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MENILIK BUMI RAAS NYIUR MELAMBAI: NAVIGATING RURAL CHANGES ON ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY IN THE RAAS ISLANDS

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Abstract *This study examined the socio-cultural dynamics of rural communities in the Raas Islands amid the influx of offshore industrial activities by PT. Kangean Energi Indonesia (KEI). The research focused on how Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs interacted to the livelihoods, social structures, and cultural identities of communities rooted in maritime traditions. This study employed an ethnographic approach using field observation, interviews, and direct engagement through Field Work Practice (PKL) activities. The findings revealed that CSR programs were not merely perceived as technical interventions but were negotiated by the rural community within the framework of coastal relationships and local kinship systems. Additionally, three main types of fishermen were identified: cage fishers, sailboat fishers, and motorboat fishers, reflecting both economic differentiation and social hierarchy within the rural community. CSR programs also contribute to infrastructure development and the strengthening of the local economy; however, their effectiveness was significantly influenced by the local socio-cultural context. In conclusion, the interaction between industry and rural communities results in complex social transformations, necessitating a more participatory and context-specific CSR model.*

Keyword:
CSR programs, livelihood, rural community

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1. Introduction

At the eastern edge of Madura's seas, located in East Java, Indonesia. the Raas, Sapudi, and Kangean Islands stand as the vanguard of a unique maritime cultural diversity. For centuries, the communities across this archipelago have shaped their identities through the rhythms of the sea and local cycles. The landscape of the Raas Island is a remote region in the sea of Java that forms part of Sumenep Regency, East Java. The island possesses a distinct tropical character with coastal vegetation and a complex underwater ecosystem, including coral reefs that serve as habitats for various marine species (Handoko et al., 2025). For them, the sea is not merely a barrier but a connecting gateway and an integral part of their "home." The community relies

heavily on the sea, with the fisheries sector and inter-island trade serving as their primary sources of livelihood. However, over the past two decades, the socio-economic landscape of this region has undergone significant shifts with the arrival of large-scale extractive activities through the offshore project of PT. Kangean Energi Indonesia (KEI). Some coastal residents of the Raas archipelago have experienced the economic isolation since the 1980s, when the prices of shrimp and marine fish, their primary marine catch commodities, plummeted. The crisis in local crops and the depreciation of marine catch commodities led one-third of the population of the Raas, Sapudi, and Kangean Islands into decided to migrate to Bali and Java (De Jonge, 2000).

This article aimed at capturing the dynamics of the intersection between corporate framework through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs and the everyday logical way of island communities. Rather than viewing development programs merely as technical-managerial interventions, this ethnographic study explored how educational, health, and economic empowerment assistance were interpreted, negotiated, or even transformed by rural communities on the Raas island.

Vickers' (1987) study of Madurese rural communities offered a crucial description of the Nusantara coastal diaspora, where identity was not static but negotiated through migration and interaction. Vickers (1987) highlighted the tradition of Madurese migration to other coastal regions (primarily East Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), and Sulawesi), as well as the role of Madurese communities as fishermen, traders, and actors in the informal economy in coastal areas. Vickers (1987) paid a significant attention to how identity, mobility, and power relations were shaped through cross-regional interactions, particularly in coastal areas that had long served as meeting spaces for various ethnic groups. In this context, coastal communities such as *the Madurese* and *Mandarese* were viewed as an agents of change in the maritime history of the Nusantara (Vickers, 1987).

Meanwhile, Nur Syam (2005) highlighted that the Islamic identity of *the Madurese* could not be separated from their work ethic, migration, and social solidarity rooted in kinship and religious patronage. Meanwhile, regarding *the Mandarese* people, he observed a unique integration of Islam and maritime culture, as seen in the sea ritual practices, traditional navigation systems, and customary-based social structures that continue to negotiate with Islamic values (Syam, 2005). From a social anthropological perspective, this type of fisher developed from a household-based production system, a division of roles based on ownership of fishing gear, and patron-client work relationships (Scott, 1976).

The *Juragan* is generally the owner of capital and means of production (boats, boat engines, fish cages, fishing gear, nets); the *Orenga* is a fisherman who typically works independently or semi-independently; while the *Pandhiga* is a worker dependent on the *Juragan* through a profit-sharing system. This social structure influences income levels, economic stability, patterns of social relations, and the religious orientation of coastal communities (Vickers, 1987).

