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**RELUCTANT GREY – COLLAR FARMERS:
The Constructivist Political Ecology of Urban Farming Development
in Semarang**

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Constructivist Political Ecology of Urban Farming Development in Semarang. Urban Farming is considered as an opportunity to develop agriculture even further, not just in rural area but in urban area as well. It offers social and economic opportunities because it reconnects food production and cities. The implementation of Urban Farming may range from Commercial Farming to Non – Commercial Farming. Commercial Farming is described to be more into production as well as food access and food stability, but has the tendency to lack environmental advantages. As for Non – Commercial Farming, it is expected to be less production oriented and thus offer a smaller contribution to food production, yet go well with environmental and climatic change. However, in the case of Semarang Municipality, there is some kind of Tug of War –represented as a Contest of Discourses– between the fascination of Commercial Farming, endorsed by the Municipality, and the charm of Non – Commercial Farming, envisioned by the locality or neighbourhood groups. A Matrix of Weberian Ideal Types is then employed so as to carry out Emphatic Understanding, i.e. interpretive examination, of the Contest of Discourses on Urban Farming Enculturation Program. Such an employment is also meant to trace at which point the Tug of War would eventually conclude. Holding onto the paradigmatic guidance of Constructivism, under the auspices of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, and within the context of Political Ecology, it is revealed that Urban Farming development in Semarang City is full of dynamics of knowledge as power in the form of a Game of Realms. The game is between the Semarang Municipality’s knowledge to theorize in the theoretical realm, which is then transformed into the power to organize, and the locality or neighbourhood groups’ knowledge to practice in the practical realm, which is then translated into the power to suffice. Armed with a Modified Matrix of Ideal Types, the present Research Paper finally arrives at the research findings on The Emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers.

Relevance to Development Studies

The topic of the present Research Paper, in the writer’s opinion, is surely relevant to Development Studies for it investigates how Urban Farming is disseminated and developed through the Semarang Municipality’s Urban Farming Enculturation Program. However, the relevance may not apply the other way around. Constructivism, Political Ecology, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis surpass the scope of Development Studies.

Keywords

Urban Farming, Paradigmatic Studies, Constructivist Political Ecology, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, Ideal Types

SUMMARY

Urban Farming is defined as agriculture and production in the home or plots in urban or peri-urban areas. It shows that farming can be done in various places, conditions and ways. And it becomes more relevant because of climate change as well as resource scarcity in Urban area. Urban Farming offers social and economic opportunities because it reconnects food production and cities.

The implementation of Urban Farming may range from Commercial Farming to Non – Commercial Farming. Commercial Farming is described as a type of farming that is more into production as well as food access and food stability, but has the tendency to lack environmental advantages. Non – Commercial Farming, on the other hand, is expected to be less production oriented and thus offer a smaller contribution to food production, yet go well with environmental and climatic change.

Within the context of political ecology, Urban Farming becomes a part of environmentally-conscious way of life as well as a form of identity-formation and self-expression. Urban Farming can be an alternative to collectively – induced social change through the existing informal networking. This is so, because Urban Farming is, as a matter of fact, embracing environment sustainability. Urban Farming is becoming a trend in urban populace in Indonesia in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In the case of the Municipality of Semarang, however, there is some kind of Tug of War –represented as a Contest of Discourses– between the fascination of Commercial Farming, endorsed by Semarang City, and the charm of Non – Commercial Farming, envisioned by the locality or neighbourhood groups. Regarding this, the main investigative question that triggers the present Research Paper is therefore, “How the residents of the City of Semarang would end up amidst the encouragement of Semarang City Government to establish Commercial Farming and the appeal of the locality or neighbourhood groups to engage in Non – Commercial Farming”. This query is then trailed by the subsequent follow-up questions, “Whether the outcome is inevitable and whether it is considered as an achievement.”

In the effort to answer those questions, a set of Weberian Ideal Types, in the form of a table or matrix, is then employed. This 'ideal' is in fact 'ideas' or mental images that do not have to perfectly correspond to all of the characteristics of Urban Farming development, but rather to stress certain elements common to most cases of such development. The set is actually constructed by criss-crossing columns and rows of 'jargons'. The Ideal Types, the jargons, are not the writer's; they are extracted, borrowed, from various sources. But the Table, the Matrix, is. This Table, this Matrix, of Ideal Types include Designation of Farmers by the Collar Color, Form of Farming, Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency, Entrepreneurial Interest, Profit Orientation, and Income-Earning Capability. Those Ideal Types are called for to carry out 'Emphatic Understanding', i.e. interpretive examination, of the Contest of Discourses on Urban Farming. This employment is also meant to trace at which point the Tug of War would eventually conclude.

The present Research Paper is written within the Non-Positivist Qualitative Research Tradition. Qualitative Research emphasizes the socially constructed nature of reality, the close relationship between the researcher and the subject being studied, and the situational constraints that shape research. Such research is concerned with the value-laden nature of the investigation, not with the cause-and-effect relationships between variables. In consequence, it does not require hypotheses to start with and then later to be confirmed. Instead, it is driven by a proposition in the effort to achieve the research objectives.

The type of data used in this thesis is secondary data which is already published data and information gathered from other conducted studies, in particular written discourses, as presented in public records from governmental and non-governmental agencies, academic institutions and the like, research organizations, business and industry. Data is also collected from reports, books, scientific and journalistic articles, documents, etc. Those data concern with programmes, policies, procedures, regulations, laws as well as theoretical and philosophical statements on Urban Farming and its development. Here, discourse is seen as both an overall term to refer to all statements, the rules whereby those statements are formed and the processes whereby those statements are circulated and other statements are excluded

Within this frame of reference, the problems of the present study as presented through the Research Questions are then solved by means of hermeneutically and dialectically

interpreting discourses –which are in fact constructions– about Urban Farming, then clashing them with –and this can mean reconstructing– previously existing constructions. This is how it proceeds on an ongoing basis. The goal is distillation, consensus, or resultant of all existing constructions. Such understanding is basically the resultant construction which is finally outlined and presented in the discussion of the present Research Paper. In relation to this, a quite postmodernist, in particular a poststructuralist - metaphoric, writing style is adopted.

Meanwhile, geographically and demographically the City of Semarang exposes some potentials for Urban Farming to be disseminated. In fact, several reports have indicated that year by year the numbers of Urban Farming Project is already on the rise. Urban Farming Management in Semarang City is also considered effective. But then, knowing that the Designation of Farmers by Collar Color ranges from No – Collar to White Collar; and at the same time bearing in mind the Form of Urban Farming stretches from Non–Commercial to Commercial one; the question about which Farmers' Collar Color and Form of Farming actually suits the need of the residents –and hence widely adopted– still requires a substantial answer.

Holding onto the paradigmatic guidance of Constructivism, within the context of Political Ecology, and under the auspices of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, it is revealed that the Tug of War is in fact not a match between individuals or groups of individuals or even institutions, but between the distinct knowledge they have and then, through power, such knowledge is poured out as decisions they make, programs they design, and actions they take, on Urban Farming. In other words, Urban Farming development in Semarang City is full of dynamics of knowledge as power in the form of a Game of Realms. The game is between the Semarang Municipality's knowledge to theorize in the theoretical realm, which is then transformed into the power to organize, and the locality or neighbourhood groups' knowledge to practice in the practical realm, which is then translated into the power to suffice. All of those are outlined through all sorts of written discourses on Urban Farming Enculturation and Development and the like.

The Research Paper uncovers that what is happening really is, being trapped in the Game of Realms, the Contest of Discourses, the Tug War, the partaking urban dwellers may be driven to dwell in particular recess along the range of Urban Farming Development. This recess is the capacity as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers being involved in Quite

Commercial Urban Farming. And this elaboration is made possible through competent technologically – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, as well as observable profit orientation.

Taking into consideration the current political, economic, socio – cultural and legal situation, as well as the administrative, governmental and ecological setting in the Semarang Municipality, it is unquestionably true that Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers phenomenon is indeed an inevitable reality. This is so because the Game of Realms, within which the Tug of War presented as the Contest of Discourses on knowledge as power takes place, results in a kind of ‘vectorial resultant’ that takes the form as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers within the context of Quite Commercial Farming. Thus, Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers are 'socially constructed' by the Municipal Government of Semarang and the locality or neighbourhood groups through the Game of Realms, through the Contest of Discourses, through the Tug of War, representing knowledge as power dynamics between the two parties. At the end of the day, this dynamics finally reaches a kind of 'equilibrium' in the form of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers. By the same token, it could be resolved that, not only is becoming Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers variant considered as an achievement, it should also be settled that it is a conscious and rational choice of life.

DEDICATION

*This Research Paper is Sincerely Dedicated
to God and My Beloved Parents*

For the Endless Blessing, Love, Support and Encouragement

WORDS OF WISDOM

*“Oh My Lord!
Increase Me in My Knowledge”*

*“All Our Knowledge Begins with the Senses,
Proceeds then to the Understanding,
and Ends with Reason...”*

Immanuel Kant: Critique of Pure Reason

*“I Don’t Know How I’m Going to Live With Myself
If I Don’t Stay True to What I Believe”*

Cpl. Desmond Doss: Hacksaw Ridge

*“Just Because You Don’t Understand Something
Doesn’t Mean It’s Nonsense”*

Lemony Snicket: A Series of Unfortunate Events

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background to the Proposed Study

Urban Farming is considered as an opportunity to develop agriculture even further, not just in rural area but in urban area as well. Urban Farming is defined as agriculture and production in the home or plots in urban or peri-urban areas (Orsini et al. 2013). Urban Farming shows that farming can be done in various places, conditions and ways. And it becomes more relevant because of climate change as well as resource scarcity in Urban area, therefore, nowadays Urban Farming is blooming. Urban Farming offers social and economic opportunities because it reconnects food production and cities (Thomaier et. al. 2014). “Besides growing food, it produces a range of non-food and non-market goods. It involves new opportunities for resource efficiency, new farming technologies, specific implementation processes and networks, new patterns of food supply and new urban spaces” (Thomaier et. al. 2014).

The implementation of Urban Farming may range from Non – Commercial Farming to Commercial Farming. For the purpose of the present thesis, the category of Non – Commercial Farming includes a blending of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading. (Arcuri, 2021; USDA, 2021; Wikipedia², 2021; Wikipedia³, 2021). While Commercial Farming is described as a type of farming that is more into production as well as food access and food stability, but has the tendency to lack environmental advantages (Sutherland et al. 2019); Non – Commercial Farming, as explained by Sutherland et al. in 2019, “... can be expected to be less production oriented than Commercial Farming, thus offering a smaller contribution to food production.” Commercial Farming is possibly well suited to address larger aspects of food security such as access and stability. In contrast, Non – Commercial Farming potentially go well with the efforts to provide public goods increasingly demanded from agriculture, particularly in relation to environmental and climatic change.” (Ibid.)

Speaking of environmental and climatic changes, on the one side, and Urban Farming, on the other, this connects with political ecology context. Urban Farming may be seen as a way of people adapting to changes, such as environmental and climatic changes. Besides that, Urban Farming can also be associated with people's lifestyle. As explained by Pittock in 2010, the occurrence of climate change makes human adapt to the new condition. This is done by changing designs, rules as well as improving infrastructure, often at great cost. Personal and social concerns is included in the development of Urban Farming, therefore it offers an element of everyday life's politics (Dobernig and Stagl 2015). In relation to this, there are also concerns in environmental and climatic changes, such as land scarcity and water saving. Regarding people's lifestyle, Urban Farming becomes a part of environmentally-conscious way of life as well as a form of identity-formation and self-expression. Moreover, Urban Farming can be an alternative to collectively – induced social change through the existing informal networking (Ibid). It is because Urban Farming is, as a matter of fact, embracing environment sustainability. "Urban agriculture uses city water and recycles organic discards. It has, therefore, a beneficial role in managing natural resources for a sustainable environment" (FAO in Orsini et al. 2013).

In the here and now of Urban Farming, there is the phenomenon of workers leaving White – Collar jobs for Urban Farming. "These days, a growing number of young workers are going into farming, and they're often leaving behind desk jobs to do it" (Agritech Tomorrow 2017). This happens before and also during COVID-19 times because of Health Protocol's Work From Home (WFH). "Urban Farming is becoming a trend in urban populace in Indonesia [...] in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. What is interesting is that most of the people who grow crops in their homes are those who Work From Home. Apparently WFH has high flexibility. It is also intended to support a balance between work and life at home, so that the community also has plenty of free time that can be utilized for other activities" (Indonesia National News in Agroberichtenbuitenland.nl). And this is adding to the relevance of Urban Farming.

