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Reclaiming Diversity: The Contestation Of Food Sovereignty And Food Security Among Farmer and The Power Actors in Flores Timur-Indonesia

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Abstract

Indonesian food policy continuously evolving, since 2012 food sovereignty has been officially adopted as national food and agriculture development approach along with food self sufficiency and food security. However, state led program were heavily influence by food security paradigm and food self-sufficiency which more vulnerable to predatory character of corporate food regime. The discourse of food sovereignty were put into the action by NGO and local groups which framed as local food movement initiative. The local food movement and the phenomena surrounding its rise needs to be ethnographically scrutinized. Gramsci's theory of hegemony, food regime analysis, relational scale and multiple sovereignty help elucidate the perception of food sovereignty value and its relation also contestation among farmer and power actors in the Flores Timur. Results shows that in small scale farmer perceived food sovereignty and food security are interrelated and equal but non-complementary. Food sovereignty works best with multiple recognitions of sovereignty. Food sovereignty were embrace and strengthen the diversity of contexts, cultures and pathways . This condition fits to Indonesian divers cultural and geographical context. Thus, The power actors must put more effort to the real implementation of food sovereignty through consistent development to support local farming and food practice rather than vicious cycle of corporate food paradigm embodied in the various reproduction of industrial-minded national agriculture program on promoting monoculture of several food staple.

Keywords : Food Sovereignty, Food Security, Corporate Food Regime, Farmer, State, movement

Introduction

The trajectories of food policy in Indonesia are most likely relevant with what McMichael, (2009) calls 'food regime'. The character and important phenomena related food regime can be fully recognized in Indonesia. Colonial agribusiness and its evolution remains visible in the form of big estate and plantation. Green revolution are the main feature of agriculture development under the 32 years Soeharto dictatorship regime. Then the recent calls on liberalization of agriculture and corporatization of food after the regime falls. All the trajectories are facilitated by the few groups who have related with state power, It can be government, Groups of elite, politician and or entrepreneurs. Dominant discourse paradigm on industrial minded agriculture are embraced and followed. Moreover, The rule of the state-corporate food regime has been disrupting the nation's potential for a diversity of resources, a model of agriculture and natural landscapes. The dominant food policy creates vast inequality and gaps among people, thus strengthening the effort of capital and power accumulation. Indonesia became dependent on food imports and the global food trade, thus fails to take the advantage of its biodiversity and tropical climate.

From the different point of view Indonesia apparently succeed to increase the food production and tackle food accessibility. Under the Green revolution style program the short glory of rice self-sufficiency was achieved and, then the import and trade regulation and protection on rice also food austerity are also one of the key feature of government food policy. Although some of those policy are further marginalize farmer and support capital accumulation of agrochemical company and state power accumulation. The reproduction of policy are apparently lean toward hegemonic attitude of corporate food regime other than alternative policy which support democratic involvement of farmer. In 2012, Indonesia Government launched the new food law, UU no. 18/ 2012. Food sovereignty is included in this food law along with food security and food self-sufficiency. In this bill on food sovereignty, food self-sufficiency and food security are presented as being interrelated and complimentary. The implementation of this bill was never easier. The food program launched by recent president Joko Widodo named UPSUS PAJALE program (seed, fertilizer and agriculture machinery subsidies for rice, corn and soybean growers), food austerity and trade interventions. These three programs clearly indicate which discourses are dominant. The state and government are also affected by hegemony, hence they systematically defend the dominant idea in the name of citizen interest. Food sovereignty has been co-opted and twisted as political populism to silence the crowd and maintain the status quo.

I borrow the notion of development from Goldman (2005), who argues that development operates on a fragile terrain and forms part of the struggle between hegemony and counter-hegemony. The implementation of food policy is on fragile ground, as there is always resistance and power dynamics at every level. On the local level, we can see the recent rise of local food movements in several parts of Indonesia.

Food movements emerged in Indonesia after the Soeharto dictatorship fell in 1998 or after 32 years of oppressive and autocratic policies. Food movements and peasant organization discussions were under tight government control due to the paranoia of a Communist revival. Unions, NGOs and community organizations started to emerge with the opening of political space for agriculture, food, and

farmers. The NGO and peasant organization are mushrooming in the entire archipelago and food sovereignty concept began to be known.

The contradiction between food sovereignty and food security has been heated ever since. I wanted to investigate the perception of two interrelated trend of food intervention namely Food security style food policy and food sovereignty embedded in food movement amongs farmer and local power actor . I argue that research is urgently needed on complex power dynamics faced by organizations and actors at the grassroots level, the response from farmers, and how they contribute and involve in the both world. This research contributes a fresh point of view and evidence from the field about bottom-up local food movement compared to the state-facilitated dominant food regime in Indonesia.

Research method and Theoretical Framework

The research are make use of Gramsci theory of hegemony and Kerkvliet everyday politics to get more vivid description of turbulence inside the tranquillity. Below are the figure of analytical framework of this paper.

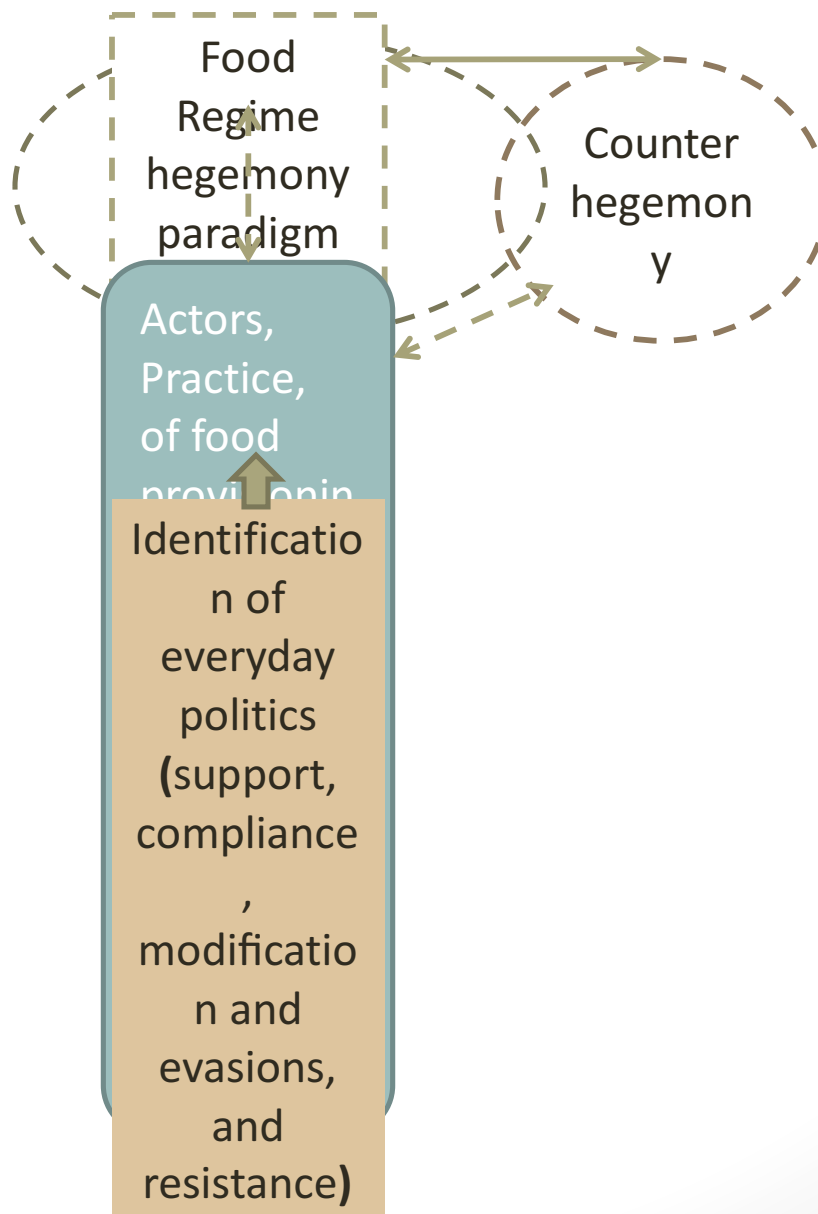


FIGURE 1 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The meaning of hegemony by Gramsci is "the political leadership based on the consent of the led, an approval which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the worldview of the ruling class" (Bates, 1975). Hegemony succeeds if it achieves some tranquility in the society. Bates (1975), rephrasing Gramsci's work, argues:

"A social class cannot convince others of the validity of its worldview until it is entirely convinced itself. Once this is achieved, society enters a period of relative tranquility, in which hegemony rather than dictatorship as the predominant form of rule."