However, the effectiveness and the acceptance of CSR programs cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context of island communities, which possess strong informal social structures, patron-client relationships, and a system of local knowledge passed down through generations. In this context, CSR is not merely understood as a technocratic intervention, but rather as a space for social interaction among corporate actors, local governments, and indigenous coastal communities (Waluyo, 2024). In a similiar context, Fowler (2022) is particularly useful because Sumba allows you to discuss the island not simply as a geographical location, but as a political-ecological space in which customary institutions, water and external interventions intersect.

An ethnographic approach allows for the exploration of everyday practices, local narratives, and power dynamics that are often not captured through quantitative approaches or indicator-based program evaluations alone (Hymes, 1996). This study employed an ethnographic approach to deeply understand how communities in the Raas Islands interpret, respond to, and negotiate with CSR development programs which present in their living spaces.

Beyond the general population distribution, the demographic composition of the study area demonstrates a specific gender pattern across the observed villages. While the distribution is relatively balanced overall, women consistently outnumber men in every location. The details of this gender disparity across the four primary villages are outlined in the following table:

Table 1. Gender Distribution in The Raas Island Study Area

Village	Men	Women	Difference (Female Surplus)
Brakas	2,756	4,017	1,261
Poteran	2,261	2,556	295
Alas Malang	1,167	1,326	159
Jungkat	1,082	1,129	47

As illustrated in Table 1, every village exhibits a higher female population, with Brakas recording the most significant disparity of 1,261 individuals. Conversely, Jungkat displays the most balanced ratio, with the female population exceeding the male by only 47 individuals. This persistent gender gap is highly relevant to the socio-cultural realities of a maritime community. With a large portion of the male population engaged in offshore fishing or migrating for economic reasons, women play a dominant role in managing village life, local trade, and post-harvest fisheries processing. Recognizing this demographic structure is vital for understanding how local economic empowerment and CSR programs can be optimally targeted within the community.

The comparison of educational facilities among the four villages demonstrated notable differences in the availability and diversity of schooling institutions. Brakas Village possesses the most extensive educational infrastructure, with a total of 15 educational institutions consisting of seven public elementary schools, four Islamic elementary schools (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*), a secondary school, two Islamic secondary schools (*Madrasah Tsanawiyah*), and a private high school (Centre of Statistical Agency, 2019). This indicated that Brakas served as the primary educational centre among the studied villages, offering the widest range of educational opportunities from primary to secondary levels.

Alasmalang Village was placed in the second rank in terms of educational facility availability, with a total of nine institutions. These included two elementary schools, two Islamic elementary schools, a private secondary school, two Islamic secondary schools, a private high school, and an Islamic high school. The presence of both general and Islamic educational pathways at multiple levels suggested a relatively comprehensive educational system capable of accommodating diverse community preferences. Poteran Village exhibited more moderate level of educational provision, with five institutions in total. Educational facilities consisted of two elementary schools, an Islamic elementary school, an Islamic secondary school, and an Islamic high school (Centre of Statistical Agency, 2019). Although the number of institutions was lower than in Alasmalang and Brakas, Poteran still provided a continuous Islamic education pathway from primary through senior secondary levels.

Meanwhile, Jungkat Village had the fewest educational facilities, which the total of four institutions. These comprise of two elementary schools, an Islamic elementary school, and an secondary school. The absence of the high school facilities and the Islamic secondary education which indicated more limited educational infrastructure, which potentially asking the students to travel to neighboring villages to pursue higher levels of education. By positioning the community's perspective as the subject, this research sought to uncover the reciprocal relationship between CSR programs and social transformation in the island regions. Academically, this article contributed to the studies development in the sociology of development and the anthropology of extractive industries, particularly in the context of island communities and remote regions. Practically, the research findings are expected to serve as a reference for the development of CSR models that are more contextual, participatory, and sensitive to the socio-cultural diversity of rural communities in coastal areas.

