# Moral Economics and Survival Strategies of the Upland Rice Farmers

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# Moral Economics and Survival Strategies of the Upland Rice Farmers

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**Abstract:- This study aimed at exploring the socio-economic condition of upland rice farmers in two locations, namely Waeperang and Miskoko villages of Buru Regency, Maluku, describing their work as well as the supporting of the local culture of the community towards the sustainability of their daily life. This study employed qualitative approach using the phenomenology design which is described descriptively based on Miles &Huberman's model. The results show that the condition of rice farmers continued to survive due to the support of their traditions which led to having lower production costs compared with other plant species. The strategy used by farmers to meet their shortage of life needs is to do other jobs around the environment such as the fishermen and as the eucalyptus oil workers. Economic morals become safeguards and balances in every agricultural activity. Generally, the cultural characteristics of these two locations are the same but different in some conditions that are on the issue of the belief that dominates the actions of each community group. The implications of the study can be a reference policy for the local and central government in increasing the production of upland rice and food security efforts to improve the livelihood of the upland rice farmers.**

***Keywords***:- *Moral economy; farmers; upland rice*.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The development of agricultural productions of the upland rice[1] in Buru Regency[2]has not fully received by the government. The availability of natural resources in the form of dry land has not been followed by the optimization of land use to produce agricultural products that benefit the community. The phenomenon of the management of upland rice crops, called upland rice farmers (URFs), is still marginalized in the form of development support so that the existence of upland rice farmers is increasingly challenging to develop for the achievement of welfare improvement. In certain parts, the URFscan survive by relying on economic morals and survival strategies to stay in a safe condition in maintaining their daily lives.

Buru is one of the areas in Maluku, Indonesia that has a fertile agricultural land so that most of its inhabitants work as farmers. According to Umanailo (2015), in the daily life of the Buru community, we can at least see the phenomena that occurred in the society, and that is the reality that should be addressed. There are many things that we can then analyze and contribute to leading to a better society change, not just on socio-economic issues (Umanailo, 2017). Upland rice farming is acrucial support in implementingthe food self-sufficiency which serves to replace as a staple food with high nutrient content that contains carbohydrates, fats, fiber, folic acid, magnesium, niacin, phosphorus, proteins, vitamins A, B, C, Zn, and B complex (Suardi, 2014, p. 93). In maintaining the existence of upland rice, the role of farmers cannot be released as an essential element in the process of production and consumption.

The Buru community is a model of socio-economic integration of individuals from some of the closest regions in Maluku, such as Sanana, Ambon, Buton, Makasar and Java. The ethnic migrants (Umanailo, 2017) and on their development will be involved with the production and consumption of upland rice. In general, gogo rice research is only aimed at the development and evaluation of the crops, some of the previous research has more emphasis on the

[1]. Kingdom: Plantae. Subkingdom: Tracheobionta. Superdivisio: Spermatophyta. Division: Magnoliophyta. Class: Liliopsida. Subclass: Commelinidae. Order: Poales. Family: Poaceae. genus:*Oryza*. Species: Oryza sativa L.

[2]. 7594.98 km ² which consists of 5577.48 km ² and a land area of 1972.5 km ² and the sea area of water area of 57.4 km ² with a long coastline of 232.18 km ², is located at coordinates: o East Longitude: 125070'-127 021 ' BT o South Latitude: 2025 '- 3055' LS.

prospect of farming and marketing of production and not focusing the studies on the upland rice farmers as the main actors.

Zu (2017) investigated a new method for evaluating drought tolerance of the upland rice cultivars describing a simple, direct, and relatively accurate evaluation method for drought-tolerant rice crops. Jaruchai (2018) reviewed the Evaluation of stability and yield potential of upland rice genotypes in North and Northeast Thailand; he evaluated local gogo paddy rice for yield and stability in various locations. Thirty-six genotypes of upland rice were collected from six provinces in Northern and Northeast Thailand and one variety. Meanwhile, Reis (2018) examined the estimated daily intake originating from biofortified rice varied between 2.05 and 24.7µg per day, representing an increase from 3.72% to 44.9% of the daily requirements. Because the recommended Seasonal intake for adults is 55µg per day, the present study presents relevant information about agronomic biofortification to increase.

Based on the results of previous research, this study focuses on the perpetrators as well as the strategies undertaken to conduct the production of upland rice. The researchers feel the need to investigate the economic and strategic morality is the most crucial part in discussing the existence and sustainability of upland rice farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research applied qualitative approach using the phenomenology design. This approach aims to analyze the economic morale and survival strategies of farmers, because the phenomenological views the human behavior, what they say and what they do, as a product and how people interpret their own world (Tahir, 2015, p. 45). The reason for choosing the village of Waeperang and Miskoko as the object of the research due tothe interestedphenomena of rice farmers' conditions who can survive with all the limitations of infrastructure and information of the agriculture.

