AGRISEP: Journal of Agricultural Socio-Economics and Agribusiness Studies

https://ejournal.unib.ac.id/agrisep

RESEARCH ARTICLE DOI: https://doi.org/10.31186/jagrisep.25.01.419-434

SUSTAINABLE FOOD AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY: THE DIALECTIC OF NEOLIBERALISM AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN MERAUKE, SOUTH PAPUA

Fredian Tonny[1*]; Lala M. Kolopaking[1]; Rilus A. Kinseng[2]; Pudji Muljono[2]; Arif Satria[2]

[1)] Rural Sociology Study Program, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB University, Bogor, Indonesia
[2)] Department of Communication and Community Development Sciences, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB University, Bogor, Indonesia
* Corresponding author: frediantonnyfredian@apps.ipb.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Governmentality
Habitus–field–capital
Neoliberailism
Local community
Sustainable governance

Submitted:
7 November 2025
Revised:
9 Januari 2026
Accepted:
26 Januari 2026

ABSTRACT

Merauke's 2025 Community Paddy Field Expansion (CSR) is a strategic policy to expand rice fields outside Java to achieve food self-sufficiency in Indonesia. This study aims to examine how the development of sustainable food farming communities is shaped by the dialectic between local and neoliberal food governance in Merauke's 2025 CSR. Using a critical qualitative approach and a multi-level case study method in three of the 46 villages implementing Merauke's 2025 CSR, this study analyzes the interaction between state rationality and local governance in three socio-ecological types of villages. Qualitative primary data processed and analyzed through data condensation revealed that the implementation of Merauke 2025 CSR in three socio-ecological types of village communities created an antagonistic landscape between the former transmigrant village communities and the indigenous farming communities (native Papuans). Within this antagonistic landscape, the development of sustainable food farming communities is shaped by a negotiated interaction between central government policies with neoliberal governance and local community practices that lead to sustainable governance.

Cite as:

Tonny, F., Kolopaking, L., M., Kinseng, R., A., Muljono, P., & Satria, A. (2026). Sustainable Food Agricultural Community: the Dialectic of Neoliberalism and Local Governance in Merauke, South Papua. *Jurnal AGRISEP: Kajian Masalah Sosial Ekonomi Pertanian dan Agribisnis,* 25(01), 419–434. https://doi.org/10.31186/jagrisep.25.01.419-434

INTRODUCTION

Sustainable Food Agricultural Communities (SFACs), which are based on community participation, play a crucial role in food security, social resilience, and the well-being of rural populations. They even enhance socio-economic resilience, strengthen farmer communication networks, and accelerate the adoption and creativity of sustainable agricultural practices (Daigle & Heiss, 2020; Umi & Hasanah, 2024). Through this approach, farming communities act as agents of change, actively synergizing the social, economic, and ecological dimensions of the food system.

Community-supported food agriculture that connects producers and consumers through trust-based relationships and risk-sharing mechanisms (Atakan & Yercan, 2021; Paul, 2018) has been widely adopted in strengthening sustainable food systems. Empirical evidence suggests that this kind of governance has strengthened community resilience and improved the living standards of smallholder farmers (Thomas et al., 2020). More than that, SFAC plays a role in the development of local economies, developing inclusive social networks, improving the quality of life and developing sustainable agricultural practices (Salleh et al., 2020; Martinez et al., 2022; Prayitno et al., 2022).

SFAC must be understood not only as an economic arrangement but as a social arena in which values, identities, and power relations are continuously negotiated to produce an inclusive, resilient, and equitable food system. Therefore, the development of food farming communities plays an important role in the process of "translating" scientific knowledge into relevant practices at the local community level (Hlatshwayo & Worth, 2019; Lofton et al., 2023). Furthermore, the participation of women and youth has been shown to increase communication, innovation, and adaptive capacity within agricultural communities, thereby accelerating the transition to sustainability (Daigle & Heiss, 2020).

In the implementation of Merauke's CSR 2025, which is designed as a national strategic initiative to expand rice fields of around 20 000 hectares in Merauke Regency to strengthen national food security, the development of sustainable food farming communities faces contradictions and structural challenges. Tensions between central government policies that emphasize the efficiency and socio-cultural diversity of local communities. The structural challenge is in the form of a dialectic between the rationality of neoliberal governance and local governance rooted in customary institutions.

One application of neoliberal governance in the growth of food farming communities is the Merauke Community Rice Field Expansion Policy (Cetak Sawah Rakyat/CSR 2025). This program combines market logic with governmental production goals to accomplish neoliberal rationality. Four neoliberal governance mechanisms are used in its implementation: (1) privatisation of customary land into individual assets; (2) contractualization of labour through formal agreements and profit sharing; (3) New managerialism, which prioritises profit, efficiency, and performance; and (4) New professionalism, which demands that farmers possess managerial and technical skills in line with market standards (Bourdieu, 1986). These mechanisms point to a change in the focus of food farming community development from welfare to competitiveness and performance.