2. Method

The research was conducted in the Raas Islands region, which is part of Sumenep Regency, East Java, focusing on coastal communities that are highly dependent on the fisheries sector and maritime activities. The landscape of the Raas Island is a remote area in the Sea of Java that forms part of Sumenep Regency, East Java. Located to the east of Madura Island, Raas is an archipelago comprising 14 small islands with a total area of approximately 39.90 km^2, of which nine are inhabited. As of the end of 2024, the islands are home to around 32,450 people, the majority of whom are of Madurese ethnicity.

This study employs a qualitative approach using an ethnographic research design to explore social, cultural, and community dynamics on the Raas Island. Ethnography is selected as it allows for an in-depth understanding of lived experiences, local knowledge systems, and everyday practices within the community through prolonged engagement and direct interaction (Pink et al., 2022). The fieldwork was conducted on the Raas Island over a period of approximately five weeks, from November 27, 2022 to January 2, 2023. This duration enabled the researcher to immerse themselves in the community, observe social interactions, and build trust with participants, which is essential in ethnographic inquiry (Babbie, 2005).

An ethnographic approach used to gain an in-depth understanding of the social dynamics of coastal communities in the rural of the Raas Island such as Alas Malang, Jungkat, and Brakas. The ethnographic approach was chosen because it allows for the exploration of everyday practices, local narratives, and power dynamics that cannot always be captured through quantitative approaches or indicator-based evaluations (Neuman, 2015). Research activities were carried out through the researcher's direct involvement in Field Work Practice (PKL); a collaboration between the Sociology team at Muhammadiyah University of Malang and PT. Kangean Energi Indonesia (KEI).

The selection of informants was carried out using purposive sampling, based on their relevance, knowledge, and involvement in the social context under study. Informants were categorized into three groups: *First,* primary informants consist of ordinary community members who directly experience and participate in the daily social life of the Raas Island. These may include fishermen, farmers, traders, women, and youth. They provide first-hand accounts of everyday practices, social relations, and local perspectives, forming the core data of the ethnographic study. *Second,* key informants are individuals who possess extensive knowledge, authority, and deep understanding of the community's social structure, cultural practices, and historical context. They typically include traditional leaders, village institutional heads, religious

figures, or senior community members (Neuman, 2015). Their role is crucial in providing overarching insights, validating information, and guiding the researcher in understanding local norms and values (Alene et al., 2022). *Third,* supporting informants are individuals who complement and enrich the data which obtained from the key and the primary informants. They may include local government officials, NGO workers, educators, or health practitioners who have contextual knowledge or professional engagement with the community. Their perspectives help triangulate data and provide additional analytical depth.

The Technique of collecting data included field observations, informal interviews with coastal communities, and direct participation in community activities. One of the informants interviewed in this study was a fisherman named Sahlan (48 years old), who provided insights into the daily practices of fishermen and the socio-economic conditions in the region. Additionally, data was obtained through interactions with the community at the Raas Island Sub-district Office. The study subjects included coastal communities comprising various social categories of fishermen, such as cage fishers, sailboat fishermen, and motorboat fishermen, representing socioeconomic differentiation and patterns of labor relations within the community (Luglio et al., 2017).

The analysing data analysis was conducted qualitatively using an interpretive approach, specifically by understanding the meanings constructed by the community regarding the CSR program and the social changes that occurred. The analysis focused on how the community interprets, responds to, and negotiates development interventions within the local socio-cultural context.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Demographic Profile of the Raas Island

To understand the socio-cultural context of the coastal communities, it is essential to first examine the demographic composition of the Raas Island. Based on the 2019 data from the Centre of Statistical Agency, the population distribution across the five primary villages is noticeably uneven. The data reveals that the majority of the population is concentrated in two specific areas, which collectively account for almost 60% of the total demographic spread. The detailed distribution is presented in the table below:

Table 2. Population Distribution in The Raas Island

Village	Population (Inhabitants)	Percentage (%)
Brakas	7,773	32.9
Ketupat	6,310	26.7
Poteran	4,817	20.4
Alas Malang	2,494	10.6
Jungkat	2,211	9.4
Total	23,605	100

As shown in Table 1, Brakas and Ketupat serve as the most densely populated areas in the region, with Brakas alone holding roughly one-third of the total population. Conversely, Jungkat represents the smallest demographic group. This uneven concentration suggests that Brakas and Ketupat act as the primary hubs for community activities and social interactions. Understanding this distribution is crucial, as the density and concentration of the population directly influence

how developmental interventions, such as CSR programs, are negotiated and localized by the rural community.

