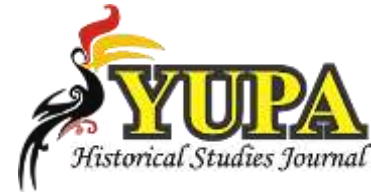


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Coffee, Community, and Capitalism: Analyzing Worker Economic Strategies at Blawan Plantation in East Java (2016-2022)

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Abstract This article is written to discuss and describe the influence of the Blawan coffee plantation on the economic resilience of the workers' families in Kalianyar Village, Ijen Subdistrict, Bondowoso Regency (2016-2022) with an economic sociology approach. The theoretical framework used in this article is the theory of social change. Methodologically, the article uses the historical method, which includes heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. From the results of the research, it is known that the Blawan coffee plantation became the foundation of hope for workers in Kalianyar village to meet the economic needs of the family and the workers can be involved in activities in the plantation starting from the production process, plant maintenance, coffee harvesting process, and post-harvest coffee handling. From these major activities, the laborers get income to help the family economy. The conclusion is that the Blawan coffee plantation is the foundation of the laborers' hopes to improve the family economy.

Keywords: workers, economics, Bondowoso, coffee plantation.

Abstrak Artikel ini ditulis dengan tujuan membahas dan menjabarkan pengaruh perkebunan kopi Blawan terhadap ketahanan ekonomi keluarga para buruh di desa Kalianyar Kecamatan Ijen Kabupaten Bondowoso (2016-2022) dengan pendekatan sosiologi ekonomi. Kerangka teoritis yang digunakan artikel ini adalah teori perubahan sosial. Secara metodologis, artikel menggunakan metode sejarah, yang meliputi heuristik, kritik, interpretasi dan historiografi. Dari hasil penelitian diketahui bahwa (1) Perkebunan kopi Blawan menjadi tumpuan harapan bagi para buruh di desa Kalianyar untuk memenuhi kebutuhan ekonomi keluarga (2) Para buruh bisa terlibat dalam kegiatan di perkebunan mulai dari proses produksi, pemeliharaan tanaman, proses pemamanan kopi dan penanganan kopi pasca panen. Dari kegiatan kegiatan besar tersebut para buruh mendapatkan penghasilan, sehingga bisa membantu perekonomian keluarga. Kesimpulan bahwa perkebunan kopi Blawan merupakan tumpuan harapan para buruh dalam meningkatkan perekonomian keluarga.

Kata kunci : buruh, ekonomi, Bondowoso, perkebunan kopi.



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INTRODUCTION

Blawan Plantation was originally an Arabica Coffee Plantation whose first planting was carried out in 1894 as a Dutch property. Blawan Plantation is located in the Mount Ijen area which is located adjacent to other PTPN XII Arabica Coffee plantations, namely Kalisat Jampit Plantation, Pancur Angkrek Plantation, and Kayumas Plantation. Blawan Garden is located at an altitude of 900-1 500 meters above sea level and has an undulating to hilly topography. Based on rainfall in the last five years (2009-2013), the climate conditions in Blawan Plantation are included in climate types D to E according to Schmidth-Ferguson, with an annual average rainfall of 1 504 mm/year and 114 rainy days, and 5.6 wet months and 5.2 dry months. Blawan plantation has a concession area of 4,751 ha (Sianturi & Wachjar, 2016: 266). Originally, this private plantation owned by a Dutch businessman was named "David Birnie Administratie Kantoor" (DBAK), which was established in 1894 by a Dutch businessman named George David Birnie (Anonymous, 1997:2). Birnie obtained an erfpacht, a long-term lease of land in the Ijen Mountains area, from the Dutch East Indies Government for 75 years. The erfpacht covered an area of 4. 751 hectares divided into 9 afdeling namely Besaran, Plalangan, Kalisengon, Kaligedang, Girmulyo, Sumberejo, Gunung Blauw, Watu Capil and Gending Waloh. Initially the focus of the plantation was arabica coffee, but later there were several plantation crops developed by Birnie at his Blawan Plantation, but Birnie's flagship product at the plantation was coffee. The altitude of this place is in the range of 900-1500 meters above sea level, making it very suitable for growing arabica coffee. Initially, the coffee variety planted at Blawan Plantation was the Tipika variety, but due to the attack of leaf rust disease, the production fell sharply, making it difficult to find in the international market. In order to overcome leaf rust disease, David Birnie of the Kantoor Administration in 1900 brought in arabica coffee beans from the Pasoemah Estate Arabica Coffee Plantation in South Sumatra, because this variety appeared to be somewhat resistant to leaf rust. This variety was later developed into the Blawan Pasoemah Variety (BLP), as it was planted and developed initially in the Blawan Estate. This selection was carried out by the Besoekisch Profstation which later produced a superior variety of Arabica coffee with the name Blawan Pasoemah type (Anonymous, 2000: 226). To maximize the potential of the plantation, business fields besides coffee were also developed, namely various woods, horticulture, KSU, and agro-tourism.

It is not enough for a plantation business to have a predetermined area of land, capital, crops, and a processing plant, but labor is absolutely necessary to handle the work, starting from the production aspect, which includes land cultivation, nursery, planting, maintenance and post-harvest handling. This requires management that can move the wheels of the plantation, which consists of managers, deputy managers, office staff, and laborers, both permanent and casual laborers. To fulfill this labor need, the plantation then invites the community closest to the plantation location to work at the Blawan plantation. Because the location of the plantation is far

from the place of origin of the workers, the plantation then makes houses for workers, ranging from managers to permanent laborers at the Blawan plantation. From this urgency, the plantation community was formed, which consisted of plantation workers. They live in the area around Blawan Plantation, precisely in Kalianyar Village, Ijen Sub-district, Bondowoso Regency, East Java.

