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**Shaping Aspirations:  
Insights of Young Farmers Life Trajectory in Pinrang  
Regency**

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*Rumi*

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## List of Acronyms

ALSINTAN	<i>Alat Mesin Pertanian</i> (Agricultural Machines)
BPPSDMP	<i>Badan Penyuluhan dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia Pertanian</i>
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> (Central Bureau of Statistics)
EU	European United
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GEMPTA	<i>Gerakan Pemuda Tani Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Young Farmers' Movement)
HKTI	<i>Himpunan Kelompok Tani Indonesia</i> (Indonesia Farmers' Group Association)
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
KEMENTAN	<i>Kementerian Pertanian</i> (Ministry of Agriculture)
KRKP	<i>Koalisi Rakyat untuk Kedaulatan Pangan</i> (The People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty)
KTU	<i>Komunitas Tani Unggul</i> (Briliant Farmers' Community)
KPM	<i>Komunitas Petani Mandiri</i> (Independent Farmers' Community)
KTNA	<i>Komunitas Tani Nelayan</i> (Fisheries and Farming Community)
KTSS	<i>Komunitas Tani Sulawesi Selatan</i> (Farmers Community in South Sulawesi)
MENPORA	<i>Kementerian Pemuda dan Olahraga</i>
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PPL	<i>Penyuluh Pertanian Lapangan</i> (Agriculture Field Instructor)
POKTAN	<i>Kelompok Tani</i> (Farmers' Group)
SOUT	<i>Struktur Ongkos Usaha Tani</i> (Agribusiness Cost Structure Survey)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

## **Abstract**

This research paper is about examining the aspirations of young people who became farmers in particular area – Pinrang regency in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Through conducting semi-structure interview with life history approach combined with participant observations, this research abled to generate the life trajectory of six respondents from different background, age and gender. By looking at life trajectory of six respondents, where the three amongst them are member of a farmers' community, this research found out that inter-generational contract do contribute on negotiating young farmers' aspiration, all the more where the family institution appear to be the sole source of welfare for young people. While on the other hand, intra-generational dimension through the locus of a farmers community namely KTSS, helps to enhance their aspirations wherein farming still be taken into account on their future endeavour.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

The study of young people and agriculture in Indonesia helps in understanding why young people turn away from agriculture, as well as the importance of access to the land for agricultural regeneration. Notwithstanding recent studies, the examination of young people's experiences and trails toward becoming farmers still offers tons of opportunities for further exploration. By focusing on young people, in this case rural young people in region of Pinrang, who are trying to or already are farmers, researchers could explore how they overcome the barriers and realize their aspirations to become farmers.

Rather than breaking frequent references to young people as both (or either) potential and threat for development, this research is more inclined to giving insights as to how young people as a constrained agents of development (re)negotiate their positions in relation to others in particular spaces – agricultural sector in rural area. This sector is often a subject of development interventions. Through such realization of young people's insights in rural-farming, especially how their social positions and roles shaped their farming-aspirations, this research could give references to policy makers and development agents to further take into account agricultural regeneration problem using relational and generational approach.

## **Keywords**

Young farmers; young farmers' network; aspirations; life-trajectory; agricultural policies; Indonesia

# Chapter 1

## Introduction: Young Farmers and the Future of Agriculture

The world's agriculture is facing problem on generation succession (White 2015:330). The farmers in many countries have been ageing, while a number of rural young people in agricultural sector has been decreasing worldwide (Mills 2016:79), evident in both Global North and Global South. Canada, for instance, has been facing drop in its young farmers (under 35) from 11,5 percent to nine percent between 2001 and 2006 alone (Mills 2016:79). In United States, 61 percent of its farmers are 35 to 64 years old; while only six percent are under 35 years old (USDA NASS 2012). European countries (members of the European Union) are also witnessing the same trend, where between 1990 and 2012 the percentage dropped from nine percent to six percent (European Commission 2012). Countries in the Global South share the similar trend: the ageing populations of farmers and diminishing numbers of young people involved in agriculture (Sumberg et al. 2012; Tadele & Gella 2012; White 2015). The trends above showed the indication of rural young people turning away from farming.

The phenomenon of rural young people leaving farming is often linked to the issue of youth (under)employment and migration (Mills 2016; Tadele & Gella 2012). It is correlated with rural young people's decision to migrate from the village. As current smallholder farming could not provide better incomes due to decades of government neglect (White 2015:332), young people repeatedly decided to migrate to find better jobs. Particularly in the context of employment, there are paradoxes that even though the rates of rural youth unemployment are high, young people are not interested in farming (Proctor & Lucchesi 2012 in White 2015:331). This was despite the (smallholder) farming still positioned as a big employment sector (White 2015; White 2016, Sumberg et al. 2012).

As a country with a prominent presence of children and young people in its population<sup>1</sup>, it is relatively hard to see the trend of Indonesia's youth employment due to the different framing of youth. For example, Ministry of Youth Indonesia used the age-ranges 18-35 years<sup>2</sup> to give evidence of approximately 12 percent of urban and 20 percent of rural youth unemployed (Naafs & White 2012:5) – based on the data of BPS. However, if we used another statistic by International Labor Organization, the statistical evidence became slightly different as the age range is 15-24 years old<sup>3</sup>. The statistics of agricultural activity also shared the similar issue. Non-governmental organization such as Oxfam Indonesia pointed out that 60.8 percent of farmers<sup>4</sup> were about 45 years old and

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<sup>1</sup> around 67 million out of 255 million (UNFPA 2014, 5 in Naafs & Skelton, 2017:5)

<sup>2</sup> It is based on the definition of youth in Draft Law (Menpora n.d., pp 30, 36 in Naafs & White, 2012:5).

<sup>3</sup> 23% of urban and 33 % of rural youth (Menpora 2008, in Naafs & White, 2012:5) It is based on the United Nations definition of youth (UNESCO, 2017)



above (Prasetyo, 2016). Moreover, the data from SOUT in 2011 revealed that the majority of food crops farmers<sup>5</sup> were above 30 years old, occupying around 96.54 percent of total. To take it any further, the agricultural statistic also shows the data of 24 million male farmers and around 7 million female farmers (BPS 2013), showing the huge gap between both of them. Amidst the multiple definition of youth (different age categories) and farmers (no official clear definition), juxtaposing official statistic data of Indonesia's youth employment and youth involvement in farming mentioned above helps to illustrate the paradox. Program Director of Economic Justice Oxfam Indonesia stated how the decreasing numbers will have implications on the declining availability of domestic food products (Prasetyo 2016) – indicating the problem itself has gained spotlight in development concern.

In the past years, there has been indeed an increasing attention to the young people and agriculture – from the NGO and research, as well as the Indonesian Government. In 2015, KRKP has done research on the different desires of regeneration of farming in Indonesia (KRKP 2017). Recently AKATIGA also put attention of the economic and structural issues that affecting the young people aspirations as well as their attitudes for the possible farming in the future (White, 2015:331; Ambarwati, et.al, 2016:11) – as a part of larger research project that focusing in young farmers and their aspirations – a study in 4 countries: Indonesia, India, China and Canada (Owen, 2017). The current Indonesian government itself started to mention the issue of young farmers regeneration in Indonesia in 2014. It is mentioned in the vision, mission and action program of President Joko Widodo, expressed as “Nawacita”<sup>6</sup> in May 2014 during the era of presidential election. Although not mentioned directly in nine goals, it was mentioned under the agenda no.7 on building food sovereignty.

Outside Indonesia, there has also been growing attention on the generational renewal in agriculture in the international policy as noted in recent policies report (FAO 2014; IFAD 2010 and 2011). However, only when the regeneration issue in the agricultural sector be taken seriously that its importance be taken full consideration on the future of rural young people and agriculture (White 2015). The agriculture stands in between further enlargement of the large-scale industrial agriculture under corporate investment and the smallholder family agriculture that provides more livelihoods and more sustainable modes of production (White 2015:331). It is then important to give further attention to young people and agriculture in development research as it relates to their livelihoods and the fate of rural population.

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<sup>4</sup> Oxfam Indonesia pointed out the statistic from agricultural statistic 2013 by BPS; and BPS does not explicitly define farmers; instead they only giving the definition of Petani Utama or *main farmers* that referred to the member of the family that has the most income out of all the members of the household.

<sup>5</sup> Food crop farmers referred to farmers who cultivated crops such as rice, corn, soybeans, peanuts, green beans, cassava, and sweet potatoes – those crops are considered strategic for fulfilling the food supply for community. (BPS, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> It could be roughly translated from Sanskrit as Nine Agenda for Change

## 1.1 Statement of Problem

The image of farming as well as the economic and structural issues are very much linked with shaping young people's aspiration in agriculture. Literature often framed aspiration as a "dynamic process that developed within and influenced by the context in which they are live in" (Anyidoho et al. 2012:20). Another way to conceptualise it are through looking at the reality that embodied particular aspiration, and contrasting 'hopes and dreams' from what is the reality (Anyidoho et al. 2012:20; Leavy & Smith 2010:4). Putting it in another way, aspiration could then be seen through what people 'expect' to achieve and what they 'desire' to achieve.

Based on that conceptualisation, aspiration is then partly affecting young people's life choices and outcomes (Anyidoho et al. 2012). However, young people's position in society and aspirations are very much influenced by the construction of youth. Within the society, young people are often being situated as a deficit of the adult state (Wyn & White 1997; Jones 2009). In Indonesian context, parents or adults are seen as the one that has more experiences in life than the young ones. Young people are expected to respect the perspective and values in life of their parents. As Wyn & White (1997:11) stated, young people are often framed as "requiring guidance and expert attention to ensure that the process of becoming adult is conducted correctly". It is then showed that inter-generational dimension gave the nuance that young people's action or life choices are not merely happening in a power vacuum.. Their aspirations are then being influenced by the nexus of expectations from parents or adult-kinship, their personal beliefs and the social constraint and opportunities (Anyidoho et al. 2012).

It is interesting to find out why in the midst of the trend of declining numbers of young people involved in agriculture (or in other words, becoming farmers), there are still young people who chose to be farmers instead of migrating and finding other jobs outside rural areas. Moreover, the fact that it is mainly dominated by male also gives the nuance of how gender dimension is one of social relations that should be taken into account on this research. As study done by KRKP suggested, there is a tendency of rice-field farmers not wanting their children to follow the same path they took: pursuing occupational choice as farmer. It then leaves a questionable space, whether the parent's aspirations related in any ways to young people's aspirations in farming.

## 1.2 Research Question and Objectives

The objective of the research is to investigate young people's trajectories of becoming farmers to understand their aspiration in farming. Through this research, the inter- as well as intra-generational dynamics plays an important part as it is relevant in shaping and negotiating individuals' (young people) aspirations. The inter-generational aspect is significant as it relates to the kinship-relations that influence how young people establish themselves. Subsequently, the intra-generational dimension here is investigated through the community of farmers, in which the protruding members are young people. Through the locus of the youth group, the social interactions and the dynamic within the group could add another unique layer in investigating young people's aspirations and ordeals. Thereupon, the nexus between the dynamics within the youth groups and the households in individual's relations is significant in investigating the aspiration and pathways of becoming farmers.

South Sulawesi is known as one of the largest producers of rice in Indonesia, with most of the farmers in that community are rice-field farmers. In this province, there is a community of farmers named Komunitas Tani Sulawesi Selatan (see chapter 3) that is considered as young farmers' community. The research itself was conducted at the level of the community of farmers in the region of Pinrang, South Sulawesi, as it is a location where the rice-field farmers within that community are more apparent.

The research question is:

**How do the aspirations of young people play role in their pathway of becoming farmers?**

Furthermore, to answer the main research question, the following sub-questions will also address the dimensions that affect the aspirations of young people.

1. To what extent the inter-generational contracts influence young people's aspiration to become farmers?
2. How does the interaction online and offline within the KTSS affect young people's aspiration to become farmers?

The researcher responds to above sub-questions on the following chapters of this paper. Chapter 2 discusses the conceptual framework used for this study, while Chapter 3 presents the contextual background as a foundation to understand the narration of this research paper. A brief information about Pinrang as one of the rice-producer regions in South Sulawesi, the historical context related to the formal farmers' group (*poktan*) as well as the farmers' community named KTSS that lean on Facebook for their networking in order to draw the case study of Pinrang would be discussed in detail in the third chapter. Chapter 4 contains two dimensions, the inter- and intra-generational dimensions that influence how aspiration is shaped and formed. The kinship relations and the peer group connection and networks are examined further in the fourth chapter. Lastly, Chapter 5 presents the conclusion of this paper.

## **1.3 Methodology and Ethics**

As the research specifies a-typical case, the qualitative approach is chosen to conduct in-depth research and to give light on the multi-faceted and complex issue in its real-life context. A case study in Pinrang region, South Sulawesi was carried out for about two weeks in two separate time periods. The first one was conducted on 30 July – 2 August 2018, while the second period took place from 6 to 16 August 2018. During the first field research, the researcher was in the company of her mother as she initially had no place to stay yet and was still new to the area. This situation, where a mother insisted on accompanying her daughter, already confirms the idea of children and young people as a non-fixity status. This dynamics could be more apparent considering that the researcher is considered an adult in terms of age, but was still treated a child that needed guidance by older people (Wyn & White 1997; Jones 2009).

The companion of both the mother and Maahda brought several influences that need to be reflected as it shaped the researcher's positionality, the way the field-research was conducted and the way people perceived the researcher.

1. It affected the duration of the field research in Pinrang. As the mother was coming along, both stayed in a hotel nearby the city center, not allowing them to stay longer

than the initial plan of two to three weeks. It then resulted in the need to conduct the field research in two phases (first for four days, then 10 days), with researcher staying in a villager's house (used as a post of Community Service Program of college students) on the second time. The brief period staying in the field gave little room for the researcher to pursue proper reflections on the methods and approaches during the field-research.

2. It influenced the researcher's positionality. The mother's company on the first day was salient as she also came in to the Agriculture Office with the researcher as well as in the first meeting with the Head Chief and Bento. The power relations also appeared when the mother tried to dominantly initiate and divulge the researcher's basic information, particularly her affiliation with a foreign educational institution as a student. This enhanced the researcher's status as an outsider (from urban city) as well as a privileged person through the mother's conversations with the people there. In another side, the privilege that were exposed then contributed to the researcher's credibility as perceived by people in the community. Undoubtedly, this helped to have easier access to officials and to KTSS activities as they were pleased to welcome someone with certain backgrounds who gives attention to Pinrang's agriculture in general and the KTSS group in particular.

### 1.3.1 Methodology of the Research

The qualitative research methodology applied is composed of qualitative interviewing, participant observatory and literature study. The researcher used life-history approach in conducting semi-structured interview with total respondents of six people. The semi-structured interview focused on the early involvement with agricultural activities, education choices or background, employment, opportunities and experiences (Locke et al. 2008 in Locke et al., 2012). The respondents were selected after the four-day observations and conversations with Officials and young farmers from KTSS. The approach used in choosing the respondents are based on (1) life trajectory, as the older they are the more varied their life trajectory would be, (2) gender, (3) membership to KTSS. Amongst the six respondents, three of them are members of KTSS and have distinctive backgrounds as well as pathways or trajectories. The other three are from another part of Pinrang (Cempa district) located around 10-13 km from the house where the researcher stayed.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the Officials of Agriculture and Horticulture Pinrang: the Head Chief and two officials of agricultural instructors (*Penyuluh Pertanian Lapangan*). The interview with Head Chief was conducted to generate further information on the local government's support and efforts to address regeneration issue on agriculture. Meanwhile, the interviews with two other officials were conducted impromptu, only when the mother initiated and encouraged the researcher to interview them, in which the researcher only responded in respect the mother's attempt. Additionally, the researcher gained insights on the social as well as agrarian context of Pinrang region. Coincidentally, both of the officials were also members of KTSS, providing the researcher with general information of the group prior to meeting the other members. It turned out that officials, especially PPL, have been instructed by the Head Chief to join the Facebook group (see Chapter 3).

Secondly, the participant observation and literature study serve as complementary methodology. The researcher employed participant observation method, both offline and

online. She conducted the offline observation by living in Pinrang (Paleteang district), helping her build general understanding of how things work in Pinrang, particularly on rice-farming activities as well as KTSS offline activities (gatherings). Moreover, this method generated general ideas about the cultural context – an important part when conducting ethnography approach. The online observation was conducted by joining the KTSS Facebook group, completer since May 2018. Through observing online activities of the members, the researcher gained insights on how they interacted within that platform and what topics they often bring up in relation to rice-farming in particular. Here, the researcher drew the empirical data in triangulation with what people said. Lastly, the literature study method was also added to broaden as well as support empirical data gained through respondent observation.

