

Nurturing Food Sovereignty from the Peripheral Side: the Village Law and the Soul of Agriculture in Rural Development in Indonesia

Menyemai Kedaulatan Pangan dari Sisi Pinggiran: UU Desa dan Marwah Pertanian dalam Pembangunan Pedesaan di Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

After the enactment of the Village Law, the opportunity for the village as the spearhead of food sovereignty is widely open and the Village Law is considered a soul for village development. Village's main activities are agriculture, including the management of natural resources with the composition of the area as a place for rural settlements, government services, social services, and economic activities. Most of the population works in the primary sector, which has various challenges to reducing or even eliminating dependence on the global food market. Rural development and the orientation of village agricultural soul so far seem to go hand in hand but tend to be particular. This study aimed to study the primary sector of agriculture and food needs as the main political discourse with the subject of the village. The study was prepared using a qualitative methodology with secondary data and policy analysis. The political economy framework is used to see how far the potential and challenges ahead are toward Indonesia's food sovereignty, amidst the onslaught of neo-liberalism in the global food system. The findings show that Village Law seeks to restore the village's dignity so that it becomes an empowered village faced with the unpreparedness of village capacity.

Keywords: *food sovereignty, Indonesia village law, rural development*



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INTRODUCTION

Symptoms of the dependence of Indonesia's primary sector on the global market system have been noticeable since the 1960s. A decade before the massive penetration of the western agricultural framework, the intervention of the green revolution gripped farmers to live in the regime of agribusiness capitalism (Wahono, 2003). Developments in agriculture and villages that are felt to be deviant and inconsistent with the socio-cultural context of the nation, technocrats and intellectuals involved in designing rural agricultural development seem to go with the flow and sink also lose their critical power with the achievement of production, growth, investment, and investment figures as well (Sjaf, 2018). Through the intensification and extensification of agriculture, awareness of food sovereignty has been undermined by various gimmicks such as self-sufficiency in rice and the decline in hunger aggregation rates which are always reviewed at the national level. Ironically, the dissemination of success in the form of numbers and percentages is uprooted from its roots: the orientation of agricultural and rural development in Indonesia (Sujito & Ghofur, 2021). The failure of agricultural development that has been implemented by the Indonesian government has had a huge impact on the low level of welfare of Indonesian farmers. As one of the efforts to achieve food security for all Indonesian people, the government implements various policies that are not in favor of the welfare of farmers, such as policies on food imports from abroad, green revolution policies, and policies for regulating the distribution of domestic agricultural products.

The process of separating rural development from numeric record results in various food-related index performance figures raises questions about three important phases of the history and pattern of leadership in Indonesia. The first is the entry of the green revolution in the New Order era which prioritized intensification of agriculture for the sake of "the number of yields". The second is the earliest Indonesian Village Governance Law (Law No. 5 of 1979) which standardized the "*desa*" as the only smallest form of a nationalized bureaucratic system. The last is the birth of the new Village Law (Undang-undang No 6 Tahun 2014) that gives autonomy to the villages and the traditional villages in Indonesia.

The Village Law, which so far is still technocratic, must be supervised in its implementation, including giving criticism, because there are quite a few challenges in its implementation. Villages and agriculture are like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated from having root causes and strategic issues. The root problems related to villages and agriculture that are important to recognize are production-oriented policies, ignoring the social and cultural dimensions of farmers and rural communities; food commodification; policy disorientation; weak food politics and leadership; village powerlessness; the lack of spatial awareness in village development as indicated by the use of village funds that are not in accordance with the typology/village potential; and the problem of the way of life of the younger generation who tend and hope to be absorbed by the world of work, rather than creating opportunities and the job market (Sjaf, 2017, 2018). In simple terms, this paradigm departs from the state's recognition of village authority as an autonomous legal entity. The village is not an object of development, but a subject that can be independent, including designing which development sector is the most priority for a village. The task of the state is limited to providing allocation of funds and various standards, while the task of building is left to the village.

Several fundamental changes in terms of natural resource management for villages are explained by Shohibuddin (2016) regarding the access of villagers to local village resources. Efforts in the process of village autonomy and social and ecological justice are arranged in three agendas, namely strengthening village authority over its resources, democratizing local socio-agrarian relations, and revitalizing the economic base of village production. Meanwhile, after the new order authoritarianism, according to a study by Rifandini (2018) although it has not placed the village as an object, rural development instruments have not accommodated improvements in agricultural productivity. This reminds us that the notion of sustainability in agricultural development that has a place today is a continuation of the transformation of developmentalism (modernization) and globalism (liberalization). All of the above dynamics leaves the problems of agricultural development in Indonesia.

