

## **Agriculture Liberalization and Marginalized Young Local People: Evidence from a Food Plantation in Lampung<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Abstract**

Since the 1980s, Indonesia has integrated its economy with global capitalism and has become liberal, particularly in the essential commodities, such as food, forestry, and mining. Moreover, this liberalization has created a diverse workforce and changed food production systems from family farming to corporate farming. Massive corporate farming raises a long debate, not only regarding the exclusion of small farmers but also regarding the changing social formations in the countryside that have led to a farmer regeneration crisis for young local people. Using social reproduction concepts, this study aims to analyze the rural social change including the impact for farmer families and access of local youth on job opportunity amid food corporate regime. The study is conducted in Terusan Nunyai sub-district of Central Lampung, which is identified as a high massive agriculture liberalization area in crops. The qualitative data is gathered from some literature reviews, direct observations, focus group discussion and in-depth interviews with some key informants. The research found that liberalization was followed by the land grabbing, and its food production systems have changed; they were previously based on household and tradition, but they switched into a corporate-based system (food estate). This corporate-based system employs many migrant workers, and after that, it changed the social class in the local community, between classes of employees and the local community classes as well. Limited capital and access of local people to get involved in the liberalization are considered to be the causes of marginalization of local people, including the young people's participation in the new social reproduction in the food regime.

### **Keywords:**

agriculture liberalization; social reproduction; marginalization; rural youth

### **Introduction**

This study provides an alternative perspective on changing the base of food productions from family farming to corporation-based farming with entry of foreign companies to manage large-scale agricultural industries in the Terusan Nunyai Area in Central Lampung District. This paper also tries to question the

impact of industrialization on rural social change such as the involvement of local youth in the activities of agricultural industry.-

The emergence of agricultural corporations was the impact of world liberalization driven by the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944. Three major international agents formed from the agreement: World Bank, International Monetary

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but in the current globalization, Ploeg (2008) emphasizes only agricultural corporations<sup>7</sup> have great dominance towards farmers.

Furthermore, Ploeg (2008) affirms that the base of farmer sovereignty is achieved through co-production. Co-production means the ability of farmers to use their resources on an ongoing basis. Resources through the production process can produce output for the market and some of the other resource proceeds can be used as input for subsequent production. Other than that, keeping harmony between the environment and production systems is necessary to farming sustainability (Ploeg, 2008). The question then is whether the farmers' autonomy in the ability to maintain co-production is achieved in the current era of food globalization. This question is still in debate because the impact of the failed green revolution (in Indonesia and other developing countries) left many problems for farmers, such as lack of land access and dependency on agricultural production.

The criticism of the food regime in the context of global agriculture that gives corporations large access has been summarized by Bernstein (2015). He argues, corporations not only create contradictions from the capital accumulation, new technology, food markets and other commodities but also ecological threats and social reproduction crises for the working class in the countryside. The strengthening of the world food regime has serious implications for farmers as small farmers are diminishing<sup>8</sup> and marginalized, while big food corporations are expanding, which has implications for reducing smallholder land tenure and changes in agricultural labor.

In Indonesia, rural development and modernization began in the 1970s, which has had

<sup>7</sup> Corporations according Ploeg (2008) include private actors in food systems such as large retailers, technology investors, and other large private entities.

<sup>8</sup> The number of farmer households in Indonesia has decreased by 5.1 million households in 10 years (2003 - 2013), data from Agriculture Census 2013

an impact on youth's perceptions and aspirations in agriculture (White & Margiyati, 2016). Today, agriculture, such as paddy fields, is considered by the youth as a dirty, physically demanding and unfavorable job (Ningrum et al., 2016). A study found that most rural youth with higher education prefer to be government employees or to work on formal jobs in urban areas (Minza, 2014). Rural-to-urban migration is increasing and agriculture in the countryside is being undertaken by old farmers with an average age of more than 52 years (Agriculture Census, 2013).