3.2 The Dynamics of the Offshore Industry and the Response of Coastal Communities

The presence of offshore industrial activities by PT. Kangean Energi Indonesia (KEI) in the Raas Islands region had not only brought about economic and infrastructural changes but also had given rise to complex social dynamics at the community level. Based on field findings, KEI's activities included exploration, seismic surveys, and gas production at several fields such as Sirasun, Batur, and Pagerungan, with an operational area spanning 4,058 km^2 (Romadhon,2020).

PT. KEI operates utility boats to transport materials and logistics in support of oil and gas operations in offshore waters within its operational area, such as the routes between Gresik and Pagerungan Island and the Raas Island. These vessels are built with a high percentage of locally sourced materials (Waluyo,2014). KEI implemented various CSR and community development programs on the Raas Island and the surrounding archipelago, including: Electrification program grid development and assistance with Diesel Power Plants (PLTD) so that villages in Raas can enjoy 24-hour electricity. Food security program for instance, greenhouse facilities in Alas Malang Village to strengthen the local food supply. Other infrastructure support and community engagement in environmental management, education, health, and local economic empowerment.

However, rural residents of Raas and Sapudi expressed the concerns that activities such as seismic surveys and gas production may disrupt fish stocks, damage coral reefs, and impact marine and coastal ecosystems (Handoko et al., 2025). Furthermore Coastal communities are vulnerable to structural poverty following the expansion of the offshore industry, compounded by the gradual decline of marine ecosystems and the lack of management skills among coastal residents (Kusumadewi, 2025). Some coastal residents rely on the sea for their livelihoods. KEI is working to map 16 to 26 fish cages owned by the *Juragan* fishing group and 9 fish cages owned by the *Orenga* fishermen, so that social assistance can be distributed fairly and effectively. Several rurals in the Raas island have not yet fully experienced direct benefits from oil and gas activities, challenges regarding electricity distribution, environmental impacts, transparency of information, and social consent remain concerns. Although KEI asserts that all permits have been secured, including the Marine Space Permit (KKPRL) and the Environmental Permit (Proper Hijau), criticism persists regarding transparency, environmental impact assessments, and consistency in community engagement.

On one hand, the company stated that all of its operational activities were conducted in accordance with regulations and were under the supervision of relevant agencies. The Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs implemented cover various sectors, such as electricity provision through Diesel Power Plants (PLTD), food security initiatives through greenhouse construction, and support for the education, health, and community economic empowerment sectors.



Figure 1. PT. KEI's Community Development (PPM) Program in Pulau Raas Sub-district

However, field findings indicated a tension between the development narrative promoted by the corporation and the experiences of local communities. Some coastal residents expressed concerns about the impact of industrial activities on marine ecosystems, including potential damage to coral reefs and a decline in fish catches. Furthermore, not all villages have directly benefited from the CSR programs, particularly regarding electricity distribution, information transparency, and community involvement in decision-making processes. These conditions indicated that CSR programs could not be understood merely as technocratic interventions, but rather as arenas of social negotiation between corporate actors and rural communities, each possessing distinct value systems, knowledge on actual social structures.

3.3 Social Structure and Differentiation Among Fishermen

Observations indicated that the coastal communities on the Raas Island have a social structure shaped by a fisheries-based production system. based on the equipment which they use, Raas fishermen (*nelayan*) can be divided into three types: cage fishers, sailboat fishermen, and motorboat fishermen.

First, cage fishers: a group of fishermen who set up cage pens in offshore areas, specializing in high-value species such as grouper, snapper, and skipjack tuna. Each catch was grouped by species within a single pond (*keramba-pesisir*); however, for efficiency, they were sometimes mixed, and occasionally sea snakes; which act as natural predators; were found in these cages. Within this context, grouper aquaculture was prominently highlighted as the flagship product of the offshore area of the Raas Island.