Since they have lived in the Blawan plantation environment, they have depended on the plantation sector for their economy. Because they have no other economic assets other than getting wages from working on plantations, they do not own land, live in a remote place that is not traversed by public transportation, but they can maintain the economic life of their families, even during the COVID-19 Pandemic which began to impact Indonesia since the beginning of 2020, contraction was inevitable in the following quarters of 2020 when PSBB was implemented in various regions. National economic growth was recorded at -5.3% year-on-year (YoY) in the second quarter period. For the first time since the Asian financial crisis, Indonesia experienced a contraction in growth. All components experienced negative growth. This condition reflects the sharp pressure on economic sectors, both on the demand side such as public consumption and on the supply side. (Stevany Afrizal¹ , Wika Hardika Legiani² , Rahmawati³ UCEJ, Vol. 5 No. 2, December 2020, Pp. 149-162 Untirta Civic Education Journal ISSN: 2541-6693). The next impact is that many workers are laid off, which greatly affects the economic security of the family, but this does not apply to plantation workers, including plantation workers at the Blawan plantation, who live in Kalianyar village, Ijen District, Bondowoso Regency. Workers on the Blawan plantation can still fulfill their household needs because they can still work on the Blawan plantation.

About the Blawan plantation, there have been several discussions, for example Nur Maria's research, which discusses the development of the Blawan Coffee plantation and its influence on the socio-economic life of the Kalianyar village, Ijen sub-district, Bondowoso Regency for the period 1998-2012, then Vincensia Febrina Sianturi and Ade Wachjar entitled "Pruning Management of Arabica Coffee Plants (*Coffea arabica* L.) at Blawan Farm, Bondowoso, East Java" which discusses plant cultivation techniques and management of coffee plantations, studying and analyzing the problems faced in the field regarding plant cultivation techniques and management of coffee plantations.) in Blawan Garden, Bondowoso, East Java Pruning Management of Arabica Coffee (*Coffea arabica*, L.)" which discusses plant cultivation techniques and management of coffee plantations, studying and analyzing the problems faced in the field regarding pruning management and solutions to overcome them. Pruning aims to keep trees low so that they are easy to maintain, and form new production branches. The internship was conducted at Blawan Farm, Bondowoso, East Java. Then another study conducted by Putri Wulandari, et.al. entitled "Socio-Economic Conditions of Laborers Around the Coffee Plantation

in Gunung Pasang Plantation, Kemiri Village, Panti Jember District" which discusses the socio-economic conditions of laborers around coffee plantations which can be seen from the aspects of work, income, and education in laborers around the coffee plantation Gunung Pasang Plantation, Kemiri Village, Panti Jember District. From these three studies, it can be seen that the influence of the Blawan coffee plantation on the economic resilience of the plantation workers has never been discussed, so it still needs to be studied by focusing on the problem of why the plantation is the foundation of the workers' hopes in maintaining their economy, what jobs can bring economic benefits to the workers, what strategies are carried out by the workers to improve the economy of their families.

METHOD

This study uses the historical method. According to Kuntowijoyo, the steps that must be followed in historical research include (1) selection of research topics (2) collection of sources (3) verification (4) interpretation and (5) writing history (Kuntowidjojo, 1985: 93-105; Helliuss Sjamsuddin, 2016). This study is based on two groups of data sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Secondary data is collected from various places and includes, among others, published works, research results, and government reports, which are related to the problems studied. Secondary data was analyzed using documentary analysis techniques. The document analysis technique is a means of revealing information from documents, official reports, books on various socio-cultural aspects and cultural activities of objects that are the focus of research (Nawawi, H, 1985: 68).

In relation to primary data collection, the technique used is the search for documents related to the Blawan Plantation, especially the workers during the COVID-19 pandemic, the area of productive plantation land, the area of coffee harvest, the number of plantation workers, especially those domiciled in Kalianyar village. Participatory observation was carried out by making a series of visits to the research location. The researcher used the visits as a means to build and develop contacts with the community under study in order to establish rapport. Familiarity with informants and the community under study in order to extract data is an important prerequisite for obtaining honest and open information from respondents (J. Spradley, 1979: 78).

Interviews were conducted to obtain information, views, knowledge, and activities related to plantations and plantation workers. Interviews are the best technique for obtaining information that cannot be observed directly by researchers either for reasons that have occurred in the past or other reasons (C.L. Ember and Melvin Ember, 1984:51). Interviews were conducted loosely by utilizing question guidelines prepared in advance with open questions, so that there

was an opportunity for informants to provide information freely (S. Labovitz & R Hagedorn, 1982: 70-72).

Interviews were conducted with a number of informants at the research site. Key informants will be selected from plantation employees and workers, village officials, in order to obtain comprehensive and representative information, interviews are also conducted with informants from the general public and from policy makers on coffee. All information obtained in the field will be carefully recorded on the same day as the interview, to avoid the possibility of forgetting or overlapping information from one informant to another. As long as the informants do not raise any objections, the conversations during the interviews will be recorded. The population focused on in this study is the community whose activities are related to plantations. In handling the sample, a random sampling technique is used based on the consideration that this technique is more egalitarian because all sample members have the same opportunity to provide information (S. Labovitz & R Hagedorn, 1982: 62).

The data that has been collected in the form of documents and interviews with witnesses and historical actors is then verified to obtain credible information. This credible information is then analyzed and interpreted in a synthesis to form a historiographical construction (Kuntowijoyo, 1995: 93-105).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Blawan Plantation Profile

One of the ex-Keresidenan Besuki regions that has quite a lot of plantation areas is Bondowoso. A plantation left behind by Dutch private entrepreneurs in Bondowoso is the Blawan Plantation located in Sempol Sub-district, now Ijen Sub-district, Bondowoso Regency. Blawan Plantation is one of the state-owned companies engaged in coffee production, with arabica as its main product. Production from the Blawan Plantation is marketed to various regions both domestically and abroad such as the United States, and the Netherlands. Blawan coffee that is exported is known as Java Coffee Blawan and has been recognized as a specialty coffee by the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) since 1997. Since the opening of plantations in the area, the Besuki Karesidenan has become a fairly crowded and densely populated area, in addition, Besuki is also the seat of the resident and at the same time the center of government that manages and monitors each of its afdeling.