The escape of youth from agriculture has an impact on the employment structure in the countryside, not only on aging farmers but also, in the long run, it will threaten farmer regeneration (Ningrum et al., 2016). Similar conditions occur in other agrarian countries in the world. In the Philippines, the average age of farmers is 57 years<sup>9</sup>, with a rare tendency for youth to return to agriculture. As well as in developed countries,<sup>10</sup> such as Japan and Europe, the average age of farmers has reached 65 years. The same thing is found in African countries; although 65% of youth live in rural areas, they are not interested in working in agriculture (White, 2016 ; Leavy & Smith, 2010). In the context of food sovereignty, the phenomenon of youth out from agriculture will be a serious problem that threatens farmer regeneration.

In this study, youth<sup>11</sup> are a generation, which is an important subject in rural social formation, particularly related to agriculture.

<sup>9</sup> Based on Statistics Data from the Department of Agriculture Philippines (2013)

<sup>10</sup>Farmers' statistics data in Europe are supported in Carbone & Subioli (2008) and Japan statistical data from Yamashita (2008).

<sup>11</sup>Youth in this paper use the perspective of a relational approach (Naafs & White, 2009), where youth have a dynamic relationship with the other (adult) in the social reproduction structure and defined as "generations." The more practical understanding of the rural youth is population aged 16 to 35 years and living in rural areas. The author decided until age 35 years because at that age, youth has been established in deciding the work of their life.

From this point of view, this paper places the youth as the subject of farmer regeneration that is related to economic and politic aspects of agriculture including land, labor, cultivation, and technology. Farmer regeneration is an important element of small agriculture (family farming) and is a mode of production to achieve food sovereignty.<sup>12</sup> In this case, small agriculture is defined as a type of agriculture that not only depends on the quantity of production, but rather includes aspects of food quality, democracy, sustainability, and resilience (Ploeg, 2008). Meanwhile, criticism of corporate-based agriculture is considered only on food security but far from sovereign aspects.

Thus, an important aspect of achieving food sovereignty is maintaining the sustainability of farmer regeneration in rural areas to ensure the sustainability of family farming (small-scale farming). Farmer regeneration is inseparable from the social reproductive system because youth are not independent in society but are affected by social systems and social relations in the countryside (Naafs, Suzanne and Ben, 2012), in this context, the government, family, and society have a big role in youth construction.

Based on these problems above, the aim of this study is to examine the impact of agricultural liberalization on the life of farmer's family, especially for young people. This study provides a critical analysis of the change in production systems from traditional family farming to corporate farming in the food plantation area.

### **Youth Social Construction in Agricultural Liberalization Era: Concept Review**

The author uses two concepts to look at social change in the countryside due to agricultural liberalization: the first concept is agricultural liberalization, and the second is

youth social construction. In the first concept, agricultural liberalization gives a significant role to the market in determining food systems, both in the production system (McMichael, 2013) and in trade (Hasibuan, 2015). Liberalization opened the opportunity for Trans National Corporation (TNC) from developed countries to take over agricultural production to provide world food. TNC grows in developing countries with modern technology and high efficiency. Liberalization makes food a commodity that can generate profits for big corporations (Musjtari, 2014). A sign for the liberalization development is the enactment of a free trade policy. This policy began with the signing of the Marrakesh Agreement in Morocco in 1994 and resulted in a General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GAAT). In GAAT, there is a collection of rules of trade under WTO control between countries and also intergovernmental negotiation forums.

The establishment of GAAT and WTO encouraged agricultural products to become increasingly integrated into the world market (Igwe, 1991). Food products with good quality and lower prices will win market share. The entry of agricultural import products provides a variety of choices for consumers, especially upper-middle-class consumers, but on the other hand, it has an impact on local communities who are not able to join hands with liberalization (Hasibuan, 2015). Critics of agricultural liberalization have been criticized by *Vía Campesina*, who firmly rejects international agricultural trade because of protecting small farmers in developing countries or third-world countries who are unable to compete with globalization (Hasibuan, 2015). Liberalization also causes capital and labor to be considered commodities that highly depend on market conditions. This dependence is not only on the system of distribution and production of goods and services, but it also determines the social reproduction that occurs. Social relations that occur depend on the market.

<sup>12</sup>Aside from academia, farmer organizations, such as *La Via Campesina*, support food sovereignty through small-scale agriculture.