However, within the development of Urban Farming, there is some kind of competition between the fascination of Commercial Farming, endorsed by Semarang Municipality, and the charm of Non – Commercial Farming, envisioned by the locality or neighbourhood groups. The example of municipal endorsement is that of Palu

Municipality's plan to promote the Palu City as a Green City through Urban Farming (Hamzens and Moestopo 2018). Such illustration could also be found in Semarang Municipality, in which the present research –i.e. the source of this Research Paper– takes place. Regarding the Semarang City Government's endorsement in Urban Farming, as mentioned by Wahdah and Maryono in 2018, it is urged that the residents implement Urban Farming to provide food security in the area. For this, the Semarang Municipality Agriculture Office launches a campaign to attract urban dwellers, particularly in groups, to establish Urban Farming in their locality or neighbourhood. Unfortunately, despite the thriving publicity of Urban Farming activities such as hydroponics, the public show slight interest in being part of the hay-day of Urban Farming development (Times Indonesia 2020). And apparently this is the moment when the phenomenon of Tug of War between different interests takes place.

The Tug of War mentioned above occurs between different desirabilities: i.e. the Semarang Municipal Government's desiring to commercialize Urban Farming and the locality or neighbourhood groups' pursuing their own aspiration and hence not fulfilling the Semarang City Government's wishes. Such desire and pursuit can easily be noticed in their discourses as both parties communicate each other's purpose in Urban Farming. To those wishes, however, the locality or neighbourhood groups indicate their intentions to remain in the circle of neighbourhood ventures and are more interested in Non – Commercial Farming, rather than in the course of full-fledged Urban Farming interest. These groups include Karang Taruna (youth group for boys and girls), activist of PKK or *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education), environmentalists, RT or *Rukun Tetangga* (Neighbourhood Unit), RW or *Rukun Warga* (Community Unit), part-time workers who are underemployed, etc. Following Foucault (1976), Escobar (2010) and Indarti (2016), this Tug of War is in fact not a contest between individuals or groups of individuals, but between the distinct knowledge they have and then, through power, such knowledge is poured out as decisions they make, programs they design, and actions they take, on Urban Farming.

B. Focus of Study, Research Questions and Proposition

The focus of study is therefore the dynamics of knowledge as power. This can be traced through the Tug of War –represented as the Contest of Discourses– on Urban Farming.

The emphasis of this Research Paper is thus neither on deciding the best technologically– and economically–based type of farming nor on Urban Farming itself. In this Research Paper, it can be said that Urban Farming is considered as a context.

Referring to the description above, the following is the main research question that will be answered in this Research Paper:

How would the residents of the City of Semarang end up amidst the encouragement of Semarang City Government to establish Commercial Farming and the appeal of the locality or neighbourhood groups to engage in Non – Commercial Farming?

In the effort to answer the above main research questions, it is also necessary to find answers to the following sub-questions:

1. Is the outcome inevitable?
2. Can this outcome be considered as an achievement?

In answering the above questions, the present thesis is then guided by the following proposition:

Faced with the development of Commercial Farming endorsed by the Municipality of Semarang, on the one side, and with the potential of Non – Commercial Farming, envisioned by the locality and neighbourhood groups, on the other side, residents of Semarang City end up pursuing their own rational choice.

C. Game of Realms: An Analytical Framework for the Contest of Discourses

In the writer’s opinion, this Tug of War is basically none other than a Game of Realms, i.e. between the Semarang Municipality’s knowledge to theorize in the theoretical realm and the locality or neighbourhood groups’ knowledge to practice in the practical realm. On the part of the Semarang Municipality, this theorizing knowledge is then transformed into the power to organize. As for the locality or neighbourhood groups, their practicing knowledge is then translated into the power to suffice. (See Foucault, 1976; Escobar, 2010 and Indarti, 2016). Provided with the theorizing knowledge, which is transformed into organizing power, the Semarang Municipality then encourages the residents to establish Commercial Farming. Meanwhile, the locality or neighbourhood groups, equipped with practicing knowledge, which is translated into sufficing power, then involve themselves in Non – Commercial Farming. All of these are

articulated, and thus can be followed, through discourses. These discourses may take the form as ideas, thoughts, concepts, regulations, procedures, policies, programs, or mere statements, on Urban Farming development in the City of Semarang. Insofar as discourses are concerned, this Game of Realms may also be understood therefore as a Contest of Discourses, between those discourses about the encouragement of Commercial Farming and the ones about the appeal of Non – Commercial Farming.

But determining how far the development of Urban Farming has gone is no easy task. In doing so, the writer then employs a set of Ideal Types as outlined by Max Weber (Shils and Finch, 1997). This ‘ideal’ is in fact ‘ideas’ or mental images that do not have to perfectly correspond to all of the characteristics of Urban Farming development, but rather to stress certain elements common to most cases of such development. Borrowing the concept applied in the categories of collar workers (Wikipedia⁴, 2021), the Ideal Types in question include Designation of Farmers by the Collar Color, consisting of categories such as No – Collar Farmers, Blue – Collar Farmers, Grey – Collar Farmers, and White – Collar Farmers. Parallel to this designation is a continuum of Form of Farming indicating different stages of progress and at the same time sequentially representing the above categories, namely Non–Commercial Farming, Fairly Commercial Farming, Rather Commercial Farming, and Commercial Farming. However, the breakdown of the Ideal Type does not stop here; it goes further. Further down of this Form of Farming, there are four more Features, i.e. Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency; Entrepreneurial Interest; Profit Orientation; and Income-Earning Capability. Every single feature has its own attributes in terms of Designation of Farmers by the Collar Color and/or Form of Farming. For a clearer description of the present Research Paper’s Ideal Type, please refer to Table 1 provided below.

Table 1. *The Dynamics of Knowledge as Power: A Matrix of Ideal Types*

Feature	Knowledge as Power			
	Knowledge to Practice	←————→		Knowledge to Theorize
	Power to Suffice	←————→		Power to Organize
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Designation of Farmers by Collar Color	No – Collar	Blue – Collar	Grey – Collar	White – Collar
Form of Farming	Non – Commercial Farming	Fairly Commercial Farming	Rather Commercial Farming	Commercial Farming
Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency	Unspecified	Advanced Beginner	Proficient	Expert
Entrepreneurial Interest	Trivial	Low	High	Significant
Profit Orientation	Obscure	Subtle	Apparent	Obvious
Income-Earning Capability	Alien	Weak	Highly Strong	Perfectly Strong

Note: Non – Commercial Farming represents an amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading

No – Collar Farmers, for the moment, refers to farmers who work but not merely for payment. (Wikipedia⁴, 2021) As for Blue – Collar Farmers can be defined as farmers that engaged in hard manual agriculture labours that do not require specialized skills and knowledge (Lubrano, 2004). Grey – Collar farmers, meanwhile are those who are classified neither as No – Collar nor White – Collar Farmers, but incorporate some of the elements of both. Generally they are in between the two categories in terms of income-earning capability. Grey-collar workers often have licenses, associate degrees, certificates or diplomas from a trade or technical school in a particular field. Unlike Blue – Collar workers, who can often be trained on the job within several weeks, Grey – Collar workers already have a specific skill set and require more specialized knowledge than their Blue-Collar counterparts.” (Wikipedia 2021). Furthermore, instead of being attached to Non – Commercial Farming or Commercial Farming, Grey – Collar Farmers end up being ascribed to Rather Commercial Farming. Lastly, there are the White – Collar Farmers; they can be defined as farmers with the qualification of managerial and professional aspects of agriculture, in this regard farming.

In the meantime, while overseas Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading may be differentiated, in Indonesia, particularly in urban Java, due to several comparable traits, they tend to merge into one quite loosely – defined type of farming, i.e. Non – Commercial Farming. As outlined by Arcuri (2021), a Hobby Farm can have different definitions. But the basic idea is that a Hobby Farm is a small-scale farm that is primarily for pleasure instead of being a business venture. The owner or owners of a hobby farm typically have a main source of income, like an off-farm job, or a pension or retirement income. Whatever the source, the point is that the farm does not have to make money—it can be engaged in on a hobby level. So if one season's yield isn't favorable, it is considered more of a disappointment rather than a financial loss. According to Zareba (2021), Hobby Farming may range from having chickens to produce and sell eggs, to growing vegetables for their meals and dinner preparation, to selling crops to the local community. The idea of Hobby Farming is not only to follow a passion, but also to reap some of the benefits that it might produce. It involves a small-scale farm that is more for pleasure than business.

Community Gardening, meanwhile, refers to the use of plots of land typically in urban areas for private gardens or are for the benefit of the people caring for the garden, that are rented by individuals or locality groups and usually Community Gardening acts as a hobby (USDA 2021). Community Gardening is the kind of agriculture activity in urban area that locality or neighbourhood groups are attracted to, while Commercial Farming is the one that the Municipal Government is aiming for. However, this pull by the Municipal Government or the decision maker towards Commercial Farming and by locality groups towards Non – Commercial Farming make the participating residents end up being attracted to Quite Commercial Farming.

As for Homesteading, it is a vernacular term for a lifestyle of self-sufficiency. It is characterized by subsistence agriculture, home preservation of food, and may also involve the small scale production of textiles, clothing, and craft work for household use or sale. Modern homesteaders often use renewable energy options including solar and wind power. Many also choose to plant and grow heirloom vegetables and to raise heritage livestock. Homesteading is not defined by where someone lives, such as the city or the country, but by the lifestyle choices they make. (Wikipedia³, 2021).

The above set of Ideal Types play significant role, indeed, in Weber's 'Verstehen' or 'Emphatic Understanding'. (Schwandt, 1994) This is actually an interpretive examination process through which an outside observer of a culture attempts to relate to, and hence understand, the meaning of actions taken within the existing cultural context. In this case, multiple interpretative, i.e. a blend of both tender- and tough-minded, categories are employed. (Denzin, 1994)

The Table of The Dynamics of Knowledge as Power, or the Matrix of Weberian 'Ideal Types', above is actually constructed by criss-crossing columns and rows of 'jargons'. The Ideal Types, the jargons, are not the writer's; they are extracted, borrowed, from various sources. But the table, the matrix, is. Put it in another way, the table, the matrix, is like a fish net designed to capture an elusive kind of fish [a.k.a. farmers], be it a White-Collar, a No-Collar, or perhaps a Grey-Collar.

D. Methodology and Method: A Research Process

Denzin and Lincoln in 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research' (1997) suggest that research is basically a series of processes [which certainly includes methodology and method]. Overall, the research process can thus be seen as a series of interrelated and inseparable phases. Research process aims to lead the author to achieve a deep understanding of the research problems, in accordance with the objectives of the investigation. In general, a research process contains 5 (five) phases, namely:

1. Research Tradition;
2. Paradigm;
3. Research Strategy;
4. Method of Data Collection and Analysis;
5. Presentation, including Interpretation.

Further description of the five phases in question is as follows:

1. Research Tradition

The research tradition used by the author in the present thesis is primarily qualitative. This relates to the position of the writer in relation to the tradition that will guide the writer in writing this thesis. According to Kirk and Miller as quoted by Moleong (2007), the term qualitative research was originally derived from

qualitative observations as opposed to quantitative ones. Qualitative researchers emphasize the socially constructed nature of reality, the close relationship between the researcher and the subject being studied, and the situational constraints that shape research. Such researchers are concerned with the value-laden nature of research. In contrast, quantitative research focuses on measuring and analyzing cause-and-effect relationships between variables, not the process. (Denzin and Lincoln, (Eds.), 2011)

2. Paradigm

Paradigm comprises of four main elements, i.e. ontology which questions what reality is, epistemology which enquires about what one can know about the reality or knowledge, methodology which deals with what kind of procedure one can use to acquire knowledge, and methods which asks for what tools one can use to gain knowledge. In the case of Constructivism –i.e. the paradigm guiding the present Research Paper– the ontology is relativism, the epistemology is transactional-subjectivist, the methodology is hermeneutical-dialectical, and the method is construction-reconstruction. When placed within one on one relation with level of scientific exploration, accordingly ontology aligns with philosophy, epistemology with theory, methodology with science, and method with practice. (Indarti, 2016; Indarti, 2021). Drawing on this exposition, insofar as knowledge is concerned, it is understandable if one would correlate ontology with philosophical knowledge, epistemology with theoretical knowledge, methodology with scientific knowledge, and method with practical knowledge.

Constructivism is as a matter of fact one of five main paradigms proposed by Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011), namely Positivism, Postpositivism, Critical theory, Constructivism, and Participatory. The main reason why Constructivism is embraced is because paradigmatically constructivism fits the author’s scholar identity. Being a constructivist, therefore, how the author sees and understands the world follows the constructivist way as previously outlined.

In this Research Paper, Urban Farming –as well as its development– has the nature and characteristics of reality as described by the ontology of

constructivism. The relativism of Urban Farming can be seen in how its understanding or 'construction' becomes relatively dependent on the views of each individual or group of people in line with their experiences. (Indarti, 2010, p. 19)

Meanwhile, the transactional/subjective epistemology of constructivism positions the author and the object of observation/investigation, namely Urban Farming, in an interactive way. In this case, the research findings are 'mediated' by the values held by all relevant parties (*Ibid*). In this Research Paper, the epistemology is seen in how the author positions himself against the reality of Urban Farming.