Tranquility is the ultimate hegemonic condition, although there are always contesting ideas operating in society.. Kerkvliet (2009) conclude everyday politics contributes to the debates on hegemony. If hegemony succeeds to the pseudo-tranquility phase, subtle disagreement can still be assessed by analysis of everyday politics and practice of some movements and groups of people. Ideas circulate in a subtle way to avoid the exercise of force. This counter-hegemonic political contestation happens in daily practice. Kerkvliet (2009) defines everyday politics as "involving people adjusting, embracing, complying with, contesting norms and rules regarding resources allocation, production, and authority and doing so in quiet, mundane, and subtle expressions and acts that are rarely organized or direct.

This study is descriptive qualitative study which occupy ethnography. This ethnographical study consists of observations, participant observations, and interviews on practices and everyday politics developed through the interaction between farmers and NGOs, and government agencies. It is critical to get information on their motives, knowledge and relationships. Furthermore, examining the socio-material practices and everyday politics. It is also important to collect information about demography, historical framework, and see the connection with the actual condition. Thus, documents and artifacts analysis will be used as well. The data collection are mainly focus in four village which are Pajinian Village , Ratulodong Village, Village Serinuho dan kawalelo village. see figure 2. below

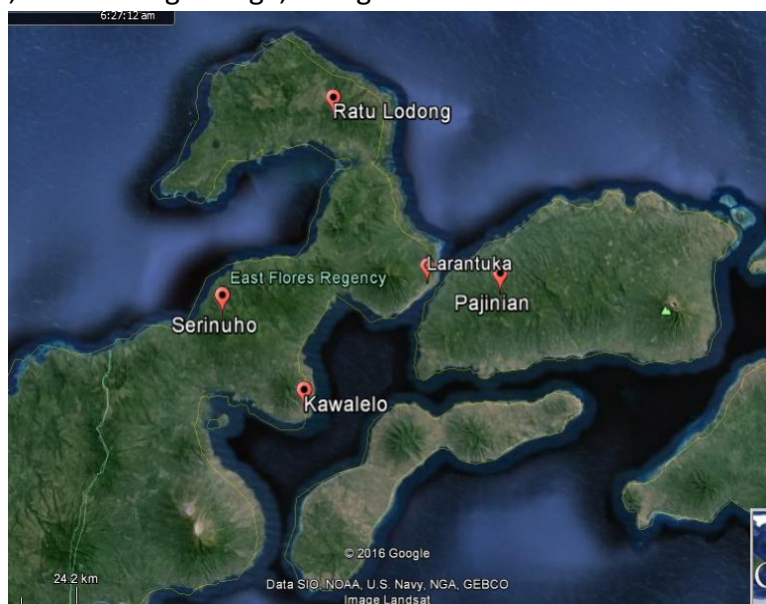
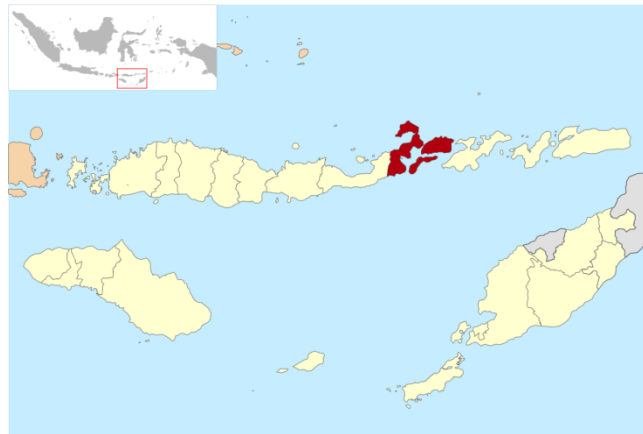


FIGURE 2 FIELDWORK LOCATION

Context Information

Flores Timur is located in the tip of Flores island 2000 km away from the capital of Indonesia Jakarta. Larantuka is the capital city of Flores Timur regency, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) province. It has a beautiful landscape, beaches, and cultural attraction which have the potential to boost the economy through tourism. Flores Timur has a unique terrain and climate. Flores Timur and East Nusa Tenggara is atypically dry compared to the rest of Indonesian archipelago, of 2.4×10^6 ha Indonesian land (annual rainfall $<1,000$ mm), approximately 1.0×10^6 ha is located in the province of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) (Jayaraju & J Abdullah, 2013). Flores Timur is the combination of flat tropical savannah and mountainous hilly terrain. Flores Timur and its surroundings are part of the Indonesian ring of fire with numerous volcanoes.



Source: Id.wikipedia (2010)

FIGURE 3 FLORES TIMUR IN INDONESIA MAP

According to the government report, Flores Timur and the rest of NTT have consistently remained a region with a low income, with 65 % of households living below the poverty line in 2005 (BPS, 2008). The geographical conditions, infrastructure, inequality of development and harsh climate are some causes of these circumstances (Bottema, Sukesi, & Seran, 2009). Almost 80% of people depend on agriculture. Farm activity mainly involves growing food crops such as maize, rice, cassava and other local tubers for daily consumption, animal husbandry raising livestock for economic and cultural purposes, and managing small plantations of cashew nut, candle nut, coffee, clove, and sandalwood. The harsh climate and dependency on rain-fed agriculture system leads to relatively high levels of producer risk. Thus, local people have coped with their weather and drought for centuries by developing unique strategies to deal with them (Bottema et al., 2009).

Actors and Power Dynamic

. For Flores Timur society, three strong forces influence their everyday life: *adat* (a local institution), the church (Catholic) and the state. However, the rule of *adat* has dominated their social system for a long time (Bayo, 2009). The contestation of power among *adat*, the church, and the state form a dynamic layered relationship, with *adat* (indigenous culture/tradition) as the core layer. The contestation between the three forces shapes the reality of food provisioning strategies and sometimes leads to unintended effects. Flores Timur's life-world is

formed not only by the force of visible suspected actors because the people and farmers also adapt and resist to survive. Religion and *adat*, representing conservative power in Flores Timur, are also never free from the changes and influence from the outer situation. There was some level of discontent with the three local powers on farming and agriculture.

Farmers realized they needed to find a counterbalancing power and support to survive in the ever-changing situation. It resulted in the rise of new powers such as NGOs and direct market connections. The market was supported and facilitated by the state. What I mean by 'market' here is the global and national trade in food and agriculture. Flores Timur is incorporated in this system, and is getting stronger along with the national development policy. The government brought infrastructure and opened up access, causing Flores Timur people to participate more in the market and further monetizing their way of life. Farmer participation in the market economy has indeed created new opportunities for maneuver. On the other hand, it makes them vulnerable to the unfair competition of capital accumulation.

The unintended shift set up by the hegemony of agricultural development is unable to be anticipated or facilitated by the conservative power-holder. The effect was rather wild and predatory which makes the conservative unable to clearly respond and even become permissive. It creates a void; a space for the opportunity to accommodate changes. NGOs and movements were able to take advantage this void to further organize changes in food provision in Flores Timur. NGOs and movements provide room for the farmer's subtle resistance and disagreement into dynamic visible advocacy political actions, which are continuously evolving and gaining recognition.. in Figure I give you illustration of actor transformation.