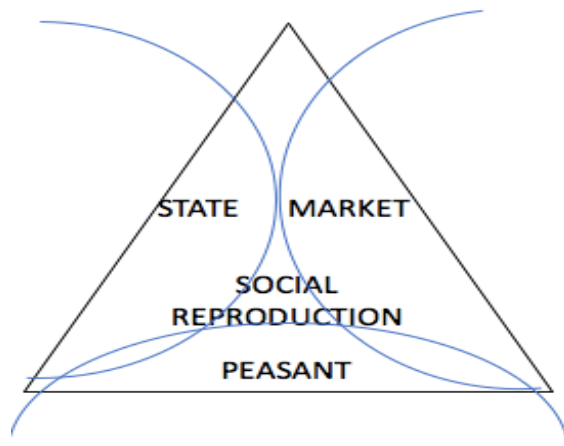
In youth social construction, there are two concepts of youth: first as a generation and second as a transition (Naafs, Suzanne, & Ben, 2012). In the first concepts, as a generation, the youth studies are not confined to differences between youth and adults, but to the relational forms and structural phenomena that surround them. When it comes to generational change or relations, that includes the changing from one social generation to the next generation (Naafs, Suzanne, & Ben, 2012).

In the context of rural agrarian societies, the changing youth perceptions and aspirations in looking at agriculture in the future is inseparable from the relations and structures in the social formation that contextualize youth (Ningrum, et al., 2017). Changes in the farmer's social structure due to changes in the food regime have implications for the mode of production and for creating new social relationships. If in small farming agriculture, these intergenerational relationships are evident from family relationships (parents and children), but in more complex food regimes, the labor relationships are not only among family (household) but involve wider social structures including states (through rules instruments), corporations (which control resources and create new labor relationships) and market systems (Bernstein, 2015; White, 2015).

Furthermore, the youth concept as a transition refers to the transition period from children to adulthood, from education to work, as well as from the origin family to the destination family (Lloyd, 2005; Robert, 2009). In this transition period, the change in youth life is strongly influenced by the aspirations and expectations related to the social structure, such as family, school, and society. In that period, the rural youth were not interested in agriculture for their future and preferred to move to the city (Koning, 1997; White & Margiyati 2009; Hall et al., 2011). The change in youth aspirations, which has implications for

the rural and agricultural labor systems, is the result of current social reproduction. When the state emphasizes social reproduction through modernization, including the education system, modern farming systems and neo-liberalized industrialization (who create domination in food corporations), the rural youth become alienates from the agriculture and are encouraged to migrate to urban areas.<sup>13</sup> In general, the youth's social reproduction in agriculture globalization is influenced by several factors, including the state, market, and farmers as the scheme shows below.

**Figure 1.**  
**The Interlink of Social Reproduction**



Source: Adopted from *Transitional Process of Peasantries in Globalization* in (Ploeg, 2008, p.3)

The state through food policy, education, rural economics, and labor rules has influenced changes in social structures in rural areas. The rural people face changes from traditional to modern and they've made changes in the mode of agricultural production, the declining population, the increased level of education and the health, which constituted the social change of development.

<sup>13</sup>Including the urbanization and de-agrarianization (the sectoral job shifting) is generally happening among young people.

On the other hand, rural market globalization affects the social class in rural society, if the previous social class was only divided into farmer class but is more diverse based on job type (agriculture and non-agriculture). At the rural community, especially farmers, social reproduction directs farmer children into industrialization or other professions in the city so the transmission of farmers' habitus<sup>14</sup> from farming parents to their children is missing.

Leaving youth from the farmer's social reproduction creates new social formations (Wells, 2009) that cause crises among farmer communities and threatens the sustainability of their farming systems. In addition, the exclusion of youth from the social reproductive process provides greater opportunities for the capitalist (corporations) to gain control of agricultural land. In the corporate food regime, the social actors and social relations between the state, corporations, markets, and farmers are influential in the social construction of the rural youth and the social reproductive processes that occur.