Policies on villages in post-authoritarian political structures, which were introduced in the design of autonomy, decentralization and conversion, produced many important positive changes (Sujito, 2004). For instance, the involvement of passive or active financial management shows the participation of the community in village development politically and economically (Arliman, 2019). Moreover, village-owned enterprises / BUMDesa as the source of economic livelihood can improve welfare and empower

rural communities (Fauzanafi & Hudayana, 2020). However, the process of realizing "village autonomy" is still experiencing several defiance such as the process of democratization of sustainable natural resource management and socio-ecological justice as well (Shohibuddin, 2016). Furthermore, some of these points above will become an important basis for the soul of food sovereignty and this paper aims to explain why it cannot be separated from rural development in Indonesia.

Separately, literature related to village autonomy and rural development has shown the same symptoms, namely the unconnected process of rural development and related primary sectors such as agriculture and animal husbandry. The village should be given adequate authority and sources of funds to manage its potential in order to improve the economy and welfare of the community (Indrawati, 2017). With the potential for a demographic bonus, the village must be used as a starting point to create human resources that have the character of dedication to sustainable agricultural development.

The neglect of the village in the agricultural development process makes the issue of rural agricultural development a peripheral issue, namely economic inequality, urbanization, to the weakening of village institutions. This paper places both of them in one point of view so that the village again accepts its dignity as the spearhead for the future of food sovereignty in Indonesia, where sustainable agricultural development needs to put a balanced relationship between objects (natural resources) and subjects (actors).

METHODS

The research, firstly, uses a political economy foundation related to agriculture for policy analysis in the Village Law and rural development in Indonesia. The literature review is used to synthesize the related research and literature. The issue of the Village Law and its benefits is seen as something that needs to be explored because it has become a public concern since the beginning of the implementation of the Indonesian Village Law. The data collected includes legal documents (laws), and previous studies on the Village Law and rural development and its changes. This data is then sorted and categorized to show how the achievements of the village in the perspective of the Village Law regulation, as well as how the empirical reality of fundamental changes in village development, are related to agriculture and the ecology that affects it. From this, a "gap analysis" was carried out. Two approaches will be used for the analysis process. Firstly, content analysis is applied to the provisions of the Village Law related to rural agriculture. Secondly, the perspective of rural development that is quite prominent in the sub-discipline of rural sociology will be applied to show the gap between the Village Law and the rural crisis which is the arena for its implementation. Later on, a critical study will be obtained as material for making conclusions to get answers for the research on the Village Law and agriculture in Indonesia.

The rural agriculture economic development became a framework to analyze the secondary data in this research. This framework is a modification of the local economic development framework which is quoted from a book entitled "Arah Demokrasi Desa" (Hudayana, Sujito, & Dina, 2019). Details of this framework can be seen in Figure 1 below:

