

The Sajogyo Development Paradigm and its Relevance for the Development of Coastal Areas in Indonesia

Rilus A. Kinseng*

Department of Communication and Community Development Science, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB University,
Jl. Kamper Darmaga, Bogor 16680, Indonesia

*Correspondence e-mail: rilus@apps.ipb.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

Prof. Sajogyo is one of the founders of rural sociology in Indonesia. He concerned himself very intensely with the problems of rural communities, especially rural poverty. In observing the current phenomenon of coastal communities, which are still highly characterized by poverty and social conflict, retracing Prof. Sajogyo's conception on rural development becomes very important and pertinent. This article was written using a literature review method by exploring the thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo from his writings and from several other relevant writers. The aim of this study is to trace the Sajogyo development paradigm which is relevant to the development of coastal areas in Indonesia. This study shows that "The Sajogyo development paradigm" can be summarized to "equal and civilized welfare". This means, in terms of content, for Prof. Sajogyo, development means increasing welfare or prosperity (growth dimension), especially for the lower class, the weak, and of course, the poor (equality dimension). Meanwhile, from the aspect of process, various efforts to improve welfare must be carried out in a civilized manner, namely by upholding dialogue, participation, capability, sovereignty, independence, and dignity of the poor and the weak. Thus, the Sajogyo development paradigm is conflict-sensitive and guarantees human security.

Keywords: coastal areas, conflict, development, empowerment, Sajogyo

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, several social scientist figures have been considered pioneers in their respective fields, for example Prof. Dr. Selo Soemardjan in the field of sociology, Prof. Dr. Koentjaraningrat in the field of anthropology, and Prof. Dr. Sartono Kartodirdjo in the field of history of peasant movement. In the field of rural sociology, one of the pioneers is Prof. Dr. Sajogyo, and his other colleagues are Prof. Dr. Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro and Prof. Dr. Pudjiwati Sajogyo (Kolopaking et al., 2020). He established the first Rural Sociology Study Program (SPD Study Program) at the postgraduate level in Indonesia when the Postgraduate program was first opened at IPB University in 1975/1976 (Sajogyo, 1996 and Indaryanti, 2006).

As a rural sociologist, Prof. Sajogyo concerned himself very intensely with the problems of rural communities, especially those related to farmers. He had very high concern and support for the poor and often, for marginalized farmers (White, 2019). Thus, it is not surprising that he has produced many works, thoughts, and ideas regarding poverty alleviation and agricultural/rural development. As will be discussed in this article, Prof. Sajogyo created a poverty indicator based on “*pengeluaran setara beras*” (rice-equivalent expenditure). He then refined and advocated the concept of “*delapan jalur pemerataan*” (eight paths of equalization) created by the government in an effort to eradicate poverty. Furthermore, Prof. Sajogyo was also very sensitive to stratification or social class in farming/village communities. This had implications for the focus and approach to development that he advocated. Development that only benefited the upper class and which created polarization, for example, was strongly criticized by Prof. Sajogyo. The development approach or process itself also became his serious concern. Prof. Sajogyo advocated an approach that valued and respected the capabilities, honor, and dignity of the poor.

Prof. Sajogyo’s conception is certainly indispensable and applicable to the conditions of coastal communities. It is known that until now, coastal communities are still characterized by poverty and social conflict. Kinseng (2017a) found that in 2010, 33.3% and 51.7% of fishermen in Indramayu and Garut respectively were in the poor category. The findings of a study conducted by Hasiholan et al. (2023) also show similar results. Based on the poverty line of the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), 44% of fishermen on the North Coast of Jakarta are categorized as poor, or 71% if measured using the World Bank criteria. In addition, the level of income inequality among fishing communities is also very high. In 2017, the Gini coefficient was 0.74 in Ambon City (Attamini et al., 2018), and 0.64 in Tegal City (Rohayati et al., 2018). Coastal communities have also often experienced marginalization and social conflict (Kinseng, 2014; Amalia, 2018; Muldi et al., 2019; Anugrahini, 2017; Querdiola et al., 2023; and Wijaya et al., 2023). Hence, after observing the phenomena of coastal communities, retracing the thoughts Prof. Sajogyo regarding eradication of poverty and development becomes very important and pertinent.

Based on the description above, generally, the aim of this study is to retrace the Sajogyo development paradigm which is applicable to the development of coastal areas in Indonesia. Substantively, this search covers both the approach or process and the meaning of development itself according to Prof. Sajogyo’s view. This study also discusses the relevance of Prof. Sajogyo’s conception for the development of coastal communities. As suggested by Prof. Sajogyo, an effort to “develop a theory” or “theorize” is delivered in the last part of this article.

METHODS

This article was written using a literature review method, especially based on the works written by Prof. Sajogyo. Besides, the data were also obtained from relevant literature regarding Prof. Sajogyo written by other scholars. The focus of this literature review was given to issues concerning poverty, social conflict, and development in general. The thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo were then reviewed, and the relevance to coastal communities in Indonesia was analyzed.

This article is a refinement of the speech delivered by the author at “The 5th Sajogyo and Pudjiwati Sajogyo Lecture 2023” on October 31, 2023 at the Maritime University of Raja Ali Haji (UMRAH), Tanjung Pinang, Riau.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Prof. Sajogyo and Coastal Communities

Very few works written by Prof. Sajogyo about fishermen and pond farmers, who are the important elements of coastal communities, can be traced. However, this actually does not mean that the problem of small-scale fishermen has completely escaped Prof. Sajogyo's attention. In his article entitled “*Pembangunan Pertanian dan Perdesaan dalam Rangka Industrialisasi*” (Agricultural and Rural Development in the Context of Industrialization), he highlights the inequality in agricultural development in Indonesia from 1959 to 1989. He comments, “What has not achieved significant growth is the smallholder plantation, fishery, and livestock sectors with no intensive capital and low technology worked by peasants, small-scale fishermen, and small livestock breeders” (Sajogyo, 2006). In another article entitled “*Indikator Pemerataan Pendapatan dan Pemilikan*” (Indicators of Equal Income and Ownership), Prof. Sajogyo (1985) also mentions that fishermen (along with agricultural laborers, sharecroppers, etc.) as a group of people who have low incomes and require special attention.