## Methods

The study was conducted in Marga Terusan Nunyai in the sub-district Terusan Nunyai, Central Lampung, Indonesia. Its location represents the agricultural shifting site from traditional farming in 1974 to a large corporate farming (over the last 45 years) that includes sugarcane, pineapple, and cassava plantations. Two large corporations producing sugar and pineapples then controlled most of the marga's territory and changed the community's livelihood from subsistence

farming to corporate labor. Land ownership was originally by the rural household but it turned into a large plantation with a monoculture cultivation system according to the corporation's needs.

This study used descriptive analysis and qualitative data obtained through literature review, direct observation, focused discussion with marga's community, an in-depth interview with key informants such as a marga leader, the old farmers, the young farmers, young labor (for a corporation), and the corporate staff in the plantation. To obtain data, the researcher used some tools such as interview guides, historical documents obtained from key informants, and some literature.

The researcher analyzed the social changes in the Terusan Nunyai through historical literature obtained from 1987 to 2010 from the universities of Leiden and Amsterdam. The author also collect articles from Lampung Pos newspaper, which is the first and largest newspaper in Lampung. Unfortunately, the articles related to the investment in food plantations in the area of Central Lampung are very limited; only 75 articles were published from 2009 to 2014.

Meanwhile, the land tenure changes in the Terusan Nunyai were obtained through direct observation, and together with marga leaders and 2 villagers, we made a modification of the land tenure map using the marga base map created by colonial Dutch in 1930 and then compared it with the current land tenure at this time. In-depth interviews with marga leaders and farming communities in the village were also conducted to analyze the process of social reproduction in Terusan Nunyai amid food liberalization. Interviews were conducted 4 times during 2015 and 2016, with subjects covering:

- Changes in the social class system in society before 1976 and after the agricultural corporations came to the rural area
- Changes in population livelihoods after the liberalization in 1976

<sup>14</sup>The term "habitus" was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1960), a practical skill (mindset and act) based on social and cultural capital that became acts and abilities that seemed natural and developed in a social environment. In the capitalist society, this habitus is used as an instrument in perpetuating social classes in society. The social reproduction occurring within the structure of the society is influenced by its ability to transmute the habitus to its next generation.

- Changes in the rural labor system before and after the entry of the corporation
- The process of farmer regeneration that occurred before and after the agricultural liberalization
- The relationship between agricultural corporations and communities in the Terusan Nunyai

Deepening rural youth's aspirations and perceptions about food agriculture, the researcher conducted focus group discussions with five youth (boys and girls), ages 18 to 35 years old, consisting of young farmers, young corporate laborers, and students in high school. The results were used by a researcher to analyze the role of rural youth amid liberalization in the rural area, whether they benefitted from the liberalization or if they were alienated by liberalization.

Beside interviews with the rural people, the researcher also interviewed the sugar corporate staff who focused questions on the employment system in the corporation covering the work relationship, wage, and the relationship between the corporation and the indigenous peoples in the Terusan Nunyai; the interview was conducted in 2015 and 2016 with 3 staff members in the company. Some findings in the field were then discussed through the Focus Group Discussion conducted together with the academics to get input on the in-depth analysis in understanding of the social changes due to food liberalization in rural areas.

## Results

### Marga Terusan Nunyai History and Territory

Globalization in Lampung began before Dutch colonization through the pepper trade under the Sultanate of Banten. At that time, every married person had to plant 1000 pepper trees (Kingston, 1987). Then, in 1857, the area of Lampung was occupied by Dutch colonials and divided into districts and led by a Demang. In that Dutch colony, the

marga that had existed in the area were not recognized by the colony (Broersma, 1916 in Safitri, 2010). Until 1928, the colony admitted the existence of marga and all the land in the marga territory was granted to the marga; no land was unclaimed in the administration of the Lampung region (Kingston, 1987). Forest and plantation boundaries were made clear to separate the control of colonial and marga areas. The colonial government also made a marga's map in the region of Lampung that containing the territories borders and name of marga. Based on the marga map, there are 62 marga throughout all Lampung (Hadikusumo, 1989, as cited in Safitri, 2010) and each marga has a defined area boundary as a legal entity.