The methodology of constructivism is hermeneutical/dialectical. This methodology understands that the construction/understanding of Urban Farming is traced through the interaction between the researcher/observer and the object of observation/investigation in the form of Urban Farming. Furthermore, through a hermeneutical process and dialectical exchange, this construction is interpreted, then brought together with pre-existing constructions, resulting in their re-construction. In the present thesis, this methodology takes the form as Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. This methodology then manifests through the method of sequential chain of [pre]construction-reconstruction-construction (Indarti, 2021).

3. Research Strategy

Denzin and Lincoln suggest that when a researcher steps away from the paradigm he enters the empirical world. Here he applies a research strategy or strategy of inquiry which can simply be interpreted as a set of skills, assumptions, and research practices. The research strategy thus operates or 'anchors' the paradigm within an empirical site, i.e. within certain methodological practices. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1997).

In the present Research Paper, the research strategy used is Constructivist Political Ecology. While political ecology is seen as the convergence between ecologically rooted social science and the principles of political economy (Forsyth, 2008); constructivist political ecology understands that the ideas about environment

are formed in regards to discursive resources that make certain assumptions about the environment more likely or likely, as well as about how political forces, social customs, and cultural norms can establish human beliefs about the way the world really is and should be (Robbins, 2012). Furthermore, political ecology is recognised as a field within environmental studies focusing on power relations as well as the coproduction of nature and society (Benjaminsen, T.A., Svarstad, H., 2019). As for constructivist approach, it usually emphasizes the non-conscious way in which state managers, local people, and international agencies hold different normative ideas of the environment” (Robbins, 2012).

Since the basis of constructivist work is understanding, not explaining cause and effect relation, researches within the framework of Constructivism are therefore not theory laden. In consequence, constructivist inquiries do not require hypotheses to start with and then later to be confirmed. Instead, they hold on to proposition that guide them along the way in the effort to achieve the research objectives.

4. Method of Data Collection and Analysis

The type of research preceding the present Research Paper is secondary research. It involves the identification, consultation, collation and/or synthesis of existing researches along with their secondary sources relating to the topic of enquiry. Professionally collected data and discourses can be obtained from secondary research, therefore primary research is not needed in this research.

Other reasons of implementing secondary research are, it is relevant to the current pandemic situation of COVID-19, it is less costly, and it is not time consuming. Along with that, the type of data used in this thesis is secondary data which is already published data and information gathered from other conducted studies, in particular written discourses, as presented in:

- a. Public records from governmental and non-governmental agencies, academic institutions and the like, research organizations, business and industry;

- b. Reports, books, scientific and journalistic articles, documents, etc.; concerning with programmes, policies, procedures, regulations, laws as well as theoretical and philosophical statements on Urban Farming.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is employed in this research as the realization of the constructivist hermeneutical and dialectical methodology which in turn further applied as the method [pre]construction – reconstruction – construction (Indarti, 2021). In addition, it is relevant to the knowledge as power dynamics played in this research. It is so because Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is able to perceive the Contest of Discourses, in other words the Tug of War, between those of the City Government of Semarang and those of the locality or neighbourhood groups.

Reading the description above, “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault in Mills 2003). Furthermore, learning from the understanding of discourses within the context of education, Foucault argues that, “Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry” (Foucault in Mills 2003). “Discourse should therefore be seen as both an overall term to refer to all statements, the rules whereby those statements are formed and the processes whereby those statements are circulated and other statements are excluded” (Mills 2003). “The term ‘discursive formation’ is used by Foucault to refer to the regular associations and groupings of particular types of statements; these are groupings of statements which are often associated with particular institutions or sites of power and which have effects on individuals and their thinking” (Mills 2003). Foucauldian approach highlights the peaceful and (more or less) fair resource management of the socio-economics and political structures that has been constructed and move beyond a conflict-oriented view (Rattu and Véron 2016).

5. Presentation, including Interpretation

The art of presentation, interpretation, together with writing style, is in accordance with the tradition in Constructivism. Based on transactional/subjectivist

epistemology, the position of the researcher towards the others in the context of presentation and interpretation is as a passionate participant as well as facilitator of multi-voice reconstruction (Denzin and Lincoln, 1997). In this regard, the understanding of Urban Farming is built by means of hermeneutically and dialectically interpreting discourses –which are in fact constructions– about Urban Farming, then clashing them with –and this can mean reconstructing– previously existing constructions. This is how it proceeds on an ongoing basis. The goal is distillation, consensus, or resultant of all existing constructions (Indarti, 2010) The understanding of Urban Farming developed in the research process is basically the resultant construction which is finally outlined and presented in the discussion of the present Research Paper. In relation to this, a quite postmodernist, in particular a poststructuralist - metaphoric, writing style is adopted. (Richardson, 1994)

6. Research Site

The research that leads to this thesis takes place in Semarang Municipality, Central Java, Indonesia. The present writing explores and examines how the residents of Semarang City end up making their rational choice amidst the effort of the City Government of Semarang to develop Commercial Farming and the venture of the locality or neighbourhood groups to foster Non – Commercial Farming. Such exploration and analysis are carried out through the lens of Constructivism within the context of Political Ecology.

E. Chapter Outline

Having read the Background as well as the Research Process, the outline of the present thesis may well be the following:

1. Introduction
 - a. Background to the Proposed Study.
 - b. Focus of Study, Research Questions and Proposition.
 - c. Game of Realms: An Analytical Framework for the Contest of Discourses.
 - d. Methodology and Method: A Research Process.
 - e. Chapter Outline.
2. Semarang and Urban Farming Development
 - a. Semarang Municipality: The Geographical Setting.

- b. The Division of Administrative Area, Population, and Employment of Semarang Municipality.
 - c. Urban Farming Development: The Semarang Municipality Case.
3. Game of Realms: The Dynamics of Knowledge as Power in Urban Farming Development:
- a. Knowledge to Theorize, Power to Organize:
The Municipality Of Semarang's Efforts To Generate White – Collar Farmers.
 - b. Knowledge To Practice, Power To Suffice:
The Neighbourhood Groups' Exertions To Engender No – Collar Farmers.
 - c. The Emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers:
Balancing Act Between Embracing Non – Commercial Farming and Commercial Farming.
4. Conclusion

CHAPTER II

SEMARANG MUNICIPALITY AND URBAN FARMING DEVELOPMENT

A. Semarang Municipality: The Geographical Setting

Founded on May 2, 1547, the Municipality of Semarang is the Capital of The Province of Central Java. Geographically, Semarang is located between 6° 50' – 7° 10' South Latitude and 109° 35' – 110° 50' East Longitude. The Municipality's boundaries include, to the North –with a coastline length of 13.6 km– with the Java Sea, to the East with Demak Regency or '*Kabupaten*' Demak, to the West with Kendal Regency, and to the South with Semarang Regency. Air temperature ranges between 20 – 30 degrees Celsius and the average temperature is 27 degrees Celsius. Map of the Province of Central Java and that of the Municipality of Semarang, as well as its surrounding, can be found below.

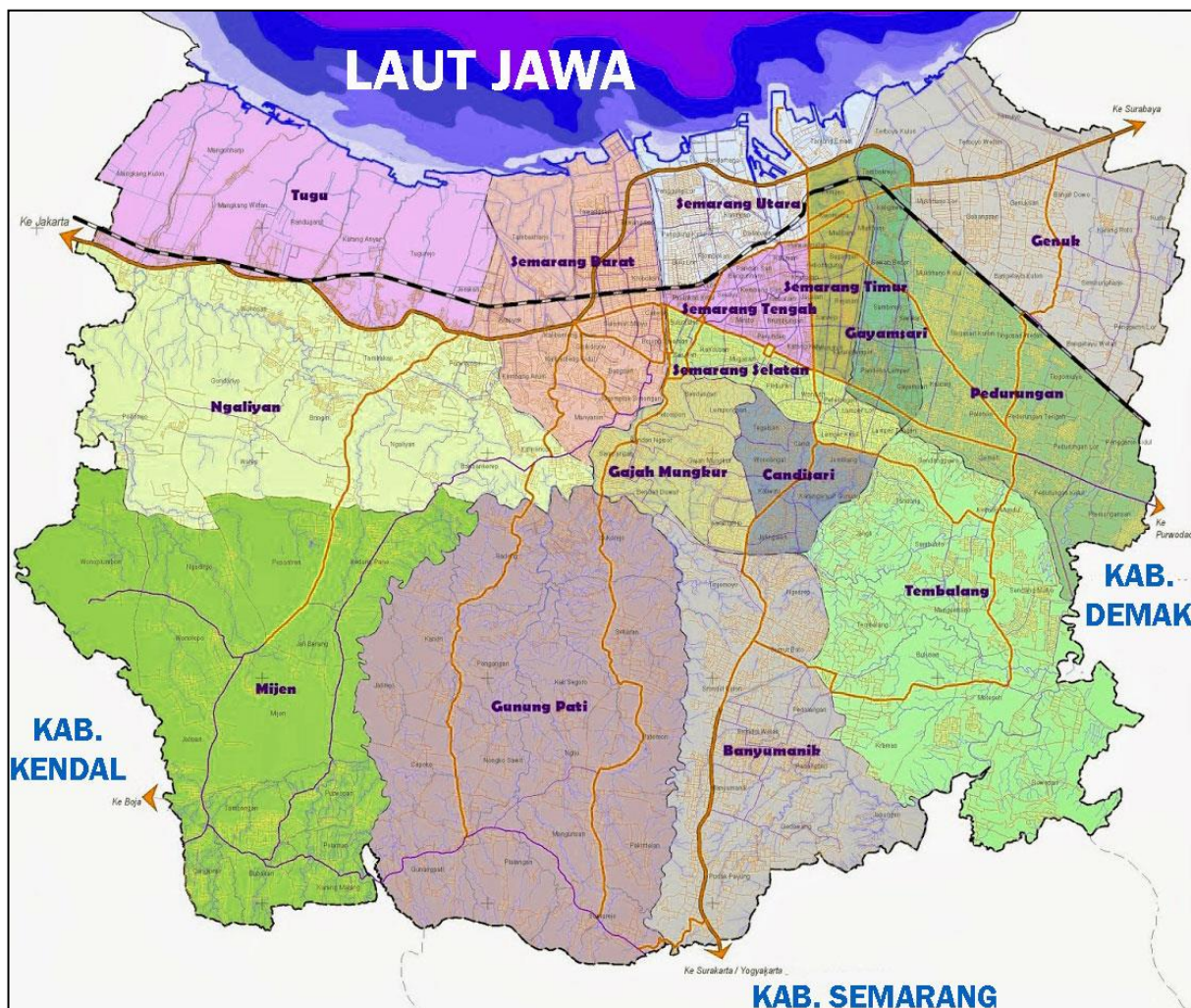
Picture 1. The Province of Central Java and The Municipality of Semarang



Source: <https://peta-hd.com/peta-jawa-tengah/>

The Municipality of Semarang has an area of 373.70 km² or 37,366,836 hectares. According to the geographical location, it is influenced by the tropical climate which is influenced by monsoon winds with 2 seasons, namely the dry season in April – September and the rainy season between October – March. The average annual rainfall is 5.64 mm, the air temperature ranges from 230 C to 340 C, with an average annual humidity of 77%. Semarang Municipality lies between 0.75 – 348.00 meter above the sea level.

Picture 2. The Municipality of Semarang and Its Subdistricts



Source: <https://www.sejarah-negara.com/1074/peta-kota-semarang/>

Topographically, Semarang Municipality consists of coastal areas, lowlands and hills. The coastal area is an area in the north that is directly adjacent to the Java Sea with a slope between 0% to 2%, the lowland area is an area in the middle, with a slope

between 2-15%, the hilly area is an area in the south with a slope between 15 and 15. – 40% and some areas with a slope above 40% (>40%).

The land use pattern consists of housing, moor, mixed gardens, rice fields, ponds, forests, offices, services, industry, and other uses. The distribution of land use includes housing by 33.70%, moor by 15.77%, mixed gardens by 13.47%, rice fields by 12.96%, ponds by 6.96%, forests by 3.69%, offices 2.42 %, services by 1.52 %, industry by 1.26%, and other uses -which include roads, rivers and vacant land - by 8.25%.

The geographical setting depicted above exhibits the possibility for Urban Farming to be disseminated in the City of Semarang. Considering the fact that the Designation of Farmers by Collar Color ranges from No – Collar to White Collar; and that the Form of Farming covers from Non–Commercial to Commercial Farming; then the initial question would be whether White – Collar Farmers with its Commercial Farming endorsed by the Semarang Municipality truly suit this existing geographical features. If it is not, the next question would then be which Collar Color, together with Form of Farming, do so.