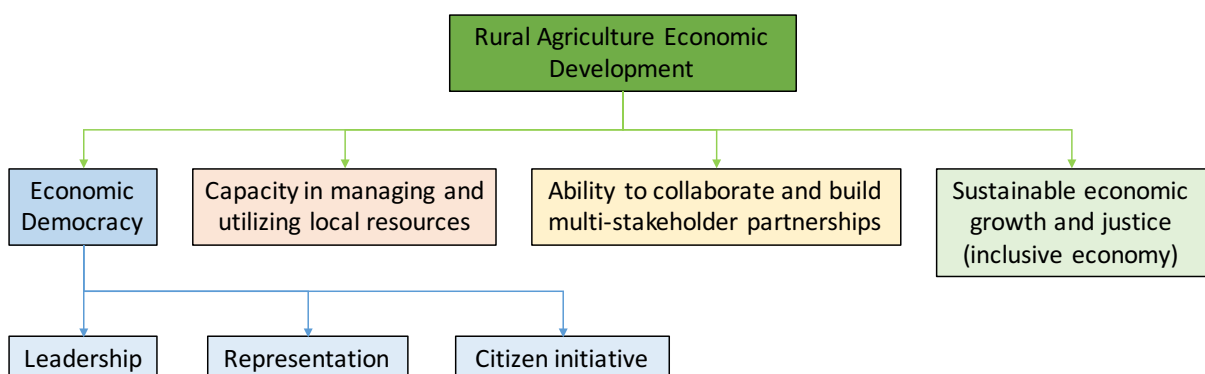


Figure 1. Rural Agriculture Economic Development Framework

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The concept of “food regime” is a never-ending analysis and is a product of its era: the era of receding national regulations and the strengthening of “globalization”. In this concept there is a rise and decline of national agriculture in the history of the geopolitics of capitalism. The concept of a food regime is historical by detailing the agri-food political order shaped by, and shaping, certain accumulation dynamics. In this case, the food regime and the history of capital can be understood as two things that shape each other. Formally, this concept defines a capitalist world order that is controlled by the rules that structure food production and consumption on a global scale (Friedmann, 2016). Substantively, the concept of a food regime focuses on the formation of power through the food circuit generated by historically specific relations of production and capital accumulation. As an effect, the structuring of political structures in the name of market discipline has created global markets for cheap food. It does this by exploiting cheap land and labour for agricultural exports. This actually sacrifices land and smallholder cultivation systems.

Meanwhile, La Via Campesina (Beauregard & Gottlieb, 2009) states seven principles of food sovereignty, namely (a) food as a basic right of every human being, not merely as a mere commodity, (b) application of agrarian reform approach, (c) protection of natural resources or responsible use of natural resources, (d) structured food markets, (e) ending of global hunger, (f) social peace, and (g) democratic control.

According to neoliberalism, efforts to create social welfare must be carried out by building market-led economic growth. Furthermore, adherents of neoliberalism believe that the food crisis will be eliminated if economic growth is built, with the means of international trade and comparative advantage. Neoliberalism does not want government intervention in the economy. Market mechanisms are used to regulate the global economy because products should not only be marketed domestically, but also abroad. Investments must also be invested throughout the world following the elements of supply and demand. The phenomenon is lately called "international political economy".

Food sovereignty has become a global issue shown by the attention of almost all countries to improve and maintain their national food supply in a sustainable manner. Although this paper focuses on sovereignty, several concepts of food security are relevant for discussion in the Indonesian national context. Food security is one of the main goals of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Referring to the concept of the world food organization under the United Nations, Food Agriculture Organization (FAO), food security covers 3 aspects, namely: food availability, food accessibility and food utilization. Countries that have food security have a better position in international politics. Indonesia as a developing country must be able to independently meet its national food needs, if it does not want to fall into the food trap of developed countries in the current of free trade era.

Nowadays, farmers in Indonesia have to deal with the flow of free market globalization on their own. International trade applies free trade with the principle of equality. This is what developing countries must face when dealing and trading with developed countries. Our farmers can export agricultural products but are unable to compete with agricultural products from developed countries that are cheaper and of higher quality. All of the problems above seem to be easily overcome through a bottom-up approach through good governance and autonomy in the village.

Some interpret it as good governance, and others interpret it as a good governance system. Furthermore, it is also explained that the term governance is the process of administering state power in implementing public good and services (Dwipayana et al., 2003). The Village Law places the Village Government with the authority to manage and regulate its own household activities and has the right to develop and empower village communities. The village has full power rights to manage its village government independently or autonomously. This village autonomy is a major achievement in the history of governance in Indonesia. This is because so far, the village government has not been given ample space to develop development innovations that are in accordance with the needs of the community. This village autonomy brings positive changes in the dynamics of government and village communities. Village autonomy is expected to increase development innovation. High innovation coupled with competent natural and human resources as well as good governance will be able to improve the quality of life and welfare of rural communities. One strategy is to develop agriculture, focusing on increasing direct investment in the agricultural sector.

In the Village Law, Article 80, there are two priority mandates that are closely related to efforts to overcome the problems above. First is the development of a productive-scale agricultural economy. It

would be very strategic move if the village could develop agriculture, starting with the construction of irrigation facilities, fertilizer assistance, procurement of superior seeds, to the assistance of experts. Second is the development and use of appropriate technology for the progress of the village economy, one of which is the agricultural sector. Thus, legally-formally, the Village Law has provided financial capital and strategic steps for strengthening the economic pillars in the village as one of the important pillars of the Indonesian economy, namely agriculture. The Village Law must be considered to give village sovereignty and not as a tool of central power to carry out central takeover of the region or the smallest unit of society, namely the village. This arrangement is carried out to encourage the process of sustainable village development and environmental sustainability.