Initially, this private plantation owned by a Dutch businessman was named David Birnie Administratie Kantoor (DBAK), which was established in 1894 by a Dutch businessman named George David Birnie (Anonymous, 1997: 2). Birnie obtained an *erfpacht*, a long-term lease of land in the Ijen Mountains area, from the Dutch East Indies Government for 75 years. The *erfpacht* was

4751 hectares and divided into 9 afdeling namely Besaran, Plalangan, Kalisengon, Kaligedang, Girimulyo, Sumberejo, Gunung Blauw, Watu Capil and Gending Waloh.

Initially the focus of the plantation was arabica coffee, but later there were several plantation crops developed by Birnie at his Blawan Plantation, unfortunately Birnie's flagship product at the plantation was coffee. The altitude of this place is in the range of 900-1500 meters above sea level, making it very suitable for growing arabica coffee. Originally, the coffee variety planted at Blawan Plantation was the Tipika variety, but due to the attack of leaf rust disease, its production fell sharply, making it difficult to find in the international market. In order to overcome leaf rust disease, David Birnie of the Kantoor Administration in 1900 brought in arabica coffee beans from the Pasoemah Estate Arabica Coffee Plantation in South Sumatra, because this variety appeared to be somewhat resistant to leaf rust. This variety was later developed into the Blawan Pasoemah Variety (BLP), as it was planted and developed initially in the Blawan Estate. This selection was carried out by the Besoekisch Profstation which later produced a superior variety of Arabica coffee with the name Blawan Pasoemah type (Anonymous, 2000: 226). To maximize the potential of the plantation, business fields besides coffee were also developed, namely various woods, horticulture, KSU, and agro-tourism.

During independence, the Indonesian government took over Dutch companies, including Birnie's Arabica Coffee plantation on the slopes of Ijen. The nationalisation process took place in December 1957. At that time, these private companies were not handed over to the private sector but were handled directly by the State in the form of State Companies. By 1958, the private company DBAK or NV LMOD had been merged into six State trading companies. The Dutch-owned plantations were confiscated and merged into VAT Baru Unit A in 1958. In 1960, the organizational structure of VAT Baru was refined with the division of rayon pre-units and units. In 1961, according to Government Regulation No. 141 of 1961, the Old VAT and New VAT were merged into the State Company Unit Leadership Agency (BPU VAT) or also known as the Unitary VAT which was divided into various plantation work units, namely the Aceh Unit, North Sumatra Unit, South Sumatra Unit, West Java Unit, Central Java Unit and East Java Unit and Blawan Plantation including the East Java Unit. In 1963, the VAT was reorganized and divided into 4 VAT groups based on the type of business, given the wider range of businesses handled at that time. Thus, VAT Rubber, VAT Tobacco, VAT Sugar and VAT Various crops, including coffee, were formed, each of which has the status of a legal entity. Blawan Plantation then changed its name to Antan XIII. In 1968, there was a reduction from 88 to 28 plantations and formed into a State Plantation Company (PNP) based on Government Regulation No. 14 dated April 13, 1968. Blawan Plantation, which was originally named PPN Antan XIII, changed to PNP XXVI. In 1969, the institution of the State Plantation Company was changed again, namely through the change of form from State Company (PN) to Limited Liability Company (PT) based on Law No.9/1969 and

PP No. 12/1969. This transfer process was carried out in stages and through a feasibility assessment. Until 1972, the number of PNPs that had been approved by the government to become PTs was 13 out of 28, including PTPN XII, which is based in Surabaya. Blawan Plantation is part of PTPN XII, which is located in region II. Determination as PTPN XII was established on February 14, 1996, as stipulated in Government Regulation No. 17 of 1996. The establishment of PTPN X11 (Persero) was outlined in the notarial deed of Harul Kamil SH in Jakarta (PTPN XII Profile). Blawan Plantation is part of PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII region II, which is located in the Sempol district. PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII (Persero) is headquartered at Jalan Rajawali No. 44 Surabaya, East Java. The working area of PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII is spread across 11 regencies in East Java, starting from the border of Central Java, namely Ngawi Regency, to the eastern tip of the island of Java, namely Banyuwangi.

Blawan Plantation is headed by a manager who is responsible to the board of directors. Blawan Plantation is one of the State companies engaged in the production of arabica coffee as its main production, while the side business of Blawan plantation is various woods, horticulture, macadamia and agro-tourism. As a business unit, the plantation industry has been managed in such a way, in accordance with modern provisions, criteria and standards. Therefore, coffee plantations are also managed based on the basic criteria of modern industry, namely by applying standardized standards in every business activity. Thus, the coffee industry will also be able to detect all aspects and performance based on the plans that have been prepared and the targets that must be achieved. As a modern industry, planning and target achievement are important components of company performance. Unlike other industries (e.g., automotive, convection, or publication) that process semi-finished or finished materials into new products, the coffee industry works on a type of plant from the earliest cultivation efforts to the processing of results (harvest), namely coffee plants. The coffee industry must cultivate its own products, starting from seed selection, land provision, planting, plant care to harvesting and processing of harvested products (post-harvest handling). All of these must meet predetermined standards based on standard calculations and analysis, so that production targets can be achieved (various provisions can be examined in PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII (Persero), 2011 and Pudji Rahardjo, 2013).

