

REVISITING SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN ORGANIC AGRICULTURE COMMUNITY IN YOGYAKARTA INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Organic agriculture in Indonesia originally started with various civil society groups and social movements that practiced alternative agriculture methods that were different from conventional agriculture. Over time, organic agriculture in Indonesia continued to develop until it became a way of agriculture that is now supported by the government and became the object of agricultural policy with the aim of large-scale industrialization. Therefore, this study aims to conduct a review of the three pioneering groups of the organic movement in Yogyakarta, some of which were once studied, namely the World Food Day group in Ganjuran, farmers groups and one of young organic farmer activist figure in Kalongan, Sleman, and the Sahani Organic Community. Specifically, this study aims to document the narrative of the formation process of groups and organic social movements in Yogyakarta and the values and ideology about organic agriculture revealed from the narrative. This research will also observe and document the development of group activities over time. Conceptually, this research will be guided by the analysis of organic agriculture as a social movement, focusing not only on group activities but also on the use of language as a manifestation of organic agriculture discourse. To get findings from various research objectives.



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INTRODUCTION

The early of the Indonesian natural or organic agriculture movement can be traced back to the 1970s (Edwards 2013, p. 74), when it first emerged as a response to the socio-hidden political and environmental impacts of the government centralized agriculture system as known as green revolution, implemented in Indonesia by the Soeharto government from the mid-1960s onwards with the goal of achieving national rice self-sufficiency (Li 2014; Tsing 1993). This aim was achieved in 1985 Indonesia proclaimed food self-sufficient country in the first time. Four years later, in 1988 President Soeharto awarded by FAO in national self-sufficient food supplies especially in rice stock. Despite, many peasants were forced to adopt high-yielding rice that genetically engineered varieties, intensifications agriculture system and chemical fertilizers. In the other hand, agricultural intensification had a range of counterproductive sociocultural and ecological impacts for local peasants and their rice field environments (e.g. Hefner 1990; Schiller 1980). Some peasants responded creatively to the top-down mobilized agricultural policies of the centralized agricultural system of Indonesia during that time and successfully adapted to the modified agriculture environment (Winarto 1995). Others peasant and farmer sought alternatives to the industrialized agriculture methods promoted by the government's productivity approach to agriculture.

Divers scientific studies in organic agriculture studies (for example, Farmia 2008, Jahroh 2010, Edwards 2013, David and Ardiansyah 2016) suggest that organic agriculture in Indonesia arises from the initiatives and activities of various non-governmental organizations. Literature trace from Jahroh denote that the earliest non governmental initiation of organic agriculture in Indonesia conducted through establishment of Bina Swadaya Bhakti Foundation in 1984. These studies point to that several organizations, such as Bina Sarana Bakti (under the auspices of Father Agatho Elsener in Cisarua, West Java), the Bali Organic Association, the Forum for the Environment (WALHI), and the Pesticide Action Network (PAN), played an important role in bringing up the movement organic agriculture in Indonesia in the mid-1980s until the late 1990s. Furthermore, in the first decade of the 21st century, various other social networks and organizations engaged in organic agriculture emerged. Some examples include the Indonesian Organic Farmers Network (Jaker-PO), the Indonesian Development of Education and Permaculture Foundation (IDEP), representatives of the Belgian international NGO VECO-Indonesia and the Indonesian Organic Alliance (AOI). David Ardiansyah (2016) consider that the various activities of this organization are the basis of the organic movement in Indonesia and the consolidation of this organic movement network.

The similar pattern also occurs in Yogyakarta. Some of the civil society organizations emerged as pioneers of organic agriculture, not only as an alternative form of agriculture, but also as a movement with the aim of bringing about social change. One of the key organizations that emerged in Yogyakarta was the World Food Day Farmers and Fishermen Secretariat (SPTN HPS), which was formed in 1994 as an institutional follow-up to the Declaration of Ganjuran on World Food Day 1990. The network established by the SPTN HPS also encouraged the emergence of various organic agriculture activist groups in various locations in Yogyakarta, with the main objective of empowering farmer groups in managing their farms independently through organic agriculture. In addition, the Sahani cooperative emerged in 1997, as an organization engaged in the marketing of organic agricultural products.



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Over time and the development of organic networks and movements, organic agriculture in Indonesia began to enter the phase of regulation, standardization, and certification, especially in the first decade of the 21st century. This phase emerged both because of the efforts of the organic agriculture network organization and because of the efforts of the government in supporting the development of organic agriculture. Examples of efforts from organic agriculture network organizations are the development of organic standards and certifications by AOI, both community-based (PAMOR) and those that are third party (BioCert). While examples of efforts from government policy are the Go Organic 2010 program and the Indonesian National Standard (SNI) on organic products (Hidayat and Lesmana 2011).

Government policies, especially Go Organic 2010, began to show the government's attention to organic agriculture. The attention is emphasized on efforts to develop organic agriculture into large-scale agro-industry. This can be seen from the description of the Go Organic 2010 strategic plan, which launched Indonesia's organic agriculture reaching the stage of industrialization and trading at the end of 2010 (Jahroh 2010: 3).