Second, sailboat fishermen: they caught marine fish along the shoreline and in the small coastal areas around the Raas Island. These fishermen worked individually and sometimes brought their wives or friends along, as Sahlan does. Once they have caught a standard quantity of marine fish, they could sell it to fish auction houses or brokers along the coast of the Raas Island. If the sea conditions around the Raas are normal, fishermen could anchor and t waited for a catch using nets for a week or even a month until the caught reaches a marketable standard. Sahlan recounted on how he moved to Bali in 30 years ago before becoming a fisherman. He was actually from Sapudi Island and met his wife on the Raas Island since the west wind drove the waves and the ship's sails toward the Raas Island. The waves from Sapudi Island could actually push the ship toward the Raas. We learned from Pinisi ship technicians and sailor who were from Bugis and Mandarese. Because the sea was constantly "tidey," Sahlan waited for 6 months

without a single catch. He mentioned that red snapper sold for IDR 45,000 per kilogram, and grouper was similarly priced.

Third, groups of fishermen with motorboats: On average, these groups caught marine fish under contracts with seafood brokers for specific commodities such as giant river prawns, tiger prawns, blue crabs, squid, octopus, and other marine fish intended for seafood restaurants in Bali and Singapore, as well as fish markets in Japan. Cage fishers operated in offshore areas, focusing on key species such as grouper and snapper, which were managed through aquaculture systems. Sailboat fishermen tended to work independently with a limited catch range around coastal areas. Meanwhile, motorboat fishermen had greater production capacity and accessed to broader market networks, including regional and international markets such as Bali, Singapore, and Japan (De Jonge, 2000).

Groups of fishing captains form a unique economic and ecological structure. They did not merely catch fish, but managed the marine environment as a production area through clusters of fish cages scattered across offshore waters. These cages served as a kind of aquaculture enclave, a transitional space between the wild sea and a controlled production system where high-value commodities such as snapper, grouper, and sea cucumber were cultivated using local knowledge which passed down through generations, combined with technical practices that continually adapt.

Ethnographically, activities in the cages were not merely economic labour but also were daily practices which rich in meaning. The workers group, whether family members of the owner or hired fishermen must be attuned to changes in the marine environment: water-color, wave movements, and signs of predator presence. One threat frequently mentioned in their narratives was the appearance of sea snakes, which were not only physically dangerous but were also interpreted as "guardians of the boundary" between human territory and the wild. The presence of these sea snakes fosters a certain ethic of vigilance, and in some cases even gave rise to symbolic practices such as prayers or specific taboos before entering the cage.

When harvest season (*musim panen*) arrived, the fish farm area was transforming into a hub of intense activity. Fish that have reached market size were hauled in, sorted, and immediately transferred to cold storage facilities. Here, the connection between the local economy and broader market networks became evident. Cold storage served as a bridging technology that allowed seafood from the archipelago to retain its high value as it enters the lengthy distribution chain. The fish cultivators had relationships with export brokers and high-end restaurant owners on Java such as Surabaya, Situbondo (*Jangkar*) and coastal Bali, forming a patronage network that reveals both inequality and interdependence.

These differences in production tools did not only indicate variations in fishing techniques but also reflected the existence of social stratification within coastal communities. The fishermen networks with greater capital ownership had broader economic opportunities compared to traditional fishermen who rely on simple tools and natural conditions. In this context, patron-client relationships served as a key mechanism regulating working relationships and the distribution of catch. Thus, the social structure of fishermen was not homogeneous but stratified and influenced by access to resources, technology, and economic relations.



Figure 2. Sailing Fishing Boats & Motorized Fishing Boats

3.4 The Lives of Fishermen and Economic Uncertainty

The activities of the fishing communities in the waters around the Raas Island revealed a multi-layered social landscape, with central of maritime life concentrated in coastal villages such as Brakas, Jungkat, and Alas Malang. These three areas were not merely geographical points, but hubs of economic activity, social relations, and ecological knowledge passed down through generations.

