia, this hopefully can bring insight and reflection – including for the global South – to enrich food sovereignty discourse as different context, setting, and geography perhaps should have different strategy and entry point.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Motivated by the complexity of growing number of urban people, decreasing number of farmers to whom the (urban) food consumption relies, and the expansion of food industry and commodification, this paper comes to examine the initiative of urban farming communities in Indonesia as one of means offered to tackle today's urban food challenges and its relation with food sovereignty. As an alternative to the existing global food system, food sovereignty has inspired many food advocates and movements across the globe with various degree of adhesion. This paper attempts to look at how far and to what extent urban farming activism in Indonesia engage with food sovereignty concept including to discuss rural-urban potential linkage in building alliance/solidarity of more sustainable and just food system.

## **Keywords**

food sovereignty, urban farming, food movement, Indonesia

# Chapter I: Introduction

## 1.1 Food sovereignty and country context

In the recent decade, food sovereignty has got increasing attention from many activists and scholars among the global agrarian and food arena. As October 2014, the term ‘food sovereignty’ achieved more than 809,000 hits in the Google search engine and over 11,100 hits in Google Scholar (Akram-Lodhi, 2015). Some of multilateral rural development agencies such as Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Food Programme (WFP), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) has put the term into their discussions (Akram-Lodhi, 2015, Jarozs, 2014; Ishii-Eiteman, 2009). Countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Mali, Nepal, Senegal, and Venezuela have adopted the term into their constitutions. Many food-based civil society organisations have also enshrined the concept of food sovereignty as their guiding principle (Akram-Lodhi, 2015). Different with ‘food security’ that emphasizes on market-based and monetary solutions beside ‘say nothing about the inequitable structures and policies’ as destroying factor of rural livelihoods and the environment’ (*ibid*), food sovereignty is defined as

the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems (Nyeleni Declaration, 2007)

Food sovereignty emerged in the late 1990s as a response to global agrarian crisis following the withdrawal of support to agricultural sector across the global South through trade liberalization and structural adjustment policies (McMichael, 2014). While the framework of food sovereignty was firstly constructed by the rural movement namely La Via Campesina (LVC) (Robbins, 2015; Block, et.al, 2012) and mostly captures transnational agrarian/food movement in rural areas (Borras, 2010; Borras, et. al, 2008), it has started to travel to the cities as urban consumers anticipate ecological problems and unequal food distribution (McMichael, 2014).

This paper seeks to examine the relation between urban food production in Indonesia and food sovereignty. In global context, urban and peri-urban food production also gets more attention within food sovereignty framework, especially in the aspect of localisation as its main pillars (Robbins, 2015; Edelman, et al, 2014). Robbins (2015) for instance, questions the local food system on how they will deal with massive urban people and how food sovereignty discourse can integrate the urban food movements that possibly do not necessarily seek major food system transformation rather to deal with practical issues of food access.

Around the world, population number in urban area has been likely growing across the developing countries within last decade. Report from FAO shows that in the early twenty-first century two billion people occupied the urban area and since then the number has expanded to more than 2.5 billion accounted equal as five new cities of the Beijing every years. The report also pre-



dicts that by 2025, more than half of the developing countries population will be urban dwellers with total 3.5 billions people. From those countries, low income-countries among Asia and Africa become the most rapid growing cities with the big proportion of youth. The trend in Indonesia is not an exception, the compiled data shows the increase of urban population from 42% in 2010, to 50.7% in 2011, and the latest 53% in 2014 (FAO, 2013, 2014).

That trend is seen by many countries and organization as one of big challenges for food sufficiency for the people, including for those who live in the urban area. This paper does not simply assume that population growth is the only factor of catastrophic as (Neo-)Malthusian camp shapes the discourse between population and resources including food, rather it also acknowledges the problem of food access and distribution equality in today's industrial agriculture era, an important thing to which food sovereignty aginsts.

The world food policy has been dominated by Productionist paradigm since 1930s. It originated from the industrialization of food in advancing chemical, transportation and technology of agriculture in order to pursue the massive quantity of food. Although this paradigm to some extent has been successfully raising the food production but hunger still continues affecting at least 1.9 to 2.2 billions people in the whole world, directly or indirectly untouched by this food paradigm. By this paradigm, the characteristics of food production has shifted from small scale production to 'concentrated production and mass distribution of foodstuffs that also bring health and environmental strains beside distance the producers and consumers with the longer food supply chain' (Lang and Heasman, 2004).

Moreover, some of these following conditions in Indonesia can add the problematic of food production. The number of farmer households which mostly live in rural areas as the main food producer for urban people is just in the reverse condition with the population growth. Within a last decade, farmer households have decreased drastically from 31.23 millions in 2003 to 26.14 millions in 2013. The latest statistics data shows that total farmers in Indonesia just contribute for 35% of all workforces declining from 44% (BPS, 2014).

Although the total farming lands are quite static throughout the country, but urban areas have experienced massive land conversion from agriculture use to residential or office and industries, especially the zones within the border of Jakarta, also Surabaya and Bandung (Firman, 2000). The converted lands from agricultural to non-agricultural use achieve at least 56,000 – 60,000 hectare per year during 2002 – 2010 (Ministry of Finance, 2014).

The report from National Statistics Office of Indonesia also says that following the decrease of farmer households, the agricultural industries have started to expand from 4,000 in 2003 to 4,200 in 2013 with the biggest proportions are plantation company followed by livestock and food crops companies. The food import have also made the situation vulnerable. Although the productivity of domestic food crops have increased, but within the last five years total food import has been accounted as twice as its export (BPS, 2014).

With that kind of complexity – growing number of urban people, decreasing number of farmers to whom the (urban) food consumption relies, in the other hand expansion of food industry and commodification – this paper comes to examine the initiative of urban farming as one of means offered to tackle today's urban food challenges in Indonesia and its relation with food sovereignty.

FAO (2010, 2008) published some reports to call for it, either in the name urban and peri-urban agriculture (UA) or urban and peri-urban horticulture (UPH). It has been emerging recently as movements in urban-characterized area in Indonesia. During the economic crises 1997 – 1998, urban agriculture also became embryonic in Jakarta, but it was not an organized movement rather to buffer the economic needs for poor, especially migrants from outside of Jakarta (Purnomohadi, 1999).

The current movements embrace many people, including youth to cultivate vacant area in the city and promote their activities through social media such as Twitter and Facebook. To mention one example, Indonesia Berkebun (Indonesia Gardening) was launched in 2011 and currently it has network in 33 cities – representing the biggest islands in Indonesia – and 9 universities in Indonesia (Indonesia Berkebun, 2015). This movement articulates their initiative with three values which are: ecological value to make the greener city space; economic value that can bring profitable and sustainable income such as Cuba; and educational and social value to strengthen the initiative. Urban farming according to them can be an evidence that urban population are able to act as food producer, not just consumer, especially in anticipating world food crisis, to be less dependent to the rural production (*ibid*).

This paper aims to look at how the urban farming movements relate with food sovereignty concept – and *vice versa* – specifically in Indonesia. As the initial research on this issue, this paper will examine the urban farming practices in embracing the food sovereignty concept, and in the reverse way, how the food sovereignty groups see the significance of urban farming movements in addressing the urban food problems in Indonesia.

## **1.2 Research Question: How and to what extent do urban farming communities and food sovereignty in Indonesia engage each other?**

The food sovereignty movement, although it was originated by rural peasant activist in the global South (Alonso-Fradejas, et. al, 2015), it has been evolving and is not only simply a peasant movement (McMichael, 2014). It was argued by McMichael (2014) that 'one might say it is a movement informed by a peasant perspective underlining the importance of revaluing farming for domestic food provisioning and for addressing social inequalities, hence the growing currency of food sovereignty across the rural-urban divide.' He further explains that food sovereignty inspires implicitly and/or explicitly many communities, including consumers, smallholders and urban classes to develop adaptive strategies that intersect with food sovereignty visioning on food regime and food insecurity, regardless they call it as food sovereignty or not (*ibid*).

Researches on urban farming as social movement with political economy/ecology motives mainly can be found in the Western world discussing mostly on reclaiming social and ecological space in the cities. Mentioning Sweden and British allotment gardens as examples, Barthel, et. al (2015) analysed the role of urban gardens movement in recollecting social-ecological memories of food production and protecting urban green space. Other examples are analysis of home urban garden in San Jose, California and its potential to be scaled up as social movement (Gray, et. al, 2014), micro politics of guerilla gardening involving social background, motivation, and relations with other users and also people around colonised site in England (Adams and Hardman, 2013; Adams, et. al, 2014), urban gardening as critical movement representing post-environmentalism practice (Certoma, 2011), urban food movements and (re)-imagining the space and future food systems in Australia (Lyons, et. al, 2013), critical political ecology and exposing power, exclusion, injustice, and inequality in urban farming practice (Tornaghi, 2013). These researches can be utilized to grasp some insights in looking at the trend in global South, either for the substances examination or methods.

Some papers already link urban farming and food sovereignty but mostly focus on the global North. Some of them are around these topics: convergence and divergence of food security and food sovereignty discourse among urban farming (Lyons, 2014), the practice of urban food activism and food sovereignty in Chicago (Block, et. al, 2012), urban food movements and food sovereignty in the US (Clendenning, et. al., 2015). In the global South, some studies captured the remarkable achievement of Cuba arguing that food sovereignty policies in Cuba involved not only civil society but also political society from local until international arena (Gürcan, 2014).

Perhaps, the dynamic between rural-urban linkage is one of critical questions that comes up in the recent food sovereignty reflective following what Alonso-Fradejas, et. al (2015) articulates

the multiple combinations of factors and contexts – the mix of agricultural biotech industrialisation and market liberalisation; North–South and rural–urban dynamics – are leading to variation, overlap, unevenness and contradictions among and within the communities and social movements struggling for dignified livelihoods and healthy, sustainable food systems. These are further complicated by layers of vulnerability rooted in diverse social attributes like gender, race, caste, nationality, religion and ethnicity, as well as localised conflicts over water, land, jobs and gentrification

And as argued by Edelman, et. al (2014), the importance of urban agriculture will just rise, especially in the context of rapid growing cities of the global South, where the urban food production is difficult to quantify in regards that they are mainly emerged from independent livelihoods initiatives by individual or groups cultivating the vacant lots to produce food for subsistence or for market supply.