This expectation towards industrialization and trading indicates that the Indonesian government sees organic agriculture not only as a social movement, but as part of an agro-economic and macro- business agricultural effort. Here, there is a view that organic agriculture can revitalize the agricultural sector as one of the foundations of Indonesia's macro economy (Lesmana and Hidayat 2008, Mayrowani 2012). As an indication, several studies of Indonesian researchers on organic agriculture tend to prioritize technical and agro- economic aspects, especially the potential export of organic products, the potential for poverty reduction, improvement in farmers' welfare, contributions to food security, and government policy recommendations to capture this economic potential (for example, Farmia 2008, Syaukat 2008, Jahroh 2010, Hidayat and Lesmana 2011, Mayrowani 2012). The emphasis on standardization, certification, trade and development of organic agriculture towards agro-industrial scale shows that organic agriculture in Indonesia has evolved not only as a social movement and alternative agriculture method. Now, organic agriculture has become part of the national agricultural policy framework and conventional agri- business. Thus, it is important to see how the conditions of various pioneering organizations of the organic agriculture social movement in the situation of contemporary organic agriculture and their attitude in facing the development direction of organic agriculture.

Another understanding of organic agriculture and consumption popular as an alternative lifestyle. Kuepper (2010) sees that the contribution of counter- culture is the emergence of a holistic emphasis on three aspects of organic agriculture as a social movement, namely (1) ecological agriculture, (2) alternative food distribution, not from conventional agribusiness distribution, and (3) food fresh with minimal processing and without artificial additives / chemicals.

STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In seeing organic agriculture as a social movement, Reed (2010) argues that it is important to be able to combine the perspective of the approach of social movements in the United States, which tends to see the "how" movement goes and is organized, with an approach in Europe, which tends to see the "why" movement socially formed, why people join, and what is the meaning of social movements in public life. Following Della Porta and Diani (2006), social movements are formed based on four components, namely (1) informal interaction networks; (2) solidarity and mutual trust, not only regarding social problems encountered but also the solution; (3) collective action based on contestation and aimed at bringing about change; (4) the use of protests, both publicly and through micro-politics of daily behavior. Moreover, Reed (2010) sees that organic agriculture as a social movement tends to have a "critical community" consisting of a network of individuals who develop thoughts and views on organic agriculture.

For Reed (2010), the social movement of organic agriculture also has a conceptualization of the values or basic ideology of the movement, which is expressed through discourse, namely forms of language such as concepts, vocabulary, references, statements and arguments. Changes in social movements can also be traced to changes in this discourse. The discourse of this social movement can also show traces of the relationships and networks of organic agriculture globally, through the diffusion and circulation of various terms, arguments, and views on various aspects of organic agriculture.



Several studies on organic agriculture in Indonesia which focus more on aspects of groups and social movements provide a description of the pattern of group activities and organizations. For example, Widiyanto (2011) discusses the occurrence of an agricultural revitalization movement using organic methods in Bantul, especially about the dynamics between group members and the various challenges in organizing and gathering. McRae (2011) discusses how Bali's organic agriculture businesses succeed because of the quality and strategic role of each of its members, although there are still challenges in marketing their products. In this case, McRae explained that the collaboration between members who were positioned as village officials and members who were former employees of the Department of Agriculture were the key factors driving the adoption of sustainable organic agriculture methods. In another paper, McRae and Arthawiguna (2011) discuss that subak organizations can play a role in organic agriculture, but this depends on the initiative of their members. This is different from the top-down mobilization of subak during the Green Revolution era. Edwards (2013) conducted a study of the effect of institutionalization on the values and practices of several organic agriculture movement organizations in Bali. The discussion on institutionalization by Edwards tends to be more on organizational formalization. Edwards concludes that institutionalization and commercialization do not necessarily undermine the values of social movements. However, Edwards' analysis is still not exhaustive in looking at the role of organizations in the commercialization process and how they react to changes and the commercialization of organic agriculture.

SHIFTING FROM DEVELOPING MOVEMENTS TO DEVELOPING MARKETS

The shift from developing the movement to developing the market mainly occurred in the two SPTN- HPS organizations and the Sahani Union. In the case of Sahani, this shift became a kind of logical direction because the organization was founded with the intention to become a market unit for organic agricultural products using the principles of fair trade. The emphasis on the application of holistic organic agriculture values and practices tends to lead to small-scale and local agriculture practices. This activist farmer group does not put too much emphasis on efforts to increase the scale of their economic activities, but rather on the dissemination of the holistic values and practices of organic agriculture to other activists or to farmers who have the same idealism. In addition, because these activist farmers do not have formal formal organizations, and rely more on informal communities and associations, they tend to be more resistant to fluctuations in funds from outside.



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CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we can see that there are several factors that have triggered a shift in focus, from efforts to build an organic agriculture movement through mentoring groups of farmers to marketing efforts for organic agricultural products, which occur in the SPTN-HPS organization and the Sahani Cooperative.

The first factor is a change in the source of funding for organizational activities. At the time of the founding of the organization, both SPTN-HPS and Sahani relied on income from donors from outside the organization. Like NGOs in general, these two organizations initially relied on income from donors, especially foreign organizations, in the form of various programs for developing organic and sustainable agriculture. When funding from outside the organization decreases or stops, both organizations are forced to focus their attention on developing an organic agricultural product marketing business unit.

The second factor is the wider development of the organic agriculture movement in Indonesia itself. In the 1990s, organic agriculture initially emerged as an alternative social movement to conventional agricultural practices that were dominant and supported centrally by the Indonesian government at that time. However, entering the 21st century, organic agriculture enters the certification and trade phase, where the government is involved in making regulations for marketing organic agricultural products. So as said by the SPTN-

One of the NGO HPS administrator, organic agriculture itself has begun to shift from efforts to spread knowledge about organic cultivation to efforts to develop organic agricultural economic activities.

Instead, activist farmer groups try to keep running their organic agriculture practices with deep holistic values. The consequence of this emphasis on practice and deep value is the form of organic agriculture activities that tend to be small scale and local in scope. The aspect of increasing the economic scale of agricultural businesses is not so important for this group because of their liquid and informal form of organization. Thus, there are no definite financial demands that they need to meet to maintain the organization.