Ethnographically, the lives of fishermen in this region were marked by rhythms that follow natural cycles, wind direction, ocean currents, and lunar phases. At a certain level, there existed a traditional type of fisherman known as *Orenga*, referring to individuals or small groups who rely on the skill of interpreting natural signs, such as the direction of sea winds and changes in waves. They set out to sea in simple, unmotorized boats, often at night or in the early morning, using the wind as both their primary power source and navigational guide. Their knowledge was embodied rooted in bodily experience and passed down through direct practice, not through formal systems. However, in contemporary dynamics, the position of the *Orenga* was increasingly under pressure from the emergence of large-scale fishing operators, who operate motorized boats and have greater access to capital, technology, and distribution networks. Motorized boats enable broader mobility, higher catch rates, and the ability to reach more distant and productive fishing grounds. In this context, competition occurred not only at the production level but also regarding market access and income stability. The relationship between *Orenga* and boat-owner fishermen reflects socioeconomic stratification within coastal communities. *Orenga* often found themselves in a vulnerable position, with high dependence on natural conditions and seasonal fluctuations. Meanwhile, the boat-owner groups form a sort of patronage structure, where they did not only control the means of production but also often served as intermediaries between the catch and broader markets of the island.

In villages such as Brakas, Jungkat, and Alas Malang**,** the daily activities of fishermen revealed a clear division of labor: men generally went out to sea, while women were involved in post-harvest processes such as processing, drying, or selling seafood locally. Social interactions took place intensely in communal spaces such as docks, fish auctions, and courtyards, which served as arenas for the exchange of information ranging from sea conditions to market prices.

Start with Kinseng (2021). It gives you a direct sociological foundation for discussing how coastal and small-island communities experience identity transformation, Thus, the lives of fishermen in Raas did not only reflect marine-based economic practices but also revealed social

transformations driven by the intersection of tradition and modernity. The tension between *Orenga* and *Juragan* were not merely a matter of technology but also concerns access, power, and the sustainability of local knowledge.

The lived experiences of fishermen were key to understanding the social realities of coastal communities. Based on field interviews, Sahlan (48), a fisherman on the Raas Island, described the economic uncertainty heavily influenced by natural conditions and the seasons.

Within the social landscape of the coastal archipelago, Sahlan identifies himself as an *orènga, a local* category that refers not merely to the profession of a fisherman, but also signifies a work ethic characterized by independence, flexibility, and a deep understanding of the marine environment. His fishing activities follow seasonal rhythms that have been passed down through generations. From October to November, the sea is considered "bountiful," yielding an abundance of catches such as mackerel *(tongkol)*, grouper *(kerapu)*, sea cucumber *(teripang)*, and kue fish *(ikan kue)*. During this period, Sahlan did not only harvests the sea's bounty but also strengthens his social networks by distributing his catch to family, neighbors, and local markets. However, these dynamic shifts when December arrived and beyond, a period locally understood as the lean season. Beyond ecological factors like high waves and shifting currents, socio-economic pressures intensify with the arrival of *pandhiga* fishermen. Unlike Sahlan, *Pandhiga* operated within a patron-client structure, bound to a *Juragan* who served as both a capital provider and a middleman (broker) controlling the distribution chain. The *Pandhiga* fishing community occupied a unique social position as laborers under the authority of their employers. This relationship is not merely economic; it also shapes their work patterns, daily rhythms, and the way they interact with the marine environment. For the *Pandhiga*, fish cages are not merely places of cultivation, but spaces requiring constant vigilance.

At night, the practice of guarding became the primary activity, rich in meaning. The flickering of small neon lights hung around the fish cages creates both a visual and symbolic boundary-marking the territory of ownership and human presence in the vast expanse of the sea. Under certain conditions, torches were lit, emitting a livelier and warmer light, yet they were vulnerable to gusts of wind. When the wind picks up, moonlight was taking over as a natural source of illumination, revealing on how *Pandhiga* relies on cosmic cycles to carry out his work.