Van Vollenhoven describes farming communities as rural communities with a background of agro-ecosystem unity (nature/geography) and culture. The unity of the geographical environment is mainly related to the control and exploitation of land resources, while the cultural unity includes various social rules that are applied in the farming community. These various rules include, among others, customary rules, indigenous peoples, land, arable land, family relations, and the economic life of the village community (people). At this point, capitalism that is present often has an impact that causes contradictions between the various elements involved in it, including elements of the social, cultural, and economic system of rural farmers. This impact occurs when the operational process of the capitalism system is preceded by antagonistic attitudes, so that it is prone to potential conflicts in the context of industrial-technological and traditional-agrarian societies.

Furthermore, the study of “Agricultural Outlook 2015–2019” (Setiyanto et al., 2014) found that climate change will cause a decline in world food production. Thus, it is likely that world food production will not be able to meet all demands, and world prices for food and agricultural products will increase. Increasing domestic production carried out to the best of our ability is the best way. Indonesia will be affected by global climate change so that the development of an agricultural system that is environmentally friendly, has regional dimensions, and focuses on commodities and locations is carried out gradually in the medium and long term because it contains elements of anticipation, adaptation, and mitigation. A policy strategy with a regional approach is important to be carried out immediately in accordance with regional spatial planning directions. In 2015–2019 Indonesia was under threat of implementing free trade and investment agreements. This implementation is not only related to an open trade and investment system, but also related to other issues such as employment, government politics, and services as well as information disclosure. In order to improve the efficiency of agricultural development, it is necessary to reduce the number and types of programs, the number of government’s “Satuan Kerja” and the programs carried out need to be focused on areas that are capable of leveraging growth and achieving agricultural targets. The regional approach is considered to be the right approach and is expected to be able to overcome various weaknesses in terms of planning, development implementation, and development approaches which are the cause of declining agricultural development performance. Learning from the past, as an archipelagic country with diverse natural resource characteristics, accommodation of regional suitability in planning for agricultural development is a key.

The outlook research above still needs to be continued in the future. The research agenda related to the future outlook is (1) research on the short-term outlook and agricultural prospects for 2015–2019; (2) a long-term agricultural outlook study, for example 2015–2045; (3) further research to refine the model to cover analysis up to the provincial level and even the district/city level; (4) reviewed main analysis model of the agricultural outlook in detail up to the provincial or district/city level for patenting.

However, development at the local level is always sought to be correlated with the results at the international level. The research “The Contribution of the Agricultural Sector in Achieving the MDGs Targets and Its Implications for the SDGs” (Sumaryanto, 2015) starts from the realization that by 2015 almost all countries have an interest in accelerating the achievement of the MDGs. The achievement of the MDGs is the basic capital for post-2015 millennium development, namely the SDGs. A total of 192 countries agreed that the SDGs contained a mandate as a result of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) meeting held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012. The main challenge is to achieve sustainable development through environmental improvement without compromising the need for economic development and justice. The best social strategy for implementation is the participatory based bottom-up approach. Given that the SDGs are basically a continuation of the MDGs, this is a lesson for the formulation of goals, indicators, targets, and strategies for achieving the SDGs. This lesson can only be obtained from the results of monitoring, studies, and empirical research.

Another research related to this field is the Patanas Research, which in 2014 was entitled “Socio-Economic Dynamics of Agriculture and Rural Areas: Analysis of Patanas Data (Irawan et al., 2014). From this study it is recommended that in order to improve food sovereignty, especially in rural areas, it is necessary to reorient government policies/programs with an emphasis on the development of the agricultural and rural sectors in order to be able to produce added value that can be enjoyed by farmers. Agricultural development and rural development in addition to increasing people's income are also expected to be able to curb the rate of urbanization and reduce the number of poor people, as well as an effort to increase income distribution and strengthen national food supply. In order to increase food diversification, special efforts are needed to increase the consumption of tubers and local food through the development of processing industries and promotion of local food that has high nutritional value and use value. In this regard, it is necessary to support the development of technology and innovation, which can produce various processed food products with raw materials of tubers and other local foods. Poverty alleviation policies should not only reduce the number of poor people, but also the depth and severity of poverty. Poverty alleviation programs should focus more on the aspect of household empowerment and be more directed to areas where the condition of the poor population is relatively more severe.