Furthermore, one of his notes about fishermen is that in Ch. Tindjabate's dissertation manuscript (at UGM, 1999) entitled “*Kemiskinan pada Masyarakat Nelayan*” (Poverty in Fishing Communities). The following is some suggestions conveyed by Prof. Sajogyo to the writer of the dissertation (Ch. Tindjabate) (Sajogyo, 1999):

1. Highlight the structure of fishing communities (marine fisheries) nationally-source: Bailey et al. (there are 3 in the references) or BPS, Agricultural Census, marine fisheries sub-sector, from 1973 and 1993 (rather than) highlighting on the field stratification structure of the marine fisheries business in its development during the New Order era! Or/and describe the community structure of fishing villages or master + *pongawa*/fishing workers + small-scale (traditional) fishermen from a number of case studies in Java/outside Java (qualitative literature reviews).
2. Historical approach to the development of fishing communities (marine fisheries) from 1968-1998, (if available, data before 1969), e.g. highlighting the capitalization process by capital (=private) owners (e.g. foreign) and by government intervention.

Criticism/suggestions are also provided in the next section:

“... in 5.3, the term used is that fishermen's work patterns create poverty. What is needed is definitely a description of the impoverishment process. Only showing a portrait (the results found in 1997 at one time/moment) is not sufficient.”

“Can the description of the “profit sharing system” (in the condition of increased capitalization) be compared with the previous condition? There are no data on the amount of capital invested in a marine fishing vessel unit and to what extent the master is bound by the pattern of credit repayment to the capital provider! Please explain the meaning of “alienation” in the fishing community in Poso! (signs, origin, consequences).”

“Is the survival strategy of the fishing workers different from that of the small-scale fishermen?”

Prof. Sajogyo's comments and criticism towards the dissertation manuscript of Ch. Tindjabate are very interesting and still relevant to current studies of fishing communities, such as on the issues of the dynamics of social stratification of fishermen and the impoverishment process of fishermen. The issue of alienation, for example, is still rarely discussed in studies of fishermen in Indonesia. His question about the survival strategies of the fishing laborers compared to small-scale fishermen is also thought provoking. Similarly, a study carried out by our Rural Sociology (SPD) master's degree program student on the vulnerability of small-scale fishermen compares the levels of vulnerability of

the owners and the workers. The results show that in small-scale fishing households, both the owners and the workers are highly vulnerable (Youwikijaya, 2023).

In 1986, Prof. Sajogyo also wrote a report entitled “*Pola Pemilikan Tanah pada Rumah Tangga Pertanian Tanaman Pangan, Perikanan Darat, Perairan Umum dan Peternakan*” (Land Ownership Patterns in Food Crop Agriculture, Inland Fisheries, Public Water, and Livestock Farming Households). This was a collaboration between the Center for Development Studies, IPB Research Institute (LP-IPB) and the Central Bureau of Statistics. However, the conditions of fishermen working in the public water are not specifically discussed in the report. The discussion of this issue is combined with food crop and livestock farmers.

Prof. Sajogyo has led research that specifically discussed about fish farmers and fishermen. In 1987, for example, I, as an intern at the Center for Development Studies (PSP) of IPB University, was placed in Patimban Village, Subang by Prof. Sajogyo to research the fish farmer community. Meanwhile, another team member, Mr. Didik Suharjito (now a Professor at the Faculty of Forestry and Environment, IPB University) was placed in Muara Village, Subang to research the fish farmer community implementing silvofishery. Then in 1989, Mrs. Iis Diatin (now a Professor at the Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Sciences, IPB University) and I were also placed in Blanakan Village, Subang to study the lives of fishermen. Besides, as part of a team, I was also asked by Prof. Sajogyo to process the BPS data on fishermen’s income and calculate it based on, for example fishing equipment ownership status (owner and worker). However, apparently, the results of this research did not reach the publication stage, in the form of either articles in scientific journals or books. Furthermore, in 1994, *Yayasan Agro Ekonomika* (Agro Economics Foundation) where Prof. Sajogyo was involved in collaboration with the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) carried out socio-economic studies of disadvantaged villages in the provinces of Central Sulawesi, Maluku, and Irian Jaya. Those studies generated four reports discussing coastal communities or fishermen. The results of those studies were also not continued into scientific publications, in the form of either articles in journals or books.

On the one hand, the lack of works by Prof. Sajogyo regarding fishing and fish farmer communities is somewhat surprising. Why? As will be discussed later, Prof. Sajogyo had great concern for issues of poverty and social injustice, especially among village communities. In fact, fishermen, especially small-scale fishermen and fishing workers in general, are a poor group. Some scholars even say that the condition of these small-scale fishermen is worse than that of farmers. In a book entitled *Nelayan dan Kemiskinan* (Fishermen and Poverty), Mubyarto, Soetrisno, and Dove state, “Fishing families are generally poorer than farmer or craftsman families” (Mubyarto et al., 1984). In line with that statement, an anthropologist from Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Prof. Pujo Semedi has once explained, “In Asia, where agriculture takes pride of place as the dominant economic activity, fishing communities... are marginal” (Semedi, 2003). Conner Bailey adds, “...most fishers are small-scale producers who are among the poorest of the poor in Indonesian society” (Bailey, 1988).

It has been known that fishery resources are common pool resources; and even though it is legal, referring to Bromley (1991), Indonesian seas are actually state property and partly communal property, but at a practical level they are often “open access” (Kinseng, 2022a). Therefore, it is not surprising that there is intense competition in its utilization. Bailey says, “...the situation in fisheries is even worse than in agriculture because fishers directly compete with one another over a finite resource” (Bailey, 1988). He continues, “... fisheries development in Indonesia has become a zero-sum game, where those who control the most powerful technologies have a clear competitive advantage and individually prosper, even as others are swept aside and fish stocks depleted” (Bailey, 1988). In this fierce competition, it is the small-scale fishermen who mainly experience this “swept aside”. Correspondingly, Betke agrees that small-scale fishermen are trapped in increasingly hopeless conditions or “...trapped in an increasingly hopeless situation...” (Betke, 1988).

From the year of publication of several important works discussing poverty and marginalization of fishermen (Mubyarto et al., 1984; Bailey, 1988; Betke, 1988), it can be seen that at that time, Prof. Sajogyo was still actively researching and writing. In fact, in the 1980s, the Indonesian Government

also implemented a “motorization” program as a form of “blue-revolution” (Betke, 1988 and Huddle, 1990).