Lesson can be drawn from Venezuela since they already put food sovereignty as national policy. While their population is dominated by urban and non-agricultural society, they are increasingly involved in constructing food sovereignty by bridging relationship across traditional urban and rural divides. Instead of creating direct marketing channel between (rural) producers and (urban) consumers, they also build food sovereignty as their common political

project, for instances by creating partnership and linkage throughout food process from production, distribution and consumption (Schiavoni, 2015).

Given the dynamic of rural-urban linkage in recent food sovereignty discourse, this paper seeks to address the central question: *How and to what extent do urban farming communities and food sovereignty in Indonesia engage each other?*

In building the frame for the central question, this paper will examine the first subquestion on *how are the urban farming movements in Indonesia incorporating the food sovereignty concepts?* To date, perhaps food sovereignty concept still lies in the domain of LVC members which in Indonesia still focus for rural peasant struggle. By this research question, I would like to know on how urban farming applies some key concepts of food sovereignty that starts to travel to the cities in many part of the world. The second subquestion is: *how food sovereignty movements that focus in rural area see the significance of urban farming movements and how both can build a linkage?* By this, I would like to examine the dialectic between rural – urban movements in terms of food sovereignty construction.

### **1.3 Organization of Chapters**

Following this introduction section, the paper will elaborate the conceptual framework resulted from literature review mainly on the basic concept of *urban farming* and *food sovereignty*. It will engage with their basic concepts, history of emergence and the relevant discourses between both of them. Then chapter 3 and 4 will examine each of abovementioned subquestions. In chapter 3, the intersection of urban farming practices with food sovereignty concept will be analysed in order to look at how both of them relate, especially from two pillars of food sovereignty which are localisation of food system and environmental stewardship. Here some cases of urban farming movement in Indonesia will be the case studies. Chapter 4 will discuss how (far) food sovereignty movements that focus in rural area relate with food growing movement in the cities. The last chapter will conclude and give the general answer to the main research question on the position of urban farming movements in food sovereignty.

### **1.4 Scope and limitations**

This paper utilizes different level of analysis starting from the wider lens of concepts and discourses of urban farming and food sovereignty which the relation between both are going to be examined, down to the specific cases in one country. The selection of example cases are based on how the research questions and analysis will be relevant. However, because the focus in this paper is the relation between two concepts and practices, the selection of cases just to give the general representation, not an in-depth focus to one particular movement.

Considering the time and resources, this paper does not give to much focus on some specific aspects such as the relation with the state's policies toward the urban farming and food sovereignty. Demographic analysis of the urban farming and food sovereignty movements such as generation or gender relation are also not discussed in this paper.

## Chapter 2: Analytical Framework

### 2.1 Urban farming as countermovement

Perhaps urban food production has been practised throughout the centuries ago, but after rural-urban dealineations – especially in the Western world – became clearer during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, fortified by urban and regional planning and ‘with them increasing vulnerability of urbanites to food shortages.’ It was also the Great Wars during 20<sup>th</sup> century resulting food shortages for millions people. By that, the strategy was to grow their own food with the farming practices (Barthel, et. al, 2015). British allotment gardens was catalysed as social movement in the time when 88% of farm workers had no personal ownership over the lands they cultivated so that the allotment functioned for buffering their food shortages and it was guaranted by laws to allocate allotment space (Crouch and Ward, 1988 as cited in *ibid*). In Havana, Cuba, there are popular gardens which share the same origins in anticipating food shortage among urban people as an impact of the termination of the Soviet Bloc’s economic support in 1989 followed by US embargo in 1992. Havana’s popular gardens then have been seen not only as food production sites, but also provide sustainable alternative agriculture which do not depend on huge external inputs. (Chaplowe, 1998; Altieri, et al.,1999).

There are several similar terms of urban farming or urban gardening. In the Western world, there is ‘allotment gardens’ term that can be found in countries such as Sweden, Germany, France, Britain that primarily was impulsed by the food shortages in the urban area especially during World War II (Barthel, et. al, 2015). British allotment garden ‘Guerilla gardening’ is also familiar in the Northern America and United Kingdom to represent the resistance movement towards the natural spaces in urban area (Adams and Hardman, 2013; Adams, et. al, 2014).

Rather to discuss its individual definition by term, maybe it is more useful to look at the common typology of urban agriculture identified by McClintock (2014) in Table 1. This typology suggests clearer various characters of urban farming based on organization, scale (in term of size), functions, management, labour and market engagement.

Discussing urban farming as countermovement, McClintock (2014) extends the ‘double movement’ concept proposed by Karl Polanyi (1944) in *The Great Transformation*. Polanyi once said that in the time when capitalist unregulated markets abolish society and nature through the exchange of ‘fictitious commodities’ – land, labour and money – there will be state intervention protective to society as cyclical pattern ensuring the liberal state. This then will result the ‘double movement’ opposition toward the ‘self regulating’ market, or dis-embedding nature from society (Polanyi, 1944; Holt-Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Clendenning, et. al., 2015). But this pure ‘double movement’ concept, according to McClintock (2014), is not enough so that it needs to examine various and multiscalar (and often contradictory) in dialectical and praxis of urban agriculture, rather than fully oppositional to the existing food system.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Organised</i>	<i>Scale of production</i>	<i>Primary function or orientation</i>	<i>Management</i>	<i>Labour</i>	<i>Market engagement</i>
Residential	No	Yards	Production for household consumption, recreation, landscaping, occasional sales of surplus	Individual or household	Self or family	Minimal
Allotment	Yes	Vacant lots, parks	Food production, recreation	Community garden programme, individual plot management	Individual community garden member	Occasional
Guerilla	Sometimes	Plants, beds	Valorisation and/or transgression of landscape norms, creation of 'edible landscapes'	Individual or collective	Individual or collective	Rare
Collective	Yes	Vacant lots, parks	Community-building, food production	Collective, often with garden manager	Collective members	Occasional
Institutional (e.g. school, prison, hospital)	Yes	Yard or other vacant space, greenhouses	Education, rehabilitation, skills training	Institution of contracted organization	Institutional members (e.g. students, patients, clients, prisoners)	Occasional
Non-profit	Yes	Vacant lots, parks, greenhouses	Food security, food justice, education (foodways, nutrition, abio-physical science)	Non-profit organization	Staff and volunteers	Frequent
Commercial/for profit	No	Large parcels, rooftops, greenhouses, yards of multiple clients	Food production (often through AFN market such as CSAs, farmer markets), edible landscaping, green infrastructure	Business owner and/or manager	Employees	Always

Table 1. Common Typology of Urban Agriculture (McClintock, 2014)

## 2.2 Dynamic of rural-urban linkage related with food sovereignty

According to Edelman (2014) the term ‘food sovereignty’ had origins around 1980s when the Mexican government put it into the national programme followed by Central American activists who re-echoed it in the late 1980s. Formally, food sovereignty was launched publicly in 1996 by its main champion LVC considering that ‘food security’ is not an answer to ensure local access in term of healthy and culturally appropriate food but just invited policies interpretation to maximize the food production without paying attention to how, where and by whom it is produced (Wittman, et al, 2010). Food sovereignty expresses the oppositional position toward trade liberalization and free-market mechanism on agriculture sector (McMichael, 2014; Wittman, et al, 2010; Rosset, 2008) and againsts the corporate food regime (McMichael, 2014). Food sovereignty that initially focus on national sovereignty on agriculture (Jarosz, 2014), recently as a result of Nyeleni Declaration in Mali, 2007 is defined as:

the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations.

It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations

This evolving definition includes the consumption sector (Jarosz, 2014). It moves from the nations’ food self-reliance to the rights of people to define their food production, and embraces everyone within the entire food chain: producers, distributors and consumers (Agarwal, 2014). Despite there are uncontested spaces for criticism, food sovereignty has been taking part in global debate and discussion for the past two decades involving not only farmers and peasant movements but also workers, scholars, food vendors including human rights activists. As quite broad concept, food sovereignty engages with food politics, agroecology, urban gardenings and moves from just rural/agricultural domain to ‘rural/non-agricultural, urban/agricultural, urban/non-agricultural, spheres of production, circulation/trade and consumption, the North–South hemispheric divide, state–society institutional spaces, as well as class and other social attributes and identities’ (Alonso-Fradejas, et al., 2015).

In summing up the evolving vision of FS, McMichael (2014) articulated three phases: 1) revaluing humanity's agrarian foundation via 're-territorialization' of (ecologically responsible) food production in eliminating dependency toward 'world granaries' promoted by food regime, 2) challenging the violence of 'comparative advantage' principle within state system which gives corporates to determine world producing regional which promotes agro-exporting, and 3) democratizing food system including to *recalibrate urban and manufacturing forms as partners rather than predators of the countryside* (author emphasize).

According to Edelman et. al. (2014), within the dynamic evolution of food sovereignty, one of the most compelling attraction is the reconnection of solidarity between producers and consumers which does not only consist the potential for mutual relationship but also deep tensions, contradictions, and dilemmas. One axis in that tension is rural-urban divisions as many people now 'living far from traditional food granaries.' This will bring another challenges on how local food system can go beyond localised market which is mainly characterised by direct exchange between producers and consumers.

Urban area, especially in the Global North has also been a quite fertile ground for challenging the existing food system. The form of movements to relocate food can be varies from a 'grassroot struggles for greater social justice in the face of hunger and food poverty or as 'middle-class' campaigns for better quality and more ethical consumption.' But it still brings question to the exclusivity of those initiative whether they can engage to the broader struggle in contesting with the corporate agri-food system that causes social justice and hunger problems (Sage, 2014).

And in fact, rather bringing one big banner under food sovereignty, urban food advocates and movements actually have diversified starting points and characters, by which also engage and shape one another with food sovereignty. Brent, et. al (2015) explore the politics convergence among food movements in USA ranging from agrarian justice, food justice and immigrant labour justice, among others. For instance, agrarian justice came up to resist the unjust and racial US agrarian policies that hinder them from access to land, credit and markets. Food justice – that mostly operates in urban area – wants to dismantle the institutional racism in shaping the oppression of food access that often keep black people oppressed. Immigrant labour justice is motivated by US labour and immigration policy that isolates food from farm workers especially because of the low-wage scheme food production.