In 2014 there was one study that was directly related to agricultural commodities, namely the research “Study of Integrated Agricultural System Development for Livestock Crops” (Ilham et al., 2014). From this study it was conveyed that efforts to create new growth source areas for cattle/buffalo in Indonesia can be done by increasing the role of technology to encourage the development of commercial beef cattle business through various supports, namely (1) facilitating access for new entrepreneurs to beef cattle business, such as licensing and technical guidance; (2) converting small-scale enterprises into medium-scale enterprises, by facilitating access to sources of funds such as Cattle Breeding Business Credit (KUPS) and Food and Energy Security Credit (KKPE); and (3) providing facilitation for specialized research institutions related to the integration of oil palm-cow and strengthening the institutions of local cattle breeding units in areas where there are oil palm plantation centres. Utilization of feed raw materials in new growth source areas can be done in two ways, by bringing complete feed manufacturing technology to waste potential centres supported by technical assistance and capital assistance and/or feed processing equipment, and developing a low-cost complete feed industry to trade from oil palm plantation centres to cattle centre areas such as Java, Bali, NTB, and NTT. This also explains the importance of village-owned enterprises or BUMDes which is very relevant to the existence of food economic potential in rural areas

The food processing industry should be developed in areas where oil palm plantations and processing centres are located. The use of palm kernel cake, which so far has been mostly exported on the grounds that transactions must be in large quantities, can be overcome by purchasing large quantities of feed mills. If this happens, ruminant feed can be produced on an industrial scale such as poultry feed. Abundant raw materials can reduce prices, so as to solve the feed problems that have been faced so far. The slow development of an integrated crop-livestock farming system needs the government's attention, among others, through changes in the pattern of assistance which so far has only stimulated the emergence of new groups that hope for free assistance. Thus, the assistance should be diverted from assistance in the form cows into investments such as organic fertilizer processing units, feed processing units, agricultural units, biogas processing, easy access to program credit, and technical guidance. The material and technological assistance provided should be accompanied by institutional strengthening and empowerment of breeders and farmer groups, so as to accelerate technology adoption and access to KUPS or KKPE as a source of capital to develop businesses.

The government should be able to increase the access of farmer groups to the procurement of palm kernel cake and molasses from private companies and PTPN, among others through the relevant agencies where the group is assisted to submit a letter of request for a relatively large number of needs by combining several groups. Due to the large number, it is hoped that the company (private/PTPN) will find it easier to serve. If needed, it is better if there is a letter from the Directorate General of Livestock and Animal Health addressed to the Board of Directors of the Company/PTPN.

There are three studies that fall into the context of human resources and agricultural institutions. First, the study (Syahyuti et al., 2014) entitled “The Study of the Role of Farmer Organizations in Supporting Agricultural Development” was conducted in five districts in the Provinces of West Sumatra, West Java and East Java. In the five district locations, because almost all farmers are classified as small businesses, namely under 2 ha per household, organizing such farmers requires a different approach, including the need to apply specific organizational success indicators. In terms of the role of farmer organizations,

especially small farmers, although opportunities have been opened, the functions that have been fulfilled have only included communication and administration. In other words, it is only for top-down relations, namely meeting the needs of program implementers.

The economic function is still limited, except for a few cooperatives, while the political advocacy function is only limited to the role of KTNA's personal figures. To strengthen the political position of farmers, especially at the district level, other representative organizations than KTNA are needed in the form of various associations (such as farmers groups associations called "Gapoktan", associations of self-help extension workers, and associations of women's cooperatives, associations of commodity farmers, and others). Awareness that farmers can enter politics, at least formally by entering the legislative forum, has begun to grow. Overall, the future development of farmer organizations faces many new challenges that have not been understood so far. In this context, extension workers must be better able to carry out the community-organizing role, not just being trapped in commodity affairs. Agricultural extension officers must learn the principles of community-organizing and group management skills related to conflict resolution, negotiation, and persuasive communication techniques. Agricultural extension officers should not only understand the problem of commodities, but also the social aspects of the farmers.