Thus, his lack of writing regarding the marginalization and poverty of fishermen seems to occur because his focus was on the lives of farmers, while the lives of fishermen and fish farmers were not included in the focus of his attention and study, even though they were both in villages. In an interview with a Tempo Interaktif journalist in 1997, Prof. Sajogyo explained, “Most of the poor live in regional or rural areas. The number is around 90 percent. They are usually agricultural laborers who do not own cultivated land” (Sajogyo, 2006). Small-scale fishermen and fishing workers, who are also generally poor, are not mentioned in the statement.

This is not surprising because as Dean says (in Vitek & Jackson, 2008), “...ignorance as an inevitable and even beneficial aspect of life”. Vitek & Jackson (2008) even comment, “... we're billions of times more ignorant than knowledgeable...”. We cannot possibly know and be experts in everything. In the academic world, differentiation and specialization are inevitable.

Tracing Prof. Sajogyo’s development paradigm

Research and thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo cover various socio-economic and cultural issues of rural communities. According to Francis Wahono, AB. Widyanta, and Y. Indarto as Prof. Sajogyo’s editing team in a book entitled *Ekososiologi: Deideologisasi Teori, Restrukturisasi* (Ecosociology: Deideologization of Theory, Restructuring of Action), the thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo include micro issues that occur in communities, such as rural marginalized groups, food, nutrition, unemployment, inequality, unequal distribution, poverty, and local institution to macro issues such as government policy (Sajogyo, 2006). These various issues are undoubtedly interconnected with one another. From various works and thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo, we will find the development paradigm that was embraced and fought for by Prof. Sajogyo. Some of the results of his research and thoughts are briefly presented below.

The Eradication of Poverty

Poverty in rural areas was a problem that required a lot of attention and energy from Prof. Sajogyo. As Prof. Dr. Agus Pakpahan says, “Prof. Dr. Sajogyo is known as a pioneer in the field of poverty studies, especially poverty in rural areas” (Pakpahan, 2020). Thus, it is not surprising that Prof. Sajogyo conducted numerous researches and develop many thoughts concerning poverty. Prof. Sajogyo has created his own poverty indicator based on rice-equivalent expenditure. Based on that indicator, Prof. Sajogyo classifies poverty into three categories, namely poor, very poor, and the poorest. Poverty levels are also differentiated between villages and cities. In rural areas, people classified as poor are those with the household expenditure of less than 320 kg of rice exchange rate/person-year; those with the household expenditure of less than 240 kg/person-year are classified as very poor; and the poorest are those with the household expenditure of less than 180 kg/person-year. As for cities, the indicators used for people to be classified into poor, very poor, and the poorest are 480, 360, and 270 kg respectively (Sajogyo, 2006).

Meanwhile, in an effort to eradicate poverty, Prof. Sajogyo has advocated the government’s famous “eight paths of equalization” concept. Regarding this concept, Prof. Sajogyo emphasizes the importance of business and work opportunities for poor people as a way to escape from poverty. It is explained that business opportunities (path 1) and work opportunities (path 2) are two paths that open one chain in the eradication of poverty, namely levels of income (path 3), levels of food, clothing, and housing (path 4), and levels of education and health (line 5). The other three paths to equalization are participation (path 6), equalization between urban/rural areas (path 7), and equality in law (path 8). These last three paths influence the previous five paths. For example, participation in business and work opportunities influences levels of income and so on (Sajogyo, 2006). Next, Prof. Sajogyo proposes that the concept of eight paths of equalization be shifted to “*delapan jalur plus pemerataan*” (eight paths plus of equalization) (Sajogyo and Wiradi 1983). The meaning of “plus” here is the addition of factors that “determine business/work opportunities”, namely control of resources

including land, water, production factors, production services and facilities, education and training, and the provision of credit (Sajogyo and Wiradi, 1983 and Sajogyo, 1985).

One of the important lessons that we can take from the concept of the eight paths of equalization is of course a development approach that places the poor/lower class as the subjects of development. The poor are seen as active social actors and have the ability and capability to build, borrowing Sen's term (1992), a business and to work, which in turn enable them to escape from poverty. In Sajogyo's perspective, the government and other parties are expected to play a role in ensuring that "capability deprivation" does not occur (Sen, 2000). Instead, they create conditions that enable (Giddens, 1984) and even increase the capability of the lower class to build a business and to work, including to fight for equality in law (line 8). Furthermore, development in Sajogyo's perspective automatically emphasizes the importance of participation (path 6) of the poor themselves in the development process. This is also clearly visible from Prof. Sajogyo's writing entitled "*Transmigrasi di Indonesia, 1905-1985: Apa yang Kita Cari Bersama?*" (Transmigration in Indonesia, 1905-1985: What are we looking for?). One of the excerpts states that "Concern for the village's potential to be independent... comes from the basic idea that 'it is impossible to improve the destiny of people/groups without the people/groups themselves actively rising to improve their own destiny...'" (Sajogyo, 2006). In another article, Prof. Sajogyo describes:

"However, only if the process that reaches the multi-faceted institutional development stage is able to prove smooth cooperation between institutions involving groups of farmers actively and independently, the process will achieve the essential goal of development: being able to avoid one-sided dependence that is detrimental to one group of actors, a legacy from the past which means hardship and injustice for the lower strata in the past" (Sajogyo, 2006)

Thus, as stated by Ben White, one of the legacies of Prof. Sajogyo which is still relevant today is "how to place farming communities, sharecroppers, and farm workers back as subjects instead of objects of policy-which means that they are free and sovereign citizens, who have rights and cannot be ordered around..." (White, 2019). In the coastal context, this means treating small-scale fishermen, fishing workers, and fish pond workers, as subjects instead of objects of policy or development.