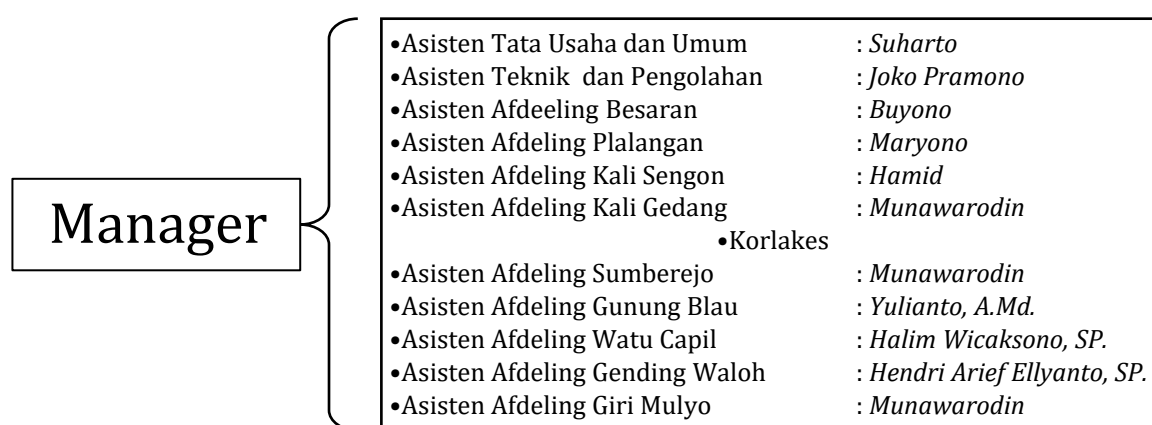
In addition, the coffee industry involves almost all human labor, so it is able to absorb a large number of workers. Within PTPN XII, the entire workforce incorporated in each plantation is depicted in the organizational structure of the plantations under its supervision. The structure describes the hierarchy of power in the company concerned, as well as the working relationship of each part. At a glance, the structure shows the authority of each section in driving the company's organization. At the top of the plantation (farm level) are the Plantation Manager and Deputy Manager. The structure below them are the Plant Assistants in each *afdeling* who are directly responsible to the Manager of the *afdeling* they lead, the Technical and Processing

Assistants who are directly responsible to the Manager of the Factory they lead, the Financial and General Accounting Assistants who are responsible to the Manager of the Main Office they lead.

Perkebunan Blawan memiliki 9 wilayah afdeling, yaitu Afdeling Besaran, Afdeling Plalangan, Afdeling Kalisengon, Afdeling Kaligedang, Afdeling Girimulyo, Afdeling Sumberejo, Afdeling Gunung Blau, Afdeling Watu Capil, dan Afdeling Gending Waloh (Perkebunan Blawan, 2013: 3). Perusahaan perkebunan itu merupakan unit usaha PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII (Persero). Manajemen perusahaan itu bertanggung jawab kepada Pimpinan (Direksi) PT Perkebunan Nusantara XII (Persero) yang berkedudukan di Surabaya. Semua kebijakan yang diambil oleh Manajer Kebun harus mendapat persetujuan dan sepengetahuan Direksi. Manajer Kebun otoritasnya terbatas pada pengelolaan dan pengembangan wilayah kebun yang dipimpinya, sedang kebijakan yang berkaitan dengan pihak luar (misalnya mengenai pemasaran dan distribusi produk) berada di tangan Direksi.

Struktur manajemen inilah yang membedakan kopi sebagai bidang usaha industri, dengan kopi rakyat. Perbedaan utamanya adalah adanya pengelolaan secara modern dan profesional dalam industri kopi. Setiap tahapan usahanya memiliki ketentuan dan standar tertentu, sehingga terukur dan terekam data pencapaiannya. Selain itu, industri dilengkapi dengan berbagai organ pendukung peningkatan produktivitas dan kualitas produk, misalnya laboratorium, ada bagian penelitian dan pengembangan, rekayasa genetik, standar dan uji produk, serta manajemen sarana produksi yang memadai, termasuk mekanisasi. Sebaliknya, kopi rakyat, meskipun juga menerapkan upaya budidaya modern, tetapi dalam prakteknya tidak sempurna yang dilakukan oleh perusahaan perkebunan. Perbedaan itu terutama disebabkan oleh faktor dana sumberdaya finansial dan sumberdaya manusia yang terlibat di dalamnya. Kopi rakyat biasanya (tidak semuanya) hanya mendapat binaan dan bimbingan atau pantauan dari pihak terkait (misalnya dinas pertanian dan perkebunan).

Bagan 1. Struktur Organisasi PT. Perkebunan Nusanatara XII: Kebun Blawan



In the section above, you can see several positions, those who occupy these positions are called staff workers. These are workers whose wages are routinely paid by the company every

month according to company regulations and who have employment ties with the company. Therefore, at any time, workers in the above organizational structure can be transferred to other plantations depending on the will of the company. The top position is the manager, who has full responsibility for the production process from the beginning of planting to the delivery stage.

From the organizational structure above, it can be seen that the manager directly supervises the deputy manager and administration, where the deputy manager is in charge of controlling all matters of plantation activities, while the administration is tasked with dealing with plantation administration. A deputy manager directly supervises 4 assistants, each of whom is the Technical and Processing Assistant, HR Assistant and Accounting Assistant as well as the General and Environmental Assistant.

The Engineering and Processing Assistant has the task of being responsible for the tools used for the processing process. The Plantation Assistant is fully responsible for plant management activities with the assistance of the Afdeeling Assistant (Plantation Assistant). In carrying out his duties in the field, an Afdeeling Assistant is assisted by a Large Foreman who directly supervises all plantation activities with the assistance of several subordinate foremen (small foremen). The HR and Accounting Assistant is in charge of creating the organizational structure, recording everything related to plantation workers, including tourism. The General and Environmental Assistant is in charge of overseeing everything that deals with the environment, such as the use of land other than for growing coffee, and so on (Nur Maria: 2014, 65). In addition to the ranks of workers who occupy the organizational structure mentioned above, also the absorption of labor in Blawan Plantation, mapped according to class. Source: annual data of PTPN XII Blawan Plantation 2013-2021

Permanent daily workers are workers whose employment status is as company employees, who get paid every month. Permanent daily workers are initially casual workers who, because of their long service (more than 5 years), have high loyalty to the plantation and are disciplined in their work, then they are appointed to become permanent daily employees. Furthermore, there are also seasonal or piecework workers, who are freelance workers who only do work during the harvest season. Usually, these seasonal workers come from outside Sempol sub-district. The number is in accordance with the plantation's request to each village.

The seasonal workers also receive housing, electricity and water facilities like other workers that have been provided by the plantation, and they even receive free transportation facilities from the plantation. Therefore, the plantation has never had difficulty finding seasonal workers, because the attraction created by the plantation is very beneficial for all people.

The Life of Laborers in Kalianyar Village

Plantation workers, when viewed in the plantation organizational structure, are located at the lowest strata, but their role is very important in the implementation of activities in the

plantation. They are the field workers who are in direct contact with the plantation objects, namely as workers who handle the production aspects, which include land preparation, nursery, planting, maintenance, and post-harvest handling. The plantation is where they depend on the fate of their families. This can be seen in the data on the livelihoods of the people of Kalianyar Village.