The informants of this study were selected using Maximum Variation Sampling. This technique is intended to capture and describe a central theme of the study through cross-linked information with different types of land ownership informants. Due to the limited number of informants, this study provides an analysis which is representative of all the upland rice farmers at the site and provides an in-depth analysis of the life story (Yen, 2018, p.200). Informants in this study were the upland rice farmers working on dry farmland in Waeperang and Miskoko villages.

The primary data of qualitative study are the words and actions of the informant; the rest is additional data such as documents (Umanailo, 2018). This study uses data sources derived from informants who became the object of research. The informants of this research are the upland rice farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages. This classification is made to simplify further and more focus the investigation on upland rice farmers. The primary data of this research was obtained from observations about the life of upland rice farmers, documentation and interviews with informants about economic morale and survival strategies. In this study, researchers gained data sources from several informants consisting of farmers, landowners, managers of farmer groups, who are considered to know about the problems studied. The secondary data in this study were obtained from several data sources that could support the research, such as village monographs, information from the internet, and documentation on the history of the two locations.

The data collection procedure is done by observing the activities of the farmers, where the farmers in Waeperang village usually start their work at 06.00 am and end it in the afternoon, so the researchers tried to adjust to their habits activities. In addition, researchers also interviewed several farmers and held discussions with community leaders and indigenous elders of the village.

The data have been collected analyzed using Miles and Huberman's model (1984 in Umanailo, 2018). Researchers analyzed the data at the time of data collection took place and after completion of data collection within a certain period. In the interview process, the researchers conducted an analysis of the answers interviewed by triangulation data. If the answer is not satisfactory then the researchers continue the question again to a certain stage and obtained a credible data (A'yun et al., 2017). Activity in data analysis is done interactively and progress continuously until complete and find saturation of data (Sugiyono, 2010).

## III. RESULTS

Based on the results of data analysis found that there are differences in socio-economic conditions between upland rice farmers in Waeperang and MiskokoVillages. This difference is due to differences in religion and belief or the local culture. This can be seen from the results of interviews indicating that farmers in Waeperang village are predominantly Muslims, so, before planting, the farmers have to ask permission first to the inhabitants of the land which is commonly called the "*Tuang Tanah*" (spirits of the landowners) the farmers will perform a ritual called "*HelaHua*"[3], *HelaHua* is done by farmers at planting time, harvest, and post-harvest with the aim that their garden is guarded by pouring soil. In addition, farmers also have the habit of *gotong-royong* (cooperation) which in the local language called "Masohi"[4] it is conductedbefore planting and whiles harvest. In addition to these customs, farmers in Waeperang Village also have restrictions on farming known as "*Pamali*"[5].

In general, the villagers of Waeperang and Miskoko are characterizedas the village communities who have not experienced many changes in the development process that occurred in Buru. In the village of Waeperang, there are 2,047

3. Communicate with spirits or ancestors' spirit
4. Work carried out together without the payment of the cost of labor and voluntary
5. Actions that should be avoided by farmers and societies, if they violate it then the result will bring the misfortune.

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residents with a total of 1,019 men and 1,028 women, consisting of 527 heads of households. While in Miskoko Village, there are 340 residents with 149 men and 191 women composed of 74 heads of households with jobs/livelihoods as listed in the following table:

| No. | Type of work | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Commentary | Waeperang | Miskoko |
| 1 | Government employees | 27 | |
| 2 | Military / Police | 4 | 2 |
| 3 | Private | 53 | 2 |
| 4 | Self Employed / Traders | 10 | - |
| 5 | farmer | 157 | 2 |
| 6 | Farm workers | - | 74 |
| 7 | fisherman | 30 | - |
| 8 | breeder | 5 | - |
| 9 | service | 3 | - |
| 10 | craftsmen | 1 | - |
| 11 | Art worker | 2 | - |
| 12 | Retired | 2 | - |
| 13 | more | - | - |
| 14 | Not Working / Unemployed | - | - |

Table 1. Types of Work

Source: Monograph of Waeperang and Miskokovillages, 2017.

Table 1 describes that most communities in both locations work as farmers; the availability of natural resources in the form of agricultural land makes farming and rising as the primary orientation for daily livelihood. Agricultural land is very narrow and limited so that the income of farmers is very tiny. Farming outcomes are insufficient to adequately cater for all family living needs, thereby making small farming families in Waeperang village seeking a variety of survival strategies and sustaining the survival of their families. Similarly, farmers in Miskoko who have the dependence on rainwater and river water to irrigate the land where the planting season is always adjusted to the rainy season with an estimate of the adequacy of water to drain their farmland.