The purpose of re-acknowledging<sup>15</sup> marga as more than a colonial extension in the lowest administrative area, especially for tax (Elmhirst, 2001), was to convert marga lands into pepper plantations. After 1928, marga cultivation developed rapidly. They planted various plants such as pepper, coffee, randu tree, palm, cassava, and corn. Yields were not only commodified for domestic market supply but also made into global market trading. Recorded in the 1930s, Lampung supplied 30% of pepper production in the world (Kingston, 1987).

After Indonesia's independence, the marga recognition and region territory changed. There were at least two laws affecting that change. First, Indonesian Agrarian Law No. 5/1960 recognized indigenous peoples including marga but not as legal entities that could control a freehold title to land. Second, the Indonesian Forest Law of 1967 stated that 142 million hectares (about two-thirds) was a land area and most of it was claimed as a state forest (*hutan negara*).

In the colonial period, most of the marga land was forest area, when the Indonesian

<sup>15</sup>Before, there have been marga to characterize family descendants since the Sriwijaya government





In 1974, Terusan Nunyai became the target of foreign company operations.<sup>20</sup> More than 10 private corporations engaged in crops (cassava, banana, sugar cane, pineapple, palm oil, maize, etc.) have been operating in this area. The 10 corporations were acquired by two large corporations that produce sugar and pineapple. The entry of corporations was the starting point of changes in the agriculture production system in Terusan Nunyai, among others changes in land tenure, labor, cultivation, and technology that had an impact on cultivation systems, the size of cultivated land, and family workers on small-scale family farms.

#### Change in land tenure and cultivation

Before the corporation came to Terusan Nunyai, each farmer obtained 15 hectares for their families, and they worked with a shifting cultivation system, according to the family's ability to cultivate the land. The marga grows food crops such as rice, palawija, vegetables, and fruits. They also plant various types of perennials. All the food needs are filled from family farms and other yields are sold to market which is then brought to Java. In such a farming production system, co-production as Ploeg (2008) mentioned can be realized to achieve farmer autonomy. In other words, food sovereignty at the level of farmer household has been achieved.

Since the corporations came in 1974, marga's farming has changed slowly and is currently replaced to large sugarcane and pineapple plantations. The first corporation that came to Terusan Nunyai was a foreign company that has now become a sugar-producing company for the national market. This corporation is a foreign company that is affiliated with two national companies. A few years later, another corporation came and then built pineapple plantations for export.

The two large corporations dominated about 90% of the marga's land, while the remaining 10% were still controlled by indigenous people but farm production must be integrated with corporations through partnership systems (for sugarcane and pineapple) or the farmers plant cassava independently and sell it to a corporation. In Cassava Corporation, it does not hold a land or cultivation right title but the corporation can create a monopoly market and become a big market share of tapioca in the world.

The centralization of land control for the two large corporations left only a small amount of land for farmers, creating a sharp inequality of land tenure. Marx (1867) calls this situation as centralistic of capital, that is, the growth of large capital for capitalists in one place followed by the loss of capital in another place. This takeover is done through the acquisition, merger, and farmer exclusion.<sup>21</sup>

The process of land grabbing at that time was inseparable from the government regime, which was also part owner of the corporation. Government authorities pressured clans to avoid resistance when some companies took over the land. This process of capital centralization was not only a part of the market competition, but there was a big government role in providing protection and support to corporations through military force. Then, after the New Order regime ended in 1998, some marga communities claimed their plundered lands and asked to obtain compensation to corporations.

Since the dominance of the large corporation, the Terusan Nunyai' landscape has changed in twenty years, from various crop cultivation to monoculture food plantations (only for sugar cane, pineapple, or some cassava). Lost marga lands were forcibly taken over by military or local government coercion.

<sup>20</sup> In 1974, soldiers came to the Terusan Nunyai to meet marga leader with letters from the governor of Lampung, whose contents would use the land in the marga territory for plantations.