B. The Division of Administrative Area, Population, and Employment of Semarang Municipality

The Municipality of Semarang, with a total area of 373.70 km², is administratively divided into 16 districts or '*kecamatan*' and 177 subdistricts or '*kelurahan*'. The districts with the largest area are located in the southern part of Semarang, which is typically hilly, where most of the area still has conventional agricultural and plantation potential, namely the District of Mijen, with an area of 57.55 km², the District of Gunungpati, with an area of 54.11 km², and the District of Tembalang, with an area of 44.20 km².

Meanwhile, the districts with the smallest area are the District of South Semarang (*Semarang Selatan*), which has an area of 5.93 km², the District of Central Semarang (*Semarang Tengah*), which has an area of 6.14 km², and the District of Gayamsari, which has an area of 6.18 km². These smallest subdistricts are in the city

centre area which happens to be the hub of the economic or business activities of the Municipality of Semarang.

Applying qualitative interpretation in reading these data, one would unavoidably come into conclusion that it is around these parts of Semarang that flourishing unconventional agriculture, namely urban farming, may be found. Therefore, it is understandable if the Municipality led Urban Farming Programme would be initiated in this area. Below is the table about the total area by the district in Semarang Municipality (BPS Kota Semarang, 2020)

Table 2. Total Area by the District in Semarang Municipality

No.	District (Kecamatan)	Number of Subdistricts (Kelurahan)	Total Area (km ²)	Percentage
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Mijen	14	57,55	15,40
2	Gunungpati	16	54,11	14,48
3	Banyumanik	11	25,69	6,87
4	Gajah Mungkur	8	9,07	2,43
5	Semarang Selatan	10	5,93	1,59
6	Candisari	7	6,54	1,75
7	Tembalang	12	44,20	11,83
8	Pedurungan	12	20,72	5,54
9	Genuk	13	27,39	7,33
10	Gayamsari	7	6,18	1,65
11	Semarang Timur	10	7,70	2,06
12	Semarang Utara	9	10,97	2,94
13	Semarang Tengah	15	6,14	1,64
14	Semarang Barat	16	21,74	5,82
15	Tugu	7	31,78	8,50
16	Ngaliyan	10	37,99	10,17
Semarang Municipality		177	373,70	100,00

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) or Central Agency of Stastitic of Semarang Municipality (2020)¹

The population is very heterogeneous consisting of a mixture of several ethnicities, such as Javanese, Chinese, Arabs and and their descendants. There are also other ethnic groups from several regions in Indonesia who came to Semarang to try their fortune, study and live in Semarang. The majority of the population embraced Islam, then followed by Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism. The people's

livelihoods are diverse, consisting of traders, government employees, factory workers and farmers. (BPS, 2020)

The population of the Municipality of Semarang from the BPS data of the Municipality of Semarang was recorded at 1,814,110 people with a population growth in the year of 2020 of 1.57 percent. (BPS Kota Semarang, 2019) It needs to be highlighted here that the subdistricts with the smallest area, namely Gayamsari Subdistrict and South Semarang (*Semarang Selatan*) Subdistrict, also happen to be the most dense ones, that is 13,436 and 11, 892 persons per square km, respectively. During the present Covid-19 pandemic, such density may raise the people’s awareness of the pandemic and thus be interpreted as a trigger for the people to embrace Urban Farming. It is therefore understandable if Urban Farming is expected to thrive across these dense subdistricts. But Which Collar Color and Form of Farm? The table depicting number of population, percentage of total population, and population density in Semarang is presented below.

Table 3. **Population, Percentage of Total Population, and Population Density in Semarang Municipality**

No.	District (Kecamatan)	Population	Percentage of Total Population	Density
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Mijen	76 037	4,19	1 321
2	Gunungpati	118 760	6,55	2 195
3	Banyumanik	164 953	9,09	6 421
4	Gajah Mungkur	60 679	3,34	6 690
5	Semarang Selatan	70 522	3,89	11 892
6	Candisari	76 857	4,24	11 752
7	Tembalang	209 504	11,55	4 740
8	Pedurungan	214 689	11,83	10 361
9	Genuk	119 010	6,56	4 345
10	Gayamsari	83 036	4,57	13 436
11	Semarang Timur	75 762	4,18	9 839
12	Semarang Utara	119 647	6,60	10 907
13	Semarang Tengah	61 102	3,37	9 951
14	Semarang Barat	165 048	9,10	7 592
15	Tugu	33 333	1,84	1 049
16	Ngaliyan	165 171	9,10	4 348
	Semarang Municipality	1 814 110	100,00	4 854

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) or Central Agency of Stastic of Semarang Municipality (2020)¹

In the meantime, interpreting the table on population percentage by age group and gender, below, Semarang is dominated by the 30 – 39 age group, both for male and female, i.e. 19,70 % and 18,98 % respectively. Trailing behind is the 20 – 29 age group, both for male and female, i.e. 15,55 % and 15,06 % respectively. Assuming that these age groups represent active workforce, those who are likely to be laid off during this Covid-19 pandemic may even become a potential source as the participants of the Urban Farming development endorsed by the Semarang Municipality. This is so because the laid off workforce has to creatively find alternative income earning activities so as to enable them to provide food on the table. Projecting the opportunity for further development of Urban Farming in Semarang, in twenty years to come, this workforce will hopefully fill up the upper level, i.e. the 50 – 59 age group, a point in which they begin to enter the retirement phase; this is the period whereby Urban Farming may come in handy too. Again, Which Collar Color and Form of Farm that would be applied?

Table 4. Population Percentage by Age Group and Gender in Semarang Municipality

Age Group	Gender		
	Male	Female	Male + Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
0 – 9	15,92	14,08	14,98
10 – 19	15,01	15,45	15,23
20 – 29	15,55	15,06	15,30
30 – 39	19,70	18,98	19,33
40 – 49	13,49	12,25	12,86
50 – 59	11,55	14,28	12,94
60 +	8,78	9,90	9,35
Semarang Municipality	100,00	100,00	100,00

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) or Central Agency of Stastitic of Semarang Municipality (2020)²

The above table also portrays a total of 60,43 percent of the population of Semarang are productive age (20 – 59 years). This indicates the number of dependents, namely the ratio between the productive age population and the unproductive age population (0-19 and 60 years and over) in 2020, is 39.57 percent. This means around 100 people of productive age bear the welfare of 40 people of unproductive age. The situation may stimulate those economically active population to look for additional income. This can again be considered a momentum when adopting Urban Farming becomes an option that is hard to refuse. Yes, indeed, it is. But Which Collar Color and Form of Farm that would be implemented?

Table 5. Main Employment Status of 15 + Years of Age Population by Gender in Semarang Municipality

Main Employment Status	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Self Employed	79 752	65 064	144 816
Employer assisted by temporary worker/unpaid worker	36 764	29 787	66 551
Employer assisted by permanent worker/paid worker	18 791	9 883	28 674
Employee	334 075	265 530	599 605
Casual worker	24 307	8 313	32 620
Family worker/unpaid worker	13 319	22 352	35 671
Total	507 008	400 929	907 937

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) or Central Agency of Statistic of Semarang Municipality (2020)²

The above table presents the fact that, though the number is not staggering as compared to that of ‘employee’, the people with the status ‘self employed’ still rank second in numbers among the other status. This cluster consists of 79 752 and 65 064 people for male and female, respectively. When confronted with today’s bleak economic circumstances, particularly in the context of the seemingly never ending Covid-19 pandemic, these people would predictably grab the opportunity to boost their incomes by joining the Urban Farming programme endorsed by the Municipality. Another employment status that can be considered to have the potential share in the advancement of Urban Farming is ‘family worker or unpaid worker’. Accounting for up to 35 671 persons, male and female, when given the offer to be part of the Municipality’s Urban Farming agenda, this group may have no hesitation to accept it.

C. Urban Farming Development: The Semarang Municipality Case

Urban Farming [note: the source prefers ‘Urban Agriculture’ to ‘Urban Farming’] is considered to be an industry that produces, processes, and markets agricultural products to meet the daily demands of consumers in the city. Urban Farming includes agricultural activities such as horticulture, aquaculture, and animal husbandry. These activities are carried out on privately owned land. Urban Farming arises by and large due to limited land and water. These limitations eventually propel the creation of new technologies that can be developed in areas with limited supply of land and water.

Although it only utilizes a small area of land, Urban Farming is believed to be able to contribute to the economy of the residents of the urban area concerned. (Smit, Nasr, and Ratta, 2001)

Urban farming is an agricultural technique that is suitable to be applied in urban areas. Utilizing the existing area and not requiring a large area is one of the uniqueness of this agricultural concept. Urban farming is usually applied to grow various types of vegetables such as mustard greens, broccoli, lettuce, onions, carrots, and potatoes. The adoption of urban farming is quite common in developed countries around the world. In Indonesia, however, farming techniques like this are still foreign to the majority of city dwellers. (Kompasiana, 2018)

Initially, the concept of gardening on limited land was brought about by a handful of communities of environmentalist working independently. Subsequently, urban farming developed massively to become an urban lifestyle trend. Urban farming, which means growing crops in limited land of an urban home environment, is considered to be in tandem with the desire of the urban communities to live a healthy lifestyle. The decline in the quality of life experienced by urban communities can also be reversed, and then increased again, through gardening activities at home. Moreover, when viewed in a wider scope, urban farming even has a greater impact on the survival of urban communities. (Dekoruma, 2019)

Covering the scale of small industry to large industry, urban farming is usually carried out on smaller lands than rural or conventional agriculture as well as in areas that are not suitable for urban development. Quoted from fao.org, several types of urban farming include:

1. Hydroponics is an agricultural method that uses water as a planting medium instead of soil.
2. Aquaponics is an agricultural system that combines hydroponics and aquaculture, or aquaculture.
3. Verticulture is an agricultural system by planting plants vertically so as to maximize the available land.
4. Wall gardening. Almost similar to verticulture, wall gardening also applies plant cultivation vertically. The difference is, this system uses walls or walls as a place for planting plants and is usually more often used for ornamental plants in office buildings or shopping centers.
5. Planting fruit in pots or '*tanaman buah dalam pot*' ('*tabulampot*');

6. Cultivation of fish and other fishery products in tanks, ponds, rivers, waste lagoons, and estuaries;
7. Rabbits, guinea pigs and chickens raised in wall-hung rack cages.

Semarang Municipality is one of the metropolitan cities on the Island of Java. It has limited agricultural land compared to other districts/cities, especially in Central Java. The total area of paddy fields in Semarang Municipality is 2,732 hectares. In Semarang, the growing number of urban populations causes an increase in the need for housing and other supporting facilities. As a result, because the amount of urban land is relatively fixed, the implementation of development tends to be accompanied by the conversion of agricultural land into built-up land to accommodate these various urban activities. Based on the 2016 – 2021 RPJMD document of Semarang Municipality, it is known that the addition of built-up land in the city of Semarang has reached 742.5 ha/year. In some districts, the percentage of built-up land use even reaches more than 90%. Hence, it is understandable if urban agriculture, hereinafter referred to as urban farming, is considered to be a very strategic programme to deal with the high population growth of the city of Semarang. (Handayani, Nugroho, and Hapsari, 2018)

Limited land is indeed a challenge for the Municipality of Semarang to promote Urban Farming, as the flagship program of development in the field of agriculture. In addition, Urban Farming is also believed to contribute to the improvement of the community's economy. In the context of urban farming, house yards can be utilized as, e.g. livestock land, aquaculture, agroforestry and horticulture. This utilization is not only intended as an effort to meet household-scale needs, such as vegetables, fruit, and ornamental plants as is currently the case, but it is also expected to contribute to the Municipality's endeavour to meet larger-scale needs. As a driving force in the local area concerned, the Urban Farming Development Program in Semarang is also synergized with the PKK (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Education) Program entitled 'HATINYA' (*Halaman [yang] Asri Teratur Indah dan Nyaman* or Harmonious, Neatly-Arranged, Beautiful and Comfortable Grounds) (Bappeda Kota Semarang, 2019)

Food security is in fact listed as one of the strategies of development, i.e. Improvement Food Security, in the RPJMD 2016-2021. Improved food security is carried out through increasing food availability, increased food access and community

diverse food behavior, nutritiously safe and balanced. Through Urban Farming, any area of land under any conditions can be transformed into productive land. Once, this land is cultivated, there is no need to buy, among others, cayenne pepper, tomatoes, and vegetables. (Bappeda Kota Semarang, 2016). Urban Farming can also be said as an agricultural activity in or around the city that involves skills, expertise, and innovation in the cultivation of food processing for the community through the use of yards, vacant lands, in order to increase nutrition, improve the economy and family welfare (Wiyanti, 2013).