Notably, the goal of this research is neither a statistical representation nor an attempt to generate a generalization of trajectories of young farmer population within Pinrang region (Abbot 2007; Hammersley & Atkinson 2007:32). Rather it is to understand their own perspectives and experiences on being a farmer – giving further insights through their life trajectories. Herewith table 1.1 is the list of the respondents.

**Table 1.1 List of Respondent**

No	Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Relation with KTSS	Additional Information
1	Musakir	M	36	Non-Member and not familiar with KTSS	Sharecropping farmer, living with parents
2	Suwandi	M	24	Non-member, not familiar with KTSS	Sharecropping farmer, living with his wife
3	Riyad	M	17	Agribusiness student (vocational)	Living with his parents
4	Jannah	F	27	A Treasurer of KTSS Pinrang	Living with her parents
5	Bento	M	35	Admin of the KTSS Facebook Group, one of early member	Married and living with a parent
6	Asyari	M	34	Admin of the group	Married and have set up their own household

### 1.3.2 Ethical Protocol

During the fieldwork, the researcher decided to be open with the purpose and reason in coming to the region to gain trust and build rapport with the people, especially to those who inquired about her ‘sudden presence’ in that area. Furthermore, ethical protocols related to respondent’s confidentiality, transparency and respect were followed thoroughly during the research. Such ethical protocols are:

1. Respect the respondents’ personal time, space and information.

As Pinrang is the region where most people are Muslim and Buginese, the researcher tried to consider the cultural context in determining the appropriate way of making

contact. Contacting respondents a few days (or at least a day) before the initial meeting was observed at all times, as well as asking their permission to visit their houses. The researcher also considered the time and place: when to call or contact them through Whatsapp, or where to meet them. A small example is that every Friday, males always offer prayers in the Mosque and would often finish late afternoon. Hence, it is a common courtesy not to bother them during such time. Personally, the researcher tried to avoid making appointment on that day as they perform other activities that they should have done to make up for the time they used for Friday prayers.

## 2. Transparency and Confidentiality

Every respondent was given a general idea about the research topic, that is, to investigate the aspiration of young farmers through their life-trajectory. The researcher frequently stated to the respondents that she was interested in knowing how they ended up being farmers, or involved in agricultural activities. During interviews with them, the respondents were always asked for permission to record. Recording the interviews allowed the researcher to concentrate more on listening to their stories and make the interviews more like casual conversations, rather than taking notes. The researcher only took notes when it was necessary, for example to write down names and dates, or important stories, although the researcher stopped when they were talking. For instance, the researcher once made notes when a respondent was briefly going back to the house.

Furthermore, the researcher realized that the study requires digging deeper of their personal stories (background of family, their reasoning behind their life choices). Asking questions about such personal stories might appear to be intruding; hence she began the interview by asking casual questions and continued through the flow of conversations. The researcher also asked her interlocutors in the beginning and the end of each interview about their consent and approval of recordings. She made it clear that they could let her know if they changed their minds while the interview is ongoing. The researcher tried to be transparent by making it clear in the beginning that she would share their stories in the research paper, and would ask in which part of their stories should not be made public. Lastly, the researcher also stated that she would like to conceal their real names to avoid any unexpected problems in the future. Some of the interlocutors stated they were willing to be written as their real names; however, as the researcher did not attempt to have official permission through signed-letter, she deliberately used pseudonyms to mitigate potential problems.

## 1.4 Challenges

Conducting field-research with young people as the subject in Pinrang that the researcher is not familiar with positioned her as an outsider researcher. That status became more pertinent when she was invited to join a village meeting in Patampanua, where the audiences were older farmers who spoke mostly in Buginese. The language barrier was addressed as Maahda assisted the researcher throughout the fieldwork. Subsequently, the period when the researcher came to Pinrang (before the Independence Day of Indonesia, 17 August) also affected her field research. There were several events being held in the nearby soccer fields – where villagers came and watched all of the sports and cultural events. It reduced the time spent with respondents. The focus of research itself was proved to be a sort of challenge as the researcher had to build good rapport while also

trusting so that respondents would open up about their life stories. Particularly on this matter, the researcher tried to mitigate the challenge by keeping contacts with the respondents through Whatsapp and Facebook Messenger (see Annex 2); allowing her to cross-check and gain additional data through our communication.

Another apparent challenge was when the researcher attempted to make interactions with young people through interviews and FGD. A particular instance was when she attempted to conduct FGD in KTSS secretariat of Pinrang, located not far from where she stayed. There were 17 people, some of them were even from Sidrap regency. The researcher was welcomed by one of the KTSS members; he was one of the originators and the oldest one amongst us that was present – where he took charge of the meeting by welcoming me and initiating the discussion. Since he was taking charge, it was rather a delicate situation for the researcher as any effort to change the way the discussion was going on (from open discussion to FGD in smaller groups with young adults) might be construed as disrespectful, particularly as an outsider researcher. Nevertheless, this failed attempt here shows how conducting research with young people could be challenging, especially in the matter of bringing their own voices and opinions without ‘guidance’ from older people around them.

## Chapter 2

### Conceptual Framework

In most cases, government policies act in a manner that target young people through categorical approach, defining them based on their age. The age-based categories are also commonly used by UN agencies (youth considered as 15-24). Such approach does not only bring out the static nature, which would limit this study on young farmers, but also belies that youth (and children) identity is in “constant state of flux” (Hopkins & Pain 2007:288). Whereas, Bytheway (1995) and Edmunds & Turner (2002) delivered that identities of individuals and groups’ are dynamic, rather than fixity as those are being affected and influenced by the relations between different age or generation (as stated in Hopkins & Pain 2007). Researching young people requires the researcher to understand their position as youth, and how it is constructed as “a meaningful social, economic and political category” (White 2016:xi). It brings the researcher to Youth Studies, where they put emphasis on relational approach (Huijsmans 2016) – understanding young people not merely as a subject of research that stands alone, but taking into account the dynamic relationship of youth and others (such as adults), in social structures and reproduction (Naafs & White 2012:3).

Relational approach is significant in this research in order to be cognizant of how being and becoming youth is subject to historical and cultural processes (Wyn & White 1997:10) It helps this study to integrate the relations between young people and adult relations as the basis of social structure; compared to categorical approach (Wyn & White 1997: 12). As the aim of the research is to investigate the pathways or trajectories of young people, the use of categorical approach will only allow the researcher to “overlook the continuities linking past, present and future.”

Having mentioned those above, the concept of generation to highlight both the inter- and intra-generational dimensions of young people’s life were derived from Youth Studies. Importantly, other key concepts such as aspiration and life trajectory are also explored here. Life trajectory in Youth Studies connects with the construction of youth transition and is beneficial to articulate the data from life-story approach. Meanwhile, aspiration as a concept is prominently useful to understand what it means by aspiration and how it is embedded in young people’s pathway of becoming and being farmers with the nexus of the generational dimension. Herewith this chapter, the analytical framework is presented to provide analysis on this paper.

### 2.1 Understanding Generation

The concept of generation has various interpretations: through kinship descent, life phase or generation as “principle for structuring society”, and also through Mannheimian cohort (Huijsmans 2016). In general, as a concept, generation helps to locate the position of young people in a larger structure of society where they live. Particularly in this research, the researcher intends to examine their position not only in a community they are embedded, but also at a family or household level. Hence, this study cemented the analysis on understanding generation through first kinship descent, and Mannheimian cohort to underpinning both inter- and intra-generational dimension.



In relation to young people's life-history as well as their relations with their family members, kinship descent interprets generation as parent-child relations (Xu 2015 in Huijsmans 2016) or siblings-interactions. Several literatures highlight the parent-child relations and how it plays out in various phases in everyday life; such as through inter-generational contract (Hoddinott 1992; Kabeer 2000; Whitehead 2007), while other using the concept of 'generational bargain' (Collard 2000). In this paper, the concept of inter-generational contract is utilized.

Inter-generational contract has been initially used to draw the focus on dependencies between generations conventionally conceptualized as young children, adult parents, and ageing grandparents (Whitehead et al 2007:5). The preposition is that young people also have their own agency, in which they may act upon their own decisions in regards to what they would like to do in their life (education and work for instance). However, the sites they are living and embedded in, particularly family where adult and ageing parents are part of their day-to-day interactions, are shaping young people's life decisions. Family and household then become a space where young people's life choices, experiences, aspirations being shaped, negotiated and contested – which sometimes viable with inter-generation tensions and even marginalization (Evans, 2014:abstract).

In Kabeer (2000:265) way of interpreting inter-generational contract, the notion of 'contract' is understood as the "shared understandings between family members as to what each owes and can expect from others within the family. Meanwhile, looking at Whitehead et al (2007:5) idea of inter-generational contract, the word contract is still being used, as to retain the idea of "a fixed and binding set of exchanges". Both are sharing similar ideas that parent-child relations are somewhat arenas of reciprocal implicit demands and responsibility and focusing on it rather than other kinds of interaction, "values and processes that affect everyday relations between parents and children"; give a nuance that both children and parent have their own agency, objectives and interests (2007:6). Kabeer (2000) argues that the essence of inter-generational contract is the *reciprocal* between parents and children – where parents already looking after their children and anticipate for future returns through their children's recognition of what their parents have sacrificed. Indeed, such expectation for future return is often times latently implicit, and may require the "act of faith" as well as "honouring" from parents and children side. Notably, the contract can also rely on the insurances that the "power lies with elderly in material, symbolic and emotional terms" (Kabeer 2000:465).

Another way to understand generation is through Mannheimian understanding, often termed as cohort (Huijsmans 2016:15). Mannheim developed the understanding of generation in order to discuss the sociological phenomenon that brought historical development. Through Mannheim way of understanding, in order for generation to influence the society collectively, first it has to share 'generational location' to which can be translated as a common year of birth (Närvänen & Näsman 2004). The generation location is important, as the common location in time and space hold a significant part in Mannheim's work (Närvänen & Näsman 2004:78). However, the generational location is a necessary grounding but not the sole criteria to explain the sociological phenomenon to happen. There has to be the generation as actuality and generational units. I read the generation as actuality resonates with how the subject participates in the issues of intellectual in that time, while consciously reflects on it (Närvänen & Näsman 2004). Meanwhile generation units speak to how the group of young people deliver different responds and experiences even within the same generation (Mannheim 1952:304 in

Huijsmans 2016:15). Hence, it can be concluded that cohort in Mannheimian idea is closely related to identity – where the group of people shared the common experiences, the same historical time as well as belong to the same ‘cultural and historical region’ (Huijsmans 2016:15). Notably not all cohorts could develop as ‘generation. For it to be happen, the sense of belonging is really significant – that “they do have a (common) sense for (a kind of knowledge about) the fact that they have something in common” (Huijsmans 2016:15). Not only sharing the consciousness, they also should be conscious of themselves as youth and act upon that consciousness.

## 2.2 Life Trajectory

The term pathways, life course and trajectory might complement one another in the usage of the terminology. A study about young people used the term life trajectories and analyzed youth transitions to understand these trajectories. Locke et al. (2012) provided the three approaches to youth transitions: the transition from school to work, the transition from youth to adulthood, and the vital conjunctures approach (Locke et al. 2012:778). The approach of school-to-work transition might help to track the completion of one’s study and the progression, to the subsequent employment (Locke et al. 2012:779). The second approach is the youth-to-adult transition, related to the economic dependency that is frequently being attached to adulthood. It contains multiple-axes of transitions, which include “school/occupation, family/matrimony, residence and citizenship” (Locke et al. 2012:779). Both approaches situated young people’s transition as coherent and not capturing the social dynamics that might occur, or as Johnson-Hanks termed as ‘totalising transformations’ (2002:865). The last approach, vital conjunctures seeks “beyond discrete rites of passage and vital life events” (Locke et al. 2012:778), as it also acknowledges the space for non-vital life events to constitute the radical transformation of an individual. This approach is utilized more in the research, as it posits both events and aspirations as part of the unit analysis – a quite different approach from two previously mentioned emphasizing on the process of entering one stage in life to another (school to work, youth to adult).

As an analysis, the vital conjunctures deliver a “new way of aggregating life history experience and thus working between the individual and the social” (Johnson-Hanks, 2002:866). It is an analytic concept that refers to zone of potential prospects or possibilities that arise around particular periods of potential transformation in individual life (2002:871). Johnson-Hanks (2002:878) delivered “vital conjunctures” to capture how people<sup>7</sup> navigated their anticipated or imagined futures in systematic way. Such potential prospects are of course not separated from social construction.

Vital conjunctures help in leveraging the composite of events in one’s life histories that might seem “negotiable and contested as well as ambivalence” in one’s life histories (2002:871). However, it is important to note that the contributing elements of a vital conjuncture are not necessarily in themselves “vital”, in the sense of having life-and-death importance. Some events might not appear vital, however when combined together create a crisis or conjuncture that might incite vital events (Johnson-Hanks 2002:872).

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<sup>7</sup> In her paper (2002; 2005), she focused on young Beti women in Cameroon.

Furthermore, in vital conjunctures Johnson-Hanks also offered the term ‘horizon of the conjunctures’ to capture the imagined futures of the subject (2002:872). Imagined futures here is translated to the possibilities of one individual perceive within the social construction where one is embedded. Here, then the strength of vital conjunctures as an analytical concept that allows us to not only highlight the past element of young people’s life trajectories, but also their ‘imagined futures’ within the socially constructed possibilities. Another thing to be noted is the conjuncture meant by Johnson-Hanks here is different with our understanding of events. Conjunctures has period of time and could bring multiple effects in different time frames while life-event is the outcome of itself and frequently instantaneous (Johnson-Hanks 2002:872).

## 2.3 Aspiration

Concept of aspiration embodied components such as what people expect to achieve and distinguishing both hopes and dreams from expectations (Leavy & Smith 2010:4; Anyidoho 2012:20). Aspiration could be defined as “an individual’s desire to obtain a status object or goal as particular occupation or level of education” (MacBrayne, 1987:1 as quoted in Leavy & Smith 2010:4). MacBrayne (1987:1 as quoted in Leavy & Smith 2010:4) also described expectations as “the individual’s estimation of the likelihood of attaining those goals, plans, ambitions or dreams”. Giving its social nature, aspiration is being adapted, formed, and shaped through interactions with other people; it is changing as the young people gaining new experiences and new information in the course of their lives (Leavy & Smith 2010).

As a concept, aspiration has its own challenge on being interpreted and employed in the research analysis. Several literatures provided such concept in different nuances. Leavy & Smith (2010) mentioned about educational aspiration and occupational aspirations. Both have the dimension of pragmatism: expressed through the definition of aspiration that embodied with future goals, wherein the willingness to invest time, effort and money plays important aspects. The willingness to invest is underpinned through the individual’s assessment of opportunities, constraints and risks – which then consequently will affect the choices one make through calculating several aspects mentioned above (Leavy & Smith 2010:4). It shared the similar sentiment with Zipin et al., (2013). However, the later one provided the analytical framework of aspiration based on the two underlying logics for aspiring: doxic logic and habituated logic.

Drawing the concept through the work of Bourdieu, Appadurai and Williams, Zipin et al. (2013) argued that the two kinds of logic tend to be prominent in interviews. First is concept of doxic logic, which could be translated as ‘common sense’ – that there are underlying way of thinking that seemed to be unquestionable, whereas through that unquestionable space the power of symbolic violence came through. “Grounded in *populist-ideological mediations*” (Bourdieu 1990 as quoted in Zipin et al. 2013:231), the doxic logic then universalizes the social construction of perspective and values, such as those who failed to achieve success as the result of ‘deficit’, ‘lack’ of aspiration or talent – ignoring the inequality aspect that might affect one’s attempt to pursue particular aspiration. For instance, when someone from low economic family tries to pursue tertiary education hoping to find better job in the future, following the notion of ‘human capital’, but then end up failing to pursue the academic goal, thinking that the failure is because of his/her

lack of talent. Such way of self-blaming is the other part of doxic logic, which keeps on continuing on reproducing the inequality.

Second is the habitual logic, “*grounded in biographic-historical conditions*” (Zipin et al. 2013:232). The habitual logic comes from the term *habitus* which means “a system of cognitive and motivating structures” (Bourdieu 1990:53 as quoted in Zipin et al. 2013:234). Habitus being constituted and emerged through the everyday practices, hence the disposition of habitus being embodied and embedded through the “immerse repetitive social practices and relations” (Zipin et al. 2013:234). It is often expressed through the self-limitation of the future possibilities, by calculating or estimating the probable futures that accentuate their given social-structural positions.