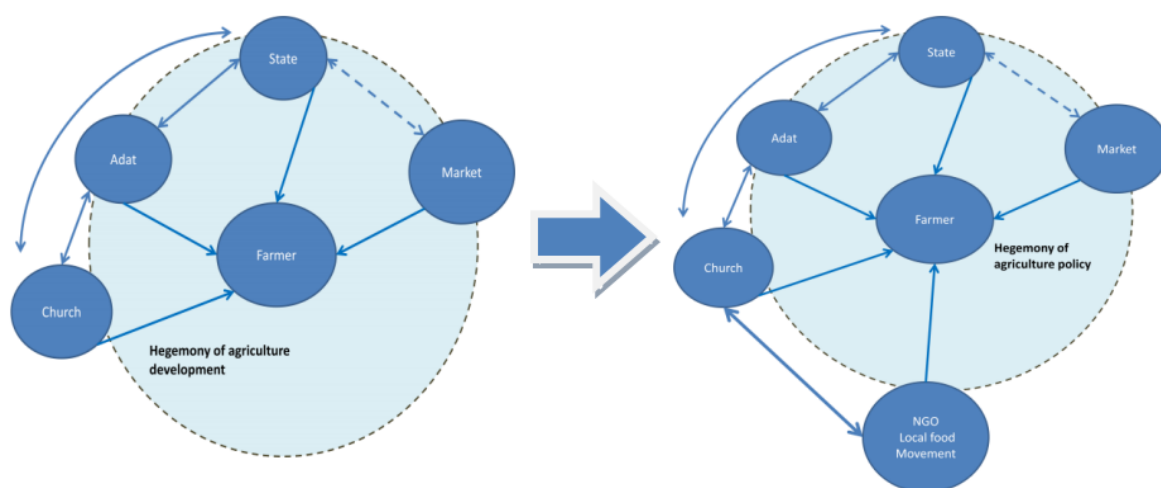


FIGURE 4 ACTORS TRANSFORMATION

The Farmer everyday politics

Some of the stories above show the subtle responses toward the actors that influence farmers. Kerkvliet (2009) categorizes everyday politics into four: support, compliance, modification and resistance. I argued that those four categories have

never been found in the pure form, being dynamic rather than fixed entities. I will not categorize more, but summarise a little of the character of dynamic everyday politics toward food provisioning in Flores Timur. The farmers' responses to various actors can be seen below in the map of engagement.

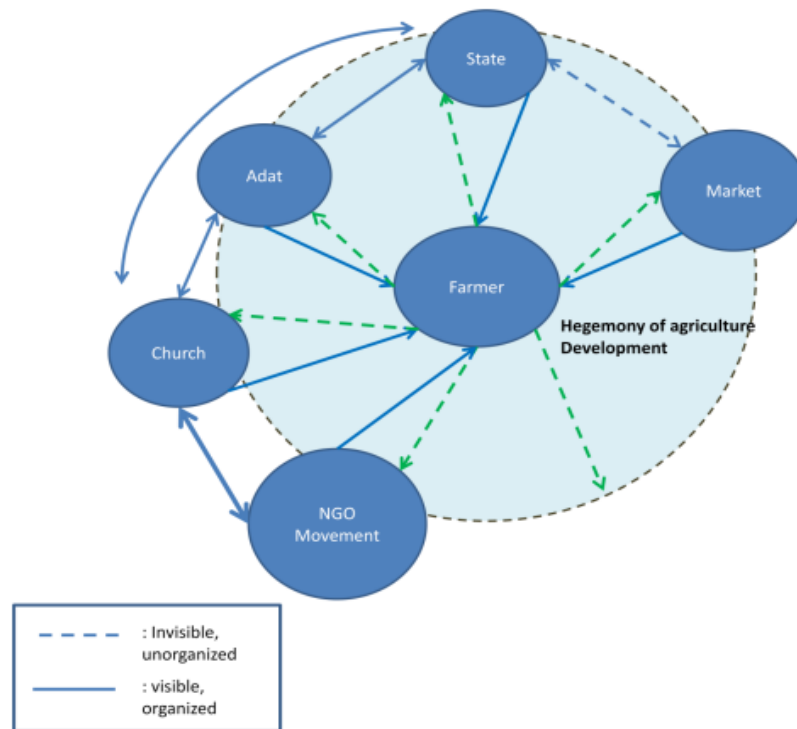


FIGURE 5 FARMER ENGAGEMENT MAP

In the map above, we can see that several actors influence the farmer. *Adat*-farmer relations are represented by the way of life and locality in the four villages and the overall dynamic of Flores Timur. The relation between these actors are 'support' and 'compliance'. Farmers have preserved *adat* for as long as they can. *Adat* is not only present as rituals per se but is also part of an effort to guarantee a good harvest. In Ratulodong, farmers start their planting season with rituals. They believe that *adat* brings rain and keeps away famine. They plant the seeds after rituals even though there is no rain yet. They believe that if the elders start the rituals, it guarantees that the rain will fall soon. The *adat*-farmer relation may vary among villages. In Kawalelo, farming rituals are not strictly followed by the farmer. Kawalelo farmers only hold rituals on special occasions, for example during severe drought or famine. Kawalelo adopts customary land arrangements but in daily life, they are getting more individualist. For example, they do not prefer working together in the traditional farming groups. In Serinuho, *adat* rituals have become a hindrance to farmer activities. Farmers comply with *adat* and follow it strictly. They cope with *adat* by borrowing land in the less strict neighboring villages to expand their farm. In Pajinian, farmers also show support and compliance, but the rituals are less strict.

The church-farmer relationship is mostly symbolized by the faith, Sunday mass, priests, charity and figures or statues of Jesus on the wall. Most of the farmers are religious. They go to church on Sunday and follow the celebrations. The priests are among the most honorable people in the village. Religion is the lifeline to people, giving them hope in their uncertain environment. The Catholicism in Flores Timur is slightly different as it has been acculturated with

adat. They believe in Jesus but follow local belief rituals at the same time. The Catholic Church has existed before the Indonesian republic was born. The church elite here has almost the same power as *adat* leaders or government officials. People most likely obey their words and embrace them. There are two reasons identified for the priest's power among people: faith and charity. Farmers obey maybe because of faith but also the opportunity to get charity from the church. There is a polite joke in the community that priests are known as "sakramen or sak semen" meaning, a sacrament or a sack of cement.

Almost all farmers engage in the modern market economy, from the smallest aspects such as trading and money, to setting up businesses and small investments. They try to comply with the market. They have also modified the term 'market' into 'hybrid trading'. Actual practice in the market involves not only cash but also barter trade. Farmers commonly trade their crops directly with other things. Barter trade significantly decreased due to more products being produced outside of Flores Timur, making it difficult to appraise its value. Since farmers and traders prefer cash to barter trade, the needs for cash increase. Communities become more dependent on money and cash for trading. The relentless promotion of modernity on television drags them into an even more monetized community than before. People with money and wealth are considered among the most respected men among society, or *ata kabelen*.

The contest is between the newly arisen actors in agriculture such as the NGO with a food sovereignty discourse and the state agricultural development regime. The growing debate on the theory level of these two approaches is apparent and creates a black and white dichotomy. In fact, in the everyday life of a farmer, these debates are a blur, intertwined and shady. Those for food sovereignty are utopians while the agricultural development regime is hegemonic. However, I shed light on these debates from farmers' responses.

Relation between access, resource and response of the farmer

There some important points that make each village differ from one another: accessibility and proximity, education status, infrastructure, water availability and dynamic livelihood strategy. I recap all the differences and similarities below in Table 1. I put all the contexts and categorize their responses to the conservative power, food movement and government agricultural program. This table is for giving a plausible connection between context differences and also the diversity of farmer responses. They consist of roughly the same ethnicity, language groups and social structure, yet the response is diverse.