The villages in the Blawan plantation area are isolated and used as labor warehouses, but this does not mean that the Blawan plantation provides cheap rewards for the labor obtained from the local community, on the contrary, the people in the villages in the plantation area use the plantation as a job to fulfill their daily lives, even to change their social status. The changes in social status experienced by the people of Kalianyar village are closely related to the influence of education and social mobility.

The people of Kalianyar village depend on plantations for their livelihoods, as seen from the village profile which shows that the people of Kalianyar village do not own any agricultural land (Kalianyar Village Profile, 2022). If there are people who grow various kinds of vegetables, such as potatoes, cabbage, carrots, corn, red beans and other vegetables, they get the land from the forestry company through plantations. They do this as a side job after working in the plantation. This business is one of the empowerment programs carried out by the plantation. Thus the workers get additional income in addition to their income as workers in the plantation (Interview with Mr. Bobby, Kalianyar Village Secretary). An overview of the main livelihoods of Kalianyar villagers can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. Main Livelihoods of the Kalianyar Village Community by Gender

No	TYPE OF WORK	MALE	FEMALE
1	Farmer	~	~
2	Farm workers	750	760
3	Female migrant workers	5	9
4	Male migrant workers	5	9
5	Civil Servants	12	13
6	Itinerant traders	2	1
7	Ranchers	600	~
8	National Army	2	~
9	Police	1	~
10	Entrepreneur	5	6
11	Employees of private companies	400	200
12	Driver	50	~

Source: Snippet from Kalianyar village profile 2022

Based on the table above, it can be said that the job that is quite prominent besides work as farm laborers and private employees is as a breeder with a total of 600 people in 2022. They are motivated to raise livestock, especially goats, common goats and etawa goats, as well as cows, because in the plantation area food for livestock is abundant. They can work to collect animal

feed, by utilizing protective plants that are already too luxurious, as well as grass between coffee trees (interview with Mr. Rofik, August 2023) If we observe where the workers live, we will not find cow or goat pens, because these livestock are made cages in the corner of Kalianyar village, in groups. However, when visiting the Blawan Gardens in August 2023, I did not have time to see the cow/goat cages, data from 2014 can be used as a reference, because according to Mr. Rofik, the cages are still functional (interview with Mr. Rofik 2023).

The residents of Kalianyar Village, almost all of whom work in plantations, both permanent workers and seasonal workers, live in housing built or provided by PTPN and Perhutani. The housing is located in afdeling Besar and also on the road leading to Ijen District which was built on the right and left of the road built by PTPN, while the one in Rejomulya hamlet was built by Perhutani (interview with the Secretary of Kalianyar Village, November 5, 2023).

Figure 1. One of the rows of housing for plantation workers is located near the head office of Kebun Blawan, right in front of the entrance gate of the head office.



Source: Personal Document (Retno Winarni), taken August 2023.

The harvest area in the Blawan Plantation in 2019 is 1,716.56 ha with the smallest harvest area of 5.19 ha and the largest harvest area of 13.2 ha. The picker workforce comes from inside and outside the plantation which is adjusted to the production plan and the average ability of the picker. The criteria for harvested fruit are perfectly ripe fruit with perfect red fruit color characteristics. The observation results showed that the average achievement of pickers at the beginning of harvest was 14.6 kg of fruit per person-1 day-1.1.the area of selective harvest in Afdeling Besar for 2014 was 5-8 ha with a picking rotation of 10-12 days. The system and method of selective harvesting in Afdeling Besar is a running system where each picker is given one crop run and the number of pickers varies between pickers/day at one picking stage. The commonly used harvesting tools are shakes (plastic baskets) and tekotek (bags made of sack

material). Harvesting activities at the Blawan Plantation are carried out based on the company's standards. In the implementation in the field, there are still several things that must be considered and improved. Problems that occur in harvesting include the number of green fruits that are harvested that are still above the plantation tolerance and the management of selective harvesting. Inaccurate harvest planning can cause the assessment and realization obtained to be inappropriate, as well as the use of picking personnel must also be adjusted to the condition of the fruit in the field. Based on the results of the regression analysis, dry months and rainfall have no effect on coffee productivity in Kebun Blawan.

The picker workforce comes from inside and outside the plantation which is adjusted to the production plan and the average ability of the picker. The criteria for harvested fruit are perfectly ripe fruit with perfect red fruit color characteristics. The observation results showed that the average achievement of pickers at the beginning of harvest was 14.6 kg of fruit person-1 day-1. The age of the picker has no effect on the picking performance. At the beginning of the harvest, the average picking quality with a superior percentage of fruit is 94.54%. The loss of yield in the crown is 74%, significantly higher than the loss of yield in the disk due to the fruit that is missed to be picked. The age of the picker has no effect on the yield loss rate in the header. The fruit powder attack is below the economic threshold. Coffee processing consists of two methods, namely wet process (WP) and dry process (DP).

Various Jobs That Require Labor

The number of non-permanent workers is more than the number of permanent workers. This is possible because the type of work in coffee plantations is more appropriate if it is carried out by both male and female workers. They are recruited by the plantation with special criteria to handle work on the garden land and in the factory, from seeding in beds to coffee processing in the factory. Some of them are plantation employees, wives of plantation employees, and some are residents of the community around the plantation. Why are more female workers employed by plantation companies? The main reason is related to the type of work available in coffee plantation companies. Most of the types of jobs that must be handled in companies are more suitable for female workers. The main work in a coffee plantation company includes caring for seeds in beds, wiiwil plants in the garden land, picking coffee during the harvest season, sorting crops in the factory warehouse, to packing or packing, requiring diligence, precision, neatness. Women's traits, characteristics, and behaviors are highly relevant to such job criteria.