## 2.4 Conclusion

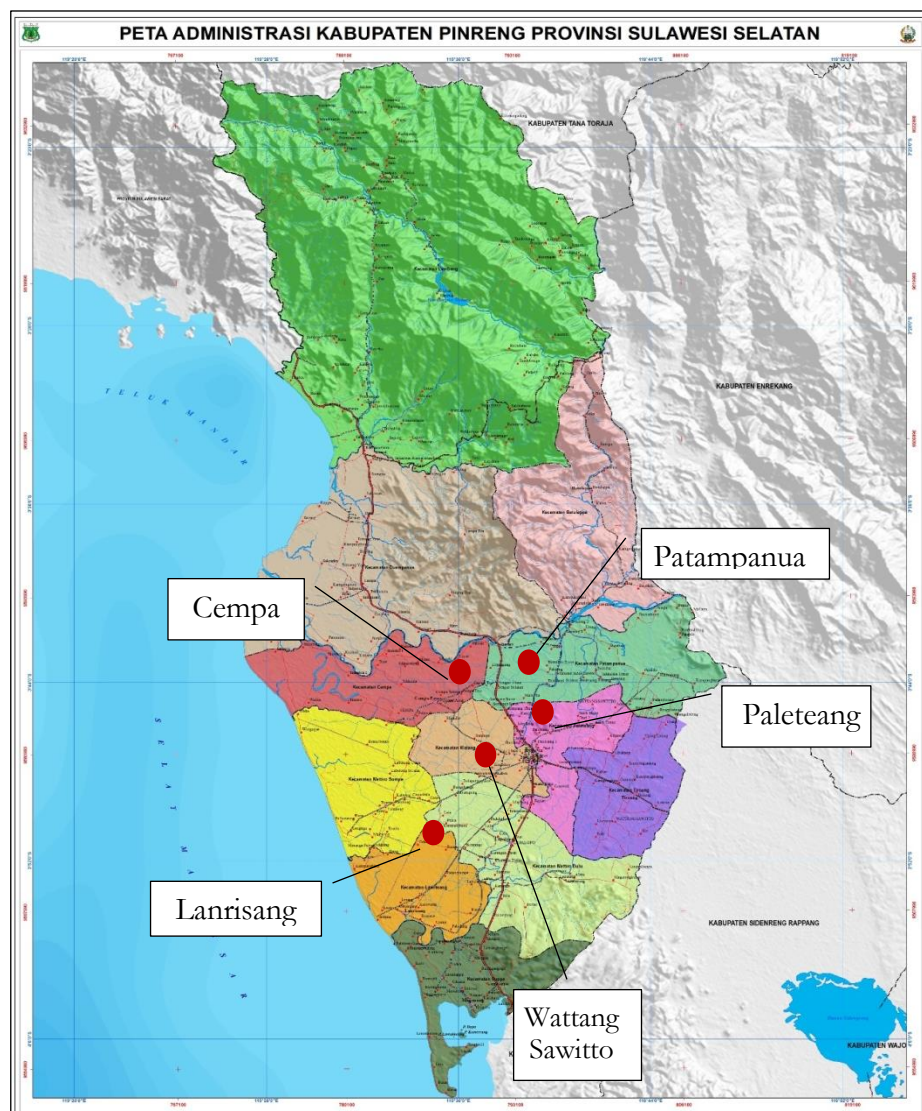
The aforementioned concepts will be utilized as a conceptual framework. The vital conjuncture concept helps to analyze the life histories of the six respondents, with emphasis on moments or conditions in the trajectory of the subject's life that have an influence on the opening of trajectories related to rice-farming. As it connects with the idea of imagined futures, it correlated with aspiration concept which is the unit analysis of vital conjuncture concept; along with events. The concept of aspiration will be helpful to understand the logic of thinking that the underlying actions and choices within the subject's life, their expectations and dreams, and their plan for the future. Finally, the concept of generation is to focus and reveal the position of young people in the context of family and farmers' network (KTSS) where they are embedded. Herein then inter-generational contract and also the Mannheimian cohort are expected to be able to attract and open the influence of everyday interactions between young people and their families and communities, and how it is then connected with the formation, negotiation, or change in aspirations.

## Chapter 3

### Setting the Case

In the province of South Sulawesi, Pinrang is one of the known rice producing areas aside from Sidenreng Rappang (known as Sidrap), Wajo, Bone and Soppeng regions (BPS Pinrang, 2018b:2). Administratively, Pinrang itself consists of 12 sub-districts, of which four of them the researcher visited during the field research, namely Wattang Sawitto, Patampanua, Paleteang, Lanrisang and Cempa (see yellow circle in Map 3.1). However, most of the field research carried out ranged around Patampanua and Cempa areas.

**Figure 3.1 Pinrang Regency Map**



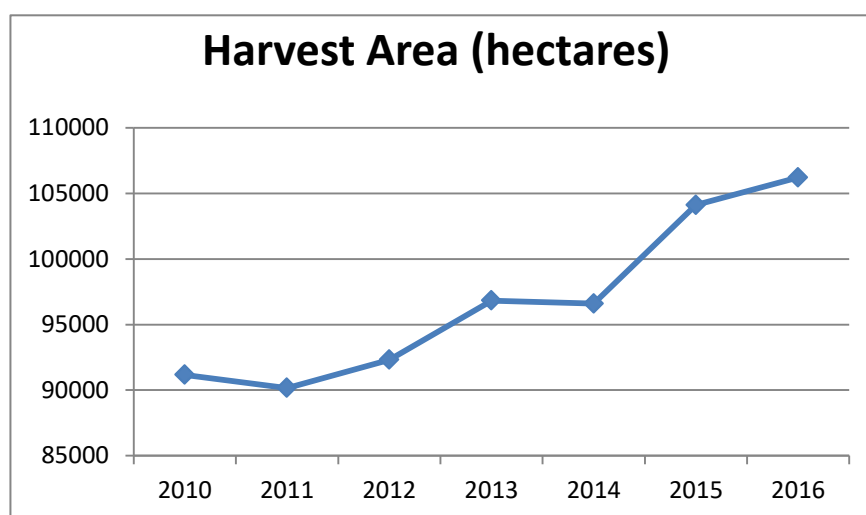
Sources: BPS Pinrang, 2018a

### 3.1 Pinrang as a Rice-Producing Region

The potential of agricultural sector in Pinrang regency is relevantly good as its land area is ideal for agriculture and plantation – wherein its topography consisted of both low and high land (BPS Pinrang 2018b:11), supporting the sector to grow as one of the relied local economic sector. Data recorded in 2016, agricultural sector has contributed around 48.67 percent of Pinrang GDRP. Aside from rice-fields, Pinrang also has three plantation crops with cacao, coconut and robusta coffee considered to be biggest commodities (BPS Pinrang 2018a:173).

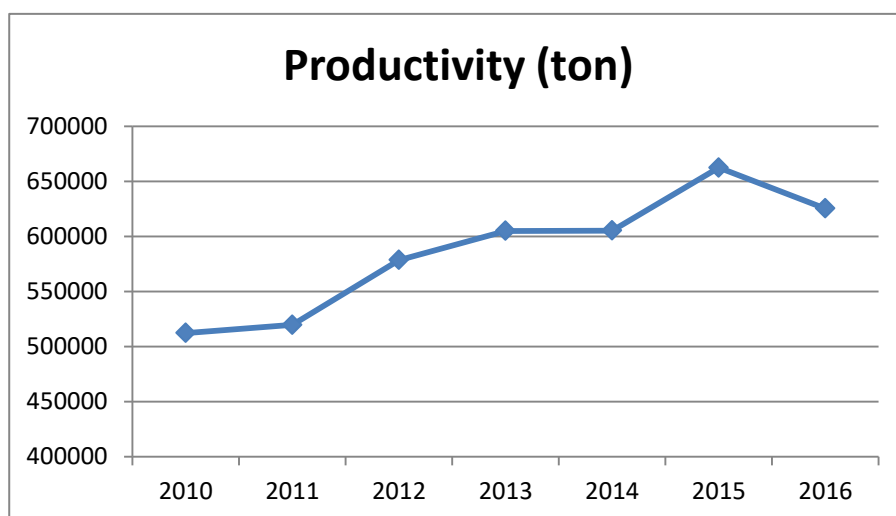
To see the trend of small-scale farming in Pinrang based on official data released from the government, it seems rather difficult because it uses the terms agricultural households. In the official agricultural census data released in 2013, Pinrang consists of approximately 47,000 agricultural households (BPS 2013:2); which shows the estimates of household where at least one of the members works in agriculture. The term agricultural households itself do not capture how young people and women contributed on the total of households on the census. Meanwhile, looking at the trend of agricultural productivity in the regency, over the past years, there has been gradual growth of total rice-farming harvest area and total of rice production. Although in 2016, the rice production slightly decreased despite the increase in total harvest area (see Chart 3.1 and 3.2). This growth could capture the central government's ventures on South Sulawesi, particularly Pinrang, to reach the goal of self-sufficiency for the past years. The slight decrease in 2016 was initially affected by the ambitious trial to harvest three times in a year; which brought several areas unable to cultivate rice properly because of access to water and explosive pest attacks (Interview 2 August; Fieldnotes 9 August 2018).

Chart 3.1 Total of Harvested Area in Pinrang Regency



Sources data: BPS, 2017

Chart 3.2 Total Productivity in Pinrang Regency



Sources data: BPS, 2017

Based on the official data in terms of percentage land use, Pinrang consisted of rice-fields (27.84 %), non-rice fields<sup>8</sup> (67.78%) and non-agricultural land (BPS, 2017:13). Notably, rice-fields types also differ based on its water sources. In the regency, there is only irrigation and rain fed field (BPS 2018a:177). Comparison in 2014, both types of rice-fields have been increasing. The data is seemingly supporting the statement by Head Officials of Agriculture and Horticulture (Interview 31 July 2018), that Ministry of Agriculture has been attempting to increase the agricultural land through land extension program. Moreover, as Pinrang is geographically located in Saddang River Area – area passed by the biggest river in South Sulawesi, it has stable irrigation system. Through such water resources system, the production of agriculture (rice-fields) in this area is not highly dependent on rainy season, making the farmers in the region able to have twice plantation seasons in a year – April and October.

Plantation seasons in the regency started by having a *Tudang Sipulung* (sitting and gathering to discuss) in the level of regency and districts. The heads of *poktan* and agricultural officials are participating in this to deliberately share the Plantation Calendar provided by agricultural authorities. The Plantation Calendar is important as it connects with the irrigation system and to ensure that the planting process is carried out on a scheduled basis; hence it could help mitigate potential conflicts or problems between neighbouring rice fields or fellow districts, which still appears now.

In trying to discern how women and young people play role in rice-farming, the researcher found out that they used to be involved in particular stages of farming as well as in traditional procession. First, their distinct involvement was during harvest seasons (see table 3.1), where women and young people used to work as harvest labour (Fieldnotes 31 July 2018; 11 August 2018), being paid for sickling the rice and threshing them manually. However, such role is in the verge of getting relace by the presence of combine harvester (Ambarwati & Harahap 2015:18). Second, the researcher found out that mostly they par-

<sup>8</sup> Non-rice fields is including plantations, gardens, pastures for grazing, state forests, and others.

ticipated in traditional procession. For example in *Mappadendang*,<sup>9</sup> traditional procession that considers common in Bugis culture<sup>10</sup>, women participated (more often housewives and older women) by wearing the traditional clothes while pounding the grain on a mortar with a wooden pounder in regular tone and tempo while singing songs in Bugis. Additionally, in Bugis culture, patriarchy is still held firm, especially because the Bugis community mostly embraces Islam, which putting husbands or fathers as the leader of the household. The inheritance within a Muslim and Bugis household also being distributed where male has more portion than female (Fieldnotes, 9 August 2018).

In terms of non-farming local economic activity, women can often be seen working as sellers or vendors in local market, where young women could be seen on the first floor of the Central Market mostly selling clothes; while the ground floor is mostly for staple foods and fruits largely sold by older women. If the official census of BPS is examined, occupation numbers of women are prominent in civil servants category as well as education and health sector (BPS 2018a).

### 3.2 Farmers Group and Farmers' Community (KTSS)

Through field research, the researcher found that there is also *Poktan*, a formal farmers' group and part of the institutions in rice-farming system in Indonesia. She came across this through conversations with various farmers who are apparently also included in *Poktan*.

Initially, *Poktan* and KTSS are different groups. First, on the historical context of establishment, both are different especially as *Poktan* is a formal farmers' group initiated by government. Based on several literatures, there are in total 17 existing institution in rural village level in Indonesia rice-farming system, and *Poktan* is one of them (Wahyuni 2003:2). *Poktan* in Indonesia has a long establishment history as it formed in the era of President Soeharto (1965-1997), where farmers' group became an integral part of agricultural development (Nuryanti & Swastika 2011:117). Such role then became more prominent in around 1979 and later in 1987 (*Gapoktan*) when several agricultural programs had been implemented (Pelita 2011). This is where government included an innovation that established a group of farmers to do related-farming activities in a group manner.

In contrast, KTSS is a community that was made in grassroots level and initiated by farmers, a bottom-up initiative. The community started as a group chat in Messenger Facebook around 2015, where five people were deliberating and exchanging information on rice-seeds. These five people were initially part of a farmers' group KTU in Facebook, where the main members were people from Java, and ended up grouping together to facilitate their interests on planting new rice-seeds from outside of South Sulawesi. Deliberately, they formed a sort of cooperative between themselves. They ordered different rice-seeds from different provinces in Indonesia through the connections they gained in Facebook group and later on exchanging the seeds between themselves, cutting the expenses quite immensely compared with individual orders of the seeds that they wanted.

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<sup>9</sup> *Mappadendang* also can be interpreted as singing and dancing, is a sort of thanksgiving party for the success of harvest.

<sup>10</sup> Pinrang is mostly occupied by Buginese, use Bugis language and a mixture of Indonesian in daily social activities (Fieldnotes, 1 August 2018)



As the numbers of respondents in the group chat increased, they then developed a group in Facebook platform where they could interact easier than in a group chat. This is when KTSS was created. In another side, the KTSS establishment is encouraging the members to form a connection with farmers from the same province, South Sulawesi, wherein they could interact with their own language and terms (mostly Buginese) – something that they do not experience in previous group where mostly people use Javanese language.

Looking with generational perspective, there are three differences between KTSS and the farmers' group. First, farmers' group is latent with gerontocracy where the core members are those who are ageing farmers, landowners or hold a higher social status in society as the head of villages. Frequently the ageing farmers already retired, hence they are not as proactive to the members as they are supposed to be. Secondly, the latent gerontocracy and the top-down approach of the group's nature affects the participation of young people. Some stated that their participation only matters when there is a need for cooperation to clean the irrigation channel. While in KTSS, such gerontocracy is not palpable. In online sphere, they could ask for guidance in farming through posting in the group, obtain responses from those who have more experiences. In social media, the pressure that they sometimes felt in day-to-day and face-to-face interaction is not apparent. Third, compared to the younger generation who grew up with the development of ICT, especially the growing use of social media (in this context Facebook), the older generation of farmers in *Poktan* is seen as outdated and rigid by younger generation - creating a generation gap. Lastly, the membership of the farmers' group is based domicile approach – several farmers that lived in same neighbourhoods would end up being in the same group, with a total cultivated lands 25-50 ha and has to be in the same neighbourhood (Head of Agricultural Officials, Interview 2 August 2018; Fieldnotes, 9 August 2018; Nuryanti&Swastika 2011). Meanwhile in KTSS, the membership is only based on whether you are part of the group Facebook or not, as it is a closed type of group that needs confirmation from the administrators to join. To obtain information of the demographic members is appear to be difficult; however the members range from various regencies not only in Pinrang, but from Wajo, Sidrap, Pangkep, Bulukumba, and Bone. Each of those regions then has a regional coordinator and regional board members. It does not cover the whole regency of South Sulawesi, unlike the name of the group.

Furthermore, the formal way of distributing supports and assistance by Agriculture Officials through *poktan* brought a dynamic where the initial supports are being owned privately by the core members of *poktan*; rather than being utilized together with all the members. Such supports given are distribution of free and/or subsidized fertilizers and seeds as well as *alsintan* (i.e combine harvester) (Head Chief, Interview 2 August 2018). Other supports in the form of training and mentoring such as *Sekolah Lapang* (Field School) where the topic ranged from organic fertilizers to technical practice on using *alsintan*; accessible only through representative of *poktan*. As the role and function of *poktan* has been seemingly decreasing, KTSS (in Pinrang) then exists and filled in the void especially for young farmers.