<sup>21</sup> Currently, the average land for farmer in Terusan Nunyai is not more than 1 hectare

Many farmers are unemployed or survive in narrow land and they grow cassava. In 1973, the marga leader tried to resist by creating a participatory marga land map; this map was an effort to go against a military map that used to grab the marga land. However, this effort was unsuccessful and most of marga land except residential areas was released and controlled by corporations. Today, The Terusan Nunyai' tenure can be seen on the below map.

#### Changes in Farming Technology

Before the corporation arrived, small farmers only relied on human labor, livestock, and natural materials for its production activities. After the the corporation operated in marga land, the traditional agriculture switched to a modern large-scale operation that depended on science technology as a production base. When the foreign companies came to Terusan Nunyai, it was the beginning and forerunner of the entry of technology for dryland sugar cane plantation in Indonesia. This technology was then developed by other corporations, not only in Lampung but also in Sumatera Island.

The centralization of technological mastery is characterized by capitalism, which not only transfers global technology to marga land but also opens the marga territory to the global labor market. Foreign companies brought labor from Malaysia to operate modern technology. The migrant labor then made Terusan Nunyai more diverse and the corporation grew faster through the accumulation of technology capital.

#### Changes in Labor System

Small-scale farming is characterized by using family labor and embodying mutual cooperation among family members. Farmers in Terusan Nunyai have relied on household members to work in their land, preserving cultural symbols, such as the "selamatan" ritual before and after harvest. The loss of marga land

control caused the loss of family labor and the the extinction of the marga ritual. The current labor system is a complex industrial relations system between corporations and laborers, and close to exploitation practices.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of sugar corporation, the employment relationship consists of 2 types of labor status: permanent employees and daily labor. Permanent employment<sup>23</sup> is high-qualified labor both in work experience and educational level. Meanwhile, local youth in the countryside generally have limited qualifications to enter this job position and are unable to compete with migrant workers. Furthermore, the type of daily labor<sup>24</sup> consists of a permanent daily labor such as cleaning service, driver, or seasonal labor who is employed during the cutting season. The qualifications required for daily laborers are relatively low and do not get the exclusive benefits of permanent employees.<sup>25</sup> Local youth can enter the job but generally only as non-permanent daily laborers.<sup>26</sup>

The corporation also creates relationships with farmers through a partnership scheme. In this scheme, the corporation provides loans to farmers who want to plant sugar cane. During harvest, the sugar cane must be sold to the corporation at a given price that has been determined by the corporation and a part of the sale is used to pay the farmer's loan.

Besides the partnership scheme, there is another relationship between the corporation and cassava farmers. The farmers do not get loans from the companies such as sugarcane; in this case, farmers are just suppliers of raw materials without work contracts, and there

<sup>22</sup> Such as the case of laborers are not given the certain contracts and low wages