From the standpoint of community development, CSR implementation highlights the competing interests between the logic of economic efficiency that permeates government policy arenas and the subsistence-oriented collective habitus of indigenous Papuan communities (OAP) (Bourdieu, 1984). OAP communities face a structural conundrum: upholding communal ideals on the one hand, or adjusting to market logic on the other. In contrast, ex-transmigrant communities, who have greater economic and cultural capital, are better able to adjust to managerial demands.

The central government's policy focuses on making farmers productive, efficient, and market-integrated subjects. This process reflects a rationality oriented towards efficiency, scalability, and control. By contrast, indigenous Papuans maintain cultural habituses rooted in customary land ownership, spiritual connection with nature, and forms of social and cultural capital that are not easily aligned with market-centered logic. Therefore, Merauke's CSR 2025 creates new complexities that are expected to complicate efforts to align central government policies with local aspirations.

In the context of the development of sustainable food agriculture communities, Merauke's CSR 2025 is not only a matter of production but also a social process that forms power relations, access to resources, and the reproduction of local knowledge systems. In this regard, it needs to be answered, how can central government policies based on the principle of neoliberal efficiency be in harmony with the social, cultural, and ecological values of local communities?

The answer to the research question develops a theoretical framework of governmentality and habitus in the development of sustainable food farming communities that creates a process of interaction between neoliberal and local governance. Empirically, this article provides a foundation for participatory, equitable food agriculture governance and encourages a paradigm shift in food agriculture development from state-centered to local communities.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study highlights the importance of analyzing how neoliberal governance and habitus operate together in the formation of sustainable agri-food communities. Drawing on the theoretical framework of neoliberal governance and the habitus–field–capital triad, this analysis focuses on how state power constructs regulatory mechanisms and farmer subjectivities, while local community habitus and socio-cultural capital influence community adaptation, negotiation, and resistance. The interaction between these forces ultimately shapes the institutional legitimacy and sustainability of agri-food development interventions.

Therefore, an in-depth analysis of Merauke's 2025 CSR policies and dynamics was conducted using a qualitative approach with a multi-level exploratory case study method. This approach and method can be relied upon to analyze complex and multi-layered issues, involving interactions between various actors within state power, economic capital, and local socio-cultural practices.

This research was conducted in 46 villages and 9 (nine) districts in Merauke Regency, South Papua Province from May-July 2025. The research locations in 46 villages were chosen intentionally because they are the implementation locations of Merauke CSR 2025 to capture variations in socio-economic, institutional, and socio-

cultural adaptation of village communities to the Merauke CSR 2025 policy. Based on the socio-ecological typology: "ecological basis of human life" (ecosystem) and "social basis of human life (social system)" (Figure 1), this research covers three types of villages. Type-1 indigenous Papuan village communities (OAP) were selected as three case villages, namely Domande, Kaliki, and Poo Villages which show a transition from a subsistence garden and forest farming system (closed farming) to a wet rice paddy system (open farming); Type-2 hybrid village communities of ex-transmigrants and indigenous peoples were selected from three case villages, namely Amun Kay, Sermayam Indah, and Ngguti Bob Villages which have hybrid social and economic dynamics between indigenous peoples and ex-transmigrants, where the practice of releasing and renting customary land becomes a form of negotiation of cultural and economic capital; and Type-3 village communities dominated by ex-transmigrants were selected from three case villages, namely Kumbe, Yabamaru, and Muram Sari which adopted an intensive agricultural system based on individual ownership, the use of agricultural machinery (alsintan), and formal institutions such as Gapoktan and Brigade Pangan.