Fairbairn (2012) even notes that not all organisations in the USA using the term food sovereignty are expression of the initial concept but also consist of urban agriculture promotion, fair trade, family farming and organic groups even broader for development NGOs, religious and social justice organisations and environmental groups. Among them, there are groups that consciously and actively contribute in framing the concept of food sovereignty especially who have direct connection to LVC. The rest and the largest part are them who have farther relation from food sovereignty activism, but using the concept to some varying degrees.



Having said that, although the food sovereignty and urban food movements have numerous historical and geographical context but perhaps at some points they have same share and shape one another. In term of urban food production, McMichael (2014) argues, the practice of urban food production is not necessarily under the radar, because the initiatives is resiliently practiced, especially when neglecting social justice including environmental concerns (*ibid*).

This paper tries to unpack the practice of urban farming from two pillars of food sovereignty that I think very related with urban food movements which are localisation of food system and nature stewardship within urban area.

### ***Localisation of food system***

Two of six pillars of food sovereignty stated in Nyeleni Declaration are 'localises food system' and 'puts food locally' (Schiavoni, 2015). It is an antithesis for capital accumulation in global trade system which is developed by basic law of 'the annihilation of space through time' in order to reduce the cost and long time and distance of commodities journey by utilizing many technological innovation (Harvey, 2006). The globalized food system has distanced the consumer from the producer so that eliminates the people's knowledge on their food resources, undermine the cultural, social, and democratic aspect on their foods (Wittman, et al., 2010).

Most of radical urban food movements have the same vision on this local food aspect. Taking examples from some food movements in the USA, Henderson (2000) argues that it is important for people to take control of local resources in building local or regional food system in which farms and gardens of many size grow the food in ecological way, giving farmers and farmworkers decent wages, respect, and safe working condition in the same time fairly distribute the fresh and healthy food to people regardless their ability to pay. Larder et al. (2012) – based on their research of backyard gardeners in Australia – says that urban gardening is not only about the *where* of food is produced but also it is an alternative ways to meet their needs outside the corporate domination, 'thereby flexing power of their food choice through the act of domestic production.'

But, there remains a debate about local food system. What does local mean? Can the small-size peasantry – as promoted by food sovereignty – fulfill the massive urban population? The complexity of local food system as argued by Robbins (2015) is still overlooked and unresolved by food sovereignty movements as they apparently 'view local food systems as ideally embedded in small-scale, peasant production using agroecological methods.' But in practices, 'local' has various differentiation of methods, characters, and scale. It brings another question on how local food system can tackle the 'distance' which is not always in geographical term, but it includes social, economic, politic, and cultural proximities.

So that, it is important to examine the 'local' with 'multiple and complementary scale' among urban farming communities in Indonesia. This paper mainly will utilize the framework from Montenegro and Iles (2015) grasped from Sayre's work (2005, 2009) that looks at delineation of scale in three forms: size, level and relation. Hopefully by using this framework can address what does the lo-

calization of urban farming in Indonesia look like within multi-lenses, starting from ‘size’ that also can capture its capacity to produce, ‘level’ in terms of their scope of organizations and institutions, and ‘relation’ to look at ‘the spatial and temporal relations among processes at different levels, as well as the processes connecting elements within levels’ (Montenegro and Iles, 2015).

### ***Nature stewardship***

Another important aspect of food sovereignty and many urban food movements is sustainable farming practices. This is also chosen because it relates too with ‘local differentiated’ in term of method (agroecology or industrial) and character (small/peasantry or large scale) as suggested by Robbins (2015). Food sovereignty calls for enacting agrarian citizenship to reconnect agricultural practices with ecology and culture by agroecology methods and to not just measure agriculture in modern economic efficiency rationality (Wittman, 2010). It is practiced by utilizing the biodiversity, low external inputs and yielding mechanisms that maximize the ecosystems and better resiliency. It againsts the use of practices that can destroy ecosystem, monoculture crops, energy-intensive, livestock factories and any various industrialised methods (Akram-Lodhi, 2015).

Altieri (2011) summarizing five similar remarkable features of traditional agroecosystem (Altieri 2004; Koohafkan and Altieri 2010):

1. high levels of biodiversity that play key roles in regulating ecosystem functioning and also in providing ecosystem services of local and global significance;
2. ingenious systems and technologies of landscape, land, and water resource management and conservation that can be used to improve management of agroecosystems;
3. diversified agricultural systems that contribute to local and national food and livelihood security;
4. agroecosystems that exhibit resiliency and robustness to cope with disturbance and change (human and environmental) minimizing risk in the midst of variability;
5. agroecosystems nurtured by traditional knowledge systems and farmers innovations and technologies; sociocultural regulated by strong cultural values and collective forms of social organization including customary institutions for agroecological management, normative arrangements for resource access and benefit sharing, value systems, rituals, etc.

This paper will examine the natural stewardship aspect of urban farming communities in engaging food sovereignty concept. What kind and to what extent do they practice the features of sustainable farming methods.

## **2.3 Methodology**

I employ qualitative method with purposive case studies selection to seek the primary data from fieldwork in three cities: Jakarta, Bandung and Bogor in which urban farming movements seem to be rising. Jakarta represents the megapolitan city where the urban farming youth movements commenced, followed by Bandung where the urban farming has become one of municipality program, and Bogor as the border of the Greater Jakarta Capital. These three cities seem to be fertile and potential space for social movements, especially

youth-driven, to grow. Beside that, the representative of food sovereignty movements also operate in Jakarta and Bogor.

Semi-structured and open-ended research questions will be used to gather information from some representatives of urban gardeners and rural food sovereignty movements. The questions for the urban gardeners will be about their farming practices in linkage with food sovereignty concept (in addressing the first subquestion) focusing on localization of food and nature stewardship aspect, and in addition, their motives. For rural food sovereignty movements representatives, questions will be on how they look the significance of urban food movements and the possibility to relate them with urban farming movements within food sovereignty framework.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), qualitative interview attempts to understand the world phenomena from the respondent's point of view, before put it on scientific explanation. This research uses phenomenology approach that in qualitative research is defined as desire or willingness to understand social phenomena directly from actor's perspective and to describe subject's experiences, by the assumption that the important reality is how something should happen based on respondent's perception (*ibid*).

For every respondent, consent will be asked and ethical issues such as the confidentiality of respondent (if any) will be respected. Challenge to be anticipated and prepared is that author does not have many involvement in the urban farming movements, while to some extent will also problematise the movements.

Beside primary data, this research also gathers and analyses secondary resources. Secondary data will be gathered through literature review and critical analysis towards academic books, journals and papers, reliable websites.

## Chapter 3: Practice of Urban Farming and its Relevance with Food Sovereignty

Urban farming, in recent decade has been brought back as a promise to improve greener cities. It has been promoted by FAO namely UPH program in addressing world's cities problems, not only for urban poor empowerment or food and nutrition security, but also to grow greener cities in coping with social and environment degradation, 'from slum improvement and management of urban wastes to job creation and community development' (FAO, 2010). This initiative actually has been practised across Global South and North, and at the time during economic crises happened in USA or UK shifting from recreation of leisure form to urban sustainability and economic resilience attempt (McClintock, 2010). The same potentials in terms of food security and poverty has been recognised in developing countries (Zezza and Tasciotti, 2010), Accra, Ghana (Asomani-Boateng, 2002), Harare, Zimbabwe especially because the entry of structural adjustment policy (Drakakis-Smith, et al., 1995) or to survive from the collapse of Soviet's economic support and US embargo as practiced in Havana, Cuba (Chaplowe, 1998; Altieri, et al., 1999).

In some countries such as US and Cuba, urban food activism influenced by food sovereignty has occurred. In Indonesia, food sovereignty mostly still circulates in rural peasant movement. Historically, the food sovereignty discourse in Indonesia was actively brought by one of LVC member in Indonesia namely SPI (Indonesian Farmers Union) in the late 1990s, following the unveiling of food sovereignty concept to public in the 1996 as an alternative answer to global food regime and food security concept (interview with Said Abdullah, representative of KRKP, People Coalition for Food Sovereignty). Afterward, the food sovereignty activism is still dominated by rural peasantries issues, such as resistance to the rice import policy or agrarian reform, which its domain mostly be seated in rural farmers. For instances during the mid-2000, beside SPI, other rural peasantry movements such as API (Indonesian Farmers Alliance), PETANI MANDIRI (Self-Reliance Farmers), AGRA (Alliance of Agrarian Reform Movements) and STN (National Farmers Union) held the action to refuse the rice import (Bachriadi, 2014). In many of their actions, urban (consumers) group were rarely involved.

This research is a preliminary examination toward urban food production movements in Indonesia to look at how and to what extent they incorporate food sovereignty movement and potential of each others to shape the construction of food sovereignty. Urban food movements, if they want to make significant change in food system should move just beyond celebratory activism, no matter how much its contribution and little step taken in the beginning. To make that happens, food sovereignty movements perhaps can offer their concept as to date food sovereignty is the most-mentioned alternative concept beside food security. Involving urban movements in food sovereignty within Indonesia context however is admitted as important thing by food sovereignty movements (interview with representative of SPI and KRKP), as urban population act also as big consumer groups, while the food as a system should also pay its attention to whole chain including consumers.

### 3.1 Practices and motives

This research has found at least three diversified types of urban community farming practices according to McClintok typology (2014). First, and the most, is collective urban agriculture which cultivates vacant or limited lots organized by collective members, and every community has their own coordinator. This type can be found within the networks of Indonesia Berkebun (Indonesia Gardening) which operate in municipal level such as Bogor Berkebun, Bandung Berkebun, and Jakarta Berkebun. Beside farming activity, they also have community building activities such as Akademi Berkebun (Gardening Academy), including occasional, but rarely, engagement with market. Mostly the members of these communities are from middle and high educated youth who also already have formal jobs or those who are still involved in university study.