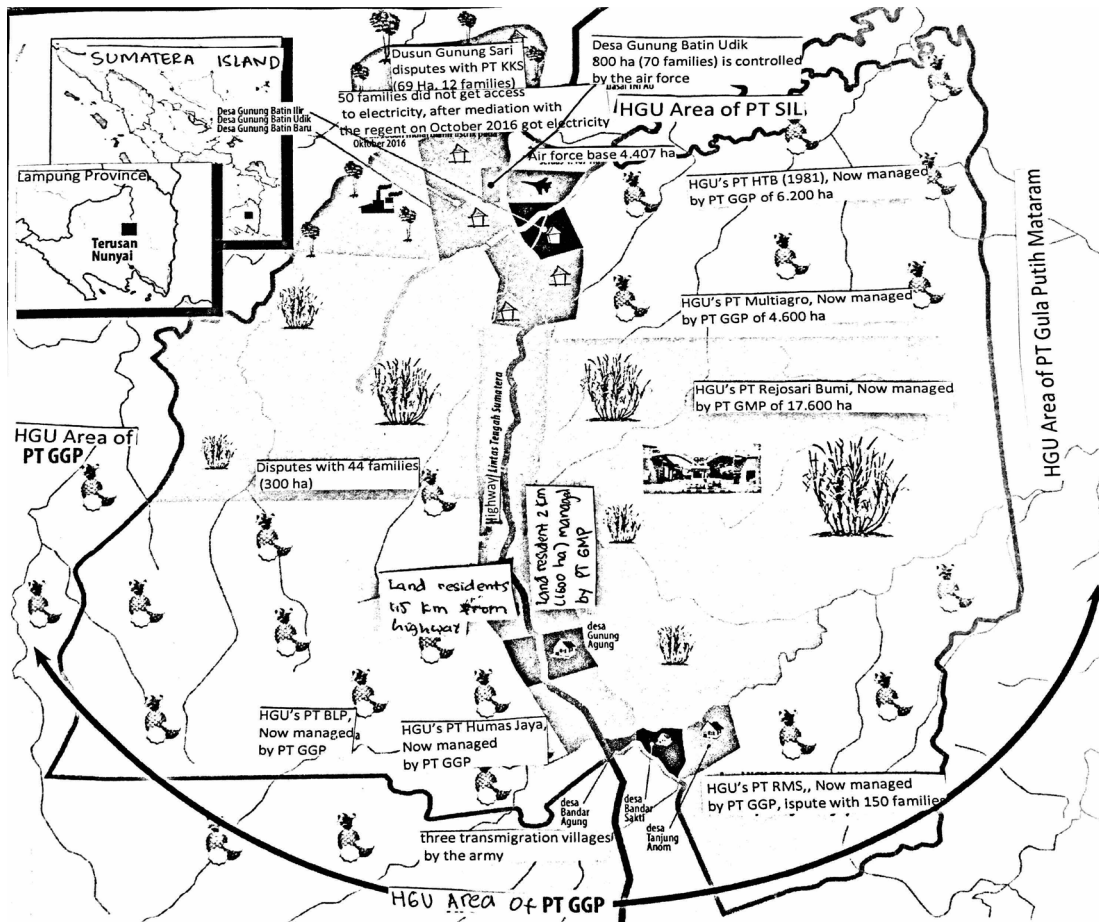
<sup>23</sup> The corporate has employed 1862 permanent employees who are dominated by migrant workers

<sup>24</sup> The number of permanent daily labor in sugar corporate is 3,880 labors and seasonal labor is 6,000 to 8,000 labors.

<sup>25</sup> Source from in-depth interview with company's staff

<sup>26</sup> Source from focus group discussion with young people in rural

Figure 2.  
Map of Land in Terusan Nunyai Sub-District



Source: Research Center for Population Studies – LIPI (2016)

is no guarantee that the company will buy from the cassava farmers, but the company has dominance which is strong in determining farmers to grow cassava cultivation.

In terms of employment opportunities, professional work relations created by corporations, in general, provide employment opportunities that are difficult to fill by local people. In addition, labor regeneration in the corporation is determined by family relations, giving few opportunities for local people. As well as agriculture, the marga land that has been converted into a large plantation discourages rural youth to become autonomous farmers on their land.

### Marginalized Rural Youth and Critique for Food Sovereignty

The lives of marga Terusan Nunyai are now accompanied by large corporations, military bases, and migrants. Sugarcane and pineapple plantations have not only subsided their farms but have also transformed the ecosystem to become barren. During the dry season, the residents' wells dry up and must be supplied with clean water from the corporation's aid program; previously, water in the community well was available. Then, during the cutting season, the air pollution from the sugarcane burning flew over the territory of the Terusan Nunyai.

The change in the food regime from family farming to corporation is felt in this marga

region. The agricultural production is used to support national and global food availability. As sugar barn, Lampung contributes to 40% of national production. While the pineapple can reach the third pineapple market share in the world (one of the five canned pineapple in the world is the product from Terusan nunyai). Although there is large cultivation right title from various private corporations but the control of polarized agricultural production on the two large corporations. In this liberalization system, acquisitions not only occur on farmland but also between private companies, so the most efficient corporations will dominate other corporations, then induce a cartel and monopoly on food commodity.

Farmers who still own land are forced to follow the markets created by large corporations that do not have autonomy over cultivation and markets. This take place because the market only accepts predetermined commodities such as sugarcane, pineapple, or cassava. The loss of sovereignty forces farmers to become involved in a partnership program with corporations. Without partnering, the marga farm would not be able to become a household business. In other words, this partnership provides opportunities for corporations to expand production without increasing the HGU area to reduce production costs from land tax and wages.