The KTSS group then served as a platform to deepen their knowledge in farming, which is no longer limited to only old technicalities but also cover new innovations in the input of productions – new type of seeds, trying to reduce chemical use and make their own organic compost or fertilizers, new way of plant the seedlings, etc. They became more aware of their input and cost of production, while aiming for better yield compare to the older generation that focus on continuing reproduction and self-subsistence

(Fieldnotes 31 July, 7 and 9 August 2018). Despite their constrained agency, as a youth group they exercised their collective agency by trying to make network with local government notably the Agriculture Officials, and the Rice Research Center. As their one member framed it as “fetching knowledge”, referring to their gatherings and visitations that held when the plantation season has passed. In their gatherings, sometimes they visit other member’s rice-field while also having a demonstration, for example on how to make organic fertilizer. Other times they are invited by representative of agro-company to attend a socialization of hybrid seeds in a plot of land served as a pilot project.

Although the dynamic within the KTSS is not apparent from my observation, the nature of KTSS that seemingly overlap with HKTI (Indonesia Farmers Concord Community) has been stirring discussion amongst the member, as it refers to the future goal of KTSS as a farmers’ community. The potential of being utilized as a market share for agro-business company to promote their agricultural products is possible, but it was mitigated by providing another group solely for those who wants to sell agricultural products. Nonetheless, there is still another potential of being steered into political realm, as happened with KNPI 1973 and Pemuda Pancasila 1980 (Naafs & White 2012:7).

### 3.3 Being Young and Being a Farmer

As a relational concept, youth then relatively connect with the cultures and the context in the region. Through field research, the researcher attempted to tentatively look at how the society perceive youth and observe the interactions. Jones argued that youth can be perceived as identity, transition, dependence, action and cultures (2009:27). One statement delivered by a farmer in the gathering the researcher attended was elucidating the perception of youth:

“There is also another young farmer, if it is him he is eternally young (laughing) because he does not want to get married” – Bento (Fieldnotes, 7 August 2018)

Such statement in the quote above conveyed how youth could be seen as a period where one is moving towards adulthood by embarking on another dimensions of life (Wyn & White 1997) – in this context of statement above such dimension is establishing one’s own household or entering marriage status.

Indeed, etymologically, the term ‘youth’ often referred to “the period between childhood and adulthood” (Jones 2009). However, ‘youth’ itself, along with other concept such as gender is a result of social construction and has its social meaning. In Pinrang, being adult or entering adulthood correlates with several criteria, that is by establishing livelihood and household as previously mentioned. Someone in the age of 36 years old can be considered an adult based on age. However, people there frequently categorize them as young if unmarried and/or still living with parents. It supports the argument of Jones (2002:2) that “young people can become adult according to one criterion but not another”.

On the other hand, one can be interpreted as young in relation with the people they interact with (Alanen 2001); . For instance, one of the respondents (35 year old) that already has family and financially independence can be interpreted as young men, in the context of his interactions with the neighbourhood farmers that are older than him. This was shown when the researcher went to visit Patampanua and met old farmers, who mentioned Bento when she raised the purpose of meeting young people. This old farmer saw Bento as a young man, as a generation below him – giving a notion that his seniority

created Bento's status as a young man. This can then explain and provide an overview of my list of respondents, some of which may not count as young people when viewed by age. But because young people are social status, the respondents can be justified in participating as respondents.

Several literatures that noted about young people's turning away from farming frequently refers the migration of young people from rural areas as one of the reasons for them to leave farming – as the potential of livelihood in farming itself is not seem to be promising for them (Rigg 2006:191; White 2015:332). In Pinrang region itself, the researcher noticed through her conversations with random people that young farmers can frequently be found easily. In the researcher's conversation with Riyad's mother while waiting for him from school in his terrace house (in Cempa), the mother expressed that almost everyone in the neighbourhood is young farmers as they do not have any other works to do in the village (Fieldnotes 6 August 2018). The owner of the house in which the researcher stayed (Paleteang), also stated around that there are still some young farmers around this area (Fieldnotes 9 August 2018); while in Patampanua, Asyari shared the similar statement.

During field research, the researcher came to understanding that farming and being a farmer is not a rigid term only for those who are indeed heavily involved in farming activities directly in the field. When the researcher had conversation during the initial introduction to the Officials, the Head Chief himself stated that he is also a farmer and owned rice-field (Fieldnotes 30 July 2018). According to an interlocutor (Fieldnotes 15 August 2018), the Head Chief owned around 80 ha of land which is mostly being cultivated by sharecroppers or wage farmers. Lenin offered the term of rich, middle and poor peasants in order to emphasise their relations to means of productions (Bernstein 2010). However, this research shows the association of farming and farmer through empirical findings. The various activities that are involved in cultivating rice in each stage posit the terminology of farming and being a farmer in a multi-faceted one rather than just about cultivating rice. The apparent difference between the Head Chief and Bento, for example, both stated they are farmers but the degree of their involvements into rice-farming activities directly is idiosyncratic. To put it into perspective, Table 3.1 below shows several activities in rice-farming based on the stages.

**Table 3.1 Activities related to Rice-Farming in Pinrang<sup>11</sup>**

No	Stages	Activites	Who Involved
1	Preparation for Planting	Cleaning the field after harvesting	Often done by the one who cultivated the land.
		<i>Ma'dompeng</i>	Young people frequently involve; either as wage labour or helping out their parents
2	Plantation	Direct Planting	There is a simple technology made by farmers to do this, hence all-age can perform it.
		Seedlings / <i>Ma'tanam</i>	Children often can be seen involve. Transplanter machine is very rare used especially for older farmer.
3	Cultivation	<i>Ma'kompur</i>	Frequently done by young people as well, though older farmers still do it themselves.
4	Harvest	<i>Ma'deros</i> or using combine harvesters	<i>Ma'deros</i> often done by female and young people. As combine harvesters has entered, female nowadays only involve in sewing the sacks of rice after being processed by the machine.
		<i>Ma'tassi</i>	Transporting sacks of rice needs strength especially if there is no farming road available, hence mostly done by young or adult male using motorbike. Though not often, some older farmers still use horse.

Source: Author's own elaboration based on field notes and interviews 2018.

From the table above, we can see how women and young people involvement in several stages of rice-farming. However, such role has been threatened by the agricultural mechanization, which being driven by government itself.

### 3.4 Conclusion

As one of the leading rice-producing regency in South Sulawesi, Pinrang has proven its growth of rice production for the past years. Despite the mechanization that has been experiencing in South Sulawesi in general, Pinrang still hold onto its traditional ceremony where women tend to involve directly. In regency where rice is the main commodity, the evaluation of farmers' group role supposed to be taken seriously by government, especially the latent of gerontocracy in the core member of the group, lessening the participation of young farmers. KTSS then serves as a bottom-up initiative that serves as a platform for mostly young farmers. Furthermore, in order to put a perspective and background for the subsequent chapter, being young and being farmer from society as well as empirical data obtained from field-research has been presented.

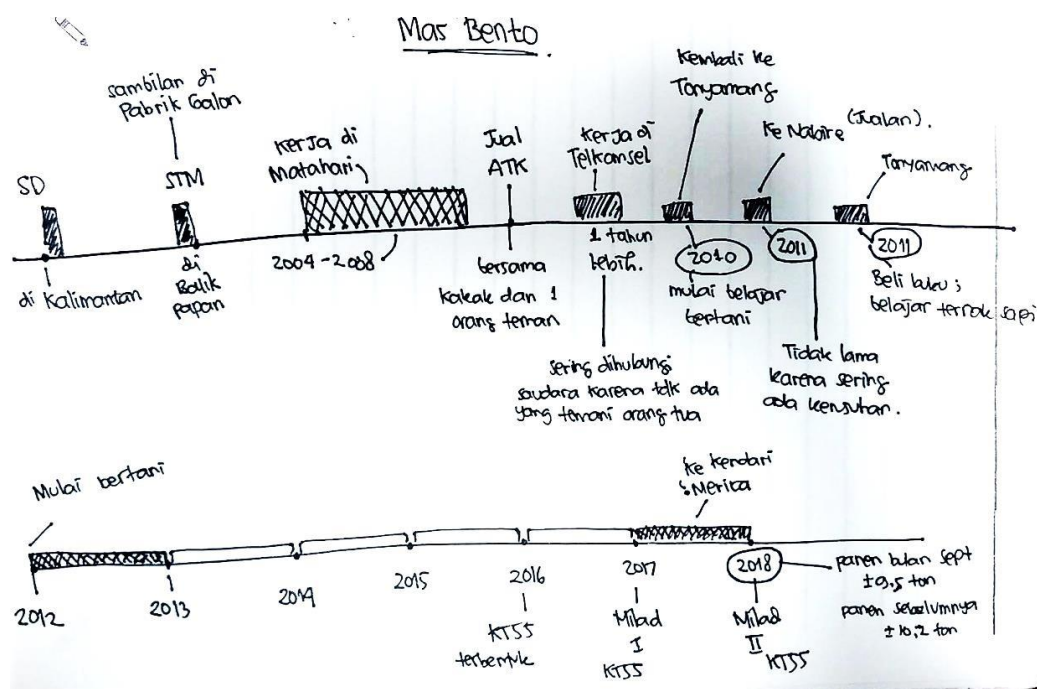
<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 4

## Chapter 4

### Insights of Young Farmers Life Trajectory

This Chapter discusses the life trajectories of the six respondents; focusing on particular conjunctures in their life that brought implications to their life choices in relation to rice-farming. While alternatively, the researcher also tries to elucidate how aspirations are shaped, formed or negotiated through interactions within household, as well as in the level of farmers' network (KTSS). Through the semi-interview conducted, the researcher made a simple graphic of each respondent's life trajectory to help effectively analyse their pathway in relation to rice-farming. Recognizing that the researcher is trying to understand their life stories through a third-party lens, there is potential of losing the real meaning as the writer tries to capture their stories only through the interview. To lessen such potential, the researcher attempted to send all of the respondents the graphic of their life trajectories pictured based on the interviews to acknowledge their views and their perception of themselves, as those are their stories to begin with. The researcher sent the pictures of the graphics in Bahasa Indonesia through Whatsapp<sup>12</sup>, and tried to fix them based on their inputs she translated again to English and used as part of the analysis. Below is the example of what the researcher sent to one respondent.

**Figure 4.1 Graphic of Bento's Life Trajectory**



Source: Author, 2018

<sup>12</sup> The researcher contacted Jannah through Facebook Messenger – respecting her choice of way to communicate; and exemption of Musakir as the researcher could not reach him even after an attempt to call as his number is not active anymore.

Furthermore, through the life-trajectory graphics, the researcher could generate general view of the respondent's life. All of the six participants were exposed to agricultural activities (mainly rice-farming) since young age. From the interviews, some of them were asked by their parents to help clean the weeds while others were prominently telling stories of how they enjoyed their childhood by playing on the rice-fields. This initial interaction with rice-fields may not necessarily reflect their outcome choices to become farmers in the present, but it helped them build familiarity with agricultural environment and activities at a young age, which might have implicated on possibilities within their range of horizon. Here, the researcher presents the narrative of six respondents through several parts. The first part focuses on how generational interactions within the family influence the aspirations of young farmers. The second part how the members of KTSS experiences correlated to how it influences their aspirations to farming and last part highlights a narrative of a male youth in becoming a farmer. The proceeding sections use first person point of view to highlight personal interaction with respondents.

## 4.1. Being Farmer: A Last Resort

I met Musakir for the first time, interestingly without any prior appointment and only through Riyad's mother that brought Musakir to her house when I was waiting for Riyad from school. We met only twice in total (see Annex 2). Having quite long conversation with Musakir, I realized how the way I framed my questions were unconsciously still influenced by universalisation of life stages. For example, I framed Musakir's life experiences based on a systemic stage of education – asking what kind of farming activities he did during secondary education. It turned out that he attended school only up to elementary level and start farming around that time.

Through this reflection of my approach to Musakir, it reminded me again how the mainstream discourse of life transition could be a linear and smooth path, which was arguably not the case (Johnson-Hanks 2002, 2005; Locke et al 2012). Young people experiences and transitions from youth to adulthood are not static and idiosyncratic, but a dynamic progress that quite often involve contested values, norms, and customs wrapped in the form of every day interactions of youth and older people (adults). Example of Musakir's and Suwandi's life trajectories can show us how their life transitions from schooling to work were not easy to point out – it was slightly indistinctive and Suwandi's attempts on other kind of jobs while still in college are showing the dynamic element. Hence, the way policy literature often framed the youth as a period of 'child to adult, from family origin to family of destination, from education to employment' is ignoring the incoherent and fluidity of the transition itself (Naafs & White 2012:3).

Both of the respondents did not become farmers because they aspired to become one. Instead, we can trace on how they ended up being a farmer through their life trajectory (see Appendix 4). First, through his life trajectory, there was a moment that grounded a 'conjuncture' where Musakir decided to not continue his school. He expressed "I kept it as a secret until now, but actually I started to not wanting to go to school because I thought, even my older siblings could not go so what is the point anymore, I would face the same situation" – (**Musakir**, off-record interview 14 August 2018).

Such decision could be seen partially as a sublimite of *habitus* in the form of decision to not go to school anymore because (1) the economic constraints of his family could

not afford the tertiary educations of both his brother and sister; (2) his own felt-sense of the possibility for the future, in this context education in which he might not be able to continue further even if he went to school every day. As Bourdieu's (1990:15-17) stated in Zipin et al (2013:233) that "the awareness of impossibility and of prohibition is accompanied by the recognition of the conditional character of that impossibility and that prohibition". In another side, it is still unsure whether he really did want to pursue higher education as part of his *doxa* aspiration at that time – but later on through our conversation he expressed a regret of his decision in the past, by which he justified by saying "at least I did not spend my parents' money for nothing" – while telling a story of his friend that graduated from Law major but ended up working as a carpenter in the village.

His education trajectory that ended after graduating from elementary school led to another trajectory in his life in rice-farming. When I tried to inquire furthermore what his parents' comment on his decision was, Musakir stated "... My parents gave me lectures here and there. They said that you can keep continuing living like that [not doing anything and only stay at home], but you won't be forever in that age [being young]. There, then I started to frequently help them, and learn how to cultivate rice-field". The rice-farming trajectory of Musakir that began to develop after quitting school was a result of a calculation of what he could do at that moment, given his social position that did not require *human capital* he lacked of, with rice-farming as one of the apparent possibilities for young rural (e.g Tadele & Gella 2012). There, the situation of his dismissal from school might seem a discrete life event, however I would argue that it posited a ground for vital conjuncture, as his parents reaction of 'living like that', as well as the void of educational activities, brought the consideration of what Musakir would have become in the future; referring to non-productive life that may resonance with Bauman called as "wasted life" (2004 in Zipin et al, 2013:232).

Although Musakir said that he once considered to migrate out of his village, but such decision was being negotiated through the inter-generational contract, sharing the similar condition with Suwandi. The inter-generational contract between Musakir and his parents, as well as Suwandi and his (grand) parents, can only be an analysis through our conversations and also latent of potential subjectivity. However, such subjectivity is also produced through social interactions and brings social consequences, hence it is still valid to be analysed. The values within the implicit contract here are how the off-springs bear the obligation to 'look after' their ageing (grand) parents, or in Kabeer termed as "dependency associated with infirmity and old age" (2000:465).

"... I also cried [because of the hardness of farming]. [I think about possibility] if I did not help my parents. I used to have a plan to migrate, but when I saw my parents... Apparently, it was too difficult. People would say, he does not want to help his parents, the war has not started but he has given up. I have been listening older people saying [we must] prioritize our parents first. Parents first [as there is] God behind them. He is the one that giving the fortune, borne by our parents." – **Musakir, 6 August 2018**

Some gave supports [working in rice-field], some did not. They said, you have a diploma why don't you use it. But then working in rice-field is still positive, still [help to] make ends meet. Also my grandfather is still here, [lives] with my mother. I grew up with him. If we are away from each other, [it would be] difficult [to meet]. Often times if I were not there for 3 days, he would miss me. I lived here [in my grandparents' house] while he lives with my mother because my grandma

has passed away. That is why I chose to be in close proximity [in finding job opportunities]. – **Suwandi, 8 August 2018**

Both excerpts of interview with Musakir and Suwandi showed the values that I mentioned before. In Buginese culture, although not exclusively so, the power and respect tend to magnify as people are getting older – giving more ‘ensurance’ for the children to honour the implicit contract. As both their parents and grandparents were already looking after them ever since they were children; investing affections as well as financial supports on their process of growing up. Vice versa, (grand) children then should honour the sacrificed of their (grand) parents by fulfilling their side of the contract when the parents started ageing (Kabeer 2000:465). Especially in Musakir’s excerpt, he related parents and God, adding a meaning of command in it although in Musakir’s part, his parents could be seen as unable to provide him further education.