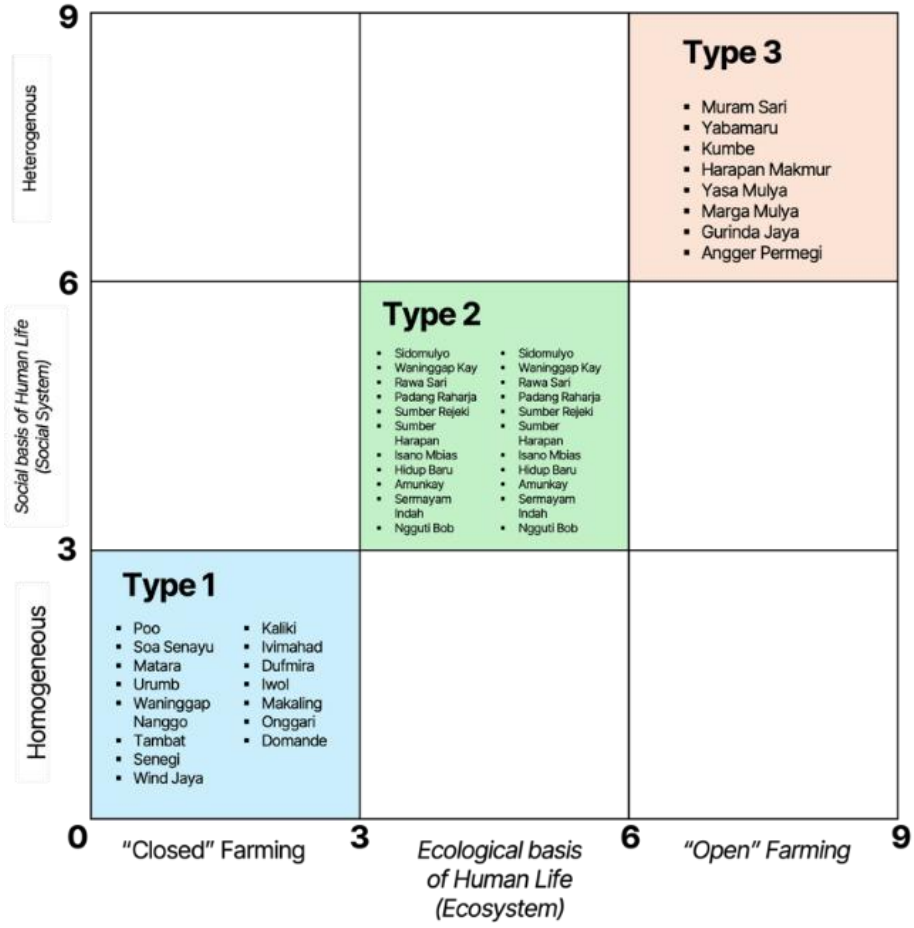

Figure 1.
Socio-Ecological Typology of 46 Merauke People's Paddy Fields Expansion Program 2025

The types of data used include primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGDs) with various actors involved in policy implementation. Key informants consisted of officials from the Merauke Regency Food Crops, Horticulture, and Plantation Agriculture Service (TPHP Agriculture Service), the Commander of the 174th Marine Regiment Command (Korem) Anim Ti Waninggap, the Commander of the 1707th Merauke Military District Command (Kodim), technical staff from the TPHP Agriculture Service and the TNI Babinsa responsible for CSR implementation, traditional leaders, clan leaders who own customary land, the Food Brigade administrator, farmer groups, Gapoktan, and BUMK, as well as farmers from three types of villages directly involved in rice field expansion and management. The number of informants at the district and sub-district levels was 6 (six) informants, and the number of informants at the village level was 18 informants. Two focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted at the district and regency levels, and nine FGDs were conducted in nine case villages from each village community type. Each FGD included 12-15 participants. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore perceptions, experiences, and the social meaning of the Merauke 2025 CSR policy at the community level. Observations were conducted to understand the reality of farmers' social and economic practices, which are a manifestation of interactions between sectors, agricultural institutions, and infrastructure users in the implementation of Merauke CSR 2025. Focus group discussions were used to understand collective decision-making processes, community and stakeholder participation, and negotiations related to customary land governance.

Secondary data was obtained through the review of policy documents and technical reports, such as the results of the Investigation and Design Survey (SID), Area of Interest (AoI) maps, and archives of the rice field expansion program from the PTPHP Office of Merauke Regency. In addition, the Food Estate, MIFEE, and Land Optimization (Oplah) policy reports were also analyzed as a comparison to understand the continuity and paradigm shift of national agricultural policy. Academic literature on sustainable agriculture, community-supported agriculture (CSA), and governmentality and habitus–field–capital theories are used as conceptual references to strengthen theoretical analysis.

Data collection is carried out through four main stages. First, the development of village typology from 46 Merauke CSR villages in 2025, namely the identification of 46 villages where the research is located and secondary data tracing to map the social and institutional context. Second, field observations, namely observations of agricultural practices, institutional activities such as the Food Brigade, and social dynamics between OAP groups and ex-transmigrants. Third, in-depth interviews, group interviews, and FGDs to explore qualitative information related to people's perceptions, experiences, and adaptation strategies in dealing with CSR policies. Fourth, data validation and triangulation are carried out by comparing the results of interviews, observations, and policy documents to ensure the consistency and credibility of the information obtained.