The second important lesson is that Prof. Sajogyo emphasizes the dimension of equality in development. The concept of equality referred to by Prof. Sajogyo here is definitely not equal distribution of poverty or shared poverty as mentioned by Geertz (1968), but equal distribution of welfare or prosperity. For this reason, development needs to be carried out so that there is an increase in the income of the poor. In his writing entitled "*Pendekatan Baru dalam Pembangunan Perdesaan di Jawa*" (New Approaches to Rural Development in Java", Prof. Sajogyo asks an important question: "What kind of rural development?" (Sajogyo, 2006). The answer to that question is that development inherently contains an element of equality. Prof. Sajogyo uses the term "development equalization strategy". Therefore, it is clear that Prof. Sajogyo is not anti-development or growth. What he fights for is the equalization dimension of development and growth.

The issue of equalization in development has also been emphasized by Prof. Sajogyo in his writing "*Penduduk dan Kemiskinan*" (Population and Poverty). He argues that the attention to poverty in villages "does not deserve to be classified as a sensitive issue in Indonesia", especially after the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) gave instructions that "not only is development aimed at increasing national income but also at the same time seeking a more even distribution of income, in accordance with a sense of justice of the people" (Sajogyo, 2006). It is very interesting to read Prof. Sajogyo's statement regarding a research report on poverty in Srihardjo village, Bantul Regency, the Special Region of Yogyakarta. He says, "The report was prepared as a warning to colleagues as well as authorities and leaders as policy makers who formulate policies on development to pay closer attention to the problems of the people."

From the description above, it is clear that in Prof. Sajogyo's perspective, development has two inseparable elements, namely growth and equalization. Growth and equalization are like two sides of the same coin. That is why according to Prof. Sajogyo, what happens in "agricultural development" through the green revolution is actually just "agricultural modernization" with no development

(modernization without development). Why? This is because the ones who take more advantages from the green revolution are the progressive upper-class farmers so that the increasingly sharp polarization occurs in rural areas. In his article “Modernization without Development”, it can be seen that those who enjoy more benefits from agricultural modernization are the progressive upper-class farmers. He writes, “In the case of rice farming becoming modernized and more profitable, we have seen the differential impact on three strata of rural households: the most benefits going to “larger” farmers...” (Sajogyo, 1982). Meanwhile, in the midst of agricultural modernization, “The group of marginal farmers in the 0.1 to 0.5 ha range are the most hard pressed to make ends meet; especially those who have little or no wet riceland in such liliput-farms” (Sajogyo, 1982). According to Prof. Endriatmo Soetarto, Prof. Sajogyo has pointed out that “The Green Revolution apparently only benefits the upper-class farmers while accelerating the process of proletarianization of small-scale farmers” (Soetarto, 2021). In other words, one of the important elements of development, namely equalization is “missing” from the green revolution; and that is not the real development.

Still in the context of equalization and partiality for the weak, Prof. Sajogyo strongly criticizes agricultural development policies which, according to him, are “dominated by large companies, especially in the fields of plantations, livestock and fisheries”. He emphatically states, “This policy is wrong, because it marginalizes community rights and fosters an enclave of prosperity for corporate citizens amidst the poverty of rural communities.” He continues, “This policy is a mistake in the development strategy, which must be changed by fairly giving the control and management of domestic resources to farmers and rural communities” (Sajogyo, 2006). Furthermore, he suggests, “The national economy must be built by optimally utilizing domestic resources (natural and human resources) in a fair manner. This development must actively involve the community in the economic activities (“populist economy”) accompanied by decentralization of development management” (Sajogyo, 2006). Thus, if Cernea (1991) uses the jargon “putting people first” and Baldwin & Bommel (2023) uses “putting communities first”, Prof. Sajogyo seems more suited to the jargon of “putting the poor and weak first” which is almost the same as the jargon used by Robert Chambers, “putting poor rural people first” or “putting the last first” (Chambers, 1983).

It is interesting to note that although Prof. Sajogyo strongly criticizes agricultural development which prioritizes large companies, but in fact he is not anti-private/corporate. What is needed is a balance of roles from all parties. Prof. Sajogyo firmly emphasizes the need for “balance” of roles between the government (state), private entrepreneurs (market) and the people (society). He describes, “In the case of our further development, the problem is how to develop a balance between ‘a government that remains strong’, ... ‘a group of private entrepreneurs who are playing an increasingly large role in our economy’, ... and ‘sovereignty of the people’ which is increasingly providing a place for the people, including economic democracy... as well as political democracy at the local level...” (Sajogyo, 2006). The importance of cooperation and the role of local communities in democratic development has also been stated by Prof. Sajogyo in his other writing entitled “*Dari Praktik ke Teori dan ke Praktik yang Berteori*” (From Practice to Theory and to Theorized Practice). Regarding the development of social sciences at IPB University, he explains, “In our term in Bogor, this issue is related to ‘services’ (*penyuluhan*) which includes the role of society (farmers and villages) and on the other hand, the choice of ‘sociological styles and other branches of social science’ which are considered more suitable to the need for more democratic development, in cooperation and mutual respect between a number of development actors (‘stakeholders’), especially (starting from) local communities” (Indaryanti, 2006). In this context, Prof. Sajogyo suggests, “Private and foreign companies may only control processing factories, and farmers are given the right to buy shares in processing companies to maintain connection and cooperation” (Sajogyo, 2006). That is a brilliant idea which is still very relevant today.

It should also be noted that besides the individual capacity of farmers and the poor, in Prof. Sajogyo’s development concept, the potential and strength of the community are also highly appreciated. In “*Kata Pengantar, Pembuka dan Penyimpul*” (Preface, Introduction, and Conclusion) of the book containing the results of a study on poverty in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), Prof. Sajogyo explains that a study on poverty is, among other things, “to discover the potential for creative social energy at the small community level which, in its independence, is capable to foster improvements in collective

condition in various social ties (solidarity) and to build various types of cooperation with outside/beyond-village parties.” (Sajogyo, 1993). In the current era, this “potential of creative social energy” is contained in the concept of “social capital”. In the reference of research entitled “*Strategi Penyuluhan Perikanan yang Efektif dan Efisien Berdasar Pemberdayaan Petani Ikan dan Nelayan*” (Effective and Efficient Mentoring Strategies for Fisheries Based on the Empowerment of Fish Farmers and Fishermen”, Prof. Sajogyo also explicitly mentions the role of “social capital” to empower coastal communities in an effort to overcome poverty. We know that social capital plays a crucial role in the lives of fishing communities. Networks and trust are very important in ensuring the survival of small-scale fishermen and fishing workers, especially in difficult times. In other words, social capital is indispensable for the resilience of small-scale fishermen and fishing workers.