Post-independence globalization was different than in the Dutch colonial period. In the Dutch colonial period, people were still given the right to land, and their children could continue their family farming. The social formations within the marga are still preserved so social reproduction continues despite being closely controlled by the colonial through taxes, labor, and crops. After the change of the corporate-based food regime, social formation in society changed greatly; farmers were no longer able to cultivate their land because their land rights were lost. Young people who could enter the labor market of the company became daily labor while those who could not enter the

company qualification had to leave the village or become unemployed in the village.

The social reproductive crisis of young farmers occurred because most of the educated youth left the countryside. It can be said that the reproduction of young farmers can not proceed well; the high job qualifications in corporations are inaccessible to the rural youth so they cannot be involved in the production process of sugarcane or pineapple. As seasonal laborers, the youth positions in this corporate regime are only complementary in the vast production process.

The acquisition of farmland by corporations has discontinued access of the youth to the land and threatened farmer regeneration. Young people who still have inherited land from their parents are forced to be involved in a partnership system with corporations (sugarcane and pineapple) or as a provider of cassava raw materials for tapioca company but they have no contract with the corporation. The local youth in such conditions can be regarded as a marginalized social group in the new mode of production and social reproduction system.

Changes in the classes within the marga community have been due to changes in the corporate food regime, causing the rural youth to be isolated. The marginalization can be seen as follow:

- Lack of competitiveness of local youth compared to labor migration to become employees of the company both regarding education and work experience.
- For manual labor, the corporation uses contract labor, which comes from Java and involves only a few local youth.
- The presence of foreign corporations helps with infrastructure development such as public facilities in rural areas, but it has not led to programs to improve the skills and knowledge of residents, especially youth.
- New jobs created from corporate-based agriculture do not become jobs that can be relied upon by residents, including youth.



The government's policy on food is still in the context of securing availability, including sugar, where this policy is highly dependent on large corporations and away from the concept of food sovereignty. In this policy, inequality is becoming greater as local communities are isolated, including narrow land, low incomes, low levels of education, and limited access to labor markets created by large corporations. This change causes the rural youth to be marginalized in the new form social reproduction.

### Conclusion

Food liberalization has occurred since the colonial era to the present day. Starting from world food commodity trading, forced cultivation, agricultural modern systems, and corporate food regime, it has had a major impact on the farmers in agrarian countries. Through government policies and the global market, the social structure within rural communities has become integrated with modernization and thus has created a new social formation for young farmer regeneration compared to previous generations.

Responses to globalization differ across regions depending on the strength of social formation in their respective regions. In the case study in Central Lampung, when the government gave a big role to the big corporation to change the agricultural production system, it caused a change of social structure in the countryside because farmers lost their land and the labor system depends on a corporation. The new social reproduction in rural areas directed youth to become cheap laborers in private corporations or to migrate to cities for other jobs. For farmers who still own land, they are forced to engage in partnership programs with a corporation where farmers are used as corporate instruments to expand production at a low cost. In the context of food sovereignty, the corporate food regime eliminated the farmer's autonomy

The current agricultural modernization policy is still directed to food security as it focuses on the food availability and has not yet led to food sovereignty for farmers. Through the corporate regime, the social formation in the countryside has changed, creating an inequality of land tenure, the gap between agriculture and non-agriculture incomes, gaps in education levels between migrant and local people, and the absence of food sovereignty. The concept of food sovereignty that is translated into current food security policy needs to be rethought. The agricultural policy does not only focus on food availability but also on the high attention to the small farmer autonomy such as determining cultivation to supply chains, guaranteeing land tenure, and ensuring the farmer regeneration who provide employment access for youth in the rural area. Local governments need to make rules that require companies to engage local people, especially youth as permanent workers.

Although this research is limited to the completeness of data from various sources, especially corporations and literature studies in the first time liberalization occurred in central Lampung. However, research findings have shown that changes in the mode of production create changes in social, economic and cultural conditions in the countryside, including social reproduction in aspects of farmer regeneration in young people.

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