Data analysis was conducted inductively and thematically, following the stages of data condensation, presentation, and conclusion drawing as developed by Miles & Huberman (2014) (Figure 2). The data processing, analysis, and display were carried out iteratively, then presented in narrative form and a thematic matrix to compare village types. Data interpretation was then carried out using Foucault's Governmentality Theory to understand the state's power within the Merauke 2025 CSR program and Boudieu's Habitus-Field-Capital Theory to reveal how local actors negotiate their positions and capital in the policy arena.

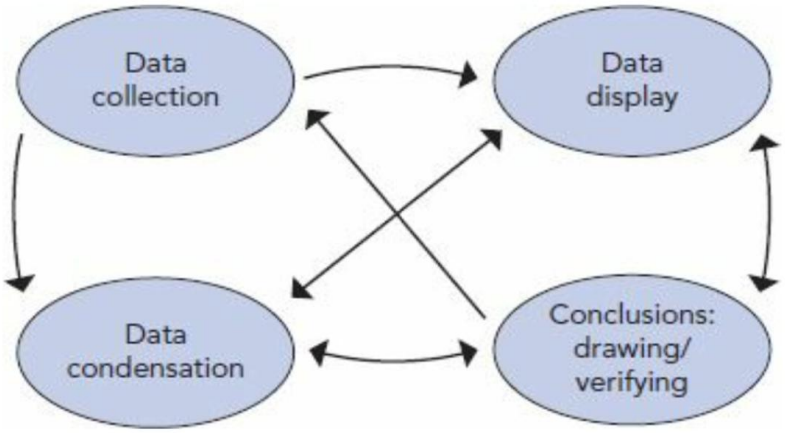

Figure 2.
Interactive Model of Qualitative Data Analysis Components
(Source: Miles, et al. (2014)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dialectic of Power, Capital, and Governance in Merauke's CSR Implementation 2025

As the implementer of central government policy, the Merauke Regency Food Crops, Horticulture, and Plantation Department operationalized the Merauke 2025 CSR program. This operationalization is supported by governance instruments based on the rationality of power that aims to create a modern, productive, and market-oriented agricultural society (Foucault, 1991). This policy embodies neoliberal logic: efficiency, measurable performance, and clear and clean land area targets. As a result, an intense dialectical process occurs between state power, market rationality, and local community governance.

At the local community level, these policies conflict with local social and cultural systems that have long operated based on the logic of local government. Local communities become an "antagonistic landscape," that is, a social arena where two main forces interact: the power of modern agricultural development based on neoliberalism and the power of indigenous communities who consistently defend land sovereignty and social values. Efforts to defend sovereignty at the local community level are not uniform, and differences in the dynamics of SFAC emerge

in three types of village communities: the indigenous indigenous village (Type 1), the hybrid village between indigenous indigenous peoples and former transmigrants (Type 2), and the village dominated by former transmigrants (Type 3).

Social Patterns and Capital in Agricultural Communities: A Comparative Analysis of Types 1, 2, and 3

Referring to Table 1, we present the results of a qualitative analysis based on eleven key concepts for developing sustainable food farming communities. There are differences in habitus, capital, and governance patterns among the three types of village communities, with each type having a distinct social, institutional, and capital configuration. Type 1 represents a community with dominant cultural capital and low economic capital; Type 2 shows a hybrid pattern of actors negotiating with each other; while Type 3 exhibits strong economic and technological capital.

Theoretically, these findings reinforce Bourdieu's concept of the field, a social space where various capitals economic, cultural, and social interact and form new hierarchies. In the Merauke 2025 CSR arena, the state acts as a structural agent that regulates the field through policies and regulations. However, local institutions are not passive; communities use cultural capital (customary rights, customary norms) to negotiate their roles. This is a concrete dialectic between local governance and governance in sustainable agri-food development.

Table 1. Comparison of Social and Institutional Dynamics in Three Types of Villages in Merauke's CSR Program 2025

Concept of Analysis	Tipe 1 (Indigenous communities-OAP)	Tipe 2 (Hybrid OAP-Ex Transmigrant)	Tipe 3 (Dominant Ex Transmigrant)
1. Sustainable Food Agriculture Community (SFAC)	Transition subsistence to rice fields; limitations of technical skills; Need a hybrid model (rice + sago)	Integrative between customary and production; A hybrid model of the field commercial field.	Intensive 2–3 MT/year; high efficiency; low farmer regeneration.
2. Institutional Sustainability	Dominant customs; Poktan/Gapoktan is weak; BP is not yet active.	BP doubles (business & mediation); Functional BUMK.	Strong formal institutions (BP, Gapoktan, P3A); functional business institutions.
3. Participation	Volatile; rejection in several villages due to the trauma of OPLAH.	Very high; participation as customary land negotiation.	Very high; driven by economic benefits and Alsintan.