The second is institutional urban agriculture held under or supporting formal institution program, in this case (municipal) government. I found this type in Bandung as the municipality has a program namely Bandung Kampung Urban Farming (Urban Farming in Kampong Level of Bandung, BKUF) in trying to enhance the activity throughout the village (sub-municipal) level. In this case, my resource persons said that they started the activity before the municipality launched the program, but because they are also under the same municipal, they do not object to support (and are claimed as part of) the program. One of interviewees of this type was the Head of Cisaranten Kidul Village who utilizes small lots to produce many kinds of vegetables. Her program is also to link the garden with the cooking center to provide additional food for child nutrition program. The initiative mostly came from her, but she also involves the members of Family Welfare Program (*Program Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, PKK) who are mostly women and housewives, and also under his institutional authority. Sometime the garden is also visited for educational program of pre and elementary school. They never engage with market to sell their yields. Another interviewee was the head of neighbourhood level (*Rukun Tetangga*, about 60 houses area) in Kacapiring Village. In this area even they just use pots to grow their plants because they have only limited space and yard as the typical crowded urban housing. In this community, they have a core team consists of around eight of household heads who are all men. They occasionally, but very rarely, engage with market in a program called Bandung Agri Market in which many communities (including the profit-oriented one) sell their products.

The third type of urban community farming is allotment, in some extent also functions as residential purpose. It is likely similar to collective type, but every members or family have their own plots to be cultivated. This kind of community that I found was in Marunda low-cost apartments, Northern Jakarta. Beside to fulfill their domestic needs, they also occasionally sell their yields to other residents. The community consists of many housewives utilizing vacant lots in apartment backyard. Their main purpose is clear: to fulfill their food needs and additional income while their husbands mostly just have occasional and informal works. While the others two type of community farming are often organized by people without farming or peasantry experience, the members of the latter express that they have come from farming tradition in their origin area prior their migration to the urban area.

<i>Community</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
Network of Indonesia Berkebun: Jakarta Berkebun Bandung Berkebun Bogor Berkebun	Collective	Organized; in vacant lots or parks; community-building and food production purpose; collective management with a coordinator; occasional engagement with market
Community under Bandung Municipality: Cisaranten Kidul Village Kacapiring neighbourhood	Institutional	Organized; in yard or other vacant space, including pots; education, environmental rehabilitation; managed by institution and its members, sometime labor hired; occasional engagement with market
Community in Marunda low-cost apartment, Northern Jakarta	Allotment	Informal organization; in vacant lots; food production and income generation purpose; recognised as community garden, with individual plot management; occasional engagement with market

Table 2. Indonesian Urban Farming Communities based on McClintock's (2014) common typology

Of course the categorization is not simply static as recognized by McClintock (*ibid*), maybe one practice of gardening can involve overlapping criteria such as institutional that operate their garden as collective, or residential can also have market-oriented purpose. However, the typology offers various practices in diversified scale in food provisioning for communities and their members, both of with and without traditional market mechanisms. This paper reveals the dominant character of each community, not to thoroughly discuss the differences between them, rather to analyse the overall discourse over them and how it is relevant with food sovereignty concept.

Thus, urban agriculture practices and its potentials which are often seen by 'an undifferentiated view' throughout South and North as 'a panacea for urban ills' actually have different motives moreover if it is looked at geographic particularities in particular city (McClintock, 2010). Beside analysing through inter-related metabolic rift elements: ecological, social, and individual to 'explain how and why urban agriculture arises in different parts of the world and also reveal opportunities for its expansion as part of a growing network of local food systems' (*ibid*), McClintock (2014) argues that as movement, urban gardening has various positions toward mainstream global food system and market. Elaborating Polanyi's (limitation of) 'double movement,' he attempts to reveal urban agriculture multiscalar (and often contradictory) process. According to him,

... a purely Polanyian analysis does not fully appreciate the level to which capitalist hegemonic tendencies are internal to "society" and the social organisations that constitute it (government, non-profits, community organisations, among others) (*ibid*).

So that, although urban gardening movements have grown mostly with the context of Polanyian counter-movement to prevent environmental and social degradation of the industrialist market, but they have various 'dialectical tensions'

especially if it is looked at different scale. In one hand, for example at local or household level, the urban gardening is practiced as ‘subversive food production strategy’, to work out of logic market and industrial food system, but in the macrolevel, sometime it also serves as substitution for capitalist production as the wage gained as industrial labour is not enough for household (*ibid*).

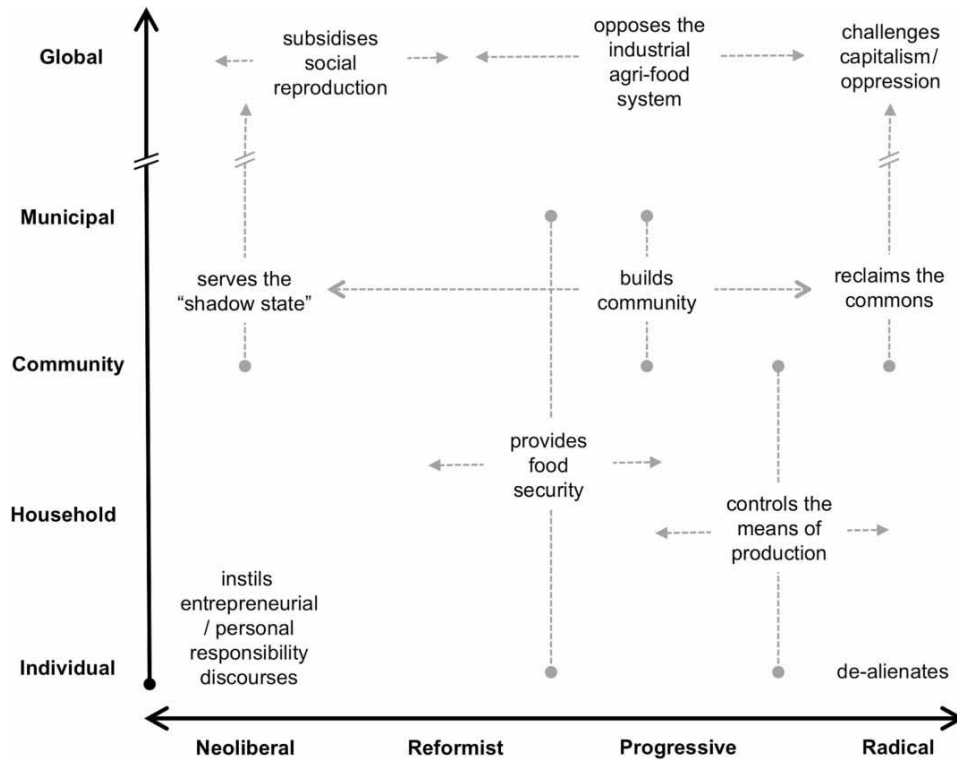


Figure 1. Urban agriculture’s multiscalar (and often contradictory) processes. These processes are plotted at various levels of political economic organisation (y-axis), ranging from the individual to global, and along a neoliberal–radical gradient (x-axis). Notes: Dotted lines indicate that processes occur across levels and at multiple scales. Sources: McClintock (2014)

What I have found in this research confirms these various interpretations and motives of urban gardening rather than firm opposition toward the dominant food system. Mostly the representatives of Indonesia Berkebun network expressed that their main motive is to improve degraded environmental condition by reclaiming the vacant lots in the city, and educating or spreading campaign to public to do gardening activity. Similar to the community involved in municipal urban farming program in Kacapiring village, Bandung, that prior to the urban farming they started the initiative by planting decorative plants around with the purpose of greening their neighbourhood.

...I am quite concerned of Bandung condition, it was a green city, cool weather, but recently I feel hot, maybe we need a movement, a kind of green movement... (interview with Fadil, representative of Bandung Berkebun)

...(in term of) ecology, we try to rehabilitate soil fertility, because it is maybe already poor, unutilized, and neglected... (by gardening) we can also reduce our carbon footprint for transportation (to the market) (interview with Sigit Kusumawijaya, representative of Indonesia Berkebun)

Another interviewee links the gardening activity with health and nutrition improvement for community, especially children around the garden area. That is a kind of community support agriculture that initially was prepared as nutrition garden (interview with Heni, Head of Cisaranten Kidul Village). While in Marunda low-cost apartment area, their motive as mentioned before is likely to survive with their decent livelihood, to support food for their household and if other residents buy their vegetables, it can be additional income instead the occasional and informal work of their husbands. In term of economic reason, Indonesia Berkebun network also express that perhaps gardening can result more saving than buying the vegetables from market and also from the transportation cost.

But from all interviewee, the discourse about food as a system itself is rarely spoken. Just a small number of them expressed their concerns for examples:

...It is different if we buy foods or vegetables from mall or market, we do not know whether it is healthy or not, contains pesticide or not, but if we grow by ourself, we will not use pesticide indeed... (interview with Sigit Kusumawijaya, representative of Indonesia Berkebun)

...We are sad, why now people prefer for imported products than domestic products with the reason of price, safety, whereas our products are not always more expensive or not safe... (interview with Warid, representative of Bogor Berkebun)

...It is very contrary, that as agricultural country, fertile country, but our food, food in our kitchen, it is imported... (interview with Mustain, representative of Jakarta Berkebun)

Although those quotes may sign their concern and awareness toward inequal food system and health and environmental crises, but none of them direct their resistance firmly to industrial and free-market logic. As dialectical tension, maybe their position toward it still sits in individual thinking in limited numbers of members, but in community level, the dialectic mostly just concerns about one element of metabolic rift which is ecological rift. If we follow McClintock's suggestion (2010) in elaborating Marxian metabolic rift, the efforts of community is still partial. Other two elements of metabolic rift which are social and individual, are still not considered.

Understanding social rift is not only essential to explaining urbanization but also to elucidating the linkages between urbanization and the agri-food system. The rise of large- and industrial-scale farming has entailed the consolidation of land and expansion of mechanization and other new farming technologies, both of which reduce the demand for agricultural labour (McClintock, 2010).