Furthermore, *doxa* response also shown in Musakir’s interview emphasizes the role of advices from older people (prominently his parents and uncle). He conveyed that he wanted to give up farming several times because of the difficult situations he was in. In rice-farming, the period after plantation is very important as in this period, the rice-plant is still vulnerable with pests and weeds. The first time Musakir did the rice-farming by himself, cultivated his uncle’s land, he made mistakes and ended up having to clean the fields using sickle for 20 days. He stated “I wanted to give up several times. But I heard from parents, [one of them] my uncle...[He stated] good for you now you can hire people to plant, we used to do it by ourselves, helping out all of our neighbouring farmers, working together until all of our rice-fields finished to be planted..That is why I did not give up again. It used to be harder than now, really hard’. Such story from Musakir elucidated how the construction of working hard through his uncle’s story is embedded as a moral value, being held as predominate views on what he should do right – staying in farming even though it is hard given his nexus of social positions: as a children, as a younger sibling who has not establish livelihood, and as a sharecropping farmer. It is reasonable for Musakir to then keep on working as a farmer, because the condition that he lives in currently is less hard than the older generation before him – creating a symbolic violence (Zipin et al. 2013: 231) on himself and negotiated his previous thought of migration.

Notably, it is important to acknowledge that their choice to be farmers is not merely shaped through their ‘faith’ of employing the values I mentioned before. We need to realize both of their agencies where they may also calculate and plan their choices rationally. As argued by Zipin et al., (2013), *habitus* aspirations works through calculating possibilities within the reach of the subject, which unconsciously or consciously appear when they tried to plan for the future endeavours. In Suwandi’s case, he became independent financially ever since he started to farm his grandparents’ rice-field in 2<sup>nd</sup> year of senior high school. Here, Suwandi already experienced how farming could provide income for him, supported him to pursue tertiary education<sup>13</sup>. Through the interview, Suwandi realistically pointed out that his job as a sharecropping farmer is only temporary, as it depends on whether the land is still available for him. Such situation with uncertainty that he responded by trying to find job opportunities through his college friends. He specifically

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<sup>13</sup> He earned additional fund for his college by selling his motorbike as well.



told stories of his attempts on police entrance test during his college, as well as at *Pegadaian* – a government-owned corporation on fiduciary service after he graduated (interview at 14 August 2018). Furthermore, he utilized the financial gains reaped from farming by investing in a house which he currently rent out in Pare-Pare. Here, I proposed argument that the educational background that he achieved in contrast with Musakir, allowed him to broaden his calculations of reachable possibilities, or in Bourdieu's term "strategic calculation" (Bourdieu 1990:53 in Zipin et al. 2013:234). Suwandi's plan to find other job opportunities outside of farming as part of his strategy to achieve a better life that translate as stable and higher income, all the more because he has a degree that he can utilize once he could not farming anymore because of the land access. Additionally, his marriage after graduation indeed brought an influence to his attempts. In contrast, Musakir's future plan is still related to rice-farming, he expressed through our conversation that if older sharecropping farmers are unable to cultivate lands, he is willing to take over as he can hire in labour under his wings to help the cultivation. The idea to migrate and find other job opportunities have been abandoned, enhanced by his calculation that he could not leave his parents and his uncle's rice-fields entrusted to him.

## 4.2 Being Farmers in Network Community

There are three members of KTSS Pinrang that became my respondents, namely Bento, Asyari, and Jannah. From the three members' narrative I attempt highlight how the aspirations are influence through their interaction and involvement with KTSS community. Bento was my key informant before I came to Pinrang, however his role later on shifted and became a respondent especially after Maahda joined in and companied me.

First, we need to look at how both Bento and Asyari's life trajectory as farmer begun. In Bento's life trajectory there appeared to be a conjuncture after he graduated from electro vocational school. He shared snippet story of his attempt to use drugs, and was very shamed to live again with his aunt after that incident. The conjoined of his ashamed, with completion of school, as well as the uncertainty what to do next created a conjuncture in Bento's life trajectory. Notably, conjunctures have duration and brought several outcomes (Johnson-Hanks 2002:872)); as it constitutes of several conjoined situations that force the subject in a situation to ponder about subject's future more than usual because it has significant role to navigate the next future. It can be seen from Bento's trajectory on how he attempted several jobs, and even temporarily migrated to Nabire. His older brother kept on calling him to go back to the village, in order to taking care of their ageing parent, added another layer in Bento's conjuncture. As he stated:

I did not have any slightest desire to do rice-farming. It was forced [by the situation]. My mother is here, if I migrated then there would be no one to taking care of her. I was the only one that has not establish a household yet; there is my younger brother but he lives in Saudi [Arabia]. The other two already married.

Through this excerpt showed the power-relation between the siblings-relation, and the intertwined of Bento social status as younger sibling as well as children. Furthermore, his conjuncture was still continue in a period of time where he still went to Makassar several times in desire to find other jobs there during 2010-2011 –negotiating the 'contract' within his family context. As Bento finally had no choice but to go back to rural village, he started learning how to farm, as it is the only choice available, and tried to breed cattle.

Breeding cattle appeared to be Bento's desire to wander around, meanwhile he tried to learn how to farming from the beginning (Interview, 9 August).

It is different story with Asyari, who ended up living in Pinrang to establish his own livelihood. Through Bento, I met him where we conversed for the first time in front of the Water Resources Management Office. Born in Enrekang, Asyari migrated to Pinrang as he accepted as civil servant – in which I read as his way to negotiate his parents 'expectation' on him to become a teacher. Asyari's life trajectory in farming later on was begun when he asked his father-in-law a plot of land for him to cultivate. When I inquired his initiative to attain land, he explained it because of the potential of agriculture is better and easier to cultivate compare to Enrekang which dominantly rocky-terracing field (Interview 31 July 2018).

It is enticing to see what encourage Asyari who already obtain job as officials, to further extend his work as farmer, considering civil servants has social stratification higher than farmer in Pinrang rural society (Fieldnotes, 9 August 2018). He expressed that he has seen farmers in Pinrang having 'established life' – to which he linked with having nice house and even able to have car (Personal communication, 10 September 2018). I translated his choice of farming in order to 'established life' as *doxic* aspiration – 'the desirable futures' if we used the phrase coined by Zipin et al (2013:233). The desire future turned out later on inspired by his father-in-law partly formed the *doxic* aspiration; "He really inspired me because he was also originally just a sharecropper, there was no rice field at all from his parents because he was not a native here, but he could obtain 3 ha rice-fields".

Secondly, shifting our focus to KTSS, the group performed a collective identity of young farmers. The nuances of collective identity and shared experiences was shared by Asyari as he expressed, "...we are all on the same boat, shared the similar fate, we are all comrade". While Bento on different occasion stated "the members shared similar minds. We aim to learn together, how to increase the yield production while lessening the input cost". Their shared identity as sharecropping and small-scale farmers, also nuanced on one member statement: "in such condition [limited access to land], we have a low level of independency". It then resonates with Mannheimian notion of generation (Närvänen & Näsman 2004).

In addition, when I tried to elaborate of how the interaction online within KTSS affected him, Asyari stated by giving example, "Thankfully there is a community [KTSS] because we can exchange simple technology." Later he added:

Having a community like that, sharing knowledge and experience is very easy. Maintenance techniques, farming techniques... we share them for granted. The habit of people on social media is the more likes and comments they feel more proud. So [we are] competing to see the best quality, [using most suitable] technique there is. At least those new members can take experience from there.

In similar notion, Bento also stating that he feel encouraged to keep on continue expand and trying varieties of seeds (see Chapter 3) within the KTSS. Such incitement to keep on increasing productivity shown during the interaction when I first met Asyari along with Bento, "I cannot yield 10 tons yet he already achieved it. My yield only reached 9.5 tons". He added "he only spent two days in rice-fields while I spent more time, and he can catch up my yield". This anecdote serves as a display of interactions happened within the members of the community, where sometimes latent with competitiveness. Although it

is necessary to be cognizant of the potential bias as both respondents have significant roles within the group, hence their experiences are solely based on the perspective of active and very-engaged member.

Through interaction with the peers that shared the ‘similar fate’, they then expand their capabilities in farming to increase production – illuminating a *doxic* logic of thinking that grounded in the popular notion of ‘working hard to attain your dream’ (Zipin et al, 2013:234), which could translate as the more effective and efficient they are the more likely they could generate more income, despite the inequality of low price of *gabah* which often being a big ordeal for farmers. Nonetheless, I suggest that we have to realize the generational unit offered by Mannheim, that young people within a group of cohort perceives and gives meaning to the interactions within the group differently (Närvänen & Näsman 2004).

Particularly with Bento, he often called as ‘Professor’ by his peer farmers (Fieldnotes, 7 August & 11 August 2018). As the virtual group that he contributed to establish going bigger, he expressed several moments that made him felt proud, (1) when KTSS attended the development exhibition, there he managed to provide around 20 types of *galur* which gained a lot of interest especially from the officials (by officials I meant the Agriculture officials); (2) when he tried to plant a new type of *galur* called *padi ungu* as the color of the rice are all in purple-to-black color; which again gained interest by his peer farmers as well as officials. Such moment of proudness seeped out during our conversation when he stated ‘for the first time I held the key to Agriculture Office, I have never imagine myself to hold such responsibility’ or another example ‘a lot of farmers went here to see the purple rice, those that even often questioning my way of farming was also here and they were curious; I was the first one [that planted and brought the *galur*] here and after that people followed [to try]’. The respect that he gained from his peers, older farmers as well as recognition from officials for his attempts to always strive for efficient productivity, I suggest plays a role on enhancing his *doxa* aspiration to stay in farming. Proven by his statement “As I already love with agriculture world, I would like to try other farming aside from rice; maybe in the meantime is pepper”. Turned out, Bento was invited to help farmers in particular village in Soroako, and ended up obtain land there. In different conversation he also revealed that he has a small plot of field in which he wants to try horticulture. Here then, the conjunctures of Bento’s trajectory seemingly come to a closure as his statement suggested he confident with being farmer, even aim to expand for another type of farming.

For Asyari, accumulating knowledge and experiences from interactions with peers’ in KTSS indeed shaped his perspective on rice-farming as a significant part of his future endeavours. He stated that a sharecropping farmer of 3 ha land can generate income more than a standard official’s salary<sup>14</sup>, a promising potential stable income from his perspective. The importance of farming for Asyari can be seen on his decision to buy plot of land in 2013 and 2015 instead of buying a house – implicated his family to live in a small official residence where others officials already moved out from (Fieldnotes and interview 9 August 2018). It is then shown how the habituated logic of Asyari differs

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<sup>14</sup> Simple calculation provided by Asyari: from 1.5 ha one can obtain about 7.5 tons netto, multiplied with the lowest price for *gabah* Rp 4600 – total income Rp 34.5 million per 6 months. Per month, one can get Rp 5.75 million, equals with EUR 343 (exchange rates Rp 16.724 per EUR 1)

with Bento; coming from a slight different background economically and socially indeed formed a different strategic of calculation (Zipin et al. 2013:234). Asyari as an official does not have to worry about future financial as he will get pension when he retired, while Bento on the other hand has to consider his capabilities to farming when he is older (Interview with Asyari & Fieldnotes 9 August 2018). Hence it is understandable that Bento attempted to expand into other farming (pepper and horticulture) in order to diversify his source of income while still indulging in farming – displaying a potential *habitus* logic underlying his statement.

Another story from a member of KTSS, Jannah, as the only female I managed to encounter. My initial conversation with Jannah was when I attended the gathering at 7 August 2018 where the members of KTSS were invited to attend a socialisation of hybrid rice in one farmer field in Sidrap, a neighbouring regency of Pinrang. In the beginning of our conversation, Jannah boldly stated that she loves farming because ever since she was a child farming has been part of her life. She even used Buginese for her Facebook name which translated roughly as *Poor Farmer*, claiming and showing her identity in online sphere. Her peculiar childhood experiences seemingly contributed to establishing her attachment towards farming. Her experience of being bullied because of her parent's job at that time could have channelled her habitus aspiration – wanting to become a rich farmer as a response to her friends' behaviour. As Zipin et al (2013) delivered that *habitus* is latently internalized; here Jannah's ambition to become a rich farmer when she was a child still appears in the current present. As she expressed:

They were farmers, and so is my parent. I have seen being a farmer could promise a happy life, as we can bring our family compare to being an office worker... I just want to continue my grandfather's struggle, continued on my father and now me; in the future I want my child to also become a farmer. – Personal communication, 5 September 2018

The fact that Jannah wants to continue her grandfather being a farmer, shows that her attachment to farming contributes also to social reproduction, especially as she mentioned her aspiration for her child. Indeed, Jannah has a son that is currently in elementary school. I found out about her status as divorced when we were in the middle of a rice-field, taking pictures together as Jannah wanted to post some. While her status of motherhood and divorcee could contribute to creating conjuncture, I did not inquire further as I sensed it as a sensitive topic for her to talk about. As an outsider researcher, I realized I frequently tip-toeing myself when it came to asking questions – although my interaction with Jannah felt more natural, compared to my conversations with other male respondents where I was more conscious as I tried to make the atmosphere friendly and casual. Herein then shows how conducting research is also a gendered practice, that I unconsciously emphasized my position as an outsider researcher through my aforementioned attempt.

Having conversation with Jannah, as well as exchanging messages with her during the past months in Facebook; I have learnt that Jannah as a daughter in her family as well as a member of KTSS brought several contested values that appear in her interaction with her father. I was asking about her involvement in her father's rice-field, when she answered:

“Sometimes, I am having a clash with my parent. Nowadays there are a lot of types of rice, it used to be only few. His mind is old [very conservative], only wants to apply what he used to do. What I want is...trying the new things! Why doesn't he want

to try... How do we advance if what we plant is the same old type of rice. There are a lot of new varieties out there.” – Jannah, Interview 7 August 2018

Here, we then see how her attempt to realize her *doxa* aspiration to become a successful farmer, and wanted to also follow the ‘advancement’ of her peers in KTSS group is contradict with her father’s value. The rice-field indeed still belongs to his father, and when I asked why does not she ask for a small plot of rice-field to cultivate, she dejected the idea stating that it would be difficult, because his father still able to do it on his own – indicating how gerontocracy still plays its part on young people’s access to the land (White, 2012). Jannah herself owned 50 acres of cacao fields wherein she able to cultivate independently without interference from her father; still, she showed her wish to cultivate rice-fields on her own. However, her aspiration in another way was negotiated through inter-generational contract – where Jannah as a daughter does not want to go against his father as she stated what else can she does, “if he said no it means no”. The *doxa* aspiration of being farmer Jannah is consistently show on our exchange message where she stated:

Farming will always be in my world, in my lifetime. I will never leave it. I just [want] to be a successful farmer ... my biggest dream is to become a farmer who own her land, not to expect inheritance from my parents.[Currently] I collect money first to realize my dream – personal communication, 29 September 2018

Herein, Jannah displayed her ‘biggest’ dream however in order to become a successful farmer and to buy plot of land is quite a challenge – moreover as the price of land has been increasing.

### 4.3 Becoming Farmer: Story of Riyad

I met Riyad twice, and knew him from Maahda, my translator-companion that attended the same major (Agribusiness) with Riyad’ sister – Miriam (22). I finally managed to interview Riyad after the first attempt failed because he was busy preparing for Independence Day activity. During the interview, Miriam sat with us – if Maahda was around, it would have certainly helped to ease Miriam’s presence by letting Maahda talked to her while I conversed with Riyad without being interfered by the presence of adult or older people. Although thinking it that way, arguably my identities as a young adult and outsider researcher also have potential to adult-gazing toward Riyad. It was indeed visible by the way Riyad avoided to have eye-contact and seemingly bashful on answering my questions, also by his statement “... it is fine because she [his sister] can help me [to answer] because I really do not know”.

The vital conjuncture in Riyad life is seemingly not too apparent throughout our conversations. However, as he is in third grade, he might already have conflicting ideas of what he would like to take after he graduates later on – such conditions can potentially open a vital conjuncture in Riyad’ life as he will face uncertainty and need to think of his future orientation (Johnson-Hanks 2002:871). In relation to future orientation, Riyad himself seemed to be not too vocal of what he would like to do, as he seemed still in doubt to answer – a reaction partly because my presence as outsider and an older person.