4.	Good Governance	Demands for decentralization and community-government agreement.	Transparency and mediation of land conflicts are dominant.	Efficiency and transparency; infrastructure demands.
5.	Performance	Low (1.5 tons/ha); depending on the infrastructure.	Varied (1.5–4 tons/ha); It depends on the water system.	Stable (2–3 tons/ha); hampered by acidic soil and flooding.
6.	Complexity	Tall; Ecological and Ecological Boundary Conflicts.	Socio-ecological: land claims and human resource limitations.	Technical: acidic soil, fertilizer & fuel limited.
7.	Deterioration	Abandoned land; loss of sago/forest.	Risk of crop failure & social conflict.	Risk of regeneration & bad credit.
8.	Governmentality (Foucault)	The state formed the subject of the modern peasant through Babinsa & SID; counter-conduct.	A combination of state control and local adaptation.	Farmers internalize efficiency; self-governing subject.
9.	Habitus (Bourdieu)	Subsistence, communal, spiritual; Slow adaptation.	Social mix: mutual cooperation and economic rationality.	Profit-oriented, disciplined, technological.
10.	Field	Conflicts of customary claims and land leases.	Capital negotiations between OAPs and ex-transmigrants.	Economic and social capital competition.
11.	Capital–Practice	Strong cultural capital; weak economy.	Inter-sector capital conversion; hybridization of practices	High technological economic & cultural capital.

Type 1: OAP Communities and Indigenous Negotiations in the Governmentality Arena

Governmentality governance operates intensively through mechanisms of oversight, outreach, and technocratic intervention in Indigenous Papuan (Type 1) villages. These practices are perceived by the Type 1 village community, as evidenced in a focus group discussion conducted in Onggari Village:

"*Community needs and aspirations for community development are declining because the local government, specifically the TPHP Agriculture Service, is exploiting them to facilitate the interests of the central government for the sake of savings and the marketing of services to village residents*." (Source: FGD Results in Oggari Village).

The state views this as a social procedure, but for indigenous communities, it serves as a mechanism of moral legitimacy for economic action.

Foucault explains that modern power does not operate through direct coercion, but through the internalization of norms that govern individual behavior. In the case of the Merauke 2025 CSR program, the state attempted to transform the habitus of indigenous communities into productive farmers through training and mechanization. However, counter-behaviors emerged when community members refused to work on land considered sacred, or when land rent was used for ritual consumption rather than agricultural investment.

The habitus of indigenous communities (Type 1), according to Bourdieu, is shaped by shared experiences such as a spiritual connection to the land, strong community ties, and a respectful relationship with nature. However, when the central government implements economic efficiency, tensions arise between the symbolic values of indigenous communities and the institutional power of the state. Therefore, the implementation of the Merauke 2025 CSR program in Type 1 indigenous communities is often slow and fragmented. Along the way, it turns out that some Indigenous Peoples (OAP) communities have begun to collaborate with former transmigrants (such as in Urumb Village and Waninggap Kay), using modern agricultural techniques while maintaining their traditional cultural roots. This demonstrates that habitus can change through gradual social change, rather than through strict regulations.

Type 2: Arena and Capital Negotiations in Hybrid Communities

Within Type 2 village communities, such as Amun Kay, Sermayam Indah, and Ngguti Bob, which constitute the most dynamic social arenas, complex negotiations take place between indigenous communities and former transmigrant communities. Within this complexity, the Food Brigade serves a dual function: as a government instrument for regulating productivity and as a mediator bridging the differences in values and interests between indigenous communities and former transmigrants.

The Food Brigade is a symbol of new management in the food farming community.This institution manages agricultural machinery (alsintan), implements a profit-sharing system (70% for cultivators, 30% for owners), and acts as an efficiency-based business institution. The results of the interviews showed that farmers were proud of their target-based performance: "if the land harvests quickly, it means we are successful." This confirms that the mechanism of governmentality has changed the way farmers think to be more individualistic and rational.

However, Bourdieu points out the other side: the success of the economy in Type 2 creates a new social stratification. Farmers with large capital control more land and assets, while small farmers become tenants of tools and labor. Institutions such as Gapoktan and BP strengthen social networks, but also restrict access for groups with limited capital. This phenomenon shows that the field of ex-transmigrant agriculture is not free from domination relations; market power became a new form of social hegemony.

Type 3: Ex Transmigrants and Internality of Governmentality in Agricultural Efficiency

Village communities dominated by former transmigrant residents such as Kumbe, Yabamaru, and Muram Sari (Type 3) exhibit a very different social character. Here, governance operates not through coercion, but through the internalization of performance values. Former transmigrant farmers have become self-governing subjects they organize themselves according to the logic of productivity, efficiency, and market rationality.