While, about the individual rift, the concern is about the two dealienation of human: 'from the fruits of our labour' and 'from the natural or biophysical world.' Perhaps, urban agriculture can help re-establish those dealienation, if it is practiced with those individual consciousness, in complementary with two other rifts.

After examines motives of urban farming communities, the next two sub-chapters will discuss elements of food sovereignty around urban farming practices respectively about local food system and their environmental stewardship.



### 3.2 Local food system

As food sovereignty gives emphasis on locality political project (Robbins, 2015; Schiavoni, 2015; Borras, 2010), how do urban gardening communities in Indonesia perceive and practice this concept? Based on the interviews, I would say that they have not entered this discourse and debate too deep instead try to grow the food 'locally' meaning to cultivate the crops by their own hand. The communities have not considered yet the externalities of (free) market as discussed before, or other relevant aspect of locality such as culture, or the 'local' as food system in terms of relation with distribution and consumption mechanism. While food sovereignty movement usually bring discourse between localism versus globalisation (of industrial food system), this issue has not shown up yet among the community. They mostly articulated their belief on 'local' food production as an activity to ensure their healthy and environmentally-friendly food resources by shortening the 'food miles' without opposing or resisting the global force of food commodification.

Local food system has become central interest of many food movements. Local food system, academically or practically, has also been linked with sustainable agriculture given the relation of some features: 'local, direct agricultural markets and organic or low-input farming' (Hinrichs, 2000). But, still according to him with critical notion, the legacy of sustainable agriculture also bring dilemma for local food systems between 'the innovation, development and dilution of more environmentally sensitive production practices' and 'a form of resistance to and mobilization against the socially and environmentally destructive conventional agricultural paradigm,' especially to expand 'the working of sustainable agriculture very far beyond the farmgate' that often also needs (alternative) marketness and instrumentalism (*ibid*).

Another interrogation to the definition of 'local' is what Montenegro and Iles (2015) ask:

... localized food systems are often opposed to the corporate food regimes but the scale in question may be ambiguous. What does 'local' mean, how is it bounded, and by whom?

Robbins (2015) differentiates three domains of 'local' consisting of method, character, and scale. The substantial difference of 'character' is apparently between peasantry and capitalist character, but it leaves a problematic whether the peasantry can fully work out of capitalist while it still engages in market beyond subsistence mode of production. Differentiation of 'methods' is mainly about how the food is produced whether by 'conventional' industrial agriculture methods using chemical and synthetic fertilisers or by 'traditional' methods including organic to agroecological methods. And one of the most captivating question in regard of locality is 'scale' ranging from small-scale to large-scale agriculture. All of that, similar what urban farming differentiated typology, Robbins argues,

... in practice, local food initiatives may fall closer to one model than the other, may demonstrate seemingly contradictory characteristics, or may move between the categories over time. In this way, localisation is not automatically synonymous with food sovereignty.

This, then bring question on how local food system can address the 'distance' which does not only consist geographical distance, but also sectoral such as

distance of production to consumption; markets from sellers and buyers; peasants from their lands; rural from urban; agriculture from nature (*ibid*).

This paper will concentrate to examine the ‘scale’ of Indonesian urban farming communities by bringing more elaborative and comprehensive thought about ‘localism’ of Montenegro and Iles’ framework (2015). They offer to consider various meaning of ‘scale’ consisting ‘size’, ‘level’ and ‘relation.’

In term of ‘size’, the scale of urban farming in Indonesia that I have researched, clearly contribute just the very small (if can not still far away) from food security even for their self-sufficiency. Firstly, from the beginning every community does not have any specific target and strategy on how their can produce the adequate amount of foods for consumption of their members, though the Marunda community members mostly always have the vegetables in their kitchen. So that, second, they do not have spesific record and data in quantifying their process and results. Yet they said that community garden function is to trigger their members to grow their food in their own-house, but the number is also not quantified and difficult to grasp<sup>1</sup>.

The sufficiency of small versus large scale agriculture has been a longstanding debate by which the discourse ‘is used by different interest to try and assert the superiority of a particular strategy or model’ and still majority of people believe that modern agriculture should be large-scale (Toulmin, 2011). Urban agriculture, especially in very small lots and even in pots in just yard scale, from tens up to hundreds square kilometres, obviously can not address all the food system problems. But perhaps if it is practised appropriately, small scale farming as practised by urban community, combined with sustainable methods and employing other elements of ‘scale’ that will be explained later, it can bring a good kick-off to answer the productivity and stability, in term of result per size of land, per labour, and per economic invested (Sosa, et al, 2013).

Yet the challenge for urban agriculture is about quantification of its contribution to food sufficiency, but the global estimate data in 1993 already showed that urban agriculture has provided 15-20% of world’s food (FAO, 2008). In Indonesia, with no more than 8 millions hectare land according to BPS (2012), smallholders astonishingly could contribute gross domestic income up to 408 trillion rupiahs exceeding the income from palm oil which was only 223,7 trillion rupiahs with 8,7 hectare land (Santosa, 2014).

In term of crops productivity, Cuba has shown progressive development of urban agriculture, including best documentation of its result. Taking place on about 30,000 hectares land, it has produced 3 million tons of fresh vegetables per year feeding 11 million people, at the same time employing 300,000 people ‘at a time when capital is not available to invest in more industrial employment’ or equal with ten people per hectare meaning very labor-intensive but at least contribute ample vegetables up to 36 people (Levins, 2005). About 46-72 percent of Cuban peasants using agro-ecological principle, they could produce up

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<sup>1</sup> Author conducted online survey to catch information from urban home gardeners, yet it is spreaded through the organization, but the feedback is almost zero.

to 60% of the vegetable, maize, beans, fruits and pork (McMichael, 2013). Some scholars such as Chaplowe (1998), Altieri, et al (1999), Koont (2008) have compiled the remarkable achievements that can be documented from urban agriculture. In this process, urban farming in Indonesia still needs more efforts.

Similar with the next element of scale, which is 'level', urban farming communities in Indonesia have not had clear organizational arrangement, even for the one which has been initiated by (municipal) government. Again, taking Cuban urban agriculture as model, there is an organization in every level of territorial unit (national, provincial, municipality, *Consenjo Popular*) with urban agriculture agent and administrative organ for each level (Koont, 2008). This research has found that in Indonesia, the pattern is still scattered in terms of covered area. In one area, the urban community garden is actively operated in village level, while in another, the most active one is neighborhood level, separately. There is no specific target and strategy on how to cover and treat the area hierarcially based on spesific needs and priority. Similar with Indonesia Berkebun network which operate independently from municipal program, although the network has grown up to 33 provinces representing the main islands of Indonesia (Indonesia Berkebun, 2015), but mostly in one municipal, they just have one community garden with the scale that does not necessarily represent the proportion of population to feed.

I suggest that there are at least two factors that cause the differences between Indonesia and Cuba in this context. First, urban agriculture in Cuba gets almost full support from government in terms of institutional and legal frameworks without eliminating decentralized and participatory process (Koont, 2008; Sosa, et al, 2015; Altieri, et al, 1999). Second, without those kinds of supports, urban farming communities in Indonesia do not have control to the means of production especially land as they just depend on limited and temporary vacant lots from private proverty, moreover in the big cities where the land has been commodified for the capital and profit interest. Sometime they have to end up seeking another site if the existing place will be taken over by its owner. De Angelis (2004) argues that the social, political and economical growth in the cities includes the land use change from production to consumption mode and shifts it from public to private ownership. This type of commodification and privatisation cause the abstract and alienated relation between people and land and this is directly linked to processes of city enclosure. That becomes hindering factor to expand their institutional level. It is also added with the background of urban gardeners who have another (main) job or activity causing them just partially concern on this issue.

Another element to examine is relational scale. This becomes the main argument of Montenegro and Iles (2015) that sovereignty can be resulted from encompassing connections of spatial, temporal, epistemic and social infrastructure among various and across level and process. Further,

relational scale can be conceptualized as networks of elements and process in a complex adaptive system. Such systems exhibit the hallmark features of complexity, including threshold effects, emergent properties, and network-dependent cascades across the system that put it into a different state, potentially undermining dominant power structures.

This relation scale also matters for Bartos (2015) as knowledge, including food politics discourse is situated in its specific place and by specific agents that interact and intersect in constructing particular discourse. She also argues, since the discourse are relational, an effort is needed to understand the construction of those discourse in spesific places and time. Taking example from Montenegro and Iles (2015) of Potato Park in Cusco, Peruvian Andes, relational scale can be built by opening partnership with various actor across various level instead the creation of (internal) *multiple bases of sovereignty*. It is important because the sovereign state also needs recognition from other institution rather than just self-claiming. Potato Park of Cusco has built their sovereignty through partnership with many organization, from research institutions such as London-based International Institute for Environment and Development and United Nations University based in Japan, and also one of the authority hub of CGIAR's global agricultural science research network. At the sub-national level, the park has been working with Cusco government and successfully can ban transgenic crops and an anti-piracy law at regional level (*ibid*).

This kind of relation-building in urban farming communities in Indonesia is still lack. Even in area that the program is promoted by municipality, the community rarely interact with the Office of Agriculture except for one or two times when the Office disseminating their support such as seeds or equipments, without any routine partnership such as supervision or accompaniment (interview with Sumardi, representative of Neighborhood in Kacapiring Village, Bandung). While some communities under Indonesia Berkebun network are also based in university, including some university with agricultural institute (Indonesia Berkebun, 2015), but the partnership and communication with research institute has not been heard much in the context of research and development.

As the members are also part of urban consumers, they do not have particular partnership with consumer movements, instead with occasionally environmentally-concerned organizations (interview with Mustain, repretantive of Jakarta Berkebun). Although there have been occasional events in which the urban farming community gathered and opened direct market namely Bandung Agricultural Market, but the linkage between rural food producers and both of urban producers and consumers are still limited yet. That kind of network has also not been considered yet by the urban farming.

While Indonesia Berkebun does not forbid their network members to develop partnership with any organization as long as it does not hinder their vision, but one barrier, as argued by Indonesia Berkebun representative, perhaps because of characteristic differences. Urban farming (especially youth) communities target to engage urban people that have different interest and different method particularly with rural movements that it is said sometime are very political for them, and "too hard" for those who are in the very beginning stage of food movement, for instance by their rally action to ask or against a food policy.