The upland rice farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages have quite different in socioeconomic conditions. The fundamental things that set them apart are their religion, belief, and local culture. Some of these conditions can be classified in the following table:

| No. | Activity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Commentary | Orientation | Action |
| 1. | preparation of planting | Permission to land dwellers | HelaHua planting calendar |
| | Waeperang | natural Support | |
| | Miskoko | Help each other | Masohi |
| 2. | cultivation | Help each other | Pameri |
| | Waeperang | | |
| | Miskoko | Prohibition of farming | Pamali |
| 3. | Protection | Efforts to reduce pests | Kalboti |
| | Waeperang | | |
| | Miskoko | cooperation | Masohi |
| 4. | Harvest | cooperation | Masohi |
| | Waeperang | | |
| | Miskoko | | |

Table 2. Classification Orientation and Measures

Source: Analysisof primary data (2018).

Table 2 shows that both villages have differences and similarities in prioritizing togetherness to solve problems and believe in the involvement of the supernatural world outside of humanity in providing the protection. In addition, the existence of different religions that they believe in leads to different approaches used in farming that is by using supernatural forces in the protection of the planting process.

An active strategy is a survival strategy that is done by utilizing all potentials. According to Suharto (2009), a proactive strategy is a strategy to optimize all possibilities of the family (e.g., doing his activities, extending working hours, and doing anything to supplement his income). The active strategies that farmers usually do in Waeperang and Miskoko Village are by diversifying their income or seeking additional revenue by doing part-time jobs.

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| No. | Work | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Initial Name* | *Principal Occupation* | *Side job* |
| | | | fisherman |
| | | | fisherman |
| | | | P. White Wood |
| | | | P. At Stone |
| | | | P. White Wood |
| 1 | IA | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 2 | ARL | farmer | fisherman |
| 3 | FN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 4 | HB | farmer | P. copra |
| 5 | DT | farmer | - |
| 6 | ST | farmer | - |
| 7 | DK | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 8 | AU | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 9 | RN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 10 | MN | farmer | P. P. White Wood White Wood |
| 11 | AN | farmer | - |
| 12 | Bs | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 13 | MT | farmer | - |
| 14 | MS | farmer | - |
| 15 | MT | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 16 | JN | farmer | - |
| 17 | HN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 18 | JT | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 19 | SL | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 20 | LN | farmer | - |
| 21 | RW | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 22 | KT | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 23 | MN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 24 | FW | farmer | - |
| 25 | RN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 26 | MT | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 27 | KN | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 28 | AL | farmer | P. White Wood |
| 29 | AN | farmer | - |
| 30 | AL | farmer | P. White Wood |

Table 3. Fulfillment Strategies

Source: processed from primary data, in 2018.

Based on the above data, it can be concluded that most of the upland rice farmers in Waeperang Village implemented an active strategy to survive by optimizing their potential. Waeperang Village is a lowland area with good natural resources potential, among others, the potential of marine resources and the potential of eucalyptus oil grown in the mountainous of Waeperang so that local farmers can optimize them by doing additional works as fishermen, eucalyptus oil distillers, and stone crew workers. This is done because the results of the cultivation of upland rice are not sufficient for family needs so that by applying this strategy farmers can meet all the needs of their life.

## IV. DISCUSSION

Generally, upland rice farmers are people who live in villages or hamlets that contain the dry land that makes them have strong emotional and kinship. As well as the village of Waeperang and Miskoko which have the characteristics of kinship and solidarity in their everyday life? A similar case has occurred in Zambia which is approximately60 percent of the total population of livelihoods (Resnick, 2018, p. 105). The upland rice farmers working on dry land have their own attachment, which is located in a cultural bond of the local village. This cultural strength is often used to deal with the issue of livelihoods, which working together on one available job. In addition, the upland rice farmers group made a forum to exchange information and established relationships among them.Cultural bonds invite them always to work together. This is reinforced by the data obtained from the observation shows their habit of doing things together, that is, what happened is caused by a sense of destiny in earnings. These conditions keep them alive and maintain good relationships with them.

In the concept of economic morality, upland rice farmers can rely on the ethics of subsistence, where social arrangements within the community as respect for the fulfillment of subsistence needs. Thus, it can be formulated as; (1) the economy is inherent in the social life of society; (2) humans are inherent in the natural environment; and (3) the limitations of goods and services are addressed by sharing them with community members. In another part, there is also the term of moral economy. The moral economy was a term invented in the eighteenth century to describe many things. Thompson's approach reflects only a minor part of this conceptual history. His understanding of the moral economy is conditioned by a dichotomous view of history and by the acceptance of a model according to which modern economy is not subject to moral concerns. It is on principle problematic to confine a term conjoining two concepts as general as 'moral' and 'economy' to a specific historical and social setting (Gotz, 2015).