The relationship between actors in Type 3 forms a complementary pattern of capital exchange. OAPs convert cultural capital (customary rights) into economic capital through land leasing, while ex transmigrants use technology capital and social capital to manage production, as stated by the Chairman of the Kampung Muramsari Gapoktan:

"*Many farmers, especially the indigenous people, will rent out their land once it has been cultivated into rice fields. The indigenous people also want their land to be productive. They do not want their customary land (ulayat) to be sold for the sake of the future survival of their children and grandchildren. The customary land (ulayat) that has been cultivated into rice fields will be cultivated by the indigenous people and some will be rented out. Therefore, farmers, especially the indigenous people, really hope that this CSR program can be realized and not just talk.*" (Source: Results of an in-depth interview with the Head of the Gapoktan of Muramsari Village).

In reality, conflict arises when lease agreements are not adhered to, or when profit sharing is deemed unfair. This is where good governance plays a crucial role. Referring to Bourdieu's view, this arena demonstrates the dynamic conversion of capital. This process creates a relative equilibrium that allows for the emergence of negotiated SFACs. This research shows that village communities with strong agreement mechanisms between the government and the village community, such as Muram Sari, Yabamaru, and Kumbe, tend to be more stable than those that rely solely on bureaucratic intervention. Therefore, referring to Foucault's perspective, Type 3 village communities illustrate how modern power is transformed into productive power—power that is not coercive, but produces new forms of governance through participation. The state is no longer the sole regulatory agent, but local communities become part of the productive machinery of governance.

Complexity, Deterioration, and Community Resilience

In Type 1 village communities, complexity arises from conflicting customary claims and difficult ecological conditions, such as swamps and muddy road access. The failure of previous programs, such as land optimization (Oplah), has caused collective trauma that impacts public acceptance of new policies. In contrast, in Type 2 village communities, socio-political complexity is more pronounced.

Differences in land tenure status often create tensions but also open up space for negotiation-based institutional innovation. Meanwhile, in Type 3 village communities, the complexities are more technical, such as limited fertilizer and fuel supplies, and the risk of crop failure due to flooding. However, this type of village community, which is largely composed of former transmigrants, boasts a high level of adaptability thanks to their social networks and farming experience. Referring to Foucault's concept of Governmentality, this phenomenon is relevant to Foucault's view that power is always situational. Power operates through dynamic networks of relationships, not a linear pattern from top to bottom. Therefore, the success of the Merauke 2025 CSR program cannot be measured solely by the area of land covered, but by the extent to which the community is able to adaptively manage social and ecological complexities.

Establishment and Opportunities for Sustainable Food Agricultural Community (SFAC) Achievement

The Merauke 2025 CSR policy and implementation is a multidimensional program that reflects the antagonism between two primary rationalities in the development of agri-food communities. On the one hand, this program reflects neoliberal-based agricultural modernization carried out through the rationality of state governance that is, efforts to regulate the farming population and production space through administrative mechanisms, land area targets, and institutional instruments such as food brigades. However, based on local community governance, this policy is required to consider communal values, customs, and ecological justice in the management of agri-food resources.

The implication is that there has been an evolutionary change or transformation in the food farming activities of local communities in Merauke: from a “closed” farming system (based on gardens and/or forests) to an “open” farming system (based on rice fields), which has resulted in three different types of village communities with different potential for sustainability. Type 1 (indigenous Papuan village communities) represents a fragile starting point and is highly dependent on socio-cultural transitions. Type 2 (hybrid village communities between indigenous Papuans and former transmigrants) represents the system's maturation phase, characterized by institutional stability and production performance. Type 3 (predominantly former transmigrant village communities) represents the highest phase of self-sufficiency in production, but faces extreme socio-economic risks.

In its implementation process, CSR Merauke 2025 has succeeded in achieving short-term performance through the acceleration of the Investigation and Design Survey (SID) stage and rapid program implementation ("work while running"), thanks to the collaboration between the Merauke Regency TPHP Agriculture Office and the Korem/Kodim/Babinsa. Through this mechanism, the state uses governance as a technology of power to transform village community land (OAP and former transmigrants) into productive assets and form market-oriented farmer subjects. Indicators of success at this stage are measured by the area of clear and clean land and increased production potential.

Sustainability in agri-food communities is viewed as a complex, participatory, and integrated social process aimed at creating a balanced agricultural development through the integration of social, economic, and environmental aspects. In Merauke Regency, by 2025, CSR will be a multidimensional arena where communities negotiate state policies, global markets, and socio-ecological transformations.

It turns out that the dialectical interaction between neoliberal governance and local governance in Merauke's 2025 CSR has constructed a synthesis of Sustainable Food Agriculture Communities through three main mechanisms. First, capital conversion where economic capital (tools, funds, credit), social capital (networks, institutions), and cultural capital (customary rights, local values) are exchanged and give rise to new patterns of collaboration. Second, habitus transformation from a subsistence society to a more rational and technologically adaptive farmer, without losing their social identity. Third, arena reproduction through repeated interactions between state actors and communities, a new, more inclusive and participatory governance system is created.