Urban Farming is understood as a series of activities of growing, processing and distributing food and other products through intensive cultivation of plants and livestock in urban and surrounding areas, and reusing natural resources and urban waste to obtain a variety of crops and livestock. This array of activities is then embodied in what is known as ‘Urban Farming Enculturation Movement’. In turn, the movement is directed at realizing food security in all components of society as part of government programmes related to food sovereignty. Therefore, in order for the Urban Farming enculturation movement to develop even further, existing supporting activities –such as socialization, coaching, training and supervision– need additional strengthening. These supporting activities requires extended involvement of, among other things, farmer groups, community groups, government agencies, non-government organizations, and educational institutions in general. (Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2021).

In Semarang Municipality, Urban Farming programme is expected to perform:

1. Optimization of house yards;
2. Provision of urban farming production means and infrastructure.

It is carried out through commodity – based selection, which includes commodities that exhibit, among other things:

- high productivity,
- high economic value,
- high market opportunity,
- high development potentiality even on narrow land; hence the narrowness of land is no longer a constraint for further farm business expansion. (Dinas Pertanian Kota Semarang, 2017)

Present evaluation of Urban Farming programme indicates that the achievement of the Semarang Municipality Regional Government Work Plan (RKPD) in agriculture in 2019 basically shows good results. However, in the future it is necessary to develop organic crop cultivation, post-harvest handling, optimization of irrigation networks, and further promotion effort of urban farming programme. (Bappeda, 2019) Below is the table portraying the progress of Urban Farming programme implemented in the Municipality of Semarang, indicated by two categories —the growing number of subdistricts in Semarang adopting Urban Farming and the enlarging yield in kilograms— across a span of 6 years, from 2015 to 2020.

Examining the table below, it would be noticed that Urban Farming movement or programme seems to gain its momentum between 2016 and 2017. This is evidently indicated by the sharp increase in both number of subdistricts adopting urban farming and yield. Some 16 new subdistricts joined up the 5 (five) subdistricts already implemented Urban Farming. This is then followed by a bulky increase, amounting some 960 kilos, in yield. The addition may not be much, yet as the ‘new kid on the block’ at that point, urban farming showed that ‘it means bussiness’ in Semarang. Several qualitative interpretation may be attributed to this phenomena. As it has been mentioned by Dinas Pertanian Kota Semarang (2017) above, this increase may well be due to the provision, as well as development, of means and production infrastructure of Urban Farming, the improvement of human resources for urban farmers and information officers on Urban Farming, coupled with the guidance and assistance on urban farming, by the Municipality.

Table 6. Progress of Urban Farming Projects in the Municipality of Semarang

Category	Year of Implementation of Urban Farming Programme					
	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Number of Subdistricts (Kelurahan) Adopting Urban Farming	4	5	21	37	53	69
Yield (kg)	Not Available	300	1 260	2 220	3 180	4 140

Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Bappeda), or Regional Development Planning Agency, Kota Semarang (2019 and 2020)

Evaluating the progress of Urban Farming in Semarang Municipality, Wahdah and Maryono (2018) found that there were 98 residents considered to be actively involved in Urban Farming of some sort. Some 80 of them are engaged in aquaponics, the rest –18 of them– are working in hydroponics.

They then came to a preliminary conclusion that most Urban Farming activities –at least up to 2017– is carried out individually; whereas a significant bulk of Urban Farming products is still utilized for personal consumption. This is because urban farming that is being developed is the one that is still confined to the yards around the settlement areas as well as the public land plots and the land strips along the neighbourhood road side. Despite this limitation, they managed to summarize the Effectiveness of Urban Farming Management as shown below.

Table 7. Effectiveness of Urban Farming Management in Semarang Municipality

Rank	Indicators	Total Score	Percentage	Categories
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Success of project	154	87.01 %	Effective
2	Level of satisfaction	143	80.79 %	Effective
3	Sales of products	137	77.40 %	Effective
4	Provision of food needs	121	68.36 %	Effective
5	Fulfillment of food security	116	65.54 %	Quite effective

Wahdah and Maryono (2018)

Browsing the above table, one would easily notice how the management in Semarang Municipality proves effective when it comes to the success of the program, the level of satisfaction, the sales of products and the provision of food needs. In other words, for the population –particularly the participating residents– and other parties involved, the management of Urban Farming program is deemed effective in guaranteeing the success of the program. However, the fulfillment of food security is quite a different story. This is basically a mutual cooperation that requires a wide scope approach and comprehensive involvement of all stakeholders. It is understandable therefore if it does not get a satisfactory score, ranked fifth with a quite effective category. All in all, it can be underlined that effectiveness is reckoned to be an encouraging influence to the future development of Urban Farming in the Municipality of Semarang.

CHAPTER III
**GAME OF REALMS:
THE DYNAMICS OF KNOWLEDGE AS POWER
IN URBAN FARMING DEVELOPMENT
IN SEMARANG MUNICIPALITY**

Described briefly, Ecology is a branch of science, including human science, population, community, ecosystem and biosphere. It is the study of organisms, the environment and how the organisms interact with each other and their environment. Ecology is studied at various levels, such as organism, population, community, biosphere and ecosystem. (Byju's, n.d.). Political Ecology, meanwhile, is a field that focuses on power relations as well as the coproduction of nature and society. Its theoretical inspirations are taken from different sources such as political economy, poststructuralism, and peasant studies. Contributions to this field tend to question the status of powerful actors (e.g., governments, businesses, conservation organizations) and what is taken for granted in leading discourses. (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2019).

As for Constructivist Political Ecology, it perceives nature as multiple but not arbitrary. There cannot be one true account of nature's nature (Oyama, 2000). For constructivists, nature is indeed a distinct ontological domain, yet it has become inextricably hybridized with culture and technology and increasingly produced by our knowledge (Leff, 1993). In fact constructivists believe that nature exists only as a construction by an observer (Ingold, 1992). Constructivists ascertain the representations or meanings given to nature by various peoples, and the consequences or impacts of those meanings in terms of what is actually done to nature (Slater, 2003). Constructivists think of social and biological life in terms of assemblages from a continuum of experience and matter that is both self-organized and other-organized; in this way, there would not be separate biological and social worlds, nature and culture. It is around this very thought, i.e. the Constructivist Political Ecology, that the strategy of the present thesis is constructed.

Drawing on hermeneutical/dialectical as the methodology of constructivism, the present Research Paper then employs Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as the embodiment of such methodology. Discourse, as understood in the present thesis, is the articulation of

knowledge and power, of statements and visibilities, of the visible and the sayable. Discourse is the process through which social reality comes into being. In this regard, knowledge is not merely applied but generated in the course of lived experience, including of course encounters with the environment. (Escobar, 2010). Knowledge in the present context is summarized as, among other things, the condition of knowing something with familiarity gained through experience; the circumstance or condition of apprehending truth or fact through reasoning; and the range of one's information or understanding. (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).¹ Power, in the interim, is outlined as, i.a., the ability to act or produce an effect and/or the possession of [political] control, authority, or influence over others (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).² As outlined by Indarti (2021) earlier in the present writing, the above methodology is subsequently applied as the method [pre]construction – reconstruction – construction.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is put to use, not only is it constructivist in nature, but it is also competent to recognize the contest of power, in other words the tug of war. However, with the 'twist' brought about by constructivism distinguishing four different sorts of knowledge —i.e. philosophical, theoretical, scientific, and practical knowledge—, the contest of power is then not between the powerful and the powerless, hence not between the knowledgeable and the unknowledgeable. The tug of war is between two parties of parallel knowledge and comparable power, yet of different realms: in this case, theory and practice. In other words, this contest of power, this tug of war, is merely a 'game of realms' between the Municipal Government of Semarang, with its 'theoretical knowledge' in the form of urban farming development, and locality or neighbourhood groups, with their 'practical knowledge' in the form of Non – Commercial Farming, encompassing Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading, growth.

In line with the above is the power of each party into which the respective knowledges are embodied. For the interest of the present research paper, the Semarang Municipality is vested with 'the power to organize'. This is so because government is understood as, i.a., the body of persons that constitutes the governing authority of a political unit or organization. Government is also understood as the organization, machinery, or agency through which a political unit exercises authority and performs functions and which is usually classified according to the distribution of power within it. (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).³ . . As for the locality or neighbourhood groups, they are bestowed with 'the power to suffice'. This is the case because the locality or neighbourhood groups practice the mixture of Hobby

Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading only to –among other things– suffice their pastime subsistence needs. Besides, the word suffice itself signifies any activity that is meant to meet or satisfy a need. (Merriam-Webster,.n.d.⁴)

It should be noted that there is actually no widely accepted measurement of some sort of the degree of Urban Farming development. For the need of the present thesis, Weberian Ideal Type, as presented in Table 1 before, is then put to use. The ‘yardsticks’, ranging from ‘No – Collar Farmers’ up to ‘White – Collar Farmers’, are adopted to indicate the achievement of Urban Farming program put forward by the government, that is, in the case of Semarang City, the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement.

**A. Knowledge To Theorize, Power To Organize:
The Municipality Of Semarang’s Efforts To Generate White – Collar Farmers**

Applying Foucauldian Discourse Analysis within the context of Constructivist Political Ecology, and at the same time following the footsteps of Paradigmatic Study, (see Foucault, 1976; Escobar, 2010; Indarti, 2016) the present Research Paper comes across the following research findings on the Municipality of Semarang’s Efforts to Generate White – Collar Farmers. These findings are then confronted with the Ideal Type of the present Research Paper as depicted in Table 1, particularly in the section on White – Collar column as shown in Table 8 below. The result of the confrontation is then outlined in Table 9.

Table 8. **White – Collar Farmers**

Feature	Knowledge as Power
	Knowledge to Theorize Power to Organize
(1)	(6)
Designation of Farmers by Collar Color	White – Collar
Form of Farming	Commercial Farming
Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency	Expert
Entrepreneurial Interest	Significant
Profit Orientation	Obvious
Income-Earning Capability	Perfectly Strong

Table 9. The Municipality of Semarang’s Efforts to Generate White – Collar Farmers

Discourses (1)	Themes (2)	Interpretative Notes (3)
<p>Increased urban activity has an impact on the conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural land. The challenges ahead are maintaining and preserving productive agricultural land, increasing agricultural productivity that has high economic value and preserving the environment. [Source: Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2010]</p>	<p>Increased urban activity has an impact on the conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural land.</p>	<p>Urban activities apparently put some pressure on Semarang municipality’s efforts to preserve productive agricultural land, increase agricultural productivity that has high economic value and conserve the environment. Here, one could easily notice Semarang Municipality’s vision, and perhaps mission as well, of Commercial Farming.</p> <p>In doing so, one should first identify the Semarang Municipality’s vision of the future, here not only do they apply their knowledge to theorize, they then exercise their power to organize, in this case to establish Commercial Farming. [Note: in this context, ‘power’ is understood as, i.a., 1. ability to act or produce an effect and/or 2. possession of [political] control, authority, or influence over others (Merriam-Webster, n.d.)¹].</p> <p>Consequently, the City Government expects the participating residents to show significant entrepreneurial interest and obvious profit orientation. With this, the dawn of White – Collar Farmers is just on the horizon.</p>
<p>Moreover, it aims at developing and increasing agricultural productivity oriented to the agribusiness system. It is then directed toward the stabilization of agricultural development, which is prioritized to produce products that rely on the agribusiness system to ensure food security and increase the added value of export products. [Source: Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2010]</p>	<p>Agribusiness-oriented as well as export-oriented agricultural development.</p>	<p>This is yet another passage portraying the Semarang Municipality’s determination to develop agribusiness-oriented as well as export-oriented agriculture by way of, first, obtaining food security. Such orientations would inevitably require the Semarang Municipality to foresightedly aspire to developing Commercial Farming. Developing agribusiness-oriented as well as export-oriented agriculture does show how the Semarang Municipality’s knowledge to theorize is put into effect and their</p>

Decreasing food production capacity, shrinking agricultural land, rising population, and reliance on food supply from the surrounding areas, are problems that threaten the food security of Semarang Municipality. Therefore, the vision of the Semarang Agriculture Service is the realization of a Sustainable Bioindustry Agriculture System that produces a variety of healthy food and high value-added agricultural products based on local resources to maintain food security in order to realize food sovereignty and farmers' welfare. (Source: Dinas Ketahanan Pangan Kota Semarang, 2017)

That in order to realize government programs related to food sovereignty, food security activities are needed for all components of society through the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement (Source: Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2021)

There are problems threatening food security of Semarang Municipality. The vision of the Semarang Agriculture Service is therefore the realization of a Sustainable Bioindustry Agriculture System.

Urban Farming Enculturation Movement.

[Note: 'enculturation' is the process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values (Enculturation – Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary)]

power to organize is executed. This also calls for significant entrepreneurial interest and perfectly strong income – earning capability. Hence, the emergence of White – Collar Farmers in the eye of the Semarang Municipality appears to be inevitable.