Characteristic	Village			
	Ratulodong	Kawalelo	Pajinian	Srinuho
Differences				
Access	Public transport, motorcycle, rental car	Motorcycle, rental car	Boat, motorcycle	Rental car, motorcycle taxi
Distance from	28 km	25 km	15 km	54 km

capital				
Infrastructure	School, medium clinic, asphalt road	Elementary School, small clinic, dirt road	Elementary school, small clinic, wood boat, ferry, road	Elementary school, small clinic, heavily damage asphalt road
Water availability	Available all year around, community managed distribution	Limited, well, Distributed water from outside, scarce	Individual well, and communal well, average availability	Abundant, available all year around
Possible natural usable Resource	Cash crops, forest product, vegetable,	Fisheries, livestock, limited cash crops	Cash crops, fisheries, vegetable	Cash crops, fisheries, forest product, vegetable, fruit
Poverty rate (BPS, 2015)	12.3 %	13.6 %	26.3 %	16.5 %
Livelihood strategy	Cash crops farmer, lumber, forager, vegetable farmer, unskilled labor, migrant worker	Cash crops farmer Fisherman, trader, livestock farmer, trader, migrant worker	Cash crops farmer Fisherman, trader, vegetable farmer, migrant worker, unskilled labor	Cash crops farmer, vegetable farmer, fisherman, migrant worker, unskilled labor
Land arrangement	communal land, abundant	Communal land	State law (propertied land) and communal land Semi communal land	Communal land
challenge	The information and choice	Water and Access	Limited Land	Adat and tradition, clans conflict
The farmer response Adat	support, compliance	Support, compliance	Support, compliance	Modification Resistance
The farmer response	Support, compliance	Support, compliance	Support, compliance	Support, compliance

Church				
The farmer response Market	Compliance and modification	Compliance and modification	Compliance and modification	Compliance nad modification
The farmer response to state agricultural program	modification, resistance	compliance modification,	modification, resistance	Compliance, modification
The farmer response to local food movement	Support, Compliance	Compliance, modification	Compliance resistance	Support, compliance
Similarities				
Local power holder	Adat, state, church shape the power dynamic in four villages, in all the villages I found some level of discontent with local power.			
Ethnicity and language	They all use the same local language, complementary to Bahasa			
Social structure	All villages are divided into clans, landlords and commoners, but in daily practice there are no visible differences or privilege			
Farming technique	All the farming techniques here refer to small-scale traditional family subsistence farming.			
Capitalism and market	All villages have incorporated and are influenced by the capitalist system and global market through different instruments such as money, market economy, development program, media, and education.			

TABLE 1 VILLAGE COMPARISON`

The differences among these villages and their farmers are obvious. Some of the interesting similarities I found in the four villages is that all of them still maintain small scale, traditional family subsistence farming methods. They manage the land according to the annual family needs of food and cash. They produce food and cash crop commodities at a small scale level. There is no big industrial agriculture in Flores Timur. There is no visible action against government agricultural programs, but in daily practice the farmers show discontent through subtle and mundane actions. The *adat*, state and church combination shape the dynamic of power in these four villages. There are differences in the mode and level of engagement but overall they are strongly related to these three power holders. The differences in local setting, history, experience of the development process, and personal experiences have created different farmer responses toward a growing discourse.

They always try to express their discontent and dissatisfaction toward accusations from outside. The farmers prove that they can survive and continuously find middle ground by orchestrating power around them to work towards their intention. Farmers do not take visible, formal political action or open confrontation; rather, they use their land and livelihoods as a living process of struggle. The process itself is hidden but shows effective influence on the bigger structure.

After examining stories and categorizing their responses and contexts, I found several points that cause farmers in different villages to respond differently to the power contest and food discourse. I argue that the more limited the resources and the access, the more likely the farmer is to show compliance and an opportunist attitude. They start to show resistance towards anything beyond their reach if they do not have any surpluses or access to resources. Kawalelo farmers facing water, food and cash scarcity due to climate and limited access illustrate this opportunist symptom. When the situation gets worse, such as losing land, people show a resistance attitude. Pajinians show this attitude of resistance.

Kawalelo's communal land arrangement makes the land abundant and accessible to everyone. Kawalelo's customary land is a hurdle for land commoditization. On the other hand, Pajinian no longer uses customary land arrangements due to transmigration. They adopt the state land, which opens the opportunity to land selling. If the ability to retain the land is low, for example because of poverty and increasing cash needs, the Pajinian people start to sell land. Decreasing land ownership have worsened the livelihoods of Pajinian. They become traumatized and start a defense and resistance mechanism to protect their limited resources.

Pajinian, located in the Adonara, has a long history of clan conflicts. Land disputes are one of the primary triggers of conflict. The descendants of warring clans usually mark their territory carefully; Pajinians cannot borrow or use land outside of their territory. This condition worsened the land scarcity among the Pajinian. The situation is slightly different in another village like Serinuho. Their ability to manage the land was limited due to the lavish and complicated adat rituals, but they can borrow or rent abandoned land in the neighboring village without any consequences. The Pajinian people show the effect of a high poverty rate, as they are the poorest among the four villages.

Ratulodong farmers show the opposite narration. I argue that the more abundant the resources and access, the more the people are accepting of an alternative discourse and the more articulation there is in their livelihoods. Ratulodong has enough water and land resources and access, so they can generate enough food and cash. These conditions support the growing of critical ideas towards the choice of livelihoods. They have the opportunity to experiment with new techniques and crop varieties because their needs have been relatively secure. They show the "middle peasant" attitude. Their relatively successful development strategy is to adapt their livelihood to the current discourse, articulating the market economy while conserving their traditional way of life.

Defining food sovereignty versus food security in Flores Timur

In this chapter, I define food sovereignty and the food security discourse in the Flores Timur context. Holt Giménez's (2010) *The Food Regime—Food*

Movement Matrix helps describe the dominant trends in the food system according to the politics, production models, tendencies, issues and approaches.

	Corporate Food Regime		Food Movements	
<i>Politics</i>	Neoliberal	Reformist	Progressive	Radical
<i>Discourse</i>	<i>Food Enterprise</i>	<i>Food Security</i>	<i>Food Justice</i>	<i>Food Sovereignty</i>
<i>Main Institutions</i>	International Finance Corporation (World Bank); IMF, WTO; USDA (Vilsak); Global Food Security Bill; Green Revolution; Millennium Challenge; Heritage Foundation; Chicago Global Council; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Feed the Future Campaign	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); FAO; UN Commission on Sustainable Development; USDA (Meerigan); mainstream fair trade; some Slow Food Movement; some Food Policy Councils; most food banks & food aid programs	Alternative fair trade and many Slow Food chapters; many organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; CSAs; many Food Policy Councils and youth food and justice movements; many farmworker and labor organizations	Via Campesina, International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty; Global March for Women; many food justice and rights-based movements
<i>Orientation</i>	<i>Corporate</i>	<i>Development</i>	<i>Empowerment</i>	<i>Entitlement</i>
<i>Model</i>	Overproduction; corporate concentration; unregulated markets and monopolies; monocultures (including organic); GMOs; agrofuels; mass global consumption of industrial food; phasing out of peasant and family agriculture and local retail	Mainstreaming/certification of niche markets (e.g. organic, fair, local, sustainable); maintaining northern agricultural subsidies; "sustainable" roundtables for agrofuels, soy, forest products, etc.; market-led land reform	Agroecologically produced local food; investment in underserved communities; new business models and community benefit packages for production, processing, and retail; better wages for ag. workers; solidarity economies; land & food access	Dismantle corporate agri-foods monopoly power; parity; redistributive land reform; community rights to water and seed; regionally based food systems; democratization of food system; sustainable livelihoods; protection from dumping/overproduction; revival of agroecologically managed peasant agriculture to distribute wealth and cool the planet; regulated markets and supply
<i>Approach to the food crisis</i>	Increased industrial production; unregulated corporate monopolies; land grabs; expansion of GMOs; public-private partnerships; liberal markets; international sourced food aid	Same as neoliberal but with increased medium farmer production and some locally sourced food aid; more agricultural aid but tied to GMOs and "bio-fortified/climate-resistant" crops	Right to food; better safety nets; sustainably produced, locally-sourced food; agroecologically based agricultural development	Human right to food sovereignty; locally sourced, sustainably produced, culturally appropriate, democratically controlled focus on UN/FAO negotiations
<i>Guiding Document</i>	World Bank 2009 Development Report	World Bank 2009 Development Report	International Assessment on Agriculture Science Technology and Development	Peoples' Comprehensive Framework for Action to Eradicate Hunger

TABLE 2 MATRIX FOOD MOVEMENT-CORPORATE FOOD REGIME

From the matrix above, the NGO consortium can be categorized as a food movement by highlighting their orientation, model and approach to the food crisis. I doubt that the rigid categorization between radical and progressive in the table can represent the complex maneuvers in the everyday operation of the NGO consortium. Hence, further classification of the food movement is irrelevant in practice. For example, the NGO consortium works on agro-ecologically produced local food to increase farmer and consumer choice, hence improving their bargaining position over the agro-food corporations. I take the categorization between corporate food regime and food movement, but I reject any further classification of the food movement. I believe that one organization can be part of a food sovereignty project as long as the organization or the people show an opposing attitude, action and strategy towards the corporate food regime.