Social-Conflict Sensitive Development

Only few of Prof. Sajogyo’s writings which specifically discusses social conflict can be traced. One work that has the word “conflict” in the title is “*Konflik Sosial dan Persoalan Tanah*” (Social Conflicts and Land Issues) delivered at a seminar with the theme of “*Pembangunan, Tanah dan Hak Rakyat*” (Development, Land, and People’s Rights) (Jakarta, October 12, 1987). However, the contents of this paper actually discuss more about land tenure in rural areas. In the second point in this paper, the conflicting parties and the causes of the conflicts are discussed very briefly. For parties in conflict, it is stated that “conflicts can occur between various layers of small-scale farmers”. The source of the conflicts is agrarian issues. It is also questioned that “Between what parties can agrarian problems arise with the potential for conflicts?” Agrarian issues that can trigger these conflicts include the issue of compensation. Then it is stated that “Obstacles that can lead to conflicts can occur in each step of the process in the terms for compensation in the case of land (because it is subject to other purposes, for public purposes or otherwise) or compensation as a sign of ritual recognition of the rights to collect the benefits of ‘work in the past’ (a characteristic of cultivating farmers)” (Sajogyo, 1987). Thus, it can be seen that the source of conflicts in rural areas highlighted by Prof. Sajogyo are issues related to land tenure, which is often referred to as “agrarian conflicts”. In the foreword of the Gunawan Wiradi’s book entitled *Reforma Agraria: Perjalanan belum Berakhir* (Agrarian Reform: The Journey Is Not Over), Prof. Sajogyo briefly reviews the relationship between conflicts and agrarian reform. He argues, “If Agrarian Reform is a ‘child’ of Agrarian Conflict, between those who have opposing interests to each other, it is also possible that an agrarian conflict is a ‘child’ of Agrarian Reform” (Sajogyo, 2009: x). Here he is actually criticizing the pattern of “agrarian reform” carried out by the Government which tends to “give priority to groups with large capital or urban people”. This can trigger social conflicts. On the other hand, Prof. Sajogyo advocates agrarian reform “by leverage” which is based on the empowerment of farmers themselves. He argues, “Agrarian reform ‘by leverage’, in simple terms, is nothing other than ‘based on the empowerment of interested farmers’!”

A kind of “warning” from Prof. Sajogyo about these conflicts are also important to note. He questions, “Is it possible for a conflict among small-scale farmer groups to happen? If that happens, it is clear that they choose the wrong target opponent! It is clear that there is an effort to play the groups off against each other to benefit other parties.” This is an important warning so that the conflicts do not “choose the wrong target opponent”. In fact, sometimes in coastal communities, there are conflicts involving “choose the wrong target opponent”. For example, when there is reclamation and mining, coastal communities are divided; some are pro, and some are against. This results in a horizontal conflict between fellow citizens and even families; example in Wawonii small-island (Kinseng, 2023).

Issues on social conflicts are also discussed by Prof. Sajogyo in his article “*Revolusi Hijau dan Pemerataan di Desa*” (Green Revolution and Equalization in Villages). Here social conflicts are discussed in relation to land tenure issues which result in social polarization in rural areas. Prof. Sajogyo views that social polarization can “threaten stability” because it will give rise to “conflicts between groups with opposing interests” (Sajogyo, 2006).

It has been known that land tenure is one of the most important bases of polarization in rural areas. Therefore, it is not surprising that the issue of land ownership (agriculture) has received great attention from Prof. Sajogyo. In his article entitled “*Penduduk dan Kemiskinan*” (Population and Poverty), he

suggests, “policies concerning development, especially in the agricultural sector, need to understand the distribution of tenure over agricultural land”. Why is the issue of land tenure so important, especially for village communities/farmers? The answer is clear. This is because land tenure will determine farmer’s income and standard of living. In his other article entitled “*Peluang Usaha, Peluang Bekerja dan Lembaga Sosial*” (Business Opportunities, Work Opportunities, and Social Institutions”), Prof. Sajogyo explains that “patterns of land tenure” are “a determinant of opportunities in farming business and for agricultural labor” to be included in “other paths that are not inferior” (compared to the eight paths of equalization). In his writing, “*Modernization without Development*”, Prof. Sajogyo reports, “in Sriharjo, households with too little land cannot reach an adequate level of living” (Sajogyo, 1982). In this context, Prof. Sajogyo advocates the importance of land reform, including his very radical (and perhaps controversial) proposal, namely “to ‘communalize’ land in the hands of the smallest landowners” (Sajogyo, 2006). He argues, “Working alone on such a small piece of land, they do not have a bright future.” This condition is contrary to the relatively self-sufficient group of farmers (upper strata). He continues, “For this group of farmers, the future of agriculture is quite bright” (Sajogyo, 2006).

From his various works, it is clear that the development paradigm advocated by Prof. Sajogyo contains the elements of: treating the people as subjects who have capabilities; respecting the sovereignty of the people, justice, equalization, empowerment, especially for the lowest classes; and encouraging participation of the lower class. I call the development paradigm advocated by Prof. Sajogyo “The Sajogyo development paradigm”.

Concerning the issue of social conflicts, it is clear that development carried out by adhering to “The Sajogyo development paradigm” is conflict-sensitive. As stated elsewhere, social conflicts are a symptom or “sign” of problems in social relations between conflicting actors (Kinseng, 2022b). Even though the triggers for a conflict are very diverse, the social problems which are the root cause of social conflicts actually concern three main issues, namely livelihood, justice, and dignity. Actions by certain parties that disturb or even damage the livelihoods of other parties will almost certainly trigger conflicts. Likewise, the condition when certain parties feel there is injustice or violation of human dignity will trigger social conflicts. In this context, development based on “The Sajogyo development paradigm” will reduce the chances for social problems to arise in the implementation of development. As quoted earlier, Prof. Sajogyo has described the need for “more democratic development, in cooperation and mutual respect among a number of development actors (stakeholders), especially (starting from) local communities”. Regarding this issue, it is interesting to read Prof. Sajogyo’s view concerning the relationship between the village authorities and the village communities in village development activities. In one of his writings, he questions, “How a ‘harmonious relationship’ between people/groups at the lower (relative) level and people/leaders at the upper (more) level can be managed? Harmony means when each group can develop according to their ideals, abilities, and responsibilities, and leaders at higher levels are able to carry out the obligation in realizing harmony so that in the end, the interests of the community are prioritized” (Sajogyo, 2006). It can be imagined that according to The Sajogyo development paradigm, if development is carried out in an inhabited area, there will definitely be “meaningful dialogue”; a kind of communicative action (Habermas, 2006) which involves all stakeholders, especially the lower class.