Sustainable Bioindustry Agriculture System, in the direction of food security and sovereignty, is basically not a far-fetched struggle; yet it is indeed a bold undertaking. In the present writer's opinion, so as to produce a variety of healthy food and high value-added agricultural products based on local resources, the Semarang Municipality has to push their ideal of Urban Farming up to the limit, i.e. reaching Commercial Farming as well as giving way to the delivery of White – Collar Farmers. This is a good opportunity for Semarang City Government to perform. And this is when their knowledge to theorize and their power to organize come in handy. Additionally, this indicates the presence of expert level of of [Technology – Oriented] Proficiency as well as significant Entrepreneurial Interest.

In order to advance urban agriculture in the context of realizing food security and sovereignty, the Semarang City Government has launched the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement. It should be realized that a movement of this caliber should not be limited to traditional agriculture, but should include technology – based urban agriculture and a market – oriented economy. [Note: A social movement is a loosely organized effort by a large group of people – which may involve individuals, organizations or both– to achieve a particular social or political goal (Social movement – Wikipedia)]. Thus, it can be understood that what is to be achieved is the realization of Highly Commercial Urban Farming as well as the birth of White-Collar Farmers. This achievement is of course made

That in order to ensure the smooth running of the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement, socialization, coaching, training and supervision are needed. (Source: Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2021)

Socialization, coaching, training and supervision are needed.

possible by the support of knowledge to theorize and power to organize. In addition, expert level of technology – oriented proficiency is expected to be achieved too.

The fact that socialization, coaching, training and supervision are needed, suggests that Semarang Municipality does focus on both competence and performance in ensuring the smooth running of Urban Farming Enculturation Movement. In this respect, socialization, coaching, training and supervision may indicate the determination on the part of the City Government to produce White-Collar Farmers, and hence establish Commercial Farming. Furthermore, while competence may be associated with the knowledge to theorize, performance may be connected with the power to organize. Again this excerpt also indicates the Semarang Municipality’s hope for the participants of Urban Farming program to qualify as expert in technology – oriented] proficiency.

The objectives of the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement in the Municipality of Semarang are:

- a. empowering the community in order to strengthen food and nutrition security;
- b. utilizing land and/or space;
- c. creating a healthy environment; and/or
- d. increasing reforestation and utilization of household waste.

(Source: Pemerintah Kota Semarang, 2021)

The objectives of the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement, i.a., community empowerment and land utilization

Going through the objectives of the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement, one would have no difficulties in sensing the ambitious nature of the movement. Such ambition certainly calls for impressive power to put it into operation. And the kind of power that the Semarang City Government needs to have is the power to organize. Meanwhile, objectives are things of the future. In order to materialize them, surely one category of knowledge that the Semarang Municipality should have in hand is theorizing knowledge. Another qualification expected by the Municipality is expert level of technology – oriented proficiency. Moreover, acknowledging the span of the objectives, it is understandable if the Municipality of Semarang is aiming at forming White-Collar Farmers within the framework of Commercial Farming.

According to him, the construction of the "Urban Farming Training Center" in Bambangkerep is a solution provided by PT PII in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic situation (Nugroho 2021-Antara News)

Training Centre for Urban Farming set up by the Government as a solution.

Through Urban Farming Training Centre, the City Government of Semarang come up with the idea of making the best use of Urban Farming as an alternative to securing food supply efforts. In other words, the Government believe that they give the residents a helping hand to cope with the present COVID-19 socially– and economically–distressing situation. In relation to the terms 'giving' and 'taking', by 'giving a helping hand' the Government automatically assume a governing or organizing position. This position consequentially allows the Semarang City Government to exercise their organizing power, backed up with their theorizing knowledge. Training is in fact expected to at least possess expert level of technology – oriented] Proficiency and significant entrepreneurial interest.

"Currently we are trying to build a market by creating a network, so that the products produced can be marketed between them. We are still providing the residents with Urban Farming training so that product continuity is maintained. With this hopefully the market can be formed and sell products well," (Hernowo Budi Luhur - Head of Semarang City Agriculture Service, 2021)

The Semarang City Government is trying to build a market network of Urban Farming products. This effort is expected to be supported by the continuity of agricultural products which are continuously strived to be maintained.

By trying to build the market networking of Urban Farming products, the Semarang City Government seems to be still making their best effort to push Urban Farming development towards a Commercial one, hence generating the White-Collar Farmers. This could be comprehended through observations –as they try to build the market networking of Urban Farming products – about how they employ their knowledge to theorize followed by how they apply their power to organize.

The Semarang Municipality perceives Urban Farming development as a way to build economic empowerment and entrepreneurial spirit that can support the society. Such development is hopefully accompanied with independence and competitiveness in agriculture so as to give way to increase or improvement in agricultural productivity, food availability, environmental sustainability, and people's welfare. It is understandable therefore if Urban Farming development in Semarang Municipality is supported by institutionalized education, information, and consultation. This only solidifies the fact that, regarding Urban Farming development, the Semarang Municipality really is focusing on human resources and aiming at ensuring changes in the people's mindset.

In order to advance urban agriculture in the context of realizing food security and sovereignty, the Semarang City Government has launched the wide-ranging Urban Farming Enculturation Movement which is promulgated through Mayoral Regulation on this matter. It should be realized that a movement of this caliber should not be limited to traditional agriculture, but should include technology – based urban agriculture and a market – oriented economy. This movement requires the City Government to give emphasis to both competence and performance on Urban Farming development in the form of socialization, coaching, training and supervision.

All in all, it could be easily noticed the Semarang Municipality’s vision, and perhaps mission as well, of Commercial Farming. Then it could be identified not only how Semarang Municipality applies its knowledge to theorize, but also how it exercises its power to organize, in this case to establish Commercial Farming. In doing so, when it comes to Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency, it is noticeable that the Municipality is looking forward to the Urban Farming participants’ acquiring expertise level of proficiency. The findings above also prove that the City Government expects the residents joining the program to show significant entrepreneurial interest. As the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement proceeds, the partakers of the program are projected to develop perfectly strong income – earning capability. Finally, it is noticeable that once Commercial Farming is established, the City Government believes the participating residents would exhibit obvious profit orientation. With all these, the dawn of White – Collar Farmers is just on the horizon.

**B. Knowledge To Practice, Power To Suffice:
The Locality/Neighbourhood Groups’ Exertions To Engender No – Collar Farmers**

In line with the discussion in Sub Chapter A, here, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, Constructivist Political Ecology, and Paradigmatic Study, (see Foucault, 1976; Escobar, 2010; Indarti, 2016), are also simultaneously applied to take the present writer / researcher to the research findings on The Locality/Neighbourhood Groups’ Exertions To Engender No – Collar Farmers. These findings are then challenged with a section of the Ideal Type of the present Research Paper as depicted in Table 1, i.e. the one on No – Collar Farmers. Table 10 describes such section. The result of this challenge is then presented in Table 11.

Table 10. No – Collar Farmers

Feature	Knowledge as Power
	Knowledge to Practice
	Power to Suffice
(1)	(2)
Designation of Farmers by Collar Color	No – Collar
Form of Farming	Non – Commercial Farming
Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency	Unspecified
Entrepreneurial Interest	Trivial
Profit Orientation	Obscure
Income-Earning Capability	Alien

Table 11. The Local or Neighbourhood Groups’ Exertions To Engender No – Collar Farmers

Discourses	Themes	Interpretative Notes
(1)	(2)	(3)
<p>Urban Farming is also referred to as limited land farming in urban areas, has been carried out by the Municipality of Semarang. Several activities have been performed by related agencies such as the Semarang Municipality Agriculture Service and the Semarang Municipality Food Security Service. The Semarang Municipality Agriculture Service has a program, namely House Yards/Grounds Optimization; while the Semarang Municipality Food Security Service has a program, namely the <i>Kawasan Rumah Pangan Lestari</i> (KRPL) or Sustainable Food House Area. (Source: Handayani, Nugroho, and Hapsari, 2018)</p>	<p>Urban Farming as limited land farming in urban areas.</p>	<p>In the attempt to tackle the problem of —while at the same time making the effort to utilize— short supply of cultivable land, the Municipality of Semarang commissions 2 (two) of its agencies, each with different responsibilities, to organize urban farming. For the time being, it is still not known for certain whether this choice is correct. Judging from this, the power of the Municipality of Semarang is actually an organizing power that produces effects in the future. At this point, it can be said that the knowledge that shapes this power is a theorizing one.</p> <p>One thing that is most noticeable in this passage is that Urban Farming in Semarang Municipality is evidently associated with limited land farming. This is interesting, for it could only mean the kind of Urban Farming in question are those of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and</p>

"We want this training centre to be used as well as possible by residents by participating in the Urban Farming training, provided by the Semarang City Government, and implementing it by utilizing idle space at home such as front yards, backyards and roadside areas along the road in the neighbourhood," (Singawinata SVP CEO Office PT PII in Semarang 2021)

The Semarang City Government's Training Centre for Urban Farming provided through the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of PT PII. [Note: CSR is a company's commitment to manage the philanthropic, ethical, legal and economic duty in response to social, economic and environmental effects of its operations responsibly and in line with public expectations (Wikipedia, 2021)].

Homesteading, combined together as Non – Commercial Farming, not Commercial one. This sort of Urban Farming is implemented by No – Collar Farmers. Regarding this, it is understandable if it shows unspecified level of technology – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability.

This passage illustrates the Semarang Municipality's effort to disseminate their theorizing knowledge of Urban Farming to the participating residents. However, as utilization of front yards, backyards and land strips along the roadside comes into the picture, Commercial Urban Farming seems to be gradually retreating from the arena of Urban Farming program which is then replaced by Non – Commercial Farming carried out by No – Collar Farmers. Presumably, this is followed with the appearance of the people's practicing knowledge, backed up with sufficing power, replacing that of the Semarang Municipality's, i.e. theorizing knowledge, together with organizing power.

There is one thing to be noted here. Though Semarang Municipality seems to aim high, that is establishing Commercial Urban Farming together with its White-Collar Farmers, the presence of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) may, for the time being, indicate otherwise. CSR is usually intended for constructing the basis for –and nurturing the initial steps of– start-ups. And these by no means full fledged farming business enterprises. It thus can possibly insinuate a Non – Commercial Farming with its No – Collar Farmers. The presence of this training implicitly shows that the participants have an unspecified technology oriented proficiency.

Efforts to increase agricultural activity are indeed being intensified by the Semarang

Urban Farming intensification by The Semarang Municipality Agriculture Service

Yes, intensification within the agricultural world means business. In the context of the Semarang

Municipality Agriculture Service. They launch a program referred to as "Ayo Nandur!" or "Come On, Let's Go Planting!" (Firhannusa 2021-AyoSemarang.com)

The Semarang City Government encourages its citizens to use narrow land plots for agriculture through urban farming. The harvest is expected to help meet the family's food security (Yuli 2021-iNews)

Also :

"The idea of urban farming aims to motivate residents to use narrow land so that it can be used optimally, especially for agriculture," (Hernowo Budi Luhur 2021- Head of Semarang Municipality Agriculture Service)

"Urban Farming means that household spending can be

Utilization of narrow land plots for Urban Farming to help meet the families' food security is encouraged by the Government

Urban Farming helps to reduce household spending, for

Municipality, this would go in the direction of fully – grown Urban Farming; in other words towards Commercial Farming, along with its White-Collar Farmers. But... Is this truly the case? The fact that the City Government launches the slogan "Ayo Nandur!" suggests that there are doubts on the part of the government about the sincerity of the residents to welcome this call to planting. Another point is that, the term used in this call is "Ayo Nandur!" or "Come On, Let's Go Planting!", not "Ayo Tani!" or "Come On, Let's Go Farming!". These two different, yet closely related, phrases carry diverse understanding. The former implicitly persuades the populations to join a small scale Urban Farming, i.e. Non – Commercial Farming, as No – Collar Farmers; whereas the latter encourages the residents to be involved in big scale Urban Farming, i.e., Commercial Farming, as White – Collar Farmers.

This is quite interesting. After going through a series of bombardment on the ambition of Semarang Municipality to establish a Commercial Urban Farming, reading through encouragement about the utilization of small plots of land and the fulfillment of family level food security is really like having a time out. This encouragement should be understood as a kind of inspiration for the residents to apply their knowledge to practice, through their power to suffice, in order to indulge themselves in lesser scale of Urban Farming, that is Community Gardening, as Community Gardeners. Besides, such encouragement seems to only suggest the partakers to provide themselves with unspecified level of technology – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability.