Female workers are also preferred because of the effectiveness of their work. Female workers are usually able to work for a longer period of time, so the level of work effectiveness is higher. Female workers generally do not smoke, so they continue to work, not needing additional rest time. In contrast, male workers generally smoke. When smoking, male workers are less effective at work because they sometimes stop working, enjoy their cigarettes and chat. This

means that male workers when smoking will increase their rest time. Of course, this does not benefit the company.

There are two types of workers in the Blawan Plantation, namely permanent workers and freelance workers. Permanent workers are workers who have been determined to work as workers of the Blawan Coffee Plantation, and work continuously until retirement. They are registered as permanent employees of the company, so they are bound by various rules and regulations that apply in the company. Therefore, they must dedicate their abilities and skills as company workers, and as a service they will receive a fixed salary or other benefits from the company, while freelance workers or irregular workers are workers who come or are brought in by the company, usually from residential areas around plantations. Freelance labor usually comes when plantations need a larger number of workers due to the increasing volume of work, for example at coffee harvest time.

The need for additional labor is caused by the increasing volume of work in plantation companies. The volume of work is not always the same throughout the year, but in a certain time it will increase or decrease. At harvest time, the volume of work is very high, so employees are still unable to handle all the work, especially to work picking, drying, sorting, and processing coffee into finished products or ready for export. The company's activities are very dense during the retirement period until the processing process, so the company must increase its workers so that all the targets that have been set can be met according to the schedule. The harvest and processing period lasted about three months. During the harvest season, companies need more workers, especially female workers. During the coffee picking period, the company can employ around 4000 freelance workers who come to the plantation.

The increase in the number of workers must be followed by adequate service and supervision by the company. This is the company's main concern, so that all workers can work optimally and targets can be achieved according to schedule. As mentioned earlier, some of the freelance workers come from the Bondowoso, Jember, and Banyuwangi areas. Because the distance between the plantation and the residents' housing is fairly far, the plantation has set a policy to bear the transportation of the freelance workers. Transportation of freelance workers borne by the plantation company can be in the form of transportation or transportation rent from the plantation company that picks up and delivers workers from the plantation to the resident's housing. The company provides vehicles that are in charge of transporting freelance workers at morning pick-up hours and driving them home (back to the waiting post at morning pick-up hours) in the afternoon. When it is about to be picked up by plantation transportation vehicles, workers can already gather and wait for the pick-up vehicles at the predetermined road junction posts. Workers are picked up in the morning and escorted home in the afternoon.

When the harvest season has passed, the volume of work will be greatly reduced. Therefore, the number of workers will also be reduced. At times like this, freelance workers are no longer employed. They already knew this, so with their own awareness they left the plantation company, left their jobs, and returned to their places of origin, such as Bondowoso, Jember and Banyuwangi. Instead, the workers will continue to work, but usually with different jobs. If in the harvest season they concentrate on handling coffee beans, starting to pick and processing them, after the harvest season is over they work for nurseries, wiwil, strawberry planting land, macadamia processing, environmental maintenance, and so on. As explained by Pak Setyo (Astan who lives in Afdeling Kampung Baru), during this period after the harvest, the workers are usually only limited to living in the company environment or the families of permanent employees. One of the considerations is, because in addition to feeling like you are part of the company family, it is also easier to coordinate and supervise it.

As has been stated, coffee plant maintenance work is more suitable for female workers. Seedling care from the time it is in bed also requires treatment with tenderness and affection, as well as special treatment, so that the seedlings are really well maintained because there is full attention. Female workers are usually in charge of taking care of it, while male workers are in charge of irrigating or spraying pests and diseases, and moving them to the planting site.

Likewise, when planting, usually the seedlings must be treated more gently, diligently and thoroughly, so that they are not damaged and the guarantee or hope of growing is greater. Male workers transport it to the plantation, then the female workers plant it right in the holes that have been provided beforehand. When the coffee plant is large, it needs to be pruned, namely reducing or eliminating shoots, stems or twigs that are not good or less productive, so that the shape of the plant becomes better and can concentrate on flowering and bearing more fruit. Errors in the wirl result in less regular plant shape, and reduced production rates.

Patience, foresight, and caution are also required when picking coffee at harvest time. If you are not diligent and meticulous, many fruits will fall, unripe fruits, break branches or branches that bear fruit, or many fallen seeds will be wasted. Picking coffee roughly or haphazardly can have a bad impact on the plant, for example, the stems or twigs are broken or damaged. If this happens, the breaking of one fruitful twig will reduce the amount of production at that time, and also reduce the production of the coming season. Breaking the twigs will take time to grow, so they will not be able to bear fruit immediately in the next harvest season. The more branches that are broken or damaged when picking, the more losses will be borne by the company. Therefore, picking coffee will affect the production level, quality, and survival of coffee plants (interview with Mrs. ... and Mr. Setyo in Afdeling Kampung Baru; and Mr. Supardi in Blawan).

Male workers are mostly in charge of transporting the harvest of female workers. The picks are usually placed in sacks, then must be transported to a predetermined place and then transported by truck to the company's warehouse for weighing. These carriers are male workers. When the picked coffee beans are still in the middle of the garden land, usually the one who transports the picked products has been arranged in such a way. A carrier in a given location can serve multiple pickers. It is not uncommon for the male transporters to still have family relations with the pickers, intended to make it easy to coordinate them.

Work in warehouses and processing factories is also suitable for female workers. Drying coffee is mostly done by male workers, because more have to move or transport coffee. Coffee that has dried will then be sorted, coffee beans that meet certain quality criteria are selected. This sorting work is mostly done by female workers. Coffee beans with poor or poor quality are isolated for domestic consumption or processed for domestic consumption. Good quality coffee beans are an export commodity. The job of male workers is usually only to move or transport coffee to be sorted and coffee that has been sorted to a predetermined place.

Likewise, in the processing process, female workers are still involved in it. Their involvement is usually more in the finishing section, for example in weighing and packaging or lealing. The selection of female workers in this type of work is related to neatness and thoroughness. The touch of female workers usually has better results than male workers.