As a 3<sup>rd</sup> grade student in senior high school, institution such as family is playing quite dominant role in Riyad decision regarding the future. He is currently taking a major in Agribusiness in vocational school, and when asked regarding his plan afterwards, he stat-

ed “*Insha Allah*, will continue [to college]” and he took a glance at his sister, which later chimed in that Riyadh wants to continue at STTP Gowa (a tertiary education focus on agriculture). As I inquired furthermore the reason of his statement to pursue higher education, Riyadh answered “I don’t know (*laughing*), to gain more knowledge... the idea is to find a job while still farming”. Here, I argue that in the informal institutions such as family that still provide the sole welfare for the children and young people, the ‘contract’ is playing a strong role (Kabeer 2000:465). It negotiated Riyadh’s next stage in his life, which would be the continuation of his education trajectory. His mother, who I met after the interview, told me that his teacher was willing to help Riyadh to apply through academic entrance to Hasanuddin University (same university with Miriam), and if not then Riyadh would enter STTP Gowa because his father has acquaintances there. Later on, in October I heard from Riyadh that his mother changed her mind again, and directed him to apply for Police Entrance Exam. Here can be seen how his mother then hold the key locus of decision in relation to Riyadh’ next life stage. His willingness to follow his mother’s decisions could be argued from various reasons. Still, in an intimate social space as family, the interaction is not happening randomly or instinctively, and rather, as Kabeer argued, “governed by the norms and customs which make up the social meaning of the family in the context” (2000:466). It could elucidate that the contract is reciprocated, wherein Riyadh accepted his mother

Even though Riyadh himself stated that he enjoys farming, the option of farming as a job is seemingly not part of a viable path for his future – a common case pointed by various literatures (TK). Although in comparison with Musakir, for example, Riyadh has the potential to inherit quite big land to be independent financially<sup>15</sup>. It appears as an internalized activity that he could do in a spare time, not as a goal for his future. In here, we can argue that previous interactions mentioned before contribute to forming Riyadh’ *doxic* aspiration. That it is natural for him to continue to tertiary education, as his sister normally went through that stage too. Notably, when I asked through Whatsapp of how he ended up being in vocational school of agriculture, he elaborated “because it is a vocational, so when I entered college at least I already knew several things. If I did not enter college, I could be an entrepreneur, as I have already obtained the knowledge”. Through Riyadh’s statement, it is shown how the *doxic* and *habituated* logic seemingly comprised a mix for aspiring (Zipin et al. 2013:234). The current dream is to enter college, as it is a normal pathway and transition for young people that partly influenced by the “joint project of institutional structures” (Johnson-Hanks 2002:865), such as family and school. However, the latter statement of being entrepreneur lies on the *habituated* logic that can be influenced by a wider context, for instance, the mainstream of neoliberal idea in tackling the massive problems of unemployment by emphasizing of entrepreneurial skills among young people (Naafs & White 2012:11). Hence, the option of becoming a policeman may seem more plausible, as it offers a stable and coherent path of career.

On the other side, the tacit inter-generational contract could also be seen embodied on how parents (or family) within particular context, choose who gets what and how much within the family (Kabeer 2000:466). Such resources allocation statement from

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<sup>15</sup> Through several conversations, most farmers agreed to be able to have financial stability one has to cultivate at least 2 ha (owned) or 5 ha (sharecropping) for a household livelihood.

Kabeer is appeared to be true when we look at how Riyad and his sister, Miriam (22) got different access of land and knowledge in term of rice-farming.

“Although I was given a plot of land, I could not have managed it on my own.... I only heard when my father explains things to farmers that came to our house, but specifically being taught on farming, no.” She then added “as a man, he has to be taught on how to farming” (Miriam, conversation 8 August 2018)

There are several things that can be learnt from the excerpt of Miriam’s statement above. First, she responded to my question of whether she wanted to also obtain her own plot of land by answering that resonance with she was not the appropriate one to get the land – considering she does not have the knowledge to cultivate it. Secondly, although she might not know about rice-farming, she rationalized her condition through referring to it as a man’s responsibility to learn how to farm – a gender division of labour that it is fine not to learn because it is not her realm as a woman within the family. What I want to argue here is that through the social institutions such as family, Miriam has been growing up by learning that rice-farming is out of her ‘horizon’ because she is a woman. There is a differentiation between her and her brother, that it should be the man in the family to learn farming. Still, she could attain plot of land as her part of inheritances later on and hired in labour to work on the land. However, how the transmission of land or resource allocation within a family in particular context is still uncovered in this research and need to be taken into further research as it plays a significant role on young people’s access to the land.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

This paper aims to investigate young people's life trajectory in relation to rice-farming to give insights on how their aspirations are shaped and formed not in a vacuum of power, but within a social space congested with values, norms and power-relations. Notably, aspirations here are shaped, formed or negotiated through underlying logic of *doxa* and *habitus*. Through field research with six respondents from different backgrounds, ages and gender, here I attempted to highlight the inter- as well as intra-generational dimensions through their narratives.

The inter-generational dimension is mainly focusing on the kinship and parental-children relations, through the concept of inter-generational contracts. Such tacit contract is value-laden of the idea that children are expected to reciprocate what their parents' have provided them during dependency period (infantry). Meanwhile, the intra-generational dimension is highlighted using Mannheim's cohort, illuminating the interactions with peer farmers in KTSS group.

#### ***To what extent the inter-generational contracts influence young people's aspiration to become farmers?***

The data and theory provided here demonstrate that the contract and the symbolic power held by parents are negotiating and forming the young people's way of becoming and being farmer. It has proven to negotiating young farmers' initial desire to migrate and finding jobs outside village, as appeared in the narratives of Suwandi and Musakir. It then brought implication to limiting their possibilities for the future in relation to farming, based on their *given* social structures and social position. First, through the narrative of Suwandi who came from a farmer family that only owned small plot of land and did not inquire tertiary education, it contributed on the formation of *habitus* logic in which their capacity to aspire was limited to only what they see as viable: rice-farming; and a *doxic* logic that underlying his goal to expand his sharecropping lands – enhancing the symbolic violence he put upon himself and contributing on the social reproduction. Second, for male youth that indeed has educational resources such as completion of bachelor's degree as Musakir, becoming a farmer is a result of a conjoined situations that formed a conjuncture, where alternatively trying to 'respect' the contract between him and his grandfather. It is inducing the subject to follow a viable path, which at that moment is farming. His marriage also plays a role in contributing to the conjuncture as he had to re-evaluate his future endeavours with a family in mind. On another side, for male youth that still lean on family institution for their sole source of material, symbolic and emotional term such as in Riyad's narrative, the regular mix of *doxa* and *habitus* aspiration often formed and shaped through intimate interactions within the family especially the parental-children. Riyad's narrative showed us how the notion of youth needed guidance from older people, especially parents, in navigating their future path was apparent.

#### ***How does the interaction online and offline within the KTSS affect young people's aspiration to become farmers?***



On another side, based on the data gathered through online and offline participant observation, the online group of KTSS served as a platform to share information and knowledge. It provided a one-for-all experience, where members can learn from each other by posting their achievements or contrary their problems. The narratives of Bento, Asyari and Jannah showed how the interaction within the KTSS group contributed to expanding their 'horizon' of imagined futures, as the more engaged they are with the group, the more knowledge they gained and the feeling of competitiveness to strive for efficient productivity is also apparent. Particularly in relation to farming, it is arguably enhancing both Bento and Asyari's imagined future wherein farming still holds position on future endeavors. From the perspective of both Bento and Asyari, KTSS members' shared similar identity and experiences. However as Mannheim argued that each young person within the group perceived and giving meaning to the experiences differently. It is shown on Jannah attempts to implement what she learnt from KTSS but then such aspiration to learn was contested by his father who holds different way of farming with what she learnt.

***How do the aspirations of young people play role in their pathway of becoming farmers?***

From aforementioned elaborations, we can conclude that aspiration navigates the pathway of young people based on their realization of their own capabilities and possibilities that lies upon them. As aspiration is not merely about between expectation and dreams, but more deeply it is about the capacities of someone to imagine range of possibilities lies ahead in the future. Such capacity then being influenced by not only social interactions but also social structure in which someone embedded. Realizing young people's dream in farming, taking us to understand how young people experiences being a farmer, and how the interactions between family as well as community affecting them. As young people realize their *habituated* aspiration, more likely as a constrained agency they will exert their ways to achieve it based on strategic calculation of what one could possibly do and what not.

Importantly, these findings are not meant to determine the respondents' future aspirations nor an attempt to capture a general notion of the young people in rice-farming regency and to generalize the findings for one-speaks-for-all. Rather, it attempts to provide insights on the life of young people who are becoming and has become farmers in particular space (Pinrang Regency) - all the more that the narratives presented in this paper are very contextual and latent of subjectivity of the narratives owner. By highlighting the insights of their non-synchronous life-trajectories through relational approach, hopefully policy makers as well as developmental agencies gained further insights on formulating the development interventions especially in the course of youth and agriculture from generational approach. It is also worth recognizing that the aspirations of young people presented in this paper are not a fixed status. Given its nature, aspirations is being negotiated and contested during the life-time of the subjects; hence the vital conjunctures might happen in the long run of the subjects' life histories, the shifting of aspirations

Nevertheless, this research has several limitations. For instance, the scope of the research does not included comprehensively the other parties in relation to the respondents; such as their partners in marriage for respondents who already established their owned household, or their parents' perspectives especially for respondents that still live with them. Such insights could potentially add another layer of our understanding on young people's

life trajectories and aspirations. It appeared on the presenting analysis where the notion of resource allocation through values of inter-generational contract is being questioned. Hence, future comprehensive research is of course needed especially in the locus of a household or a farmer family to capture such understanding.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Further Information Regarding Gaining Access to Conduct the Field Research

There are two approaches in gaining access of research in particular areas, through formal and informal one. My attempt to conduct the research started through informal connections, and later on followed by formal one. I conducted my research after I contacted the KTSS through their Facebook page (in May 2015); which was responded few days later by the administrator suggesting me to join the group and to contact furthermore through administrator's WhatsApp. I followed through their suggestion, and contacted one of the admin through WhatsApp in order to gain small insights on KTSS. After several times communicating with each other, the admin offered to help if there was a chance I wanted to do fieldwork in Pinrang. By contacting the admin (initial MB, later on became one of my participants as well), I gained a key informant as well as made initial contact way before my field research (in late July), hence there was a chance of building a rapport since initial contact and gain access through grassroots level.

The formal path that I took to gain access was by first ensuring that I have the legal access to conduct it in Pinrang region. As an Indonesian that domicile in Makassar (capital city of South Sulawesi), I still had to follow the procedures of obtaining legal permission to conduct a research in a particular area. It was because as an Indonesian, I also bear a status of a student of foreign institution which enforces me to legally gain permission. I travelled from Makassar to Pinrang for about 8 hours by car on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2018 in order to submit the requirements – consisted of the initial proposal of the research (in English is acceptable), the initial letter from university that confirmed the student status and the field research, as well as Indonesia ID card and a form that needed to be filled in and signed in. The research permit paper was released on that day, but I had to wait for a week to be able to utilize it because the process of administration was not fully done yet at that time. The permit paper itself is an important part in conducting an ethical research. First and foremost, at least it ensured my legal presence in the region. Secondly, it helped especially on the process of gaining access to interview the officials (and importantly if I would like to attempt an interview with officials in high ranks). Lastly, it also contributed on giving legal permission if I would like to involve the local people on my research. It meant I did not involve them in any potential illegal activity.

Other than having the formal and informal paths to obtain access, during my initial stage of field-research (30 July 2018), the stages of whom I made contact with on my field-research also gave impact. I spent the first four days by making contact mostly with the Officials of Agriculture and Horticulture --- by having conversation and conducting interviews with the officials. I also expressed and opened up on how I decided to do my research in Pinrang to the Head Officials on my first encounter with him to build rapport on my initial stage of field-research. As I mentioned the KTSS and my key informant to the Head of Officials in Agriculture and Horticulture (with the presence of my mother, explain later on in reflexivity part); it seemed that the officials acknowledge KTSS as a farmers' network community and are quite aware of their existence. Such acknowledgement of the farmers' network, in effect, also brings implication in which the Head Officials acknowledged my research attempt. Moreover, meeting the Head Officials on my first day of research also gave a nuance that I was asking his permission indi-

rectly, especially by letting him be informed first hand before continuing on my field research. Head Officials were also expressing his support – in which appeared later on through my interactions with farmers of KTSS, wherein the Head of Coordinator (Field-notes 31 July) of KTSS stated that the Head Officials himself told the coordinator to help me conduct field research.

In another side, as I already made contact beforehand with one of my participants (Bento) which hold quite a respected role in KTSS, it gave me a relatively easy access to be involved or at least be present in their activities. I was being invited to attend their meeting in neighbour regency on 29 July 2018 – an event that I unfortunately could not attend as I was still in Makassar at that time. However later on, I was given pictures of the event through WhatsApp by Bento which I used to explore questions when I met him and other participants.

## Appendix 2: Semi-Structured Interview Questionnaire

This is the questionnaire that the researcher used before the field research; with the purpose of mapping the questions to be asked to the respondents and further elaborating them based on their answers. Hence, this questionnaire was used flexibly.

### I. Related to Family Background and Intergenerational dimensions

May I know what are the occupations of your parents?

**If one of the parents is farmer:** Do your father/mother work on their own lands or hired farmers?

**If hired farmers:** What kind of involvements do your parents have on their rice fields? For example: Are they only involved in deciding what type of seeds or fertilizers the farmers should use? Are they the one that decide what kind of way to plant the seeds between *Tabela* or *Tapin*?

**If only father (male) that come to the rice fields:** Do your parent(s) still come to the rice fields until now? Why do you think they still come?

Did you ever been help your parent(s) on the rice fields?

**If yes:**

When did it start?

Did you want to help or was it because your parent(s) ask you to?

What kind of helps or works did your parents ask you to do? Why?

What were the memorable things to you during your childhood related to rice fields or agricultural works?

Could you please tell me when were the times that you often visited or being asked to help in rice fields? Was it only in the morning, afternoon, or noon? Was it after school or before school? Was it only during harvest seasons or planting seasons?

What were you feeling when your parents ask you to help/work on the rice fields? Did you enjoy/like it being on the rice fields?

**If not:**

What were the memorable things for you when you were a child?

Had you ever been to the rice fields when you were a kid? What were you doing? If not at all, why?

### II. Related to Personal background

Could you please describe your occupation or working on currently?

If not only farming, why do you still do farming things even after you having another job?

How did you divide your time for your 'job' and farming?

How have your parents perceived your 'dual jobs'?

How do you introduce your job to people?

**If self-identified as farmer**

Then how do you feel about what you are doing right now with your current (other) work?

How did you learn about doing work in rice fields? If learnt from parents, through what ways did you learn?

Could you please tell me, what were the most memorable things your parent(s) told you about being farmers, or about rice fields, or any works in rice fields? Why did you remember it the most?

How did you know what type of seeds, what type of fertilizers, and other works related to rice fields?

**If not**, then why?

If you say farming is a hobby (or other things), why so? Does it mean you are enjoying it right now?

What kind of works do you do on the rice field? During the planting and harvest season?

If you have ever worked on rice fields with your parent(s) before, what are the noticeably different things on the way people are working on rice fields now and then?

**III. Related to KTSS and intra-generational dimensions**

**If a KTSS member**

How long have you been a member of KTSS?

How did you know or end up becoming a member?

How is it different to you before and after becoming part of KTSS in relation with rice-farming?

How often do you participate with KTSS activities? What kind of activities that you have joined so far? How did those activities influence you in relation with rice-farming?

**If not a member of KTSS**

Could you please tell me the memorable things your friends said or comment to you regarding your work as a farmer or anything related to it? Why did you remember it the most? What were you feeling when you heard what they/he/she said to you?

What do you think with what they said?

Are there any of your friends that work as farmers or also help their parent? Are you close with him/her/them?

What are your closest friends doing/ occupation right now?

Do you frequently share stories or ideas or anything with each other? What kind of stories?

How often did you meet up with your friends? What are you doing the most with them?

#### **IV. Related to Farmers Group**

In which farmers group are you a member of?

How did the farmers group contribute to you, in relation to rice fields or anything else?

Have you ever attended a farmers' group meeting? Do you know who is the leader or the PPL of your group?

What does the farmers' group mean to you?

#### **V. Related to rural government's support/help**

Have you ever met your PPL before?

Have you ever talked to your PPL or any officers from A&H office?

Have you ever felt the need of assistance or support from the PPL?

Have you ever experienced of failed in harvesting the rice fields, or being attacked by *OPT* or pests? What were the most down situation you ever feel or experience as you become a farmer?

At that time, how did you handle it?

#### **VI. Related to dreams or hopes for the future**

If you could imagine yourself in the next few years, what will you imagine what has become of yourself?

What will be different of you in the next 3 years, 5 years, or 10 years from now on?

May I know what your passion is? Let say, we put your parents, your family conditions, and anything else out of the picture. What do you really want to do or pursue? And why?

Have you ever thought of doing anything else besides of being rice field farmers? Will you try to pursue it in the future? Future= try to ask in specific way, like 5 years from now on or for example after the rice fields being given to him/her or after her/his siblings are back from overseas/outside city?