In the context of governance, sustainable agri-food communities are the result of productive forces: forces that not only regulate but also generate new values such as efficiency, collaboration, and social regeneration. Meanwhile, within Bourdieu's framework, sustainable agri-food communities represent a social arena where the balance of capital determines sustainability. When cultural and social capital are given equal space with economic capital, agricultural communities are able to maintain productivity and social justice. Thus, the sustainable food agriculture community in the implementation of Merauke's 2025 CSR is the result of a long process between the state and local communities. This process represents a paradigm shift from state-centered agricultural development to one based on local community governance, resulting in sustainable governance achieved through collaboration, not domination.

However, overall, these achievements "hide" the structural antagonisms in the social arena of Merauke's food agriculture. Significant gaps exist between village community types. Type 2 and 3 village communities possess rational, disciplined, and efficient habitus, supported by economic capital (access to credit institutions and agricultural machinery) and cultural capital (technical knowledge). On the other hand, Type 1 village communities (the indigenous village communities) possess strong cultural capital in the form of customary legitimacy, but weak economic and technological capital. Therefore, the social arena of food agriculture becomes a space for capital exchange and competition: members of the former transmigrant community control production, while the indigenous indigenous community maintains land as a symbol of identity and a source of passive income through land leases and profit-sharing practices.

Land conflicts are a concrete manifestation of the clash between government rationality and the subjectivity of local communities. The state's demand for clear and unambiguous status often clashes with the claims of local (indigenous) communities with their communal rights, as in Kumbe Village and Hidup Baru. For indigenous communities (OAP), customary rights are not merely a matter of legal ownership but also represent social, spiritual, and ecological values. The former transmigrant village communities differ in their views, stating that, with their private rights, they view land as a productive asset that must be utilized efficiently. This

perspective creates an arena for negotiation between indigenous communities and former transmigrants. The outcome of these negotiations is the transformation of cultural capital into economic capital through land leases and a profit-sharing system between indigenous communities as owners and former transmigrants as cultivators. In this reality, the state recognizes customary legitimacy as an administrative prerequisite for the sustainability of the Merauke 2025 CSR program.

Not only the motivation of individual farmers and collective action of village communities, but infrastructure such as farm roads, irrigation systems, and drainage are crucial for the success of the Merauke 2025 CSR Program. Without adequate infrastructure support, the risk of deterioration will increase. This reality confirms Foucault's analysis that governance has limitations: administrative power cannot guarantee effectiveness unless accompanied by concrete material and social support.

Based on the factors that determine the level of institutional sustainability, namely participation, good governance, performance, complexity, and deterioration, in the implementation of CSR Merauke 2025, then: (1) The first (highest) ranking was obtained by Type 3 village communities with commercial-intensive characteristics having high opportunities and acute social risks. Type-3 agricultural sustainability opportunities, such as in Muram Sari, Yabamaru, and Kumbe Villages are at the highest level technically, characterized by high production performance, but these opportunities are risky due to high socio-political complexity and the risk of declining social justice; (2) The second ranking is in the Type-2 Village Community (Hybrid village community of OAP and ex-transmigrants) with moderate opportunities and management stability. Agricultural sustainability opportunities in Type 2, such as in Amun Kay, Sermayam Indah, and Ngguti Bob Villages, are at a moderate and stable level. This stability is supported by formal strength and established production performance, but is hampered by the complexity of agricultural infrastructure and the risk of declining relative welfare; and (3) The third (lowest) ranking is in Type-1 village communities (OAP village communities with traditional subsistence livelihoods) with low opportunities and fragile transitions. Opportunities for Type-1 agricultural sustainability, such as in Domande, Poo, and Kaliki Villages, are at the lowest and fragile level due to high cultural ecological complexity and acute decline in program performance. Type-1 sustainability is highly dependent on the success of the social transformation process and the resolution of trust in the government.

CONCLUSION

The dialectical interaction between neoliberal governance and local governance in the Merauke 2025 CSR process has created a sustainable food farming community. This dialectical process is a social process that constructs a synthesis between state structures and local community institutions, creating a negotiation process in the Merauke 2025 CSR between economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital owned by state actors, ex-transmigrant communities, and indigenous communities. This negotiation process occurs when there is a balance between these three capitals, which is manifested by providing space for local governance to balance the efficiency drive of neoliberalism with social and ecological justice.