Workers' Strategies in Maintaining Family Economic Life

The socio-economic conditions of workers can reflect the subsistence of workers. It is also related to the habits, interaction patterns, social relationships, and behavior of workers. According to Sumardi (2007:07), subsistence production is part of agricultural production that is eaten by household members. Agricultural production obtained by subsistence farmers is only able to meet food needs but is not able to make a profit so that they obtain sufficient additional income to meet non-food needs. Labor families are said to be subsistent if they only meet their needs that day. Subsistence that occurs due to low socio-economic conditions causes people to carry out various strategies to survive and overcome their life problems. According to White, livelihood strategies are divided into three typologies, namely survival *strategies*, *consolidation strategies*, and *accumulation strategies*.

The three typologies are based on the assets owned and the conducive situation created by the working structures and processes. The theoretical basis used in the context of strategy definition in this study refers to the definition of survival strategy typology, because the definition in this typology is appropriate for the socio-economic conditions of workers around the Blawan Plantation. Furthermore, White explained the characteristics of the survival strategy typology, which is usually poor and marginal households with this typology, it is characterized by narrow ownership of land resource assets and limited capital. The focus of income is relied on the

outpouring of labor with limited skills, employment and status is relatively lower than formal employment, so the income earned is insufficient. Survival households tend to maximize their energy use following limited land and capital assets. In this study, survival strategies will be seen from the community's side jobs, as well as the unique behaviors that people do to avoid difficulties. Workers around the Blawan Plantation, Ijen District, Bondowoso Regency, fully work in the garden during the harvest once a year in June – September. Female workers are needed in large numbers during the harvest because women are considered more diligent, for sorting about forty people are taken from the plantation and outside the plantation, while male workers are in charge of transporting the crops and seven workers continue to do work related to coffee processing machines in the factory.

Work in land cultivation, nurseries, planting, plant maintenance, was paid 30,000, in 2016-2022, with working hours from 08.00-12.00, which can be done by both male and female workers, the next is connection. This connection requires a high degree of patience considering that connecting the rods is not an easy job. Coffee sticks that are ready to be connected are usually 5-6 months old (sticks the size of a pencil). Starting from selecting to cutting the stems, and storing them in polybags, as well as caring for seeds in polybags, women workers participated in the work. For male workers, the wages are slightly greater than for female workers.

While working for coffee treatment, which includes fertilizing, pruning is done wholesale. Usually one hectare is worked by 25 people

The time that the workers have been waiting for is the coffee harvest. These coffee pickers are paid based on how many coffee beans they get. So they are paid wholesale. One kilogram in general they are given a minimum of Rp 2000. At harvest time, not only mothers participate in coffee picking, but all adult family members are involved in this activity. One day's gain can be one family consisting of three people who can pick 3x50 kg of coffee. Therefore, if 1 kg is paid Rp 2000, they as a family can get a wage of 150x 2000: Rp 300,000. With this income, they can save for future needs. They generally save in the form of mas, cows or goats. In fact, many are also used to pay for housing (housing), because workers occupy housing only temporarily, after they retire they will leave housing.

The harvest area in the Blawan Plantation in 2019 is 1,716.56 ha with the smallest harvest area of 5.19 ha and the largest harvest area of 13.2 ha. The picker workforce comes from inside and outside the plantation which is adjusted to the production plan and the average ability of the picker. The criteria for harvested fruit are perfectly ripe fruit with perfect red fruit color characteristics. The observation results showed that the average achievement of pickers at the beginning of harvest was 14.6 kg of fruit per person.

The last cycle of the workers' work is the sorting of coffee beans that must be physically sorted on the basis of the size and defects of the beans. Non-coffee impurities such as leaf chips,

wood or coffee husks must also be separated. Size sorting is carried out by mechanical sieve ripe cylinder rotating or vibrating rip. As in coffee picking, female workers are paid wholesale. Every 1 kg they are paid Rp 2000. Based on the story of a female worker in one day she can complete a minimum of 20 kg, some can even complete up to 40 kg.

If you pay attention, from the amount of labor wages in the plantation, for example, a family of a husband and wife both work, the income of one day is the income of the husband plus the income of the wife. For example, the husband gets a wage of IDR 60,000,-, and the wife IDR 60,000,-, which means that one day he gets an income of IDR 120,000

Empowerment of Plantation Communities

In addition to working the plantation, the workers also take advantage of the empowerment programs carried out by the plantation. Empowerment is an effort to increase the dignity and dignity of people in conditions where they are unable to escape from the trap of poverty and underdevelopment. Empowerment in other words is enabling and independent communities. Community empowerment is not just an economic concept, but community empowerment empistically means upholding economic democracy. Economic democracy literally means the sovereignty of the people in the economic field, the economic activities that take place are from the people, by the people and for the people. This concept concerns the issue of mastery of technology, capital ownership, access to the market and to information sources, and management skills (Mardikanto and Subianto, 2013:40-41)

Community empowerment as a process, the realization of a series of activities to strengthen or optimize the empowerment (in the sense of ability or competitive advantage) of weak groups in society, including individuals who experience poverty problems. As a process, empowerment refers to the ability to participate in obtaining opportunities or access the resources and services needed to improve the quality of life both individually, as a group, and as a community in a broad sense). This understanding contains the understanding that empowerment is a planned process to increase the scale/upgrade of the utility of the empowered object (Mardikanto and Soebianto, 2013: 61-62).

Community empowerment is thus a process in which the community, especially those who are poor in resources, women and other neglected groups, are supported in order to be able to improve their welfare independently. In this process, NGOs usually play a role as facilitators who accompany the community empowerment process, but in specific communities, especially in the community around plantations, the plantation party tends to play an important role in empowering the community around the plantation, especially the workers on the plantation, especially the workers in the plantation. Therefore, cooperation is established between plantations and the community.