Reading the 2022 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report document, an issue which has become the focus of Prof. Sajogyo is still very and even more relevant now and in the future. The UNDP criticizes development that places too much emphasis on the growth dimension. Based on the UNDP (2022), “Development approaches with a strong focus on economic development and much less attention to equitable human development have produced stark and growing inequalities and destabilizing and dangerous planetary change.” Likewise, the UNDP’s view of current threats to human security is also the main focus of Prof. Sajogyo. In the 2022 UNDP report, it is stated that in the Anthropocene era, humanity is now facing “a new generation of threats to human security”, which consists of four threats, namely violent conflict, inequalities, digital technology threats, and health threat (UNDP, 2022). Human security itself consists of seven dimensions, namely economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political

security (UNDP, 2022). As explained earlier, issues of conflicts, inequalities, health, and even technology have become the focus of Prof. Sajogyo's attention in his various works along with issues of economic security, food security, health security, personal security and political security. The same thing also applies if it is correlated to the sustainable development goals (SDGs) promoted by the UN, especially goal 1 (no poverty), 2 (zero hunger), 3 (good health and well-being), 4 (quality education), 5 (gender equality), 16 (peace, justice, and strong institutions), and goal 17 (partnership for the goals). All of these issues are covered in various issues discussed by Prof. Sajogyo in his various works. Thus, if development is carried out using "The Sajogyo development paradigm", threats to human security can certainly be reduced significantly, and human security will be more guaranteed.

Development in the Coastal Areas of Indonesia

What about development in our coastal areas? As an archipelagic country and the largest maritime country in the world, coastal areas are certainly considered very important areas in this country. It must be admitted that development in coastal areas has still not been in line with the spirit of "The Sajogyo development paradigm" such as in the context of equalization. For instance, huge socio-economic disparities can be found among fishing communities. The gap occurs both between "large-scale fishermen" (such as purse seine fishermen, *cantrang* (Indonesian trawl net) fishermen, trawl fishermen, etc.) and "small-scale fishermen" (such as gillnet fishermen, "*dogol*" (Danish seine), etc.), as well as between the owner and the crew (ABK). Our study in Indramayu in 2013 shows that the average income of ship owners was IDR 118,921,429 per trip, while the average income of fishing workers was much lower, that was IDR 814,473 per trip. This caused the very high Gini ratio for the fishing community, namely 0.878 (Kinseng et al., 2013). Almost similar to our study, research conducted by our master's program student found that the Gini ratio for fishermen in Lathuhalat Village, Ambon was 0.74 (Attamimi et al., 2018), and in Tegal City was 0.64 (Rohayati et al., 2018).

Coastal communities, especially fishermen, also experience many other forms of social injustice. This form of injustice can occur due to the actions of fellow fishermen (internal fishing communities) or due to the actions of non-fishermen (external). In the 1970s, conflicts often occurred between small-scale fishermen (sometimes called traditional fishermen) and large-scale fishermen who used trawl fishing gear (trawl fishermen). A researcher from Germany, Betke describes, "Finding themselves trapped in an increasingly hopeless situation, Indonesian fishermen eventually rebelled and desperately counter-attacked the representatives of a modernization that threatened their survival." (Betke, 1988). The conflict between local fishermen and migrant fishermen from Central Java that occurred in Balikpapan in 2006 also resulted from the feeling of injustice among local fishermen. They were unable to compete with large and modern fishermen who operated around their fishing ground (Kinseng, 2014). Coastal communities, especially fishermen, also frequently felt unfairly treated by non-fishery actors, for example in mining activities in Balikpapan (Kinseng, 2014), in Tumpang Pitu, Banyuwangi (Amalia, 2018), and in Banten Bay (Muldi et al., 2019). Similarly, mining activities have happened on Sangihe Island, North Sulawesi; on Sebuku Island, South Kalimantan; and in various other places. Beach reclamation activities have also often disrupted the livelihoods of fishermen, such as on the North Coast of Jakarta (Anugrahini, 2017; Querdiola et al., 2023) and in Bena Bay, Bali (Wijaya et al., 2023). In many cases, tourism activities, even conservation, and policies regarding fishing gear have given rise to a sense of injustice among fishermen (for example Mahmud et al., 2015; Hapsari et al., 2020). In a dialogue with fishing activists in North Sumatra and our field research team in 2023, we were informed that in North Sumatra, the expansion of oil palm plantations had disrupted the activities of fishermen. Talib et al. (2022) has recorded the conflicts that occurred in coastal communities regarding this spatial issue. They report, "Since 2014, numerous incidents and conflicts over marine space and resources use have been documented across fishing communities, for example in Banten, DKI Jakarta, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara" (Talib et al., 2022). Of course, it has been known that injustice in the development process in coastal areas/small islands has recently occurred on Rempang Island. That coastal communities are so far still in a weak position and often evicted is important to note. Talib et al. (2022) explain that from the colonial era to the reform era, coastal communities have always been "the relative losers". According to Talib et al. (2022), in the post-reformation era (1999 until now), "While elites at the national level and national and

international investors can be considered relative winners in this era, coastal communities, traditional and small-scale fishers (including fisherwomen), ...are the relative losers”.

Regarding agrarian (land) issues, which is a key factor in efforts to eradicate poverty in rural areas, according to Prof. Sajogyo, social conflicts among coastal communities as mentioned above are generally also related to agrarian issues, especially in the context of the fishing ground of the fishermen. Various activities such as mining, reclamation, conservation, pearl cultivation, for example, all have disturbed their fishing ground, which are definitely considered as agrarian issues. Even conflicts between large and small-scale fishermen or among fishermen with different fishing gear technologies (there is the term of gear wars), are generally also related to fishing ground. These conflicts occur because they both carry out fishing activities in the same or adjacent fishing ground areas. From the results of research conducted in Balikpapan, I have coined the term “domination distance”, namely the distance between large fishing boats and small fishing boats where the small-scale fishermen still feel the dominance of the large-scale fishermen. The dominance of large-scale fishermen reduces the catch of small-scale fishermen since they are unable to compete (Kinseng, 2014).