This vigilance was directed not only at ecological threats, such as large waves that could damage the fish cages, but also at potential social disturbances in the form of theft. In this context, the sea became an ambiguous space on a hand a source of livelihood, beside, an arena of contestation and vulnerability. *Pandhiga* developed a keen sensory awareness: hearing unusual ripples in the water, reading shadows on the sea's surface, and recognizing shifts in wind currents as signs of potential danger. Their presence created an uneven competition, due to their access to more modern fishing tactical gear and a broader marketing network. In this situation, Sahlan, as an *orènga*, faces a dual vulnerability: ecological uncertainty and economic marginalization, which together shaped his life experience as a small-scale fisherman in a coastal space that was constantly being negotiated. He stated that: *"Jika kami tidak melaut, kami tidak takut mati, tapi takut lapar".* This quote reflected the economic vulnerability of fishing communities, which were heavily dependent on their catch. Under certain conditions, such as during prolonged high tides, fishermen may go months without a catch. Additionally, migration experiences are part of coastal communities' adaptation strategies. Sahlan is known to have migrated to Bali for 30 years before returning to fishing. This demonstrated that mobility serves as a means of survival in the face of unstable local economic pressures. The sea is not a barrier but a connector linking islands, cultures, and economies. Coastal peoples (Bugis, Bajo, and Madurese) form trans-local networks

across the archipelago and beyond **(**Hakim and Sariono, 2022). Mobility (migration, trade, seafaring labour) is a core cultural value, not just an economic activity (Andayani et al., 2024).

In the maritime landscape of the Kangean Islands, wind direction is not merely a natural phenomenon, but also a determinant of the rhythm of life, mobility, and even social relations. The story of Sahlan (48), a fisherman from Sapudi Island who met his wife from the Raas Island, can be read as an ethnographic narrative on how marine cosmology shapes human destiny. Sahlan recounts that their meeting did not occur in a planned setting, but rather through a crossing dictated by the wind season. During the east wind season, when the waves are relatively calm and the currents flow toward the Raas area, he and his crew would often stop to anchor, repair their nets, or simply wait out the weather. It is within this context that social interactions take place along the dock's edge, in a simple coffee shop, or during communal activities of the coastal community. In these liminal spaces, he first met the woman who would later become his wife.

The local saying that he used that is "destiny follows the direction of the sea waves" reflects a worldview in which human relationships are inseparable from ecological dynamics. The wind is not merely a force that fills the sails, but also a mediator of encounters. From a maritime ethnographic perspective, this illustrates how the concept of destiny is understood ecologically: destiny is not merely the result of individual choice, but the outcome of the interconnectedness between humans, the sea, and the seasons.

For communities in the Raas Island region and its surroundings, inter-island mobility is a daily practice that opens up possibilities for cross-community encounters. Sahlan's marriage reflects patterns of social alliance formed through traditional maritime networks. This relationship not only unites two individuals but also expands the kinship network between Sapudi and the Raas Islands, two islands bound by currents, winds, and the economic practices of fishing communities. This narrative underscores that coastal communities are not merely passive in the face of change but actively develop adaptation strategies to ensure their survival (Ahmadi, 2021).

3.5 Limitations of CSR Programs and Social Negotiations

Although CSR programs have contributed to infrastructure development and the local economy, their effectiveness still faces various challenges. One finding indicated that local institutions such as BUMDES (Local Owned Enterprises) have not been operating optimally due to managerial constraints, including bad debt issues.

Furthermore, the top-down approach in the implementation of CSR programs has led to a lack of alignment with the needs of local communities. This results caused the low levels of community acceptance and participation in some of the programs being implemented. From an ethnographic perspective, this situation demonstrated that development cannot be separated from the process of social negotiation involving various actors with differing interests. Communities do not merely passively accept programs; they also interpret, adapt, and even critique the interventions that enter their living spaces (Bordia Das and Foa,2013).

3.6 Social Transformation in Coastal Areas

The presence of offshore industries gave impacts not only for economic aspects but also influences social structures, relational patterns, and the value systems developing within the community. In this context, CSR served as a meeting point between corporate interests and community needs, a dynamic that was often characterized by negotiation processes and tensions in practice. Thus, a technocratic approach to development needs to be complemented by a more

contextual understanding of the community's socio-cultural conditions. Ingold (2000) developed a distinctive anthropological approach to environmental perception that challenges conventional Western ideas about how humans relate to their surroundings (Ingold, 2000).

The Central to his theory was the idea that humans did not first build mental models and then act; rather, they learn and perceive through living and moving in the environment. Knowledge emerged through practice, engagement, and skill. People "dwell" in the world, means they inhabited it in an ongoing, relational way. "From the very beginning, human beings have been organisms that are always "being-in-the-world", not external observers of the world". This was a strong influence from the phenomenology of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty (Ingold, 2000).