By easily obtaining the readily available vegetables in the yard,

reduced, because there is no need to buy cayenne pepper, tomatoes, and vegetables because they are readily available in the yard and can be easily obtained," said Hendi, the Mayor of Semarang (Semarang City Government 2018)

vegetables are readily available in the yard.

the participating residents realize how Urban Farming helps reducing household spending. Cultivating the yards around the house would mean nothing but it is small scale Urban Farming that is being discussed here, i.e. Non – Commercial Farming along with its No – Collar Farmers. Fulfilling the household need is a clear indication that the kind of power that is at work here is none other than the power to suffice. And the sort of knowledge that this power is generated from is knowledge to practice. Such knowledge is power just needs the kind of support that includes unspecified level of technology – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability.

"Urban Farming still seems to be a hobby. So those who run it have not been able to feel the profits. Most of the results from what they are trying to do are still not commensurate with the cost of production," (Hernowo Budi Luhur 2020- Head of Semarang City Agriculture Service)

Urban Farming is apparently seen as a hobby, making those involved detached from enjoying its [financial] profit.

Being perceived as a hobby, solidifies the already existing view– at least of some of the residents, locality groups, and even the City Government Officials – that Urban Farming is geared toward encouraging the participants to utilize their practicing knowledge, exert their sufficing power, and aim at becoming No – Collar Farmers.

A youth group from Semarang, namely the *Ceria Gardening School*, invites Semarang residents to enter the world of agriculture, their efforts are also appreciated by the Semarang City Government and are partnered with providing urban farming education, training and practice to the community. (Source: Berita Jateng.Net, 2021)

Ceria ['Cheerful'] Gardening School, a Youth Group, provides urban farming training and practice to the community.

Here, the name says it all. Firstly, Urban Farming is positioned within the framework of Gardening. Secondly, this Urban Farming is a happy, cheery, and joyful enterprise. Thirdly, Urban Farming is for the sake of community. To sum up, for the youth group, Urban Farming is portrayed and expressed as Non – Commercial Farming –a mixture of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading– which is furnished with its knowledge to practice and power to suffice. This type of Urban Farming is to develop No – Collar Farmers.

The Subdistrict of Trimulyo, The District of Genuk, The City of Semarang, turned their neighbourhood into an Urban Farming zone. This area that used

By means of mutual cooperation, the formerly tidal wave flooded area is turned into urban farming zone

Fueled with the knowledge to practice, this mutual cooperation, this collective effort, is then transformed into the power to suffice so as to fulfill the

to be flooded by the tidal wave is now filled with vegetable plants. By means of mutual cooperation, the residents arrange wooden boards on the swamp to put poly-bags as planting media. The watering system uses a long pipe that is fed with water. Plants that are bred are mustard greens, pumpkin, kale, chilies, and celery. Residents use planting techniques. (Source: Kuasakatacom, Semarang, 2020)

subsistent need for food independently. All these only need unspecified level of technology – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability. This may not be a firm representation of Hobby Farming, but it is for Community Gardening or Homesteading. Yet, this could serve as a meaningful token of initiative toward the existence of No – Collar Farmers.

One thing that is most noticeable in Semarang City is that Urban Farming is evidently associated with limited land farming, such as optimization of house yards and land strips along the neighbourhood roadside. It is also perceived as a hobby or lifestyle. Hence, though Semarang Municipality seems to aim high, that is establishing Commercial Urban Farming together with its White – Collar Farmers, those indicators as well as the presence of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) may, for the time being, indicate otherwise. CSR is usually intended for constructing the basis for –and nurturing the initial steps of– start-ups. And these by no means full fledged farming business enterprises. Hence, the sort of Urban Farming that the Semarang Municipality has in mind is No – Collar Farmers within the framework of Non – Commercial Farming, which is understood for the purpose of the present Thesis as a mixture of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading.

Meanwhile, in terms of Urban Farming activities, some parts in Semarang City can be classified as business areas, for they are supposed to generate White – Collar Farmers. Unfortunately, these localities are still unable to contribute to the fulfillment of Semarang Municipality’s basic needs. This may well be because some locality or neighbourhood groups and urban dwellers are a little bit hesitate to be involved in Commercial Farming. Furthermore, since Urban Farming is directed to be the best alternative solution for food security threat at family level, accordingly the kind of Urban Farming in question is the small scale one that utilizes narrow land around the house. And this is none other than Non – Commercial Farming operated by No – Collar Farmers.

Intensification within the agricultural world usually means business. In the context of the Semarang Municipality, this would go in the direction of fully – grown Urban Farming; in other words towards Commercial Farming, along with its White – Collar Farmers. In addition, the slogan *Ayo Nandur!*" or "Come On, Let's Go Planting!", not *"Ayo Tani!"* or "Come On, Let's Go Farming!", implicitly persuades the populations to join small scale Urban Farming, i.e. Non – Commercial Farming, as No – Collar Farmers, not encourages the residents to be involved in big scale Urban Farming, i.e., Commercial Farming, as White – Collar Farmers.

There is an interesting example of a certain youth group that invites Semarang City's residents to enter the world of agriculture. For this group, firstly, Urban Farming is positioned within the framework of Gardening. Secondly, this Urban Farming is a happy, cheery, and joyful enterprise. Thirdly, Urban Farming is for the sake of community. To sum up, Urban Farming is portrayed and expressed as Non – Commercial Farming which is operated by No – Collar Farmers.

On the whole, it could be wound up, despite the Semarang Municipality's efforts to establish Commercial Farming and at the same time to form White – Collar Farmers, locality or neighbourhood groups and urban dwellers manage to find their ways to remain within the framework of Non – Commercial Farming –an amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading– as No – Collar Farmers. This is certainly made possible by the backing of their knowledge to practice and their power to suffice. Moreover, they are able to do so with the provision of unspecified level of technologically – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability.

**C. The Emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers:
Balancing Act Between Embracing Non – Commercial Farming and Hugging
Commercial Farming**

Going through those discourses on Urban Farming, an indefinable kind of fish (a.k.a. farmers) apparently escapes the fishnet, the table of Ideal Types, the matrix of jargons. There seems to be a certain class of farmers that has not been defined within the existing designation of farmers by collar color. The kind of farming implemented by this classification does not fit the current description of forms of farming either. Moreover,

the present criteria of specificity of [technologically – oriented] proficiency, entrepreneurial interest, profit orientation, and income-earning capability, could not define this indescribable farmers. In order to confront this situation, the fishnet has to be tightened, the table or the matrix has to be modified. A new column of category, referred to as Reluctant Grey – Collar as displayed in Table 12 below, hence has to be inserted into the table. It is with this Modified Matrix of Ideal Types that the present Research Paper is then facilitated to arrive at the research findings on the The Emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers. Utilizing Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, the Constructivist Political Ecology, and Paradigmatic Study, as outlined by Foucault, 1976; Escobar, 2010; and Indarti, 2016, Tabel 13 below elaborates on the process of such emergence.

Table 12. **Modified Matrix of Ideal Types**

Feature	Knowledge as Power				
	Knowledge to Practice		Knowledge to Theorize		
	Power to Suffice		Power to Organize		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Designation of Farmers by Collar Color	No – Collar	Blue – Collar	Reluctant Grey – Collar	Grey – Collar	White – Collar
Form of Farming	Non – Commercial Farming	Fairly Commercial Farming	Quite Commercial Farming	Rather Commercial Farming	Commercial Farming
Specificity of [Technologically – Oriented] Proficiency	Unspecified	Advanced Beginner	Competent	Proficient	Expert
Entrepreneurial Interest	Trivial	Low	Balanced	High	Significant
Profit Orientation	Obscure	Subtle	Observable	Apparent	Obvious
Income-Earning Capability	Alien	Weak	Moderately Strong	Highly Strong	Perfectly Strong

Note: Non – Commercial Farming represents an amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading

Table 13. The Emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers

Discourses (1)	Themes (2)	Interpretative Notes (3)
<p>Apart from the lack of awareness in the community, another important thing that turns out to be a problem is the absence of a role model that can be imitated by the community. This is mainly, according to him, because until now there have been no successful examples of Urban Farming that can be profitable (Santoso 2020-TIMES Indonesia-TIMES Semarang)</p>	<p>Another problem in Urban Farming is the absence of a role model that can be imitated by the community due to lack of examples of successful or profitable Urban Farming.</p>	<p>The absence of role model of –due to lack of examples of successful and profitable– Urban Farming scheme, might also be the cause of the divergence of the participating residents, either from heading for No – Collar Farmers or from proceeding toward White – Collar Farmers. This deviation brings forth a form of resultant of the combined effect of two forces acting at the same point and pulling in different directions. In this respect, those two forces are in fact two contending realms, i.e. that of theory in the form of knowledge to theorize and that of practice in the form of knowledge to practice. These two knowledges are then respectively embodied into the power to organize and the power to suffice. As for the above resultant, in the opinion of the writer/researcher, it may well be the formation of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers within the perspective of Quite – Commercial Farming. Such resultant is also a function of the following features characterizing Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers, i.e. competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.</p>
<p>The development of Urban Farming models is through the selection of agricultural commodities having high productivity, high economic value, open market opportunities, and potentiality to be developed on narrow land. It is hoped that limited land will not become an obstacle for businesses in the agricultural sector. (Source: Dinas Pertanian Kota Semarang, 2017)</p>	<p>Selection of agricultural commodities having high productivity, high economic value, open market opportunities, and potentiality to be developed on narrow land.</p>	<p>Agricultural commodities, with high productivity, high economic value, and open market opportunities, can only be produced through Commercial Farming and hence by the White – Collar Farmers. And this certainly calls for the utilization of Semarang Municipality’s theorizing knowledge which is channeled through their organizing power.</p> <p>However, there is one ‘alien’ element added, that is ‘narrow</p>

land'. This component does not seem to go shoulder to shoulder with High Commercial Urban Farming. Instead, it seems to fit into Community Gardening with its No – Collar Farmers / Community Gardeners who are bestowed with practicing knowledge and sufficing power.

It should be noted that, being caught in the Game of Realms, the tug war, between theorizing knowledge –with its organizing power– and practicing knowledge –with its sufficing power–, the participating residents may be propelled to reside in certain niche along the continuum of Urban Farming development, that is the capacity as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers being involved in Quite Commercial Urban Farming, armed with the needed qualities, i.e. competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

A number of neighbourhood groups in Semarang City, such as in Purwosari, Mijen Pedalangan District, Banyumanik District, and in Trimulyo, Genuk District, somehow manage to market their crops. Despite this success story, Urban Farming is still not able to meet basic needs of the city of Semarang (Source: Firhannusa 2021-AyoSemarang.com)

A number of neighbourhood groups manage to market their crops.

The success of several neighbourhood groups in marketing their crops does serve as a temptation for joining in the Urban Farming program. Still, the failure to satisfy the Semarang City's need for food in general may hinder this seemingly promising joint. For some, staying as No – Collar Farmers, as the manifestation of their power to suffice which is based on the knowledge to practice, may be a realistic pick. But for some others, exploring alternative opportunities, perhaps Reluctantly becoming Grey – Collar Farmers?, may be a better choice; for some characters of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers are subtly present already, such as competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

Urban Farming still seems to be a hobby. Being the case, it is understandable if those who are

Urban farming still seems to be a hobby. It is understandable if those who are involved in it have

The Semarang City Government's recognition of the fact that Urban Farming is a hobby seems to give

involved in it have not been able to enjoy the profits. Even if there are profits, most likely they are still not commensurate with the cost of production. (Hernowo Budi Luhur 2020- Head of Semarang City Agriculture Service)

not been able to enjoy the profits.

a breath of fresh air to Hobby Farming/Community Gardening/Homesteading ideas advocated by the locality or neighbourhood groups. This is as if the Semarang Municipality acknowledges the practicing knowledge and sufficing power of the neighbourhood groups to fashion Urban Farming as Non – Commercial Farming, including Hobby Farming/Community Gardening/ Homesteading. Yet, mentioning the word ‘profit’ adjacent to the term ‘hobby’ is really an understatement. Hobby is for No – Collar Farmers, but profit –be it subtle or apparent– is at least for Reluctant Grey-Collar Farmers. This excerpt also implicitly presents some traits that may well belong to Reluctant Grey-Collar Farmers, such as competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

The 'Ceria Gardening School', a community led by Kemal Abdul Aziz, Luqman Hakim Satria, and Wahyu Aditya Yunanto, is active in developing urban farming on narrow land as a way to achieve food security. In order to maximize this agricultural movement, with the help of up-to-date technology, they finally succeeded in establishing a system from upstream to downstream, starting from educating, seeding, cultivating, harvesting, post-harvesting, consuming, and marketing. With the jargon, one student - one plant - millions of hopes, the participants of this Gardening School is not only limited to school students, but is also open to the wider community. (Source: Berita Jateng.Net, 2021)

The 'Ceria Gardening School' develops their own style of up-to-date, complete, and inclusive system of Urban Farming on narrow land.

It does not have to go fully fledged as Commercial Farming does.

Armed with the knowledge to practice and the power to suffice, Community Gardening continues to thrive for bringing about community gardeners.