Food sovereignty

I argue that the NGO consortium in Flores Timur is part of a food sovereignty project. According to the Nyeleni Conference (2007):

"Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their food and agriculture systems. It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation."

The food sovereignty project led by the NGO consortium fights against the accumulative and oppressive attitude of the corporate-state regime toward farmers and local food diversity. The state tends to be facilitator and collaborator of the very structures and policies that the food sovereignty movement seeks to dismantle (Edelman 2013). The NGO consortium's primary focus is re-introducing local varieties such as sorghum, along with other local varieties of corn and dryland rice. They give the farmer confidence with their seed and make them more acceptable and respectable. The NGO consortium minimizes the vulnerability of farmers exposed to globalization and the neoliberal agenda. Food sovereignty gives a visible sign of whose side is worthy of being picked.

Food sovereignty is an ongoing process, is always open to articulation and is free from oppressive framing. In the case of Pajinian, where farmers have limited land, the NGO does not try to force their vision of local food diversity. The NGO put their feet in the shoes of the farmer. There is no indication of forced inclusion even though the NGO program is not well perceived. The NGO tries as hard as possible to give choice to the farmer, but the decision must be carried out voluntarily by the farmer. Food sovereignty must continuously defend the interests of the most affected actors. The radical point of view must be put in the right condition and depend on the actors engaging with it. If the NGO faces the oppressive corporate state policy, they must be more radical. Otherwise, they will apply a strategy of compromise and a more gradual transformation. The purpose of food sovereignty is to bring about a democratization of the food system. Therefore, the organization must be consciously aware of this concept. They must give the farmer more room for articulation and the choice of livelihood. The food sovereignty project believes in the farmer's capability and knowledge, recognizing them as active political actors. Any NGO or institution that takes this notion as a core value must give farmers more trust and facilitate their voice, rather than claim their position and exercise the notion of 'trusteeship'¹.

Food security

In Table 2 above we can see that food security discourse is part of the corporate food regime. The position of food security is oppositional to the food sovereignty discourse Jarosz (2014) concisely explains food security:

Food security affirmed 'the right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food, consistent with the right to adequate food and the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger' (FAO,1996a, 1996b).

¹ the notion 'trusteeship as mentioned in Tania Li (2007) book's 'The Will To Improve' She explains that the pattern of trusteeship can be lead to hindrance and even detriment to farmers as beneficiaries, while failing to achieve the goals of intervention

There is three important notion in food security which mostly relate the cause of hunger with economic conditions e.g. poverty. The Key important notion of food security is trade which was resemble in several strategy, mobilization of technology and financeial to boost production, food aid as inclusive strategy to involve the poorest and who cannot afford food, also good governance in food supply, trade, and investments in agriculture productivity at international and national level (FAO, 2012; Paarlberg, 2002). If we reflect on this food security definition in the context of Flores Timur, we can see that there are several food security projects such as a state-backed agricultural development program, rice austerity for the poor program and the National Logistic Agency (BULOG). The state program on agriculture in Flores Timur is a repetition of the same program with a different name. The essence of the government program is the distribution of hybrid seed, chemical fertilizers and agricultural machinery. In 2015, the government launched a program called UPSUS PAJALE (meaning, "Special Effort for Rice, Corn and Soy). The state provides subsidies for farmers if they want to plant those commodities with techniques and supervision from the government. This program seems to be useless for farmers in Flores Timur, an area with unique terrain, climate, and farming habits. For example, the seed given to farmers there are incompatible with the land and are less preferable due to taste and limited storage capacity under the traditional supply chain. As for the state-provided agriculture machinery such as hand tractors and combine harvesters, these could not be optimally used by most of the farmers because their farms are located far away in the jungle or on the hillside. The corporate food regime as represented by government policy is intended for food enterprises rather than small scale farmers. The state frames the entire policy as a way to secure the food supply to keep stable prices. In the name of food, the state guarantees the accessibility and availability of food by using every law and instrument available. The state emphasizes trading instruments such as the national logistic agency and the regulated import of some commodities. The state perceives food as a commodity and the farmer as part of the production process itself. Thus, interventions to farmers are only in the form of input subsidies.

Farmers as people, livelihoods and ways of life have been undermined. Government intervention in agriculture as simply an economic activity means less focus on farmers as citizens and people. Their knowledge and voice are hardly heard; their political initiatives are considered worthless and sometimes even a threat. The state wants obedient farmers: those who follow blindly government policy on agriculture and produce more food for national interest. The farmer's critical voice is utterly silenced. The national interest conflicts in some ways with the farmer's livelihood choices. The national interest is, to some extent, infiltrated by elite and corporation interests. Schiavoni (2014) writes about food and political sovereignty in Venezuela, which fits with the Indonesian context post-Suharto regime:

"Although certain transformations have been made, the underlying structure of the state remains bourgeois in character. As long as that remains the case, 'We have to be clear that constituted power (of the state), and constituent power (of the people) are going to be in permanent conflict with one another."

The state forced consent to the choice of production. The state supports modern industrial-minded agriculture and frames the local agriculture system as

being outdated or backward. The state agriculture policy undermines the existence of small subsistence farmers. Thus they are neglected. One of the farmers in Pajinian, Nober (29), told me that hand tractors could only be used in the plains land which is very limited. As most of his land is on a slope near the hill, it was not possible to work with it. He continues that the tractor needs fuel and maintenance which means more cash. It is useless for a subsistence farmer.² The combine harvester also only can be used in wetland paddy farming, which covers less than 1% of all farming land. These types of subsidy only work for a few farmers but are useless for the larger part of the farmer population. The budget for an agricultural subsidy is also only advantageous for the hybrid seed producer, fertilizer and agriculture machinery, which are mainly corporations. The corporation and corrupt system work together toward a hegemonic mechanism that eternalizes a symbiotic accumulation. Corporations get the capital, and the corrupt state gets power and farmer obedience. The food security strategy of the state is part of their way of upholding their responsibility as a nation-state. The problem is if this food security is hijacked by the interest of capital accumulation. Capital accumulation, through power accumulation, is the apparent enemy, not the state itself.

We must agree that part of the food security strategy works successfully in Indonesia, with the state controlling food imports tightly and using the special organization BULOG in every regency to intervene in the market. The state tries hard to make sure that people get accessible and affordable food by controlling markets at particular times. Food security mainly works in the form of trade intervention but with less attention to the production side. Places like Pajinian and urban areas that depend heavily on the market would be worse off if the state did not regulate the food trade. The government also provides a program on rice austerity for the poor as part of guaranteeing access to food for the poor. The rice austerity program shows short term but not long term advantages. The rice austerity increases dependency by interrupting local food trade. The very cheap rice makes the locally produced food less preferable, hence decreasing farmer motivation to farm, and trigger de-peasantization. The affordable prices are good for the farmer as a consumer but not as a producer. More farmers start to abandon their land and participate in the labor market.