### Appendix 3: Detail Information of Participants

Pseudonyms	Age	Total Land Cultivation	Detail Background	Time of Interview	Focus Information Obtained
Musakir	36	6 ha as sharecropping farmer	5th born out of 9 siblings, where the 3 of his siblings has passed away (did not elaborate further). Completed his education up to elementary school, and has started to cultivate land around 12 years old and steadily gained access as sharecropping farmer through his uncle – the biggest landowner in Pinrang owned around 100 ha of land.	6 August 2018	1. Background family and rice-farming 2. <i>Poktan</i>
				14 August 2018	1. Deepening information regarding family background, and trajectory in farming 2. Future goals or plan outside or inside of farming
Suwandi	24	5 ha as sharecropping farmer	1st born out of two sons in a family, and has lived with his grandparents since he was a child. Has completed education at STIM Lasharan where he majored in Marketing. Started cultivate his grandfather's land since second grade of senior high school	8 August 2018	Impromptu interview, talking about rice-farming and other activities in the field, as well as childhood memory in farming
				14 August 2018	1. Family background 2. (Past) Experiences in rice-farming 3. Education trajectory and other 'jobs' he has done.
				Early October	Through Whatsapp, asking for confirmation regarding the life-trajectory graphic.
Riyad	17	50 acres compare to his father's land around 4-5 ha	He is last child out of two siblings from a quite well-known farmer figure in Pinrang regency (known for his breakthrough in handling rat pests into organic fertilizers). He has given 50 acres plot of land since first grade of senior high school. Currently attending vocational school major in Agribusiness	6 August 2018	Only had limited time hence focused on the family background.
				8 August 2018	1. The starting point he involved in rice-farming and the development 2. Other activities aside from rice-farming, and his perspective about it
				September	Through Whatsapp, asking for confirmation of his life-trajectory graphic



Bento	35	1.5 ha as sharecropping farmer and additional 30 acres of his parent's land	He is a third born out of 4 siblings. He is currently living with his wife who helps gain income through receiving convection sewing, and two children, along with his mother. Completed education until vocational school of electro in Balikpapan (Kalimantan island).	24 July 2018	Impromptu meeting as it was first time came to Pinrang and Bento was the key informant. Conversation about KTSS establishment and why he ended up in farming
				1 August 2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Current condition of his rice-farming; as well as past experiences</li> <li>2. Activities in KTSS and the community's historical establishment</li> <li>3. Trying to find out general life trajectory</li> </ol>
				9 August 2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Deepening information from previous interview /conversation</li> <li>2. Future plan in relation to farming</li> </ol>
				September	Confirmation of life trajectory graphic as well as discuss about the harvest season at that time.
Asyari	34	1.85 ha of land (1 ha from his parent-in-law and rest is his own land)	He was born in Enrekang but then moved to Pinrang as he applied as a civil servant in Officials of Water Resources Management there. He has completed education from vocational school of water infrastructure in Toraja. Only goes to rice-field after work-hours during weekdays, and full time in weekend.	31 July 2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. About KTSS establishment and activities</li> <li>2. Little snippets of his background and current involvement in farming</li> </ol>

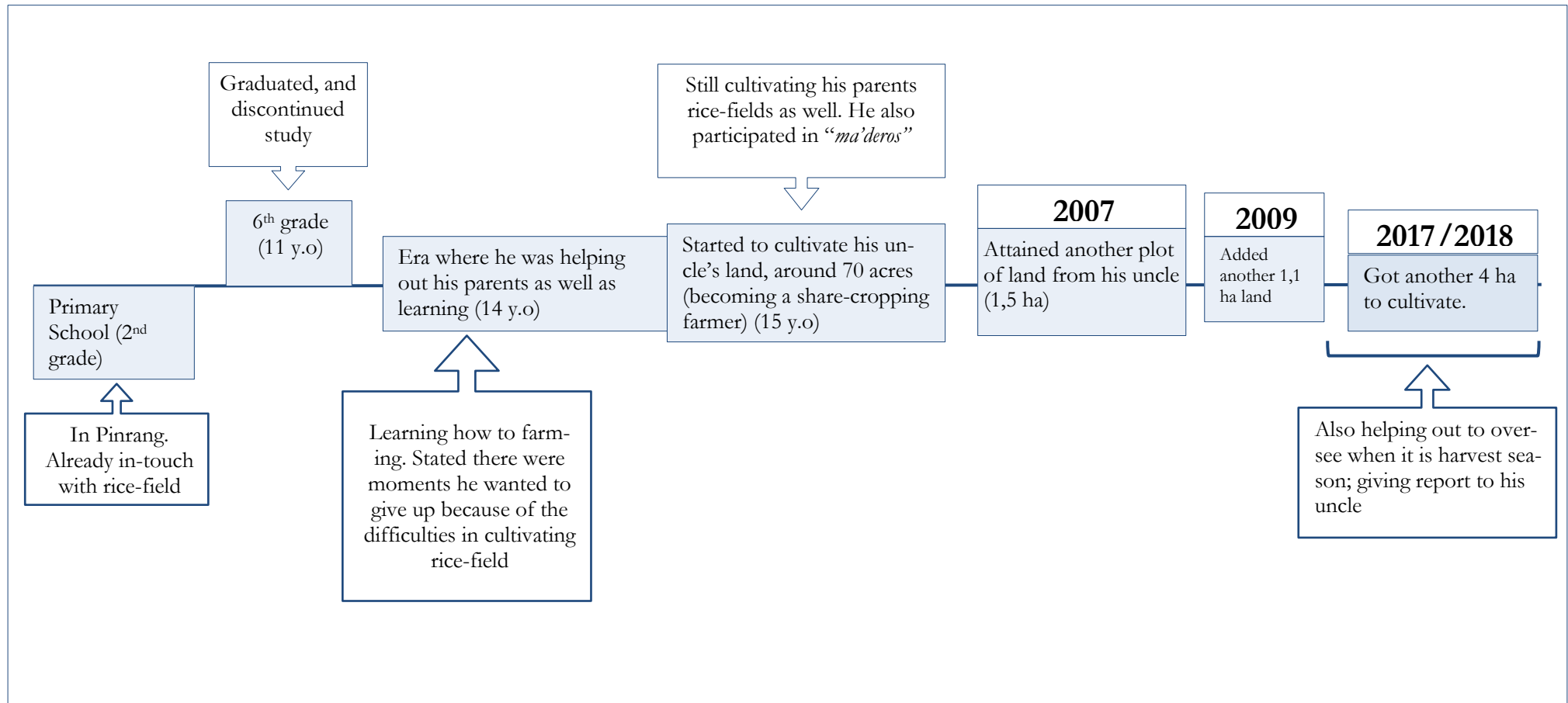
				9 August 2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Deepening previous information regarding background and past and current experiences in farming</li> <li>2. Elaborate more about KTSS and his involvement, benefits and dynamic within the group FB from his perspective</li> <li>3. About rice-farming and irrigation in Pinrang in general, from officials .</li> </ol>
				12 August 2018	Unplanned interview. It was rather an off-record interview about his past trajectory before do farming in Pinrang, as well as his personal preferences on being farmer rather than higher rank officials.
				October	Confirmation for life-trajectory graphic as well as explored his way to obtain lands in Pinrang.
Jannah	27	Only helping in his father's rice-field (2 ha), but given 50 acres of field by his father to cultivate cacao	She is a first born child out of 4 siblings (brother and two younger sisters). Completed education until senior high school; married off by his parents when she was in second grade but already divorce (did not elaborate more)	7 August 2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Her interest in farming and past experiences that enhanced it</li> <li>2. Her involvements in KTSS offline and online</li> <li>3. About his father's dominant and gerontocracy in farming</li> </ol>
				September-October (through Facebook Messenger)	Confirming her stories and deepening information based on what she posted.

#### Appendix 4: Table of Activities related to Rice-Farming in Pinrang

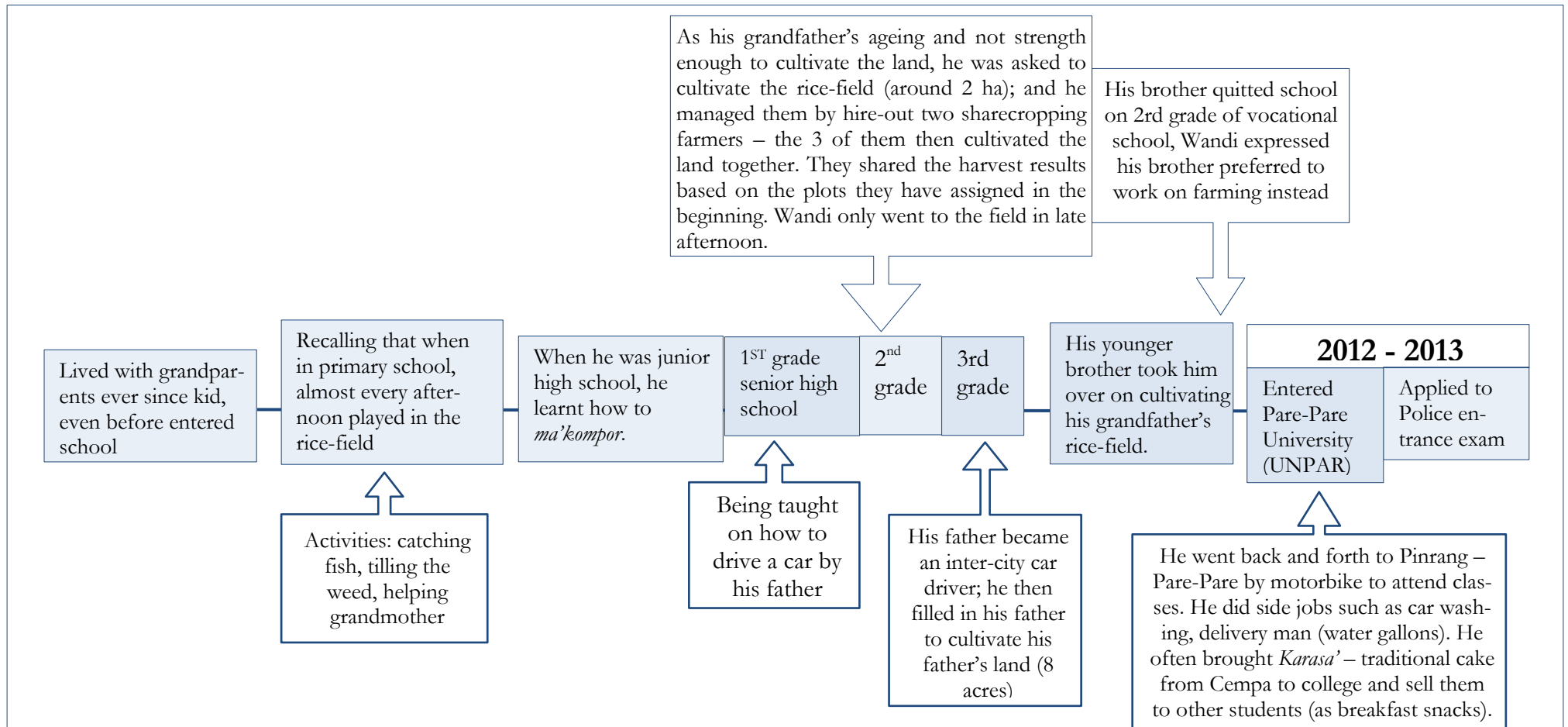
No	Stages	Description of Activities
1	Preparation for planting	Cleaning the field after harvest season, usually farmers let the remaining of rice-plant to dry and burn them later on.
		<i>Ma'dompeng</i> ( <i>dompeng</i> is term for tractor)- Ploughing the field using tractors, cows or hoes. It is seldom the farmers use the two latter one. Those who do not have tractors can rent them, or borrow from the head of <i>Poktan</i> . They can also pay people to do this step.
2	Plantation	Plantation of the rice can be done through two ways, <i>tabela</i> ( <i>tanam benih langsung</i> or direct seed planting) and <i>tapin</i> ( <i>tanam pindah</i> or transplanting). The latter one required heavy labour especially if it involves a big area of rice-fields. There is new agricultural machine that entered Pinrang, called Transplanter. However not many of farmers able to use it as it is quite complicated, especially for older farmers. Transplanter in a way could threaten this step as another potential of income sources because of the small labour force.
3	Cultivation	<i>Ma'kompur</i> ( <i>kompur</i> means tank or sprayer) - activities of spraying the fertilizers or pesticides. The wage for labour force in this activity might differ depends on the districts, but some stated that it is Rp. 10.000 per tank used. Hence the bigger land cost higher wage for the labour.
4	Harvest	<i>Ma'deros</i> - activities of harvesting the rice. As people mainstreamly used <i>daros</i> (local term for rice threshing machine) in harvesting, hence the term <i>ma'deros</i> . Nowadays, combine harvester machine has been replacing sickle-shaped or <i>daros</i> - which brings implication of lesser labour force in this activity. Those who offer their labour in <i>ma'deros</i> being termed as <i>paddaros</i> (often women and young people). Through the mainstreaming of Combine Harvester, <i>ma'deros</i> still provides space for labour force, however it is pale in term of labour quantities
		<i>Ma'taksi</i> - activity of transporting the sacks of rice from the rice-fields into the main street, grain drying factory, or the house of the farmers using motorbike or horse (seldom). The price differs based on how far the rice-field from the main streets, but it ranges from Rp 8.000 - Rp. 20.000 per sack. It is another opportunity for young people in rural village to get extra income; however this activity is quite labour intense in raining season because of the wetland, as well as the lack of farming road ( <i>jalan tani</i> ) that should connect the rice-fields to main street.

## Appendix 5: Life Trajectory of Participants

### a. Musakir's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



## b. Suwandi's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



He applied to Police entrance exam while still attending college at UNPAR (expressing his relatives suggested him to apply, and he had nothing to lose that was why he tried). UNPAR has a fixed schedule Monday-Friday, while STIMLAS is more flexible (Friday – Sunday). The classes held in Pare-Pare, he only went to Makassar when there were workshops or exams.

The placement for *Pegadaian* was in Ambon, another city in Maluku (an island located at the eastern side of Sulawesi island). His grandma passed away in late December that year.

Wandi only lasted 3 semesters at UNPAR, and entered STIM LasHaran in Makassar (Tertiary school specializing in Management, he took major in Marketing)

He bought a pick-up car and has been using it to sell eggs. He was asked to bring eggs to Kendari (in West Sulawesi province) by his relative who works as merchants. He started this in late 2015, at that time harvest season already over. During plantation season, his father will be the one that fill him in for this.

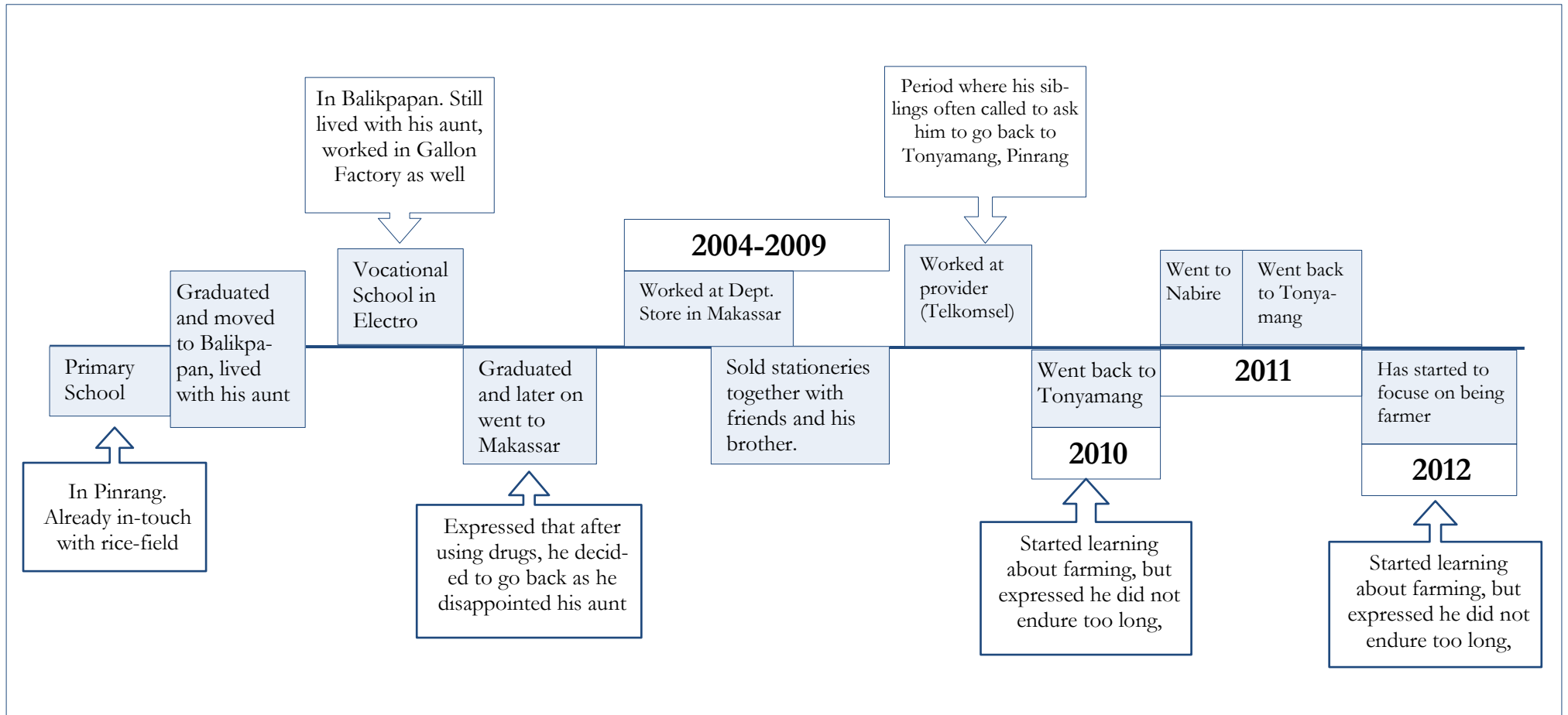
He bought a *KPR* house in Pare-Pare (*Kredit Pemilikan Rumah* is mortgages model, sort of home installment ownerships by bank). He rents the house now, as he lives in Cempa in his grandfather's home with his wife.