Dwelling Perspective for Ingold; humans as the actors who come to know the world by inhabiting, moving through, working within, and living in it. The environment is not a passive stage. The environment is a network of living relationships that is constantly being shaped collectively by humans, animals, plants, the earth, the weather, pathways, the seasons, and daily activities. Mankind does not merely 'use' the seas and coasts: they learn to navigate by the sea winds, read the patterns of the waves, recognise the spawning seasons of marine fish, and adapt their bodies to the scorching sun and the movement of the waves. In other words, knowledge arises from practical engagement, not merely from mental representations.

Table 3. Analysis of Dwelling Theoretical Roots (Ingold, 2000)

No	Propositions	Field of descriptions
1	Ecological Perceptions	The coast is not just 'water', but a route of mobility, a fishing ground, a social boundary, and a record of pathways.
2	Education of Attention	Coastal people and fishermen do not merely hold different 'beliefs'; they possess: a different way of walking, a different way of hearing the sounds of the sea and the shore, a different sensitivity to the seasons, a different way of reading the land, and different techniques for handling their tools. These skills: are not biologically innate, nor are they simply taught as abstract knowledge; rather, they are cultivated through daily practice.
3	En-skillment	Knowing is in doing. In other words: understanding coastal morphology means sailing along the coast; understanding hunting means following the swimming patterns of sea fish; understanding ocean currents means rowing and feeling the currents. Knowledge is ingrained in: muscles, body rhythm, the senses, motor coordination, and habits.
4	Task-space	If a landscape is the natural environment as seen, then a task-scape is the landscape of activities. A coastline is not merely a collection of seawater and sand, but a collection of activities: reading the wind direction, hunting, swimming in the sea, diving, navigating the currents, searching for sea cucumbers, performing rituals, and hoisting the sails. This means that space is always filled with the traces of human and non-human actions. The environment is a living history of activity.

5	Participant in Growth	Fishermen do not catch fish in the same way as a carpenter makes a table. Fishermen simply: prepare the conditions, follow the rhythm of the seasons, work in harmony with the land, the sea, the sea breeze and the weather. So humans are not entirely in control. They are participants in growth; participants in the process of life's growth.

The coastline therefore became a lived environment: a space of memory, activity, skill, and ecological relations. Through ecological perception, en-skillment, task-scape, and participation in growth, Ingold (2000) showed that humans do not stand outside nature as controllers of it; rather, they dwell within an ongoing process of mutual becoming between humans, non-humans, and the environment.

4. Conclusion

This study concluded that coastal regions such as the Raas Islands should be understood as dynamic and space of social relations which shaped by continuous interactions between industry, the state, and local communities. The expansion of offshore industries did not merely generate the economic change but also restructures social relations, alters community hierarchies, and transforms local value systems. Ingold's dwelling perspective demonstrated that human knowledge was not be separated from the environment, but emerged through continuous engagement with it. Coastal life, in this sense, was not merely shaped by abstract cultural beliefs or technical expertise, but by embodied practices which was developed through movement, labour, sensory experience, and long-term interaction with the sea.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) emerged as a critical interface where corporate agendas and community expectations intersect. However, rather than functioning as a neutral development tool, CSR practices were often embedded in negotiation processes marked by tension, contestation, and asymmetrical power relations. This highlighted was the need to view the development interventions as socially negotiated rather than purely technocratic processes.

The findings emphasized that the development approaches based solely on technical or economic rationality were insufficient. Instead, they must be complemented by a contextual and culturally grounded understanding of local communities. The ethnographic method employed in this research demonstrated that the effectiveness and sustainability of development programs heavily depend on how well they engage with local knowledge, lived experiences, and socio-cultural realities. In line with the anthropological perspective of Tim Ingold, this study reinforced the idea that knowledge and perception were not abstract or detached processes but were formed through active engagement with the environment. Coastal communities "dwell" within their environments, meaning that their understanding of development, industry, and change is rooted in lived practice and relational experience. Overall, the study argued for a shift toward more participatory, culturally sensitive, and context-aware development frameworks, ones that recognize local communities not as passive recipients but as an active agent who interpret, negotiate, and shape development in meaningful ways.

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