Thus, this relational scale should be built if urban food movements want to achieve sovereign state. For urban farming community, this is much more important given the fact that they are part of consumers, and their small garden production obviously can not fulfill all their food needs. Relations can help

them to scale up their networks with other movements which seek to be alternative for industrial agriculture. If any movement, especially who operate in small scale neglects this relational scale, maybe Bernstein’s scepticism (2014) can not be answered, on how small-scale farming production can supply food staples for the growing number and proportions of populations especially non-farmers. Further about relation between rural food sovereignty movement and urban farming communities will be analysed in Chapter 4.

### 3.3 Nature stewardship

As discussed before, rather than the localisation aspect, concern to nature is explicitly said as the main motive of urban farming communities, this is also a part of complementary with ‘local’ differentiation in term of characters (peasantry/capitalist) and methods (conventional/traditional). The communities attempt to bring the nature back to their cities. They also campaign the green lifestyle into their member, including education for children. To some extent, this is in line with food sovereignty principle that opposes environmental degradation caused by industrialized food system.

Instead acting as principle and motive, food sovereignty pays attention on how the farming is practiced, as main principle of food sovereignty is *working* with nature (Schiavoni, 2015). It employs the diversity of nature, low external-input agroecological production and harvesting methods by optimizing the contribution of ecosystems and improving resilience. On the other hands, it opposes the methods that can degrade ecosystem functions, energy-intensive monocultures, livestock factories and any industrialised methods (Akram-Lodhi, 2015).

Specifically, food sovereignty promotes the agroecology. Along together with small-scale farming, it is recommended as an alternative method to dismantle mainstream large-scale agriculture. Instead defined as a science which explains the functioning of agroecosystem, agroecology ‘refers to the principles, rather than specific recipes, that guide farming practices that allow for the production of food and fiber without the use of pesticides’ (Sosa, et al, 2015). Agroecology consists both of science and a set of practices (Altieri, 2011). As a science, it is a concept to apply ecological science to the the study, design and management of sustainable agroecosystem by diversification of farming to promote natural interactions and synergies among it components that will allow the regeneration of soil fertility, and maintain productivity and resilience (Altieri, 2002). And for food sovereignty movements, it goes beyond ecological and production but also includes social, cultural and political goals so that it does not allow the marriage between the agroecological method with large-scale plantation (Sosa, et al, 2015; Holt-Giménez and Altieri, 2013).

<i>Industrial food systems</i>	<i>Agroecological peasant food systems</i>
Agroexport crop and biofuel productions, thousands of food miles, major emissions of greenhouse gases	Local, regional and/or national food production, local production and consumption circuits
Focus on less than 20 livestock and crop species	More than 40 livestock species and thousands of edible plants
Large-scale monocultures	Small-scale diversified farming systems

<i>Industrial food systems</i>	<i>Agroecological peasant food systems</i>
High yielding varieties, hybrids and transgenic crops	1.9 million land races and local crop varieties
High petroleum-dependence and agro-chemical inputs	Local resources, ecosystem services provided by biodiversity
Fertilizers for crop nutrition (to feed the plants)	Plant- and animal-derived organic matter to feed the soil
Top down, technicist extension schemes, corporate controlled scientific research	<i>Campesino a Campesino</i> (farmer to farmer), local innovation, socially-oriented horizontal exchanges via social movements
Narrow technological knowledge of parts	Holistic knowledge of nature, cosmovision
Inserted in simplified, degraded natural matrix non-conducive to conservation of wild species	Inserted in complex nature's matrix that provides ecological services to production systems (i.e. pollination, biological pest control, etc.)

Table 3. Major differences between industrial and agroecology-based peasant food systems. Source: Toledo and Altieri (2011), modification from Rosset et al (2011) and ETC (2009)

Technically, urban farming by communities in Indonesia is mostly practiced as simple as common home or backyard gardening. In terms of practising abovementioned criteria, they are likely to have the same share: small scale, attempting natural interaction for pest control, diversifying the plants, rejecting chemical use, in some extent they also mention about linkage between human and nature cosmovision. One interviewee in Kacapiring neighborhood once even said that actually practice of farming is not only about farming itself, but also how to link with another environmental condition, such as water and rain management by which we can minimalize flooding, and improve the neighborhood condition. One member of Marunda community said that if people can be friendly with plants, they will grow appropriately.

However, 'agroecology' has not been their main discourse instead of 'organic.' They separately practice the agroecology principle, while for some (crucial) parts such as local seed use and conservation are still not their concern. Organic farming system, if it just functions as technical methods, potentially contains dualism. As argued by Toledo and Altieri (2011), in turn it can depend on external biological and/or botanical (i.e. organic) inputs which follows the conventional farming in overcoming the limiting factor using means of biological or organic inputs, moreover if it is treated as monoculture.

Most of urban farming communities do not know where the seeds come from. Very limited of them who use local seeds and they still buy and use the seeds produced by one of global agriculture company. This, as suggested by Altieri (2009), potentially just creates niche markets for some classes, as exhibited in the North with their any agro-export scheme that does not make food sovereignty as priority. Holt-Giménez and Altieri (2013) remind that:

Agroecology has a pivotal role to play in the future of our food systems. If agroecology is co-opted by reformist trends in the Green Revolution, the corporate food regime will likely be strengthened, the countermovement weakened, and substantive reforms to the corporate food regime unlikely. However, if agroecologists build strategic alliances with Radical food sover-

eighty struggles, the countermovement to the corporate food regime could be strengthened. A strong countermovement could generate considerable political will for the transformative reform of our food systems. The livelihoods of smallholders, the elimination of hunger, the restoration of the planet's agrobiodiversity and agroecosystem resilience would all be better served under this scenario.

Thus, it is not impossible to direct more sustainable farming practice by urban communities. Perhaps by more exposure to the agroecology discourse and information, the communities also can fulfill the social function of urban agriculture in transforming sovereign food system. As practiced gradually in Cuba, there is classification of farms agroecological transformation. It consists of three level with several criterias in each level. Once farmers pass one level, they move to the advanced one. This is to provide 'moral encouragement' to the farmers and to induce emulation by other farmers rather undermine them (Sosa, et al, 2015).

Another thing that also should be addressed from urban gardening is about disadvantages of their environment among urban industry pollution and degradation. Saed (2012) argues that it will be an irony if the farming is conducted in urban industrialised setting, because they are promoted as cleaning-up and rehabilitation function for environment which is degraded by the capitalist industries in the city. 'The right to the city' movement will just bring 'shallow and temporary political victories' if there is no attention to comprehensive interlinkage between ecosystem and public health, moreover if the urban farming is exposed by industrial contaminants that affect the population with long up to permanent hazards (*ibid*).

The key point for that issue is, again, linkage with related organization that can monitor and evaluate the environmental aspect of urban farming. For example, how to measure that they are free from huge pollution exposure of Indonesian big cities to result healthy crops. And the same with quality of water they use. By developing partnership, for example with university or environmental institute, the communities then can appropriately determine their location, or even improving method to protect their crops from cities' environmental problem.

### **3.4 Relevance with food sovereignty**

Then how is urban community farming in Indonesia relevant with food sovereignty? Food sovereignty has not been the main discourse or framework of the communities, instead the food security. It seems that the knowledge on it has not exposed them yet, even many of them have no idea of what it is. Minority of them, articulated their partial perspective on food sovereignty as the condition which the foods come from self-production, not the imported one (interview with Warid, representative of Bogor Berkebun). Other interviewee adds and recognizes that to achieve the sovereign state for them is still not easy, as the government also does not involve much in this activity (interview with Mustain, representative of Jakarta Berkebun).

Following McClintock (2014) analysis of multiscale processes of urban agriculture, and the differentiation of local food system offered by Robbins (2015)

I argue that it remains hard to say that urban community gardening in Indonesia already steps into radical, or even progressive one. If we look at just their dialectical tension, perhaps it sits somewhere ranging between reformist and progressive category as the criteria of opposing the global food system has not been expressed.

However, they already have some paradigmatic shift about environment condition, access to fresh, healthy, and affordable food, including public health concerns. If this can be improved by reframing movements' values and building strategic alliances it is possibly can be a basic step to achieve a sovereign state, as Johnston (2008) suggested that it is need 'a long-term incremental process of reclaiming social life from an excessive reliance on market logic' to change the current domination of agri-food systems.

As Edelman, et. al (2014) suggest, the 'groups spearheading urban food initiatives are politically varied, and those conscious of food sovereignty are far from the majority', the same with movements across Europe and North America, although many of them already bring social and justice advocacy (Holt-Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Clendenning, et. al., 2015; Román-Alcalá, 2013). This condition, as the urban farming movements just have emerged within recent decade, also similar in Indonesia.

I offer some arguments by which urban farming community in Indonesia has not exposed much yet by food sovereignty concept. First, food sovereignty and urban farming communities have different historical background and root. Food sovereignty movement came first in the late 1990s than the trend of urban farming as movements that just have emerged within five years ago. It was a economic crises in 1997-1998 that made urban agriculture mushroomed in the Greater Capital of Jakarta, but it was unorganized actions as buffer to meet the needs of urban poor, especially those who migrate from other province to Jakarta (Purnomohadi, 1999). Food sovereignty in Indonesia was brought by rural peasant movement, specifically SPI as LVC member that initially have not had major concern on urban consumer. The rural-based food sovereignty movements mostly role in influencing food policy aspect of government such as the resistance toward massive rice import, agrarian reform issue, or subsidy for peasant which are not directly too familiar with urban issue in Indonesia.

Thus, second, urban farming communities that have been researched have different social and political view characteristics with the rural farmers organisations as majority place for food sovereignty idea. The initiative of current urban farming communities mostly came from youth with high-educated and middle economics following the popular social media trend with issue circulating among them mostly about sustainable and greener city. To some extent, it is recognized that the condition has been influenced of depolitization of urban class since Soeharto's era, and political economy has been a minority place (interview with Zainal, representative of SPI, Indonesian Farmers Union, member of LVC), especially in other aspects outside of government issue, election, political parties *per se*.