In the implementation of CSR Merauke 2025, the socio-ecological typology of village communities in the region produces a synthesis of sustainable food farming communities with different sustainability opportunity ratings. The first rank with high sustainability opportunities is in Type 3 village communities (village communities dominated by ex-transmigrants), such as in Muram Sari, Yabamaru, and Kumbe Villages characterized by high production performance, but these opportunities are at risk due to high socio-political complexity and the risk of declining social justice. The second rank with sustainability opportunities characterized by a stable level because it is supported by formal power and established production performance, but is hampered by the complexity of agricultural infrastructure and the risk of declining relative welfare is in Type 2 village communities (hybrid village communities of OAP and ex-transmigrants), such as Amun Kay, Sermayam Indah, and Ngguti Bob Villages. The third rank with low sustainability opportunities is in Type 1 village communities (OAP village communities) which are characterized by traditional subsistence livelihoods, high cultural ecological complexity and an acute decline in program performance, such as in Domande, Poo, and Kaliki Villages.

Developing sustainable food farming communities requires a reorientation of food farming development policies toward sustainable governance that focuses on local communities. This governance position places local communities as active subjects, possessing social, cultural, and ecological knowledge to manage resources. Therefore, the implementation of the Merauke 2025 CSR Program is a crucial momentum for building regenerative governance based on participation, social justice, and ecological sustainability, which aligns with the long-term goal of national food security.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

[Author 1]: research design, research conceptualization, data collection, processing, and analysis, initial draft of the manuscript, responding to reviewer comments; [Author 2]: research supervision, guidance in research conceptualization and data analysis, responding to reviewer comments; [Authors 3 and 4]: research supervision and responding to reviewer comments. All authors have reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

All authors declare that they have no known financial conflicts of interest or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to thank the Head of Research and Planning for Regional Development IPB University for providing research opportunities and facilities in the 2025 Merauke People's Rice Field Printing Program. He would also like to thank the Head of the Merauke Regency TPHP Agriculture Service for providing secondary data and the opportunity to discuss the 2025 Merauke CSR.

ETHIC STATEMENT

Ethical review and approval were waived for this study as it did not involve any intervention and posed minimal risk to participants. Nevertheless, informed consent was obtained from all respondents prior to participation, and all data were anonymized and kept confidential.

REFERENCES

Atakan, M., & Yercan, M. (2021). Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) as a Model for Sustainable Food Systems: a Review of Global Practices. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 88(1), 145–156. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.06.009

Bourdieu, P. (1986). *The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press

Daigle, D., & Heiss, S. (2020). Communication, Collaboration, and Empowerment: Women Farmers in Sustainable Food Systems. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 48(3), 317–333. DOI: 10.1080/00909882.2020.1753178

Foucault, M. (1991). *Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. University of Chicago Press

Hlatshwayo, M., & Worth, S. (2019). Extension Services and Knowledge Transfer in Smallholder Agriculture: Lessons for Sustainability. *Journal of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development*, 11(5), 89–98. DOI: 10.5897/JAERD2018.0991

Lofton, T., Pritzker, J., & Young, K. (2023). Bridging the Knowledge Gap: the Role of Agricultural Extension in Sustainable Farming Practices. *Journal of Extension*, 61(2), 45–58. DOI: 10.51470/plantarchives.2025.v25.no.1.110

Martinez, A., Gomez, F., & Lopez, C. (2022). Trust and Cooperation in Rural Agricultural Communities: Effects on Productivity and Sustainability. *Agricultural Systems*, 198(1), 103408. DOI: 10.1016/j.agsy.2022.103408

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook (3rd ed.)*. Sage Publications

Paul, C. (2018). Linking Local Farmers and Consumers Through CSA: Building Community Resilience. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 35(3), 543–556. DOI: 10.4324/9781003178552

Prayitno, D., Yusuf, M., & Wulandari, E. (2022). Digital Tools For Maize Farmers: Communication and Innovation Acceptance in Sustainable Agriculture.

Jurnal Komunikasi Pertanian Indonesia, 15(2), 122–139. DOI: 10.22437/biospecies.v17i2.36710

Salleh, S., Nordin, M., & Basir, S. (2020). Rural Resilience and Sustainable Agricultural Livelihoods: Lessons from Community-Based Farming in Southeast Asia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Rural Development*, 30(2), 25–42. DOI: 10.59978/ar03030017

Thomas, H., Birtalan, R., & Seguin, R. (2020). Shared Risk and Reward: how Community-Supported Agriculture Enhances Local Food Systems. *Sustainability Science*, 15(7), 1841–1855. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt2005w4g.7

Umi, F., & Hasanah, N. (2024). Communication Practices and the Adoption of Sustainable Innovations among Maize Farmers. *Journal of Rural Communication Studies*, 6(1), 77–92. DOI: 10.58344/jws.v3i7.672