Food security and food sovereignty contestation

A farmer in Flores Timur participates in the market with three interfaces. First, as a producer of commodities such as cashew nut, candle nut, coconut, candle nut and coffee. Second, as a consumer of products from outside such as imported rice, sugar, oil, flour, household appliances and toiletries. Third, the farmer participates in the labor market as a migrant worker. Although they are participating in the global market, they are committed to subsistence, the practice of agriculture and plant a limited number of local varieties. The contradictory position of farmers shows their ability to survive. They will keep subsistence agriculture alive as their culture, while following the trend of globalization and expansion of capitalistic development. The contestation between food security and food sovereignty in daily lives is subtle. Farmers in Flores Timur have been applying subsistence, low input agriculture and food production as their ancestral heritage. It is tightly correlated with their way of life and traditions. There were no

²Nober 5-12-2015

food rallies or food riots during the process of introducing the food sovereignty project. Food sovereignty has been embedded in the farmer livelihood. In fact, there are no big industrial agriculture corporations in Flores Timur and hunger is less likely found in Flores Timur. A farmer in Flores Timur is engaging with the local and global commodity market. There are no interest overlaps whatsoever. They just tried diversifying their livelihoods to have the little comforts that modernization offers.

Jarosz (2014) explains that the interrelation between food sovereignty and food security can explain the subtle contest in Flores Timur. She explains that food security and food sovereignty discourses are interrelated, not solely oppositional. Both discourses are dynamic, changing in relation to the wider political and cultural economies of food system dynamics across the scale. Both discourses have the same purpose which defend the human right to food, but they take different pathways. Jarosz argues that two discourses are equally important, referring to the cooptation of food sovereignty discourse into both international and national policy. For example, food sovereignty was mentioned in the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science, and Technology for Development (IAASTD) report, published in 2009. In this document, food security and food sovereignty appear as equally important concepts (IAASTD, 2009: 10) cited in (Jarosz, 2014). At the national level, she gives an example about the 'Belo Horizonte' municipal law in Brazil, which includes food sovereignty in the food security policy.

She admitted that there was still substantial tensions between the two, namely between the legitimating of social and scientific knowledge and the differences between genetic modification of plants and animals and agroecology (Jarosz, 2014). She rejects the singularity of a food sovereignty definition due to the diversity of context, political economy, scales and the variations in cultural values and traditional food ways.

Regarding Jarosz's point of view about the interrelatedness between food sovereignty and food security, I agree on some points but reject some others. I agree that there is interrelatedness and plurality of food sovereignty definitions. I reject the simplification of the tension between the two discourses into mere technological and knowledge differences. Jarosz fails to give examples or further explanation about contesting state interests and farmers/consumers in the food sovereignty discourse. Interrelatedness fails to explain the reproduction of oppression at the farmer level, such as land grabbing and silencing of farmer political expression.

Jarosz's example of food sovereignty in the Belo Horizonte national food security policy is urban bias and undermines the diversity of practices in other areas. She admits the weakness of the conclusion. I shed light on the relation of food sovereignty to national policy and the implementation of policy at the farmer level in Indonesia. In 2012, Indonesia Government launched the new food law, UU no. 18/ 2012. Food sovereignty is included in this food law along with food security and food self-sufficiency.

In this bill on food sovereignty, food self-sufficiency and food security are presented as being interrelated and complimentary. The implementation of this bill was never easier. The agricultural department under Joko Widodo's regime interpreted this law by launching the UPSUS PAJALE program (seed, fertilizer and

agriculture machinery subsidies for rice, corn and soybean growers), food austerity and trade interventions. These three programs clearly indicate which discourses are dominant. Neoliberalism and capitalism have a dominant influence on state implementation. Local food development and all related programs are under-prioritized.³ The phenomena shows that hegemony works towards state apparatus as a political society and civil society, as Gramsci stated. The state and government are also affected by hegemony, hence they systematically defend the dominant idea in the name of citizen interest. Food sovereignty has been co-opted and twisted as political populism to silence the crowd and maintain the status quo. I found the obvious example of this phenomena in Flores Timur. Farmers in Pajinian remain marginalized, displaced and trapped in debt because of limited land. The food sovereignty project by the NGO consortium is always undermined by a state official. The government agricultural policy never fundamentally changes. Food sovereignty debate is going to the next level. Food sovereignty must expand beyond its comfort zone to avoid cooptation, populism trap and blunt action. Food sovereignty must always evolve to keep its 'alternative' character.

Revisiting food sovereignty

Food sovereignty always comes as an evolving alternative. Growing debates about food sovereignty are not only fought in academia or activist forums but also in farmers' everyday lives on the farm and in daily conversation. For me, food sovereignty is the simple labeling of all efforts directed to fight the global hegemony of neoliberal and capitalism food development. Food sovereignty is a powerful idea and concept that can drive thousands of people to fight for it. Any attempt to abuse the food sovereignty agenda to serve certain interests will be noticeable. Any distortion and deviation of its goals would be visible.

The idea of food sovereignty became so powerful and appealed to many supporters because the concept as it is known today was conceived of, not in the halls of power, but out of struggle and resistance (Schiavoni, 2014). As the movement grows, challenges and contradictions continuously emerge, coming from the beneficiaries of the movement and the state. Food sovereignty implementation in Flores Timur triggered several responses from farmers. The response is subtle and embedded in everyday life but shows obvious tension. In Pajinian village, food sovereignty project is partly refused. They do not follow advice from the NGO consortium to plant more diverse local crops, especially sorghum. However in practice, farmers grow local corn and local dry land rice as their main crops. The reason behind this is the multi-functionality of these crops and the limited land. If they grew corn and rice, farmers can easily choose between consuming the crops or selling it in the market. There is always market demand for those crops. When the price of local corn and rice is higher, they prefer to sell them in the market and buy the cheap rice provided by the government. Otherwise, they consume the crops instead. Pajinian is the poorest area among the four villages where I conducted my study. One of the notable differences between Pajinian and the other villages is the type of land law. Pajinian has adopted state propertied land law while the three other villages (Kawalelo, Ratulodong, and Serinuho) still recognize customary land law.

³ initial RS, national fsa

From the Pajinian case, we see that the state's role both benefits and limits the food sovereignty effort. Shattuck, Schiavoni, & VanGelder (2015) present some contradictions:

(Bernstein, 2014; Patel, 2009) argued the different interests of small-scale farmers and different classes of rural landless workers cannot easily be reconciled between attempts by local activists to create food systems that are relatively autonomous from the whims of the global market and organized campaigns to change state policy and motivate institutional support for small farmers (Clark, 2013; Edelman, 2014; McKay, Nehring, & Walsh-Dilley, 2014); between proposals championing communal vs. individual rights (Agarwal, 2014; Claeys, 2014); and between a focus on making trade more fair and efforts to build autonomous local food systems (Bacon, 2015; Burnett & Murphy, 2014)

The tension is the nicely decorated daily operation of food sovereignty dissemination in Flores Timur. All contradictions are part of bigger theoretical and practical debates about who or what is 'sovereign' in food sovereignty. Edelman (2014) argues that different visions of food sovereignty, whether incompatible or complementary, have implicitly located the sovereign in different places, among them the nation-state, the region, the locality, or the people. The urgent task is how to think through and then face the political and policy challenges that the different understandings of food sovereignty imply (Edelman, 2014).

Some scholars suggest that multiple sovereignty in food sovereignty could be the key to entangle the contradictions that emerge (McMichael, 2008; Schiavoni, 2014; Iles & Montenegro de Wit, 2014; Shattuck et al., 2015). Multiple sovereignty arises by applying the perspective diversity in the movement practice rather than a single point perspective, which is possible in the context of globalization. McMichael (2008) as emphasized by Schiavoni (2014), argues that:

Corporate globalization generates the circumstances in which the modern form of sovereignty, while still relevant to counter-movement politics, is challenged by alternative forms of sovereignty. Transforming sovereignty into a "relative rather than an absolute authority" (Brecher et al., 2000:44) cited in (McMichael, 2005:591). He elaborates elsewhere that, 'Instead of the single-point perspective associated with the modern state, these movements practice a multi-perspectival politics asserting the right to alternative forms of democratic organization and the securing of material well-being through multiple sovereignties based on cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability (McMichael, 2008:39)

In the Flores Timur context, multiple sovereignty may be apparent. We can find it in the differences of land law arrangements among villages. Kawalelo, Ratulodong and Serinuho have kept the traditional customary communal land law arrangements while Pajinian recognizes the state land law arrangement. The diversity of law in one regency shows the existence of multiple sovereignty. The single view of nation-state sovereignty is incompatible with the Indonesian and Flores Timur case. There are two probable answers to this phenomenon. The first is the probability that Indonesia has failed to enforce nation-state sovereignty because of the lack of governance and resources. The second is that Indonesia is a country that builds upon a diversity of sovereignty. Any effort to respect and balance the nation-state sovereignty and other existing internal sovereignty will be

useful for maintaining the national sovereignty of another country – hence the existence of the Republic in general. I follow the second thesis because of some evidence in Indonesia's constitution and the recent phenomenon about land law. The Indonesian national motto, "Bhineka tunggal Ika", means Diversity in Unity. Indonesia's founding fathers knew very well that diversity is the principal entity of Indonesia. This slogan was ignored under Soeharto's dictatorial regime, which thrived on uniformity rather than diversity. After the regime fell, the national slogan was restored as a fundamental value for governing Indonesia.