Specifically for indigenous communities such as the Bajau tribe, agrarian issues are not only about fishing activities, but also about their settlements. According to Pujiwati in Rahardjo (2022), based on the Implementing Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs No. 17 of 2016 concerning Land Arrangement in Coastal Areas and Small Islands, land rights for settlement on the coast (land) are only granted to indigenous peoples or communities who have lived there for generations. Meanwhile, in coastal waters, land rights for settlement are only given to indigenous communities living in the area. Thus, this regulation is an “affirmative policy” for indigenous peoples, traditional communities, and local communities as I suggest (Kinseng, 2022a). However, unfortunately, at an empirical level, this regulation is apparently not easy to implement. Indigenous communities such as the Bajau tribe find it difficult/cannot to obtain legal rights to the land where they live.

From the description above, development using the “Sajogyo development paradigm” is very applicable and noteworthy for coastal areas. By implementing the “Sajogyo development paradigm”, conflicts and marginalization of communities in coastal areas, which still frequently occur, are likely to decrease in the future. In contrast, the human security of coastal communities increases.

Sajogyo and Beyond: “Constructing a Theory”

I have quoted the term of “constructing a theory” directly from Prof. Sajogyo, which was published in his article entitled “*Dari Praktik ke Teori dan ke Praktik yang Berteori*” (From Practice to Theory and to Theorized Practice). In this article, Prof. Sajogyo explains the difference between undergraduate (S1) studies and postgraduate studies. According to him, in undergraduate studies, “the ‘applied’ element is more prominent, and in postgraduate studies, it is absolutely necessary to be ‘equipped in theorizing’” (Sajogyo, 2006). Prof. Sajogyo continues his explanation, “In the outline of efforts to develop sociological studies at IPB University, Bogor, more expectation is put on qualitative methods as stronger methods if we want to participate in ‘constructing a theory’” (Sajogyo, 2006). The two quotes from Prof. Sajogyo show the importance for postgraduate students (and of course postgraduate lecturers) to “theorize” and even “construct a theory”. In that context, let me share an idea that hopefully can be considered as an effort to “construct a theory building”. There are three issues that will be discussed. The first is about the pattern of social class conflict among fishermen. The second and the third are concerned with social movement and social action respectively.

The first issue is class conflict among fishermen. The class conflict among fishermen which is commonly found has been “deviated” from Marx’s concept of class conflict. As it has been known, according to Marx, class conflict occurs between the class that owns the means of production (capitalists) and the working class (proletariat). The basis to determine social class here is the relation to the means of production. Meanwhile, class conflict among fishermen does not occur between the class of fishermen who own production equipment and the fishing workers (ABK) class. Conflicts that often occur are between the the classes of large-scale fishermen and small-scale fishermen; where the class of large-scale fishermen consists of owners and workers, and so does the class of small-scale fishermen (Figure 1).

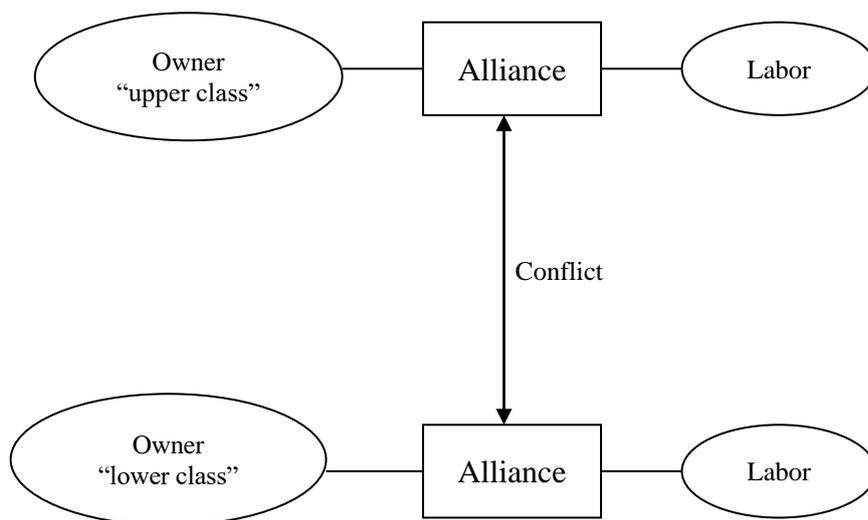


Figure 1. The Pattern of Class Conflict among Fishermen (Source: Kinseng, 2014)

In this class conflict, the determining class basis is the relation to the “type” of means of production (for example, purse seine fishermen vs. net fishermen, etc.). These two classes of fishermen are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Class Bases and Social Classes Formed in Fishing Communities

Class Bases	Social Classes	Notes
Relation to the means of production	Owner and Labor	No conflicts have occurred.
Relation to the types of the means of production	Large-scale Fishermen and Small-scale Fishermen; or fishermen with certain fishing gear such as <i>cantrang</i> , trawl, purse seine, etc.	Class conflict often occurs, even in the form of violent conflict

Source: Kinseng (2022b).

The second issue is the social movement of fishermen. According to Peoples (2019), there are six contemporary conventional theories of social movements, namely the theory of relative deprivation/strain theory, the theory of resource mobilization, the theory of political opportunity/process, the theory of new social movements/collective identity, and the theory of framing. From the study we conducted on fishermen’s social movements resulting from the ban on the use of *cantrang*, I proposed a new social movement theory, which I call imagined deprivation theory (Kinseng, 2022b). This theory explains that social movements are not caused by social inequality as in the theory of relative deprivation, but rather by poverty or a worsening of living standards imagined by fishermen who use *cantrang* due to the ban on using *cantrang* in fishing activities. The terminology of “imagined deprivation” is inspired by Ben Anderson’s very famous writing, *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 2006).