The government's policy, namely the Ministry of SOEs Number: Kep 236/MBU/2003, requires all SOEs to set aside part of their profits for community empowerment around plantations. This program is known as the Partnership Program and Community Development Program (PKBL), so companies, especially those that explore natural resources, are obliged to care about the community and the surrounding environment. This government policy was responded to by PTPN XII, by setting aside its profits to improve the welfare of employees. The company's profits are rolled out in the form of bailouts/loans for cattle and goats as well as a land rental system for agriculture. The manager of each plantation receives a mandate from the PTPN XII Central Board of Directors in the process of disbursing the funds. The manager instructs HR staff to conduct recruitment or selection. HR staff issued an announcement to employees regarding the cattle and goat bailout fund, but due to the limited funds disbursed by PTPN XII, not all employees received the funds and had to go through the selection stage. Interested employees can register themselves by collecting personal data with ID cards through their respective afdeling offices (Suhartini, 2011: 81)

The bailout fund is in the form of cash of IDR 15,000,000, per person and a goat bailout fund of IDR 4,000,000 This fund is given annually to different people or rolling, so that all employees will have the opportunity to receive bailouts. Employees who received bailouts to buy goats were more than employees who received bailouts to buy cows. Those who received bailouts were monitored by management. In this case, it is represented by HR staff, so as to avoid fraud.

Another empowerment carried out by plantations is by collaborating with Perhutani to use Perhutani's vacant land. This vacant land is used by the residents around the plantation to grow vegetables, both potatoes, cabbage, chili peppers and celery. The results of planting on this vacant land are sold for local purposes. In relation to the cultivation of this vegetable, the plantation has collaborated with PT. Indofood. In this case, PT. Indofood provided assistance for potato seeds, but because the seeds were expensive, the assistance was rejected, but the sale of potatoes to PT. Indofood is still valid until now (Information from the wife of the former head of the Hero Garden Office: Paidi). Income from planting can increase the income of workers because they earn income from other sectors. Plantation workers who have farming activities, such as vegetable farming, have a much higher economic level than relying solely on income from plantations. The following table describes the state of agriculture in Kalianyar village.

Table 5.2

Land Area and Agricultural Products of Kalianyar Village in 2006-2012

Plant Type	Land Area (ha)		Yield (tons)	
	2012	2022	2012	2022
Cabbage	12.590	15.000	201.400	270.000
Potato	10	50	325.000	300
Carrot	5	5	60	5
Corn	15	15	45	45

Source: Processed from Kalianyar Village Profiles in 2012 and 2022

The area of agricultural land has increased from 2006 to 2012. This condition shows that agricultural activities provide benefits to the local community. The same thing happened in the Kalijampit plantation, Sempol District. Plantation worker families can also rent land from Perhutani, in addition to working on plantations. The starting capital is usually their daily wage set aside each week and saved. If it has been collected, they will use it or from the proceeds of the sale of their livestock.

This rental system is carried out for 1 year. Usually they pay a rent of Rp 350,000 per hectare for 1 year. For 1 year they will cultivate the land they have rented by planting vegetables such as cabbage, carrots, tomatoes, chickpeas, potatoes, pre onions and others. For those who rent Perhutani's land, plant vegetables with an intercropping system, namely planting several types of plants in one land. Usually they plant vegetables between newly planted pine trees, so in addition to maintaining vegetables, they also have to take care of pine trees that have grown on the land. If the tree has grown large and tall or is 2 years old, Perhutani will usually close the land and the land that has been planted with trees will no longer be used as agricultural land, but if the land is cleared again, people who want to farm can register again to cultivate the land by still signing an agreement, but many of them do not use the agreement (Indah Suhartini, 2011: 91). In cultivating the land, farmers are actually not charged land rent fees by Perhutani, but in its application the farmers must pay Rp 350,000 per hectare when they first use the land, after harvest they give a fee of 5% to 10% of the total profit of the harvest obtained by the farmer. This is the same as the land rental system from the plantation. Usually, the most widely planted vegetable crops by the community are cabbage and potatoes, because if the price soars, an area of 1 hectare can reach a price of IDR 30 million to 60 million (Results of an interview with the Secretary of Kalianyar Village, dated August 20, 2023)

Another program in the context of community empowerment in the plantation environment is carried out through the Employee Wives Association (IIK). IIK is chaired by the

wife of the Manager of the Blawan Plantation, at this time (2014) Mrs. Ardi Irianto. The programs prioritized in this association are social gatherings, savings and loans, both of which are held monthly. Savings and loans aim to allow members to save or borrow money from members' savings. Another program is Karang Kitri. There are two types of Kitri Reefs, namely group Kitri Reefs and individual Kitri Reefs. The group kitri reef is carried out by planting one plot of land worked by IIK members, while individual kitri reefs are carried out by each person in their respective yards. They plant the front, side, and back yards of the house even though they are not large. Polybek is also used for planting, so the intensification of land use is strongly emphasized. Various kinds of vegetables can be grown, for example cabbage, mustard greens, spinach, eggplant, prey onions, sledri and so on. The results of this plant are used for daily consumption, but if there is excess, it can be sold to Home Stays or sent to the market by being entrusted with a vehicle that comes to the garden every day (Interview, Mrs. Jarwo, as the wife of the former Deputy Manager of the Blawan Plantation, July 22, 2023).

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that plantations from time to time remain the basis of the workers' expectations to meet the economic needs of their families, because they are domiciled in plantations that are geographically remote. Moreover, they have no other economic assets other than working on plantations. They do not have land, do not have rice fields, the land that exists belongs to the plantation and Perhutani, so that the plantation is the only field to meet the economic needs of their families.

On plantations there are various types of jobs that can be entered by workers, because the job does not require a specific education, but only skills. They can work in the seedling field, which includes seedling preparation, splicing and seed care. Then planting, plant care which includes weed cleaning, fertilization and pruning of unnecessary branches. The last is harvest handling, which includes picking, transport to the mill, and post-harvest handling, which is the sorting of coffees that are not eligible for export. Harvest handling is a period that is expected by the workers, because they can increase their income at that time, because their income can double from time to time before harvest.

Plantations provide empowerment for workers. The program is from PTPN XII, which is by setting aside profits from plantation businesses, which includes providing bailout funds for the purchase of cattle and goats. For this bailout, the workers who received assistance were given the opportunity to pay in installments for two years, then cooperate in horticultural agriculture, which includes cabbage, potatoes, carrots and corn. They get land from Perhutani through plantations. From this cooperation, workers can get additional income, so that they can then save

for the sake of their children's education, buy a motor vehicle, pay off the house, or build a house outside the workers' housing.

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