In 2001, the decentralization bill was passed. This law shows other evidence of recognizing the sovereignty of local government. The recent momentum of multiple sovereignty is related to the acknowledgment of custom land law and traditions by the national law. In 2012, several tribal communities sued the government to recognize tribal and traditional land law. The tribal and traditional communities won this case against the government in the constitutional court. The Constitutional Court of Indonesia released the verdict of no. 35/PUU-X/2012 on customary lands and forest. In this verdict the constitutional court agreed to recognize customary law in historically acclaimed tribal territory (AMAN, 2013). This example reflects some interesting insights about state sovereignty. State sovereignty becomes a 'malleable and "negotiable" power which particular movements, peoples, or communities can seize, create, oppose, or reshape as against the state, cities, corporations, and other sovereign actors' (Iles & Montenegro de Wit, 2014 cited in Shattuck, Schiavoni, & VanGelder, 2015). Food sovereignty involves creating and sustaining these multiple sovereignties and turning sovereignty itself into a relational form and a process (Iles & Montenegro de Wit, 2014). This relational view of sovereignty is similar to the Gramsci idea of superstructure which consists of political society (state) and civil society as not being hermetically sealed spheres. They are different ways of approaching power in a given conjuncture (Anderson, 1976; Hoare & Nowell-Smith, 1971 cited in (Shattuck et al., 2015). The deconstruction and demystification of sovereignty brings a fresh angle to scrutinize the struggle of the food sovereignty project versus the corporate food regime. The hegemony of the corporate food regime only can be responded to by reasserting that the opposing idea (food sovereignty) also has hegemonic characteristics that are continuously evolving. Food sovereignty must have enough flexibility to engage multiple spaces, histories, everyday life, identity and history, institutions and civil society without losing meaning, integrity and its original essence. Schiavoni (2014) argues that asserting the notion of sovereignty in food sovereignty can be useful for stepping into the new arena of struggle, which is:

"To defend the very integrity and original essence of food sovereignty against possible cooptation, distortion, and weakening; to ensure that the marginalized are in fact in the driver's seat; and to ensure that food sovereignty remains a living, breathing process and not a reified set of norms. The adoption of food sovereignty into state policy, then, calls for a redefining of the terms of engagement between state and society."

The shift relating to the scale in the food sovereignty movement is already underway. The question of local and global, small or big and top-down or bottom-up often appear in academic theory, but are somehow irrelevant with development on the ground. The distinction of the scale in ground implementation is still mostly vague and blurry. Iles & Montenegro de Wit(2014)

argue that relational scale emerged more strongly in the debate of food sovereignty, with respect to the relational view of sovereignty.

The relational scale is defined as the spatial and temporal relations among processes at different levels, as well as the processes connecting elements within levels (Schiavoni, 2014). She explains that the relational scale in food sovereignty is indicated by the shift from the term of boundaries such as local-global or national and international to a term of relationship. The shift is already underway in Flores Timur. The food movement in Flores Timur is recognized as part of a national network of NGOs and identified as part of a successful attempt of a food sovereignty project in Indonesia. The recognition of the local diversity of food and its potential are mentioned in the new food law number 18 in the year 2012. Progress in technology such social media, transportation and Internet is able to diminish the boundaries. For example, any information and local achievement or problem can be responded directly in real time by the national or even the international public through social media and the Internet.

If sovereignty is multiple, and scale was relational, then non-linear and non-hierarchical change is possible. Iles & Montenegro de Wit (2014) argue that social movements are complex adaptive systems. The food sovereignty movement in Flores Timur, along with other smaller movements, came together across space to reach a critical threshold. For example, the food movement works with farmers to create a successful practical implementation of food sovereignty at the local level, then works together with national and international networks of NGOs and institutions to create a critical mass to push the state to include and implement a food sovereignty policy. Indonesia food law no. 18 the year 2012 was one of the results of this change. Although the lower and local levels of government have no response to the food movement in Flores Timur, the critical mass has succeeded in including the food sovereignty discourse in the highest food law in Indonesia. This movement became a part of the best practices and building block of critical mass, together with similar movements from all over Indonesia, to put pressure on authorities to pass the new bill.

Conclusion

The food sovereignty project must re-position their relation with the state and its food security paradigm. The hegemonic character of the corporate food regime affects both political society (nation-state) and civil society (farmer, NGO, market). Thus, re-positioning the relation of the state is important. The state has the potential to facilitate equality and farmer welfare just as they facilitate the corporate food discourse. Gramsci's theory of hegemony becomes relevant for deconstructing the state-farmer relation. The food movement needs to incorporate more collaboration rather than remain oppositional towards the state.

Food sovereignty must continue to evolve and expand without losing its soul. However, the success indicators of the food movement lies in the people themselves. The real success of food sovereignty is not when food sovereignty successfully becomes national policy and mainstream jargon, but when the farmers/consumers feel the advantages of food sovereignty. Most of the farmers accept the market economy with all its rationality, so food sovereignty needs to be flexible and prepare for a broad range of actions and contradictions. Almost all farmers participate in cashew plantations, which have an export orientation and

represent the corporate food regime. Contradictions and debates on sovereignty will always exist at every level. This contradiction must be addressed wisely.

Among other important findings of the research, the land law arrangement appears repeatedly as a critical determination towards the successful practical approach of food sovereignty in the everyday life of a farmer. Land rights and the right to recognize customary communal land law arrangements are an important distinctive condition for food sovereignty to succeed. Villages with customary land law arrangements perceive support on food sovereignty. On the other hand, villages with a state land arrangement is less likely to perceive food sovereignty. It is clear that land rights have become one of the prerequisite requirements in the struggle for food sovereignty. However, more research needs to be conducted to isolate what is it about land that contributes to food sovereignty.

I agree with some food sovereignty scholars to employ the concept of multiple sovereignty and 'relational scale' as vantage points to address the contradiction and growing debate. These two concepts are relevant to my findings in Flores Timur. In Figure 18, I give an illustration of how the earlier food policy came up as a way to maintain national sovereignty towards other country and caused farmers to fall into a 'squeezed' position. The state becomes oppressive for the Indonesian context as it happened during the Soeharto era. In this trajectory, the state is vulnerable and fragile due to the hegemonic agenda of the ruling class. They become oppressive in the name of national sovereignty and use it as a tool to maintain order and obedience, to accommodate the interests of the ruling class as well as the nation. For example, the green revolution in Indonesia undermines the small scale farmer and supports the corporate food regime. The political value that perceives food as a weapon might simultaneously invoke national control over a country's food supply and productive resources, implying a more state-centric vision of sovereignty, and people's control internally, in a more popular vision of sovereignty (Shattuck et al., 2015).