The third issue is social action. In my article entitled “*Struktugensi: Sebuah Teori Tindakan*” (Structugency: A Theory of Action) (Kinseng, 2017b), I explain that every action of an actor/agent is influenced by two factors, namely structure and agency. This explanation or “theory” is of course a synthesis of various opinions/theories that have been delivered by experts, especially criticisms over Giddens’ (1984) Theory of Structuration, such as from Archer (1982 and 1995); Layder et al. (1991), Mouzelis (2008); Sibeon (2004). Besides, this theory was of course generated from empirical knowledge and daily life experience.

Here I would like to use the opportunity to submit a slight revision to the theory of action that I have delivered. From the re-reflections on several existing theories, such as Functionalism, especially from Parsons (Turner, 1998; Wallace & Wolf, 2006); anthropological studies such as in the books entitled

Culture Matters (Harrison & Huntington, 2000) and Culture and Sustainability (Stephenson, 2023); and societal dimension of Wirutomo's (2022), the cultural and structural dimensions need to be treated separately. Both dimensions of course influence each other. They also equally influence and are influenced by the social actions of each actor/agent. In this way, the actions of an actor/agent are influenced by the structure, culture, and agency of the actor (Figure 2). To make it simple, I call this theory "Struculturgency", which is the combination of these three dimensions of social action.

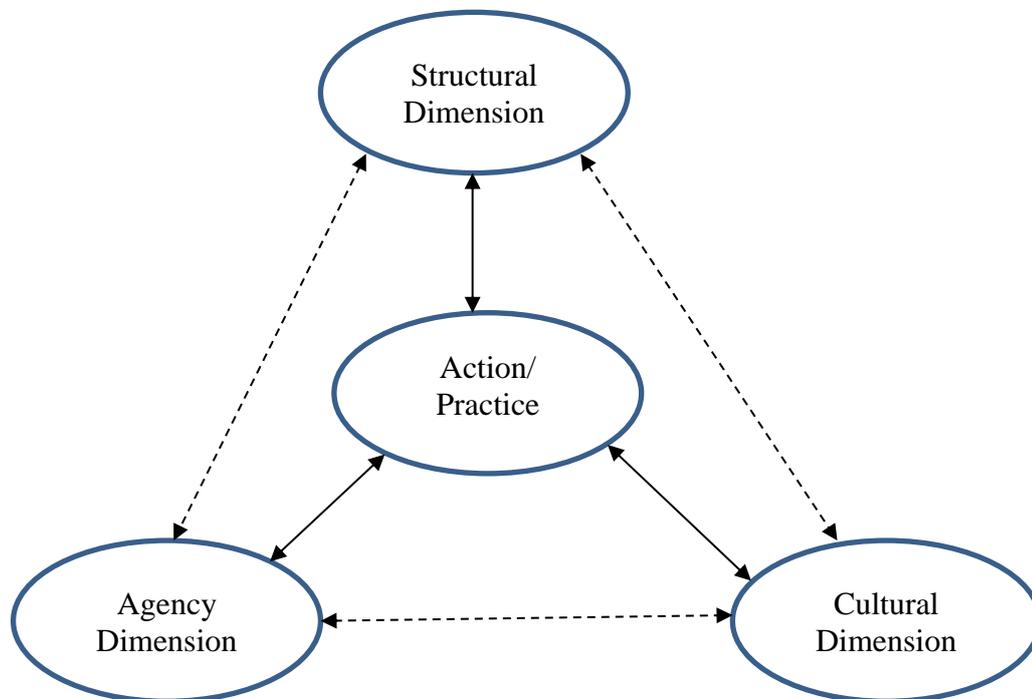


Figure 2. Three dimensions that influence and are influenced by actions/practices in the theory of "struculturgency"

In an effort to understand the social actions of fishermen and their condition like why they are poor, by using this "struculturgency" theory, we need to examine the structural dimension, such as rules, resource control, power relations, social classes, social groups, and other factors. In addition, it is equally important to examine the cultural dimension of fishermen, such as specific habits, customs, and value systems. Lastly, it is also necessary to study the agency dimension of the actor/agent, such as the level of innovativeness, leadership, creativity, courage to take risks, entrepreneurship, independence, openness, rationality, work ethic, and other aspects.

Concerning conflict-sensitive development in coastal areas, this "struculturgency" theory can be used as an analytical tool to "predict" potential conflicts. From the structural dimension, for example, will the development that is going to be implemented result in the disruption of community access to natural resources (for example fishing grounds)? Will their source of livelihood be disrupted? Will the access to their residence be disrupted? Will it create polarization in local communities? Will this development bring in large numbers of outsiders? Meanwhile, from the cultural dimension, the analyses include among whether development conflicts with or damages local values and customs. Does it cause eviction or damage to cultural and ritual objects? Will it shake the identity and dignity of local communities? Finally, from the actor/agent dimension, it is necessary to study the attitudes and behavior of certain actors, such as fishermen, collectors, youth leaders, women's leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and other community leaders. Will development harm their interests? What is their attitude towards development plans? How is their leadership, for example their ability to mobilize society? Combined with "The Sajogyo development paradigm", development (including in coastal areas) which is carried out based on the results of analyses using the framework of "struculturgency" will likely play a major role in reducing the potential for conflicts (meaning conflict-sensitive).

CONCLUSION

If asked to “squeeze” the thoughts and works of Prof. Sajogyo related to development into one sentence, I propose this: “equal and civilized welfare”. This sentence contains two aspects of development, namely “content” and “process”. In terms of content, for Prof. Sajogyo, development means increasing welfare or prosperity (growth dimension), especially for the lower class, the weak, and of course, the poor (justice dimension). Meanwhile, from the aspect of process, various efforts to improve welfare must be carried out in a civilized manner, namely upholding dialogue, participation, capability, sovereignty, independence, and dignity of the poor and the weak. The “Sajogyo development paradigm” is itself conflict-sensitive which at the same time, strengthens human security. This kind of development paradigm is absolutely essential in development practices in coastal areas in this country.

As a final note, if the thoughts and works of Prof. Sajogyo are a sea, what I have done is just “snorkeling” in few spots of the sea. There are still so many thoughts and works of Prof. Sajogyo which I have not explored. However, I hope that what I have obtained from this “snorkeling” and presented in this article has captured some of the core thoughts of Prof. Sajogyo related to development. It is expected that this article can contribute to realize “equal and civilized welfare”, especially for coastal communities in Indonesia.

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