Secondly, the study of Sunarsih (2014) entitled "Analysis of the Role of Social Capital in Supporting Agricultural Development in Border Areas" submitted a recommendation that development in border areas aims to improve the welfare of local community members and reduce the occurrence of socio-economic disparities with communities in neighbouring countries, especially those that create dependence on communities living in neighbouring countries. In order for the development process to run smoothly and in accordance with the needs of community members, it is necessary to utilize the roles of various resources owned by the community to support development, including the use of social capital.

The paradigm that turns the border area into a front porch will place the community in various changes. Aspects that need to be considered in the border area development process are understanding the social capital owned by the local community, facilitating the development, strengthening and maintaining a wider network with various related parties while utilizing the network referred to in implementing balance-oriented development in the community.

Lastly, the research of Indraningsih et al., (2014), under the title "Policy Studies and Implementation of Agricultural Innovation Dissemination" recommended that agricultural innovations produced by government research institutions are expected to be mostly applicable. There needs to be policies or provisions that bind to the achievements of regional leaders, such as the performance of regional leadership positions that can be a medium for awarding or punishing, so that development managers are oriented and committed to the process of strengthening program implementation and program outcomes.

Packages and approaches for disseminating rice farming technology through integrated crop management field school ("*Sekolah Lapang Pengelolaan Tanaman Terpadu*" called *SL-PTT*) have been implemented for quite a long time, but the success is very varied. To that end, research Ariani et al., (2014) with the study title "Supporting the Integrated Crop Management Implementation Movement ("*Gerakan Penerapan Pengelolaan Tanaman Terpadu*" called *GP-PTT*) through the *SL-PTT* Critical Review" suggested various improvement efforts. In an effort to improve the performance of *SL-PTT* to support the achievement of sustainable rice self-sufficiency in the future, there are several things that need to be improved immediately, namely (i) to socialize the implementation/technical guidelines of *SL-PTT* as soon as possible before the planting season arrives to reduce the bias between planning and implementation. ; (ii) to function *LL* properly; (iii) to encourage the mobilization of self-help, private, and tertiary extension workers from universities to guard and assist farmers in implementing site-specific *PTT* technology components; (iv) to grow local breeders in the *SL-PTT* area in providing seeds in accordance with the wishes of farmers, and this is in line with the Seed Mandiri Village program; and (v) to build better communication, coordination, and synergy between the central government, regional governments, and implementers in the field. Strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of the *SL-PTT* program since 2008 can be used as valuable learning materials in an effort to make the Integrated Plant Management Implementation Movement (*GP-PTT*) plan a success in 2015. The *GP-PTT* area should not be determined based on the area, but on administrative area (sub-district or village), so that it will be clearer and easier in coordination and operational responsibilities. Furthermore, the role of the Village Head/*Lurah* or *Camat* in coordinating between institutions and fostering the community is still quite significant. The socialization of the *SL-PTT* program is not enough only for farmers, but also for

the owners of the fields whose land is cultivated and farm labourers (who handle land processing, planting, weeding, and harvesting services) to help implement the technological innovations of SL-PTT. In line with the increase in production, aspects of processing, marketing, and farmer group institutions also need to be developed and improved so that farmers can get more benefits from the presence of this SL-PTT program. In addition, to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the budget, it is necessary to examine in depth the benefits and drawbacks of providing government assistance to non-LL farmers in the form of providing production facilities whose volume does not match the dose.

The challenge of future food needs is a problem that must be answered in village planning. The conversion of agricultural land into residential land indicates the threat of a food crisis in the near future of Indonesia. This threat is exacerbated by the issue of the problem that the remaining agricultural land currently available is not necessarily productive land and until now agricultural innovations have not been maximized so that they cannot solve the problem of narrow land to meet food needs. For this reason, food independent villages are needed as a strategy to strengthen national food security and protect Indonesia from food crises in the future. The Food Independent Village has a goal to increase the empowerment of rural communities in managing their resources optimally so that they can achieve food independence. Food availability can be realized through the process of food sovereignty and food diversification. Fulfilling food needs is the right of the state and nation to independently determine food policies that guarantee the right to food for the people and give the community the right to determine a food system that is in accordance with the potential of local resources.