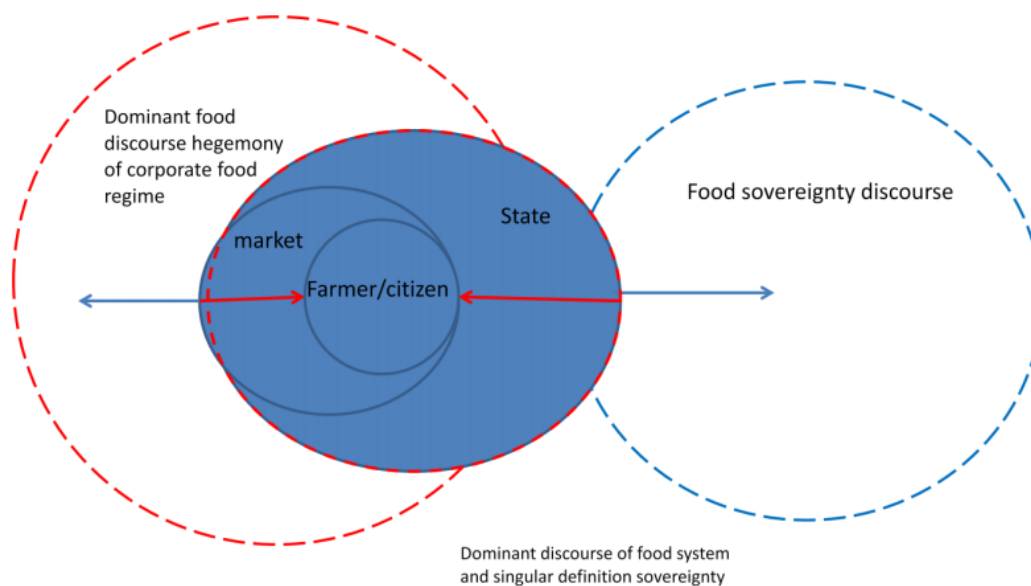


FIGURE 6 EARLY FOOD SOVEREIGNTY SCHEME

The second shift happens when the state becomes weak, causing boundaries to open as seen in Figure 19. Hence, the market is no longer controllable and sometimes even overcomes national sovereignty itself.

Disintegration and privatization worsens the impact on farmers, as they are squeezed between the market and state interest. Multiple sovereignty starts to gain traction because of disagreement and dissatisfaction towards the status quo. Food sovereignty discourses open room to discuss internal sovereignty among interest groups such as NGOs, and private and local actors. Farmer political capacity is inhibited and becomes less respected. When the notion of trusteeship is enforced, farmers are perceived as actors who passively influenced and victimized.

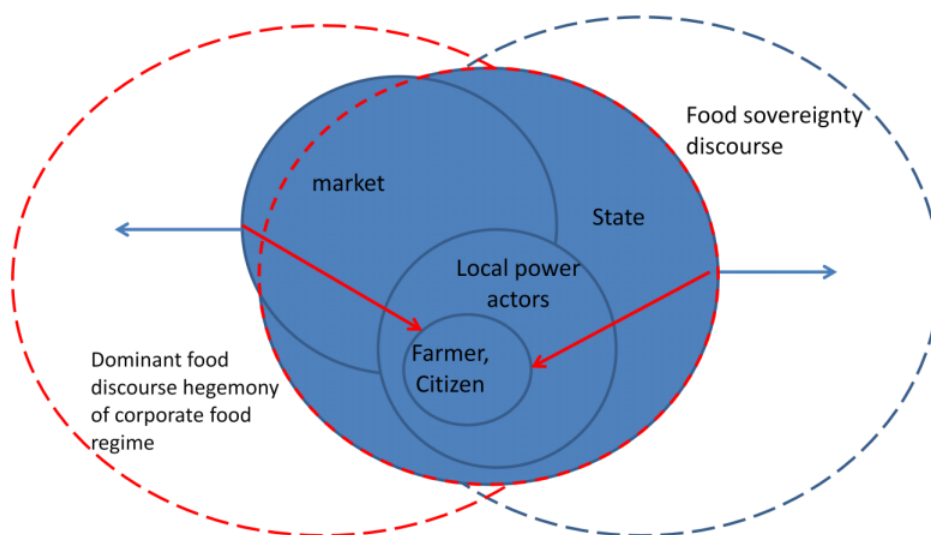
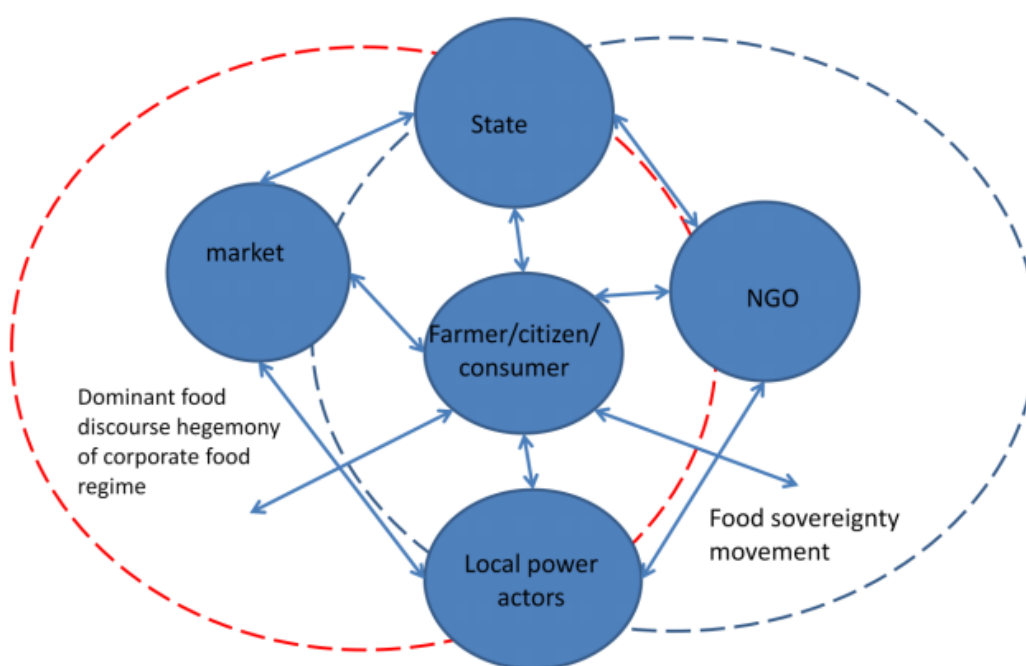


FIGURE 7 THE NEXT SHIFT : MULTIPLE SOVEREIGNTY

The third is the relational view on sovereignty and scale, as shown in Figure 20. The democratization of everything has recognized farmers as active actors in the debate of food sovereignty. Farmers are recognized as being equal to other actors. They are directly related to different sovereignty actors across space. The state-sovereign is contested and perceived as relational rather than restrictive. These are the next contests that the food sovereignty project should face, embrace, pursue and maintain in the future.



Multiple sovereignty and relational scale

FIGURE 8 MULTIPLE SOVEREIGNTY AND RELATIONAL SCALE

Contradictions in ground implementation has always existed and is respected by the food sovereignty project. The practice of food sovereignty in the ground is more complicated than written in the theory. The farmer tries to accept food sovereignty while complying with the dominant discourse as a day-to-day survival strategy. Instead of choosing one discourse, the farmer keeps diversity as a strategy to survive: diversity of crops, diversity of pathways, diversity of actors and diversity of strategies. The farmer believes that more diversity affects their resilience and reduces the possibility of predatory domination towards their livelihood.

The Flores Timur food sovereignty movement must be compatible with the next debate of the discourse. They must be able to move beyond their comfort zone. They need to be flexible, to reach more stakeholders participating in this growing discourse, all while maintaining the greater vision. Food sovereignty implementation in Flores Timur rejects a singular definition of food sovereignty and deconstructs scale as being relations instead of boundaries. The Flores Timur food movement gives the ground practical evidence about the alternativeness of the food sovereignty discourse. Food sovereignty continues to evolve and provide a powerful framing to trigger further opposition not only towards the corporate food regime, but also any oppression and domination that does not acknowledge diversity.

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Nazioarteko Hizketaldia

ELIKADURAREN ETORKIZUNA ETA NEKAZARITZAREN ERRONKAK XXI. MENDERAKO:

Mundua nork, nola eta zer-nolako inplikazio sozial, ekonomiko eta ekologikorekin elikatuko duen izango da eztabaidagaia

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24 / 26 de Abril, 2017. Palacio de Congresos Europa. Vitoria-Gasteiz. Álava. País Vasco. Europa.

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