There should be no problem with this as initial step of food movements travel to urban area, because the definition of food sovereignty is 'right for (all) peo-



ple...’ toward healthy and culturally appropriate food, and it ‘implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, *social and economic classes and generations*’ (Nyeleni Declaration, 2007).

Considering these conditions in Indonesia, I argue that this is still the beginning of food movements and advocates transition in to urban and consumer groups, further, with great opportunity to insert food sovereignty principle and practice. Transition movement, as Sage (2014) articulates, consists various streams, but one clear thing that it is an attempt to construct alternative lifestyles, from disengagement from market through food self-provisioning at the best, or playing the role as ‘means for social mobilisation, community resilience, civic engagement and potentially, transnational solidarity.’

Reflecting with ‘quiet food sovereignty’ term coined by Visser, et al (2015), the condition in Indonesia is inverse. Quiet food sovereignty is the condition where the food sovereignty principles are applied by farmers without explicit movement and discourse (although that term does not consider urban-rural divide). It happens in former Soviet and post-socialist countries with semi-authoritarian settings and limited space for social movements contestation. In Indonesia, yet the urban setting is more open for social movements but the discourse has not been circulated dominantly. In this case I would have the same stand with Bartos (2015) with her investigation in Auckland, that food sovereignty discourse in urban food production may not (always) be the entry point (even food justice, or food security). But since this discourse are relational, ‘effort is needed to understand the assemblages that are play in the creation of the discourses in specific places and over time.’

The difference between both conditions should not be important more than the purpose of food sovereignty principle itself which is to practice and develop sustainable food system in regard to oppose degrading corporate food regime, whether it is explicitly called ‘food sovereignty’ or not. The entry point for any different context and geography can be different. Hopefully by the more openness setting to social movement in Indonesia, food sovereignty principle can start to influence urban food movement. This needs to build more inclusive food sovereignty movement to urban population, while urban food movements should also reflect their platform in incorporating the alternative way and method rather embedded to mainstream discourse of food system or just act as celebratory movement.

## Chapter 4: Linking Urban and Rural Food Production and Movements

This chapter will discuss the dynamic between urban and rural food production and movements. To date in Indonesia, the majority of food and agrarian movements with food sovereignty framework still works for rural area. How do they look the urgency of urban production when the prediction of growth population will be greater in urban area? And given the different characteristics of urban and rural population, how do they can build the linkage and by what means? Hopefully this chapter will bring reflection to both of rural- and urban-focused movement in achieving sovereignty and challenging the global food system as Montenegro and Iles (2015) articulate,

Sovereignty is often seen in terms of ‘how to grow food’, ‘who we will obtain food from’, or ‘what foods we will eat’. Yet sovereignty also pertains to the ability to connect together technologies, knowledge, peoples, and institutions into networks that can leverage sovereign power much more.

### 4.1 Rural-urban linkages

Rural and urban usually is seen as having mutual connection. The former provides agricultural products for the latter, and in opposite way, the latter absorbs the labors from the former. However, the relations are not always in harmony because in fact, ‘the growth of the cities is attained largely at the expense of the peasantry hence, the increasing tension between the two areas as modernization proceeds’ (Ferguson, 1976).

This paper departs with the assumption of urban demographic growth that is worried as a major factor for food insecurity. Boserup (1970, as paraphrased by van der Ploeg, 2013) once said that despite there are many mouths to be fed, demographic growth also means there are more hands to work the land. But I argue, that argument does not always work if there is also unequal geographic concentration of the demographic growth, especially where the means of productions (i.e. lands) is scarce like obviously in the city, where the idle land is already hard to get, and the price is already high. In this case, urban farming as already revealed, can not be ‘single panacea for urban ills’.

On the other hands, urban bias (using Lipton’s term), can be a factor that pushes rural people to migrate to urban center. This negative effect of broken balance between agrarian growth versus demographic growth, can be avoided if the rural-urban mobilization happens in cyclical patterns. Cyclical migration according to van der Ploeg (2013) is attributed to migration activity by youngsters leaving the countryside and working in urban economy to earn and save money afterward they return to their village and support farming and rural economy activities. Tacoli (2007) has the same view that in the time when economic condition is difficult for urban poor, many still remain have linkage with their home in rural area, and in many cases, urban residents also invest in agriculture and livestock handled by their relatives and family as buffer for their economy and possibly for their retirement activity.

Another link between rural-urban is mediated by exchange relations (van der Ploeg, 2013) which in this context rural still acts as the main producer for urban population. There are two kind of exchange-relations between (rural) agriculture and (urban) market. The first one is the favorable exchange-relations in which ‘the prices received for the farms’ produce are higher than the costs of production’ and it has ‘positive prospect (i.e, the expectation that prices will stay at relatively high level)’. The opposite of it is the unfavorable exchange-relations that occurs ‘when prices are low and expected to decrease further.’ These two market conditions, linked with the internal balance of their resources dependency are summarized in figure below (*ibid*).

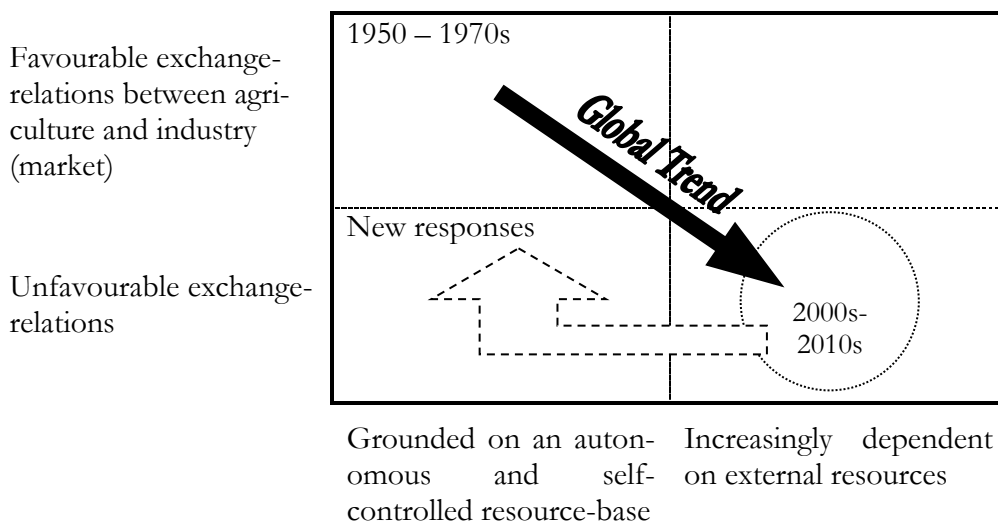


Figure 2. The Interaction between Markets and Farms (van der Ploeg, 2013)

Many (rural) farmers condition today are represented in the lower right position in that figure where they rely on external resources and experience unfavourable exchange-relations because the circumstances created by neoliberal projects such as deregulation of agrarian policies, market liberation and globalisation including unleashed control on capital (*ibid*). According to Ferguson (1976), this capitalism intrusion to the rural area is often exacerbating the antagonism between urban areas as the centers of market economy and rural area as the provider for market. Two conditions are resulted from this antagonism.

First, old methods of agricultural production are disrupted and must be replaced by newer forms of production for the market. Second, the coming of a market economy signals the breakdown of traditional social relations based on the former methods of production (*ibid*).

In responding such condition that traps farmers accross Global South and North, many farmers are seeking the better position by attempting to move from the lower right in Figure 2 to the lower left position for example by practising more peasant-way farming in order to base in their own resources. Some of them step further by, for example, creating new markets and market channels in aim to move to the upper left position in facing the adverse market (van der Ploeg, 2013).

This condition can be a reflection for both rural and urban movements in challenging global food system. A representative of KRKP (People Coalition for

Food Sovereignty) has recognized that to date, food sovereignty issue still belongs to rural domain.

To be honest, KRKP has not yet push (the agenda) directly to urban, yet we try to influence the consumers, especially young people... If that is organized, give them understanding, influence them that food sovereignty can start from consumer, not only producer, it will be impactful. But that has not happened today, it is still separated (between producer and consumer)...

The same with urban farming movements, as explained before, has not considered yet how to wake up the consumers consciousness on rural-urban linkage.

Food sovereignty movements agree that the urban population should be considered and embraced, in van der Ploeg's (2013) term: to make favorable exchange relation. Representative of SPI articulates that food sovereignty actually does not differentiate rural-urban, moreover if the means of productions are available, it should be utilized. But they also asserts that urban food production will not be enough yet. They suggest at least two important prerequisites to build linkage between rural and urban food movements specifically first, building consumer consciousness on food system as it is not only about production, and second, how the consumer movements can build solidarity with rural. Here, they remind that urban farming communities, howsoever are also consumers in regard of their biggest part of food resources consumed. So that, if they want to practice further the local food system, they also can support to absorb rural production instead to give more favorable to corporate food system. Those two preconditions will be elaborated in the next subchapters both for urban and rural movements reflections.

## 4.2 Reflexive consumerism

Food sovereignty movements suggest that food sovereignty itself does not only refer to production process. As a system, it includes the distribution and also consumption. Consumer groups should also be attracted to pay more attention to the rural production, care on local food system, and promote it as their lifestyles, regardless urban or rural. This becomes important, so that not only local food production that is pushed maximally, but it also needs to inform to the consumers to absorbs those local products. As urban farming communities also part of consumer groups for the rest of food resources that are not grown by themselves, this can be a reflection. Urban dwellers should understand on where their food resources come from, not only limited to use urban (farming) production, but on the other hand for example, they still consume from fastfood industry, or still grow the seeds produced by agroindustry, or in the end also operate as agribusiness that makes it becomes not relevant. Food sovereignty movement articulates that the urban movements should be more focus to challenge the domination of global food regime rather than run the community within mainstream discourse such as climate change campaign to plant the tree as individual responsibility. Urban farming hopefully can be part of awareness builder among urban people on this issue (interview with Zainal, representative of SPI).