Developing food sovereignty, in essence, is constructing a sovereign self-reliance to determine for themselves and fully control the availability of sufficient and healthy food for the community concerned. This kind of basic attitude is starting to disappear from most people today. We are increasingly fascinated by the giant industrial propaganda that advanced genetic engineering technology is one solution to the problem of food scarcity in the future. Villages have natural resource potential that can prosper their citizens, but unfortunately many villages have great potential but are not directly proportional to the prosperity of the village; this is because the local assets owned by the village are managed by outsiders and the village is only a spectator for the exploitation of local resources and the recipient of the impact from environmental damage. Cases like this often occur in villages close to forest, mining and oil and gas areas, where local residents are on the poverty line exacerbated by ecological damage due to excessive exploitation of nature without regard to local culture (IRE; 2018)

Since the 2014 Village Law was ratified, the discourse on economic growth has always been the subject of discussion, even though the village is currently considered as the spearhead of the country's economic growth. This assumption is reasonable because the Village Law is actually a regulation that encourages the birth of political democracy and economic democracy simultaneously at the village level. (IRE, 2019). With these two great mandates, the village must be able to unite an important element both at the level of political democracy and economic democracy, namely citizen participation. Citizen participation is one of the important elements in economic development in the village. To realize participation, it requires inclusive growth aspects in village economic development. Inclusive growth is defined as growth that not only generates economic opportunities, but also ensures equitable access for all members of society to the economic opportunities created. Inclusive growth enables all members of society to participate in and benefit from economic growth and development on an equal basis regardless of different socioeconomic backgrounds (Hill et al., 2012). The inclusiveness aspect is important for economic growth in the village, with the inclusiveness aspect ensuring that no one is left behind; all are involved in economic growth in the village. Inclusive growth must be accompanied by environmentally friendly and sustainable growth. To create environmentally friendly and sustainable growth, a growth strategy that takes into account the balance of the environment and ecosystem in the long term is needed. This growth strategy not only pursues high growth targets but focuses more on efforts to reduce carbon emissions, achieve energy security through the development of renewable energy, manage forest, soil and water resources carefully to avoid environmental damage, and maintain the availability of resources for future generations while creating economic opportunities.

The method of monitoring the implementation of the Village Law is carried out with a normative juridical approach and an empirical juridical approach. The normative juridical method is carried out to find out the potential problems of overlapping/disharmonious norms, inconsistencies or multiple interpretations. Meanwhile, empirical juridical is a direct monitoring carried out in the area with the intent and purpose of finding facts (fact-finding), forwarded to finding problems (problem-finding), then forwarded to problem identification (problem identification), and finally finding out problem solving.

The results of monitoring the implementation of the Village Law are described by qualitative descriptive analysis supported by various data and information, both primary data and secondary data collected in quantitative data and qualitative data. Furthermore, a sociological approach is used to examine and discuss the problems obtained in accordance with the facts that exist in the area which is then linked to the applicable legal norms and existing legal theories. The Village Law can be said to have been a correction to village regulations so far. In the Village Law, it is stated that over time, the implementation of previous village arrangements is considered no longer in accordance with the dynamics of the problems faced by the government and village communities. The discrepancy mainly concerns the position of the community in customary law, democracy, diversity, community participation, progress, and equitable development in the village which causes regional disparities, poverty, and various other socio-cultural problems.

Agricultural policy is a government effort to achieve a better level of economy and higher welfare gradually and continuously. This policy is carried out through the selection of programmed commodities, food and fibre production, marketing, structural improvements, foreign policy, provision of facilities, and education (Hanafie, 2010). According to Mubyarto, (1990) agricultural policies are divided into three, namely as follows.

1. Price control policy, namely the provision of a support or subsidy on agricultural production prices. Examples: basic prices, roof prices, fertilizer subsidies with the aim of: stabilizing prices, farmers' incomes do not fluctuate and provide direction and guidance on the amount of production.
2. Marketing policy, namely government intervention efforts in the operation of market forces. Examples: export of traded crops, production and production distribution arrangements, and market operations;
3. Structural policies, namely the government's efforts to improve the structure of production in the area of land ownership, the introduction of, and exploiting new tools and technologies and improving agricultural infrastructure (physical, social, and economic). Example: introduction of new technology with intensive counselling.