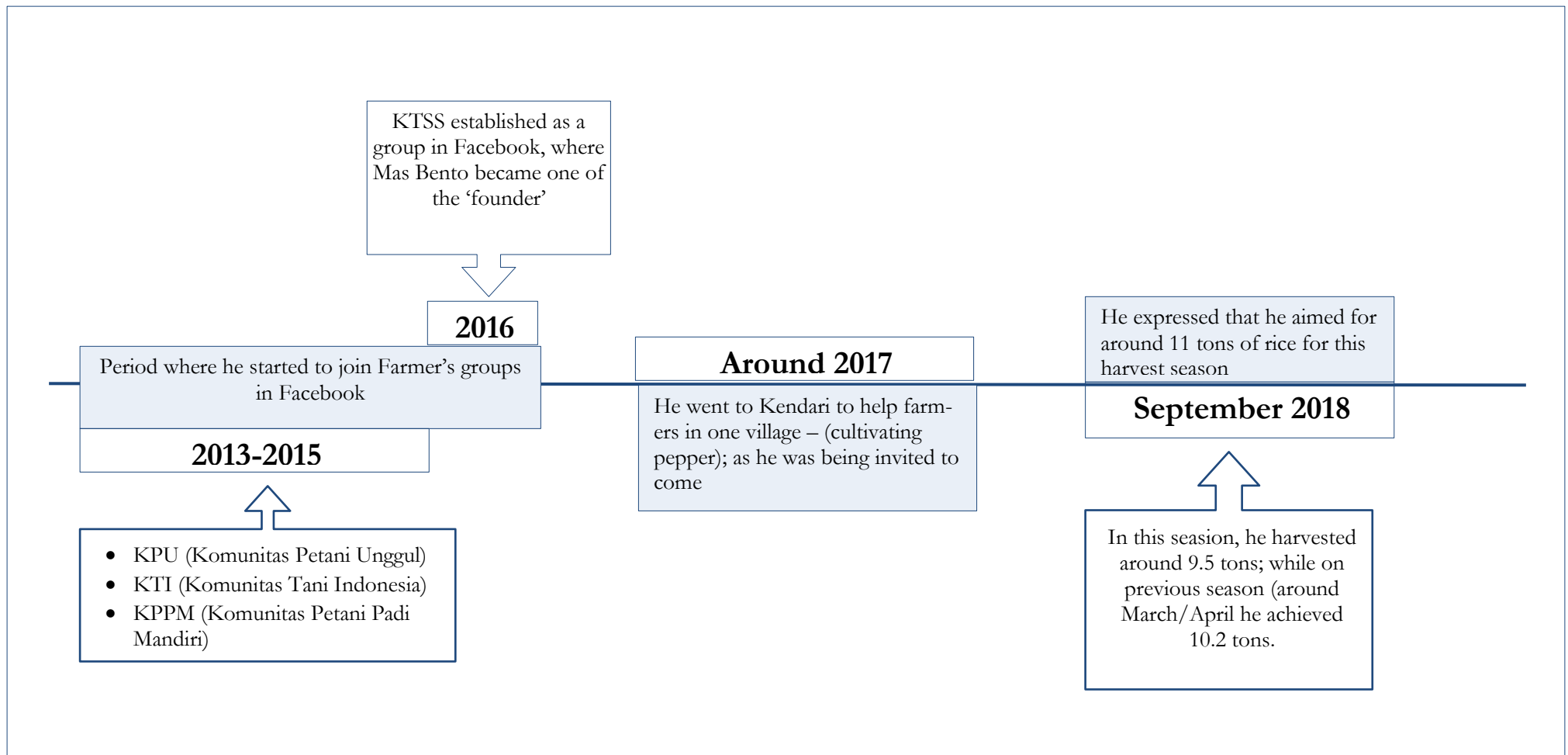
Graduated and in the period 3 days after graduation he got married.

He wanted to apply job at *Pegadaian* but his grandmother was in critical condition hence he canceled his plan.

He told me that his grandparents really wanted to see him marry, especially his grandmother. He also expressed he wanted to as well, and he already independent financially from his family.

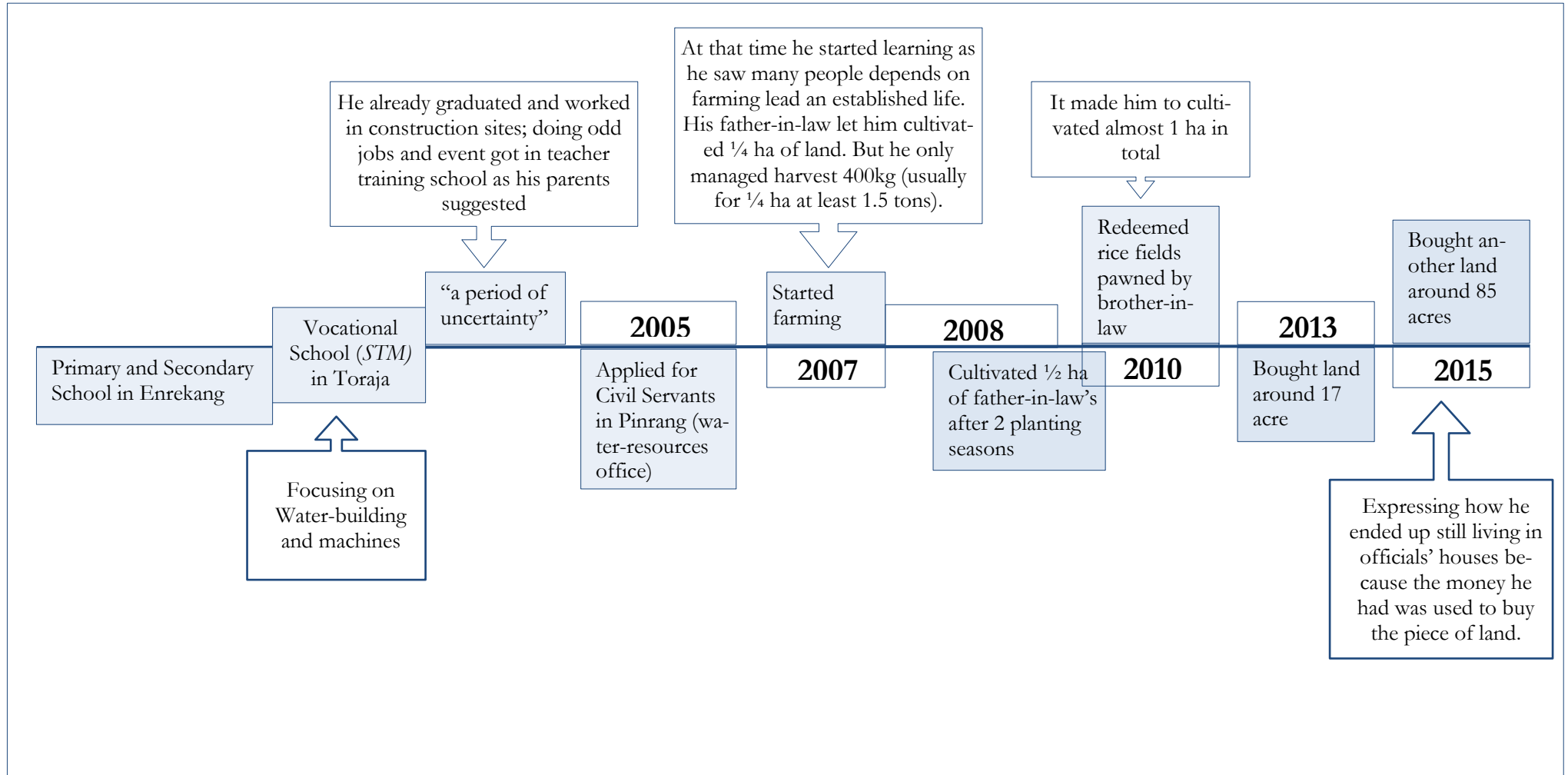
### c. Bento's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



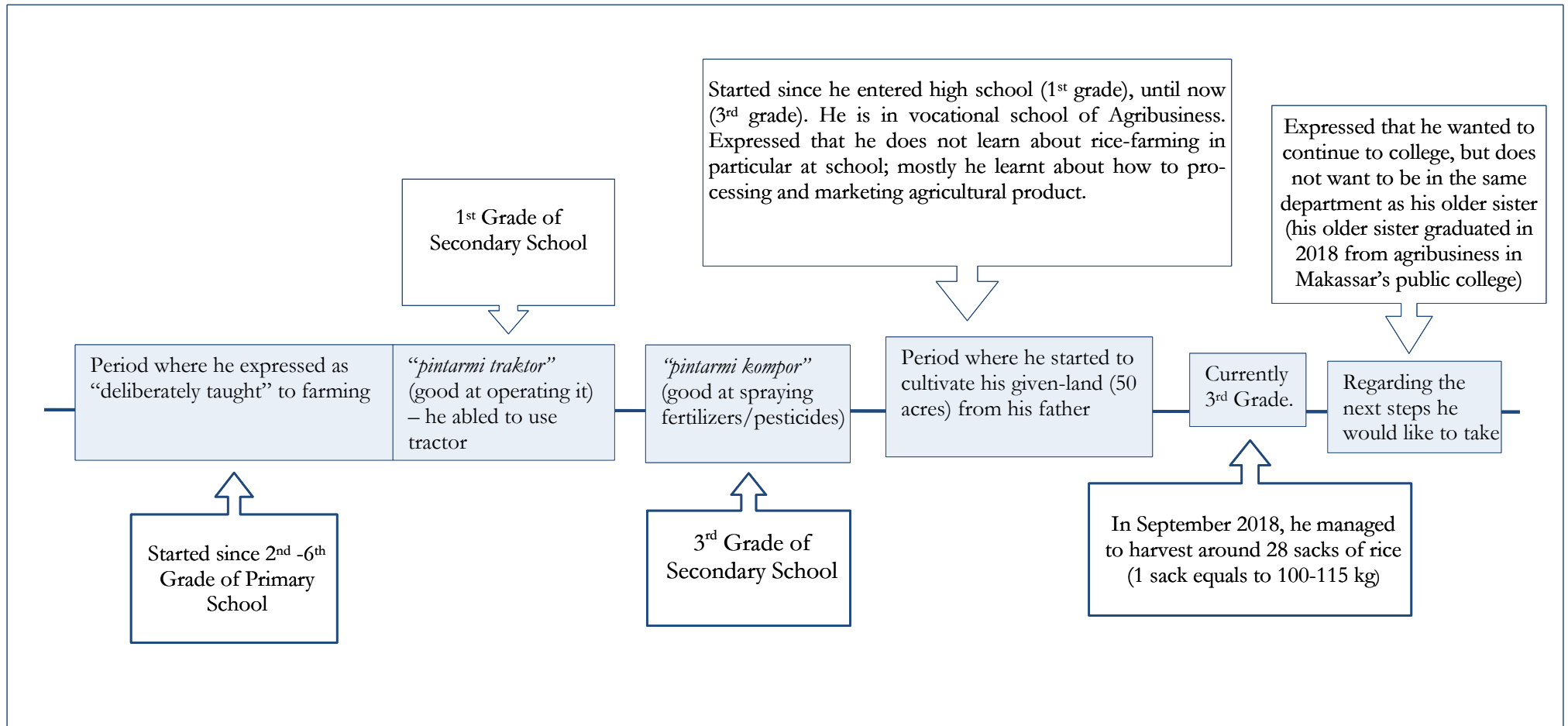




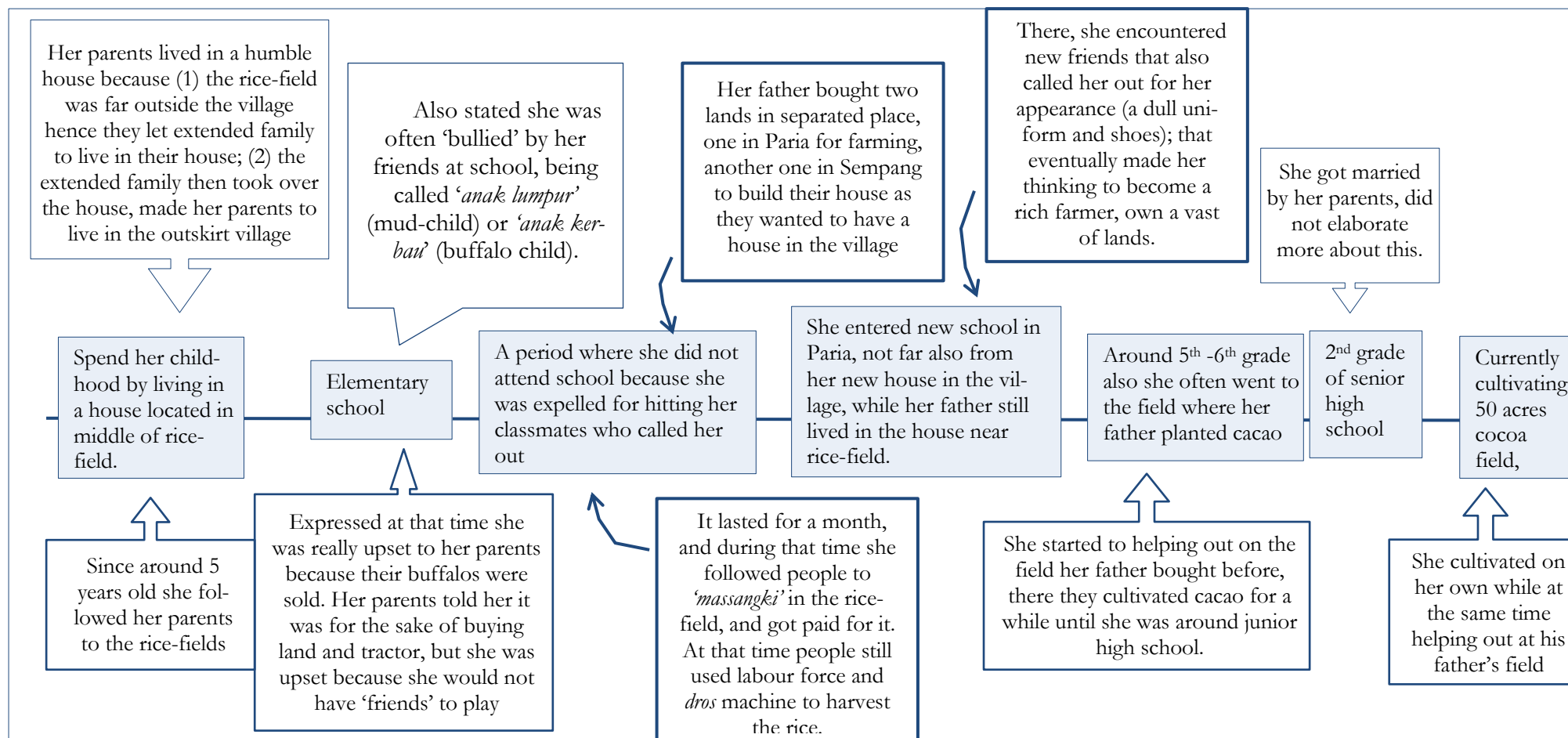
#### d. Asyari's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



### e. Riyad's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



## f. Lanna's Life Trajectory Graphic Picture



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