The present discourse describes how Urban Farming is related to narrow stretch of land, not a vast one. This only solidifies the existing view that technologically backed-up, community-oriented, and small scale Urban Farming, thought to be Hobby Farming/Community Gardening/ Homesteading, works well on limited area of land. Nevertheless, there is a bit of a contradiction here. Looking back at Table 1, Hobby Farming, that is attached to the term ‘Gardening’, does not seem to walk side-by-side with market leaning and technologically backed-up type of farming. Though the school in question bears the word ‘Gardening’, at this point, suspicion can not seem to be avoided. There is a strong conjecture that this type of farming is actually in the direction of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers.

Around 25 people from various social-economic, and residential backgrounds, who represent

Another interest group, i.e. *Serikat Tani Kota Semarang* (STKS) or Semarang City Farmers Union,

This idea of Urban Farming offered by *Serikat Tani Kota Semarang* (STKS) or Semarang

themselves as *Serikat Tani Kota Semarang* (STKS) or Semarang City Farmers Union, are establishing their idea of Urban Farming on a number of relatively small plots of land. The previously abandoned and critical land has been cultivated and planted with various plants. Various types of vegetables, such as mustard greens, kale, eggplant, chili, cucumber, gambas, to other types of crops, cassava, banana, cassava, sorghum, and corn, have so far been cultivated. (Source: Times Indonesia, 2020²)

whose members come from various walk of life, successfully work on their concept of Urban Farming by cultivating several relatively small plots of previously abandoned land.

City Farmers Union is also implemented on several small plots of previously abandoned and critical land. This time there is no mentioning of Hobby Farming/ Community Gardening/ Homesteading whatsoever. There is no special emphasis either on the practicality tendency of their knowledge, or on the sufficiency propensity of their power. Hence the image of No – Collar Farmers, as outlined in Table 1, can not seem be vividly present in the reading of this fact. At this moment, again, is thinking about Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers relevant? The answer is relevant, provided that the participants possess competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

A total of 118 families in RW (Rukun Warga or Neighbourhood Area) 02 Bampakerep Sub-district, Semarang City, received urban farming training provided by PT Penjaminan Infrastruktur Indonesia (Persero) as a form of corporate social responsibility program. (Nugroho 2021-Antara News)

118 families in the neighbourhood (RW) received Urban Farming Training

Incorporating the 2nd discourse into the 1st one, there would be 472 strong prospective participants of Urban Farming program in the area. This no trivial matter. It could be imagined, in the not-too-far future, just in the area concerned, Urban Farming would be flooded by –hopefully– eager participants.

Also:

More than half of the total number of the respondents, i.e. 59%, have a total of 4 family members. (Wahdah and Maryono, 2018)

This government – facilitated as well as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) training, at first impression, is like a double edged sword. One edge evokes the Semarang Municipality's theorizing knowledge and organizing power to establish White – Collar Farmers doing Commercial Farming. The other one summons the trainees' practicing knowledge and sufficing power to form No – Collar Farmers performing a blend of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading.

Also:

As it is acknowledged, the implementation of Urban Farming is believed to increase the economy and the environmental quality of urban areas. (Wahdah and Maryono, 2018)

However, on closer reflection, it would reveal that what actually comes into mind is Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers carrying out commerce – oriented amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and

Semarang City is one of the metropolitan cities on the island of Java. It has limited agricultural land as compared to other urban areas, especially in [the Province of] Central Java. (Semarang City Government 2018)

Semarang City has limited agricultural land.

Homesteading. Or, the other way around, it is Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers running a decommercialized Commercial Farming. And this is made possible by competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

Limited availability of cultivable land for Urban Farming activities hinders the opportunity of the Semarang Municipality to put their theorizing knowledge and organizing power into action and thus, in essence, it exposes the slight possibility of establishing Commercial Urban Farming, and at the same time forming White – Collar Farmers, in the City of Semarang.

At the other end of continuum, narrow agricultural land – usually in the form of scattered small plots of land – open up the opportunity of the participating locality or neighbourhood groups to exercise their knowledge to practice, which is manifested as their power to suffice, in engaging with the founding of Non – Commercial Farming and in unison creating No – Collar Farmers.

Again, in truth, the lure of commercialization is apparently too tempting to refuse. This situation allows the partakers of the Non – Commercial Farming to continue pursuing their passion in the amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading, not as the No – Collar Farmers but as the Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers within the framework of Quite Commercial Farming.

None of the respondents participating in Urban Farming are full-timers. Of all respondents, 61% of them are private employees. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that, beside being a hobby, Urban Farming is also meant to meet the need for urban land conservation for future generations. Moreover,

None of the respondents engage in Urban Farming are full-timers. In their opinion, Urban Farming is a hobby, meets the need for urban land conservation, generates additional income, supports household food security, increases green open space, and improves environmental quality.

Since all the Urban Farming participants are part-timers, it is hard to imagine how the Semarang City's knowledge to theorize, together with their power to organize, would work as expected in transforming them into White – Collar Farmers within the context of Commercial

it is believed that agricultural activities in urban area can generate additional income, support household food security, increase green open space, and improve environmental quality. (Wahdah and Maryono, 2018)

Urban Farming.

Likewise, given that those partakers also look forward to having additional income through Urban Farming, perceiving it as a hobby does not guarantee that the charm of locality/neighbourhood groups' knowledge to practice, which is then manifested as their power to suffice, would be able to influence the urban farmers to stay put as No – Collar Farmers within the domain of Non – Commercial Farming.

In the end, those participants end up somewhere around the halfway of the Urban Farming continuum: doing a blend of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening and Homesteading –with a twist of commercialism– within the sphere of Quite Commercial Farming. In other words, here, Urban Farming development would witness the emergence of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers, with the support of competent technology – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

It should be noted that there are some sort of discrepancies, or forms of Tug of War, on the part of the participating residents, either heading for No – Collar Farmers or from proceeding toward White – Collar Farmers. This deviation brings forth a form of resultant of the combined effect of two forces acting at the same point and pulling in different directions. In this respect, those two forces are in fact two contending realms, i.e. that of practice in the form of knowledge to practice –which is attached to locality or neighbourhood groups– and that of theory in the form of knowledge to theorize –which is ascribed to the Semarang Municipality–. These two knowledges are then respectively embodied into the power to suffice and the power organize.

One discrepancy is between the interest in the beautification of house yards and in the provision of additional income. This situation suggests that the former, with practicing knowledge and sufficing power as its fuel, is more into No – Collar Farmers within the context of Non – Commercial Farming. As for the latter, with theorizing knowledge and organizing power as its energy source, is heading for White – Collar Farmers within the setting of Commercial Farming.

Another disagreement is between considering Urban Farming as Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, or Homesteading, thus a part of Non – Commercial Farming, and engaging in agricultural products market, hence a segment of Commercial Farming. Again, this can be seen as a contest between the lure of the call for becoming No – Collar Farmers and the passion to grow into White – Collar Farmers. Still other inconsistency is between the limitation of narrow cultivable land and the freedom of pursuing high productivity, high economic value, and open market opportunities of agricultural commodities. While the former has No – Collar Farmers within the background of Non – Commercial Farming as its trophy; the latter has White – Collar Farmers within the perspective of Commercial Farming as its prize.

Whichever discrepancy to look into, what is happening really is a Game of Realms between the knowledge to practice together with the power to suffice, on the side of No – Collar Farmers in Non – Commercial Farming, and the knowledge to theorize together with the power to organize, on the other side of White – Collar Farmers in Commercial Farming. At this point, being trapped in the Game of Realms, the Contest of Discourses, the Tug War, the partaking urban dwellers may be driven to dwell in particular recess along the range of Urban Farming Development. This recess is the capacity as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers being involved in Quite Commercial Urban Farming. And this elaboration is made possible through competent technologically – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, as well as observable profit orientation.

Taking into consideration the current political, economic, socio – cultural and legal situation, as well as the administrative, governmental and ecological setting in the Semarang Municipality, it is unquestionably true that Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers phenomenon is indeed an inevitable reality. This is so because the Game of Realms, within which the Tug of War, presented as the Contest of discourses, knowledge as power takes place, results in a kind of ‘vectorial resultant’ that takes the form as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers within the context of Quite Commercial Farming. By the same token, it could be resolved that, not only is becoming Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers variant considered as an achievement, it should also be settled that it is a conscious and rational choice of life.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Urban Farming, ranging from Non – Commercial to Commercial Farming, and involves categories of Farmers from No – Collar up to White – Collar Farmers, basically opens up an opportunity to develop agriculture even further, not just in rural area but in urban area as well. Besides growing food, it produces a range of non-food and non-market goods. It involves new opportunities for resource efficiency, new farming technologies, specific implementation processes and networks, new patterns of food supply and new urban spaces. It influences food access, supply of food stability, and hence maintenance of food security.

In so far as political ecology context is concerned, Urban Farming may be seen as a way of people adapting to changes, such as environmental and climatic changes. In relation to this, there are concerns in land scarcity and water saving. Besides that, Urban Farming can also be associated with people's lifestyle. Here, Urban Farming becomes a part of environmentally-conscious way of life as well as a form of identity-formation and self-expression. Moreover, Urban Farming can be an alternative to collectively – induced social change through the existing informal networking.

However, within the development of Urban Farming in Semarang Municipality, there is this phenomenon of Tug of War between the fascination of Commercial Farming, endorsed by Semarang Municipality, and the charm of Non – Commercial Farming, including Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading, envisioned by the locality or neighbourhood groups. This Tug of War is, as a matter of fact, none other than a 'Game of Realms', i.e. between the Semarang Municipal Government's knowledge to theorize in the theoretical realm and the locality or neighbourhood groups' knowledge to practice in the practical realm. On the part of the Semarang Municipality, this theorizing knowledge is then transformed into the power to organize. As for the locality or neighbourhood groups, their practicing knowledge is then translated into the power to suffice. All these are then played in a Game of Discourses through which the Semarang Municipality and the locality or neighbourhood groups put forward their ideas of Urban Farming at stake.

The present Research Paper explores how Semarang Municipality applies its knowledge to theorize and also how it exercises its power to organize, in this case to establish Commercial Farming. In doing so, when it comes to Specificity of Technologically – Oriented Proficiency, it is noticeable that the Municipality is looking forward to the Urban Farming participants' acquiring expertise level of proficiency. The findings above also prove that the City Government expects the residents joining the program to show significant entrepreneurial interest. As the Urban Farming Enculturation Movement proceeds, the partakers of the program are projected to develop perfectly strong income – earning capability. Finally, it is noticeable that once Commercial Farming is established, the City Government believes the participating residents would exhibit obvious profit orientation. With all these, the dawn of White – Collar Farmers is just on the horizon.

Furthermore, despite the Semarang Municipality's efforts to establish Commercial Farming and at the same time to form White – Collar Farmers, locality or neighbourhood groups and urban dwellers manage to find their ways to remain within the framework of Non – Commercial Farming –an amalgamation of Hobby Farming, Community Gardening, and Homesteading– as No – Collar Farmers. This is certainly made possible by the backing of their knowledge to practice and their power to suffice. Moreover, they are able to do so with the provision of unspecified level of technology – oriented proficiency, trivial entrepreneurial interest, obscure profit orientation, and alien income – earning capability.

It should be noted, there are actually inconsistencies along the process of Urban Farming Enculturation in the Semarang Municipality. No matter what inconsistency is observed, what is actually taking place really is a Game of Realms between the knowledge to practice along with the power to suffice, on the side of No – Collar Farmers in Non – Commercial Farming, and the knowledge to theorize with its power to organize, on the other side of White – Collar Farmers in Commercial Farming. At this point, instead of growing into White – Collar Farmers, or at least Grey – Collar ones, the participating urban dwellers end up becoming Reluctant Grey – Collar farmers that implement Quite Commercial Urban Farming.

The idea of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers is basically a 'resultant' of the Tug of War as described above. Thus, Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers are 'socially constructed' by the Municipal Government of Semarang and the locality or neighbourhood groups through

the Game of Realms, through the Contest of Discourses, through the Tug of War, representing knowledge as power dynamics between the two parties. At the end of the day, this dynamics finally reaches a kind of 'equilibrium' in the form of Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers. And this development is made possible through competent technologically – oriented proficiency, balanced entrepreneurial interest, moderately strong income – earning capability, observable profit orientation.

Having gone through the analyses, and also considering the prevailing political, economic, socio – cultural and legal situation, not to mention the administrative, governmental and ecological setting in the Semarang Municipality, it is undeniably true that Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers phenomenon is indeed an inevitable reality. This is so because the Game of Realms, within which the Tug of War of knowledge as power occurs, results in a kind of 'vectorial resultant' that takes the form as Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers within the context of Quite Commercial Farming. By the same token, it could be resolved that, not only is becoming Reluctant Grey – Collar Farmers variant considered as an achievement, it should also be settled that it is a conscious and rational choice of life.

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