*Vice versa*, KRKP also reflects that food sovereignty movements should pay more attention to this urban population. Their representative expresses that urban class is 'living people' that can be persuaded instead struggle in su-

prastucture level such as in laws- and policy-making. Indeed ‘food sovereignty’ words has been inserted to the some policy instruments such as in Laws on Food No. 12 Year 2012 and also in the current National Development Planning agenda, but in operational level, food sovereignty should also direct the awareness on consumers level. This part, KRKP argues, also has not yet actively done by food sovereignty movements (interview with Said Abdullah, representative of KRKP).

Technically, some format of initiative have began in many part of worlds in connecting producers and consumers with various call such as direct market, local food market, alternative food networks, community supported agriculture, etc (Francis, et. al., 2005; Nigh and González Cabañas, 2015). Those involve interaction between producer and consumer and can transfer better education and relationship between them (Nigh and González Cabañas, 2015) as also said by Ferguson (1976) that one of ‘factor conducive to political mobilization of the peasantry is increasing peasant participation in the market economy which has its center in urban industrializing areas.’ Although it is unlikely that complete food self sufficiency can be advocated in today’s global situation, but a degree of self-reliance is better to ‘reconnect people with their food supply’ (Nigh and González Cabañas, 2015). Taking example from Juárez (2012, translated and summarized by Nigh and González Cabañas, 2015), there is alternative markets in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico that improve relationship between rural producer and urban markets, organized under *Comunidades Eclesiales de Base* (CEB). This rural agrarian groups have been influential in urban area by promoting of consumption organic foods and also establishmenturban garden.

### 4.3 Building rural-urban solidarity

One challenge that appears in connecting rural and urban movements, to some extent is their different characteristics, consisting various socio-economic background and perspectives on (food) politics. A representative of urban farming community says that

Sometime our friends are gardening because it is a fun way, and as long as they do, they already meet their needs. We try to educate people who have not had those sense yet, without push them with ‘food sovereignty’, perhaps we already practice it without say that (interview with Indonesia Berkebun).

When this is confirmed to the representatives of food sovereignty movements, they do agree that it is not necessarily to call a specific practice as ‘food sovereignty’ explicitly for the beginning.

Of course we cannot force to urban people to totalize them with rural ways, and maybe it is our failure to date... We cannot for example bring agrarian reform issue to them to take lands somewhere (interview with KRKP).

The moderate way, is to find a similar bonding issue for the beginning such as organic or local food, because perhaps urban population have different needs and different culture, although further it is need to consult them about the ideological value of the food sovereignty (interview with SPI and KRKP). By this, it needs creative engagement and involvement of other elements of consumer groups, including culinary group based on local food, Slow Food movement, etc. These groups can also promote linkage with rural food resources, including their off-farms products, and also build relationship in order to disseminate

the idea of food sovereignty (interview with KRKP). They also can create a kind of ‘food sovereignty tour’ by visiting its best practice in the field along-with to gather rural and urban food movements<sup>2</sup>.

This is in line with argument of Francis, et al (2003) namely ‘closing a loop’ by educating consumer on sustainable farming manners that often is still missing in the program. Gradually, they argues, more consumers should be educated on understanding the interlinkage between their food, agriculture, health and environment. Once they informed, they will be more receptive to the issue on local food system including community gardens, farms stands, compost, organic products and community supported agriculture including more complex ecosystem functions and services. Beside that, consumer education should insert on how farmers can do sustainable farming system without chemical fertilizer and pesticides at the same time they are also protecting the ecosystem as portrayed as environmental steward, and they are concerned with the consumer health and food safety. So that,

Customers can be affirmed when they make the choices to purchase food produced in this manner. Further education about how food is produced, where, by whom, and under what conditions will reinforce their decisions (*ibid*).

Schiavoni (2015) explains her study on rural-urban relationship in Venezuela for building their common political project of food sovereignty that also change their involvement with food process from production, distribution, until consumption, known with popular term ‘prosumidor(a)’ which means the combination of producer (productor(a)) and consumer (consumidor(a)). She also finds thriving rural-urban solidarity between an urban community El Panal 2021 of Caracas and the Jirajara Peasant Movement. In attempt to break the capitalist market, El Panal provides sugar package while the Jirajara movement supplies the sugar. To include distribution, they also work with joint farmers market among other common distribution projects. Beside the food process, the Jirajara also helps El Panal to acquire land in the countryside as their common partnership project, including the effort to fortify the urban agriculture by El Panal.

Further, Edelman, et. al (2015) argues while it is an exciting idea to challenge the corporate food system by direct relation between the producer, distributor and consumer that ‘in turn assumes the co-existence of ‘floor price’ and ‘ceiling price’ but it also can contain deep tensions and contradictory. The first axes of the dilemma is about rural-urban divisions since so many people now do not have close connection with food granaries. Other axes is about rural-rural divisions, that reflect the current condition of rural residents who are also net food buyers, regardless they farm or do not. Yet bypassing the brokers system among societies is recognizable way to reconcile the tensions, but to make the effort comprehensive, the role of state is also essential in the broader policy (while this is not domain of this research).

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<sup>2</sup> For example is the tour which is organised by Food First, article: [re-pub.eur.nl/pub/77939/Metis\\_206721.pdf](http://re-pub.eur.nl/pub/77939/Metis_206721.pdf)

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

This research paper has attempted to examine how and to what extent urban farming communities and food sovereignty engage with and shape one another in Indonesia. Case study from three cities – Jakarta, Bandung and Bogor – shows that food sovereignty discourse has not (yet) much exposed the urban farming communities because, first, urban farming as movements has different historical background and root of emergence with food sovereignty, and second, the both also have different social characters and political views. However, I argue that this movements sign the beginning and transition phase of food movement in urban setting that further can be a great chance for food sovereignty to fulfill the discourse on more sustainable and just food activism. For this, it needs more inclusive food sovereignty movements toward urban population, yet the urban communities should also reflect their activism to be critical to the existing industrialized food system.

Following the travel of food sovereignty movement from rural to urban area and growing number of urban population, urban farming activism has also mushroomed in different part of the world with various types and motives. While this research confirms the various types and motives of urban agriculture practices, but the majority express their concern on environmental and health issue. Although some statements from urban gardeners may sign their concern and awareness toward inequal food system, but none of them direct their resistance firmly to industrial and free-market logic making their position still sits somewhere between reformist and progressive.

To address the relevance of Indonesia urban farming communities with food sovereignty concept, this paper examines practice of two pillars of food sovereignty which are: local food system and nature stewardship by using some conceptual frameworks mainly multiscale (and contradictory) of urban agriculture by McClintock (2014), ‘local differentiated’ from Robbins (2015), ‘multiple scale’ by Montenegro and Iles (2015), and involve rural-urban discourse, among others. Afterward, this study questions the representative of food sovereignty movements in Indonesia on their perspective toward urban farming activism and the possibility to build mutual linkage between them.

On local food system, urban farming communities mostly articulate it as simply grow the food by their own hand and have not considered yet the externalities of (free) market as discussed before, or other relevant aspect of locality such as culture, or the ‘local’ as food system in terms of relation with distribution and consumption mechanism. Examination on Iles and Montenegro’s (2015) multiple scales in constructing sovereignty shows that many efforts still to do by the communities to scale-up their institutional and relational scale by which they can leverage organizational structure and network as obviously their small scale garden can not fulfill all the needs of urban food.

In terms of environmental concern, to some parts they already have same ties with food sovereignty principles of sustainable farming: small scale, attempting natural interaction for pest control, diversifying the plants, rejecting chemical

use, in some extent they also mention about linkage between human and nature cosmopolitanism. However, 'agroecology' as specific principle offered by food sovereignty has not been their main discourse instead of 'organic.' But scholars (Toledo and Altieri, 2011) also warn that organic farming system, if it just functions as technical methods, potentially contains dualism that in the end remains bring dependency to external input namely organic or biological. In fact, majority of them remains grow the seeds produced by one of agriculture industry.

For food sovereignty movement, yet urban farming is a good initiative, but considering their scale to address the whole of food systems, it is impossible if it is not followed up by two means. The first is building reflexive consumerism as the urban gardeners also part of urban consumer groups, and second, to connect the urban consumer with local producer. While to have that condition, food sovereignty movements should consider the different (socio-economic background, political view) characteristics of urban people by creating mechanism that suits to it without neglecting the ideological values.

McClintock (2014) articulates rather than 'throwing out the baby with the bathwater,' we should view urban agriculture is simply one of many means to achieve the greater goal, in my case is food sovereignty. However, new forms of value must be ascribed and *use value* must be privileged over *exchange value* to scale up in any significant way. As also Edelman et. al (2014) express that 'there are many reasons that urban-based food initiatives should not be dismissed out of hand, and are fertile ground for enhancing alliances in the future.'

Hopefully this paper, as initial research on this issue in Indonesia can also bring insight and reflection especially across the global South to enrich food sovereignty discourse as different context, setting, and geography perhaps should have different strategy and entry point.



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## *Appendices*

### **Appendix A: Key Informants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Key Informant Type</b>
Zainal Arifin Fuad	Head of Foreign Affairs, SPI	04 Aug 2015	Food Sovereignty Activist
Said Abdullah	Coordinator of Advocacy and Network, KRKP	10 July 2015	Food Sovereignty Activist
Sigit Kusumawijaya	Public Relation, Indonesia Berkebun	25 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Mustain	Representative, Jakarta Berkebun	12 July 2015	Urban Farming Community
Warid	Coordinator, Bogor Berkebun	11 July 2015	Urban Farming Community
Fadil	Representative, Bandung Berkebun	21 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Dwi	Representative, Bandung Berkebun	21 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Tyo	Representative, Bandung Berkebun	21 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Henni Mustikasari	Head of Cisaranten Kidul Village, Bandung	7 July 2015	Urban Farming Community
Sumardi	Head of Neighborhood, Kacapiring Village, Bandung	29 July 2015	Urban Farming Community
Fransiska S	Marunda apartment gardener	25 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Meri	Marunda apartment gardener	25 June 2015	Urban Farming Community
Sisilia	Marunda apartment gardener	25 June 2015	Urban Farming Community

Appendix B: Pictures



Urban Garden in Cisaranten Kidul Village, Bandung





Jakarta Berkebun Garden