Changes in the direction of agricultural development policies are influenced by changes in the development paradigm. Agricultural development policies during the new order were aimed at increasing production to meet domestic food demand and export-oriented production, expanding involvement, and increasing the role of institutions. This functioned to increase added value in the reform era at the end of the 1990s (Darma, 2017). The supply chain involves suppliers, manufacturers, and retailers who synergize and cooperate with each other directly or indirectly (Chen & Paulraj, 2004). In essence, the supply chain mechanism for agricultural products is naturally formed by the supply chain actors themselves. In developing countries such as Indonesia, the supply chain mechanism for agricultural products is characterized by weak agricultural products and market composition. These two things will determine the continuity of the supply chain mechanism. Weaknesses in agricultural products, such as perishability, seasonality, bulky, non-uniform, etc. will affect the marketing mechanism. Often causes price fluctuations that will harm farmers as producers (Marimin & Maghfiroh, 2011). The existence of the government and stakeholders such as traders or entrepreneurs in the fields of production, post-harvest and product processing as well as marketing play an important role in the development of agricultural commodity supply chains. Agricultural commodities are still the main priority to be developed in line with the increasing number of consumers. In developing the supply chain of agricultural commodities, in order to realize better economic welfare of farmers, policies that pay attention to indicators of welfare, income, production, or strengthening of farmer resources are needed (Dermoredjo, 2016). The long supply chain of agricultural commodities has become a concern for the government, resulting in a high price disparity between farmers and retailers. The policy to overcome this kind of problem is usually by cutting the chain, where farmers sell their products directly to retailers. However, this policy is not the best solution to solve the problem, because it will cause the loss of livelihood of the villagers (Padjung, 2018). The high price disparity between farmers and retailers can only be overcome by supply chain efficiency. The efficiency of the supply chain can be improved by creating a business environment where every supply chain actor works honestly. This can be achieved by disclosure of information, especially in terms of price and product quality, transparent flow of information supported by adequate infrastructure, so that it will support the flow of products from farmers to retailers (Padjung, 2018).

CONCLUSION

This study aims to find out the village's ability to optimize local agricultural capacity after the support of the village law in facing free global market challenges. The findings from the secondary data that have been analysed can be seen in Table 1 below. Positive symptoms that are quite promising appear in several research findings in the field. In the face of Covid-19 villages are actually able to maintain food security amidst various obstacles limiting human mobility. However, these symptoms need to be further investigated in the long medium of dealing with neoliberalism.

Table 1. Framework and secondary data findings

Framework	Secondary data findings
Rural agriculture economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food regime has created global markets for cheap Food • Struggle the embodiment of food sovereignty principles • Village supports food security through "dana desa", rural development, and BUMDes
Economic democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local village leadership • Village governance participation • Communities initiatives in development • Village law allows dialogue and negotiation between village government and villagers
Capacity in managing and utilizing local resources	Village owned enterprise / BUMDes as a source of Village income and social entrepreneur
Ability to collaborate and build multi-stakeholder partnerships	Villages collaboration to cope political economy challenges
Sustainable economic growth and justice (inclusive economy)	Inclusive growth enables all members of society to participate

Neoliberalism in the field of food and agricultural universe that is running in the current era of globalization is more a phenomenon of market democracy, and it is more appropriate to be applied in developed Western countries than in poor and developing countries. The enactment of the Village Law brings optimism for the creation of village development that is able to realize village independence. But in reality, the Village Law has not been able to realize this goal. The substance of the Village Law does not give full authority to villages in local-participatory development; even the Village Law still provides opportunities for local government domination in the village development process that is being implemented. The existing regulations make the village busy with administrative obligations in village development. The implication is that although the position of the village is no longer a vertical government structure under the Regency/City government, the intervention of the Regency/City government results in a distraction from the village development authority which should be fully implemented by the village government. These problems construct a substantial impetus to explore the contextualization of the village law in rural and agricultural development in Indonesia and restore village dignity as the spearhead of agricultural development and food sovereignty. The Village Law normatively opens wider political opportunities for villagers' access to natural resources, but at the same time also suffers from a number of exclusion threats. For instance, they failed to answer marginalization of villages due to agrarian and ecological crises as capitalism advances to remote rural areas. As a consequence, viewed normatively, the Village Law opens up political opportunities to build access while at the same time creating a threat of exclusion; both have fundamental implications in the realm of practice. On the other hand, viewed empirically, the implementation of the Village Law itself is never neutral, but takes place in a certain structural context and is also coloured by specific power relations. This is what gave birth to a contestation process in which the Village Law was used to create access by some parties, or vice versa to create exclusion for some other parties. This is where the social movement or struggle finds its significance in order to transcend the basic limitations of the Village Law and encourage the struggle for village reform.

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