Meanwhile, at the research site (Waeperang and Miskoko village) it was found that the multiple subsistence patterns have done by being fishermen, as eucalyptus oil workers, and copra workers. For the Straddling strategy of upland rice farmers in both locations maximizes household labor both in agriculture and non-agricultural sectors.Friedman and Hechter put forward two other ideas on which to base rational choice. Firstly, a set of mechanisms or processes that combine separate actions of individual actor to produce social outcomes. Secondly, the increasing of understanding the information to making the rational choice. Information on fishermen, information on eucalyptus oil workers, copra workers' are factors that influence them in making economic activities in agriculture and non-agricultural sector.The third type of action is unilateral transfer authority over the resources of interest to someone. The redirection is done when the assumptions underlying both types of action are no longer used. Field data show upland rice farmers want to get the self-contained power over the source of livelihood.

The actions done because of several factors namely; fishermen, eucalyptus oil, and copra workers are still regarded as a kind of work because they still use the energy in the implementation process and it does not require a high level of education as in the industrial work. Besides, the network built to facilitate them to help each other for the job.

*A. Moral Economy of Upland Farmers*

The people of Waeperang and Miskoko villages are traditional societies that live their lives based on the standard of customs in their environment. Their lives have not been influenced by changes that come from outside the social context, so the lives of the people of Waeperang and Miskoko villages tend to be static.

These unconscious habits are a form of economic morality that always maintains the identity of an upland rice farmer. In the processing of planting and harvesting in the dry land requires considerable cost with a considerable amount of labor, however, in locations, *pameri* and *masohi*can become safety valves in fulfilling those needs. For pest management, trust (*pamali*) and trapping techniques (*kalboti*) believed to be able to block and reduce pest problems.

By the results of a research conducted by James C.Scott to farmers in Southeast Asia found that many farmers in Southeast Asia whose crops are used as food only. They use the proceeds for the necessities of life; the rest are sold to buy some necessities such as salt, cloth and to fill the bills (Scott, 1981, p. 4). The nature of reciprocity and the principle of "preliminary survival" is still inherent in this society. It has become an unspoken consensus on the interchange of peasants to help relatives, friends, and neighbors from adversity and would expect the same treatment if they are in trouble. These norms have been inherent in the peasant economy's morale (Scott, 1981, p. 19).

The efforts of the upland farmers infulfillment the economic needs put the priority on several things such as *masohi* and *pameri*. *Masohi* prioritizes a shared awareness of the duties and responsibilities of each individual for the fulfillment of needs within the village community of Waeperang, the cultural bonds that necessitate mutual assistance in agricultural execution make *masohi* a potent tool in society. Any individual who does not support or enforce the *masohi* tradition will find the operational costs for producing upland rice due to labor needs. In addition, the individual will get the customary sanction of exclusion on the socio-cultural and economic environment of the individual concerned.

For the Miskoko community, *pameri* is the glue that is considered very potential to bind every individual in Miskoko society in the activity of agriculture sectors. *Pameri* requires every individual activity to help other people's work. These activities are considered to alleviate the burden faced by farmers of upland rice. This phenomenon will bring economic and social benefits, namely in the form of profit in producing and strengthening the social cohesion of Miskoko community.

The existence of compelling values and norms of the two locations is different, in the social order of Waeperang is dominated by supernatural powers that are considered to have power and must be respected while Miskoko society prioritizes solidarity based on the assumption that their existence in the village environment has the strong fraternal bond.

The form of economic morality which is the strength of the peasants is *pamali*. *Pamali* is an unwritten rule has the power of organizing society. For example, women with menstruation are prohibited from entering or participating in agricultural work because it is thought to bring an outbreak to the plant. The assumption arises because the cultivated agricultural land is a clean area and is always protected by both the ancestors and the ancestors. Supernatural powers so that women who temporarily menstruation are considered in dirty conditions will cause anger at the protecting forces (ancestors and supernatural) to leave the land so that the plants will be easily damaged. Traditional and cultural pest management methods include sprinkling of wood ash on plants, manual removal of pests, beating the crops with branches, application of kerosene/ash sprays, crop rotation, intercropping, and leaving land fallow are cheap and readily available, may be limited and some of these methods are labor intensive (Zhang, 2018, p. 160).

The conditions of both sites indicate that there is a rescue effort and an element of reciprocity, the community jointly carrying out the functions of economic morality as a force to develop and protect crops, the power of togetherness (*pameri* and *masohi*) to minimize additional expenditure in producing upland rice. Economic morals are defined as attempts or actions taken by farmers to avoid failures that will ruin their lives and not seek to make big profits by taking risks. Therefore, the*pamali*, *masohi*, or *pameri* arethe action to reduce the risk of expenditure with the strength of human resources and existing habits.

The effort to mobilize power through supernatural mechanisms and mutual awareness constitutes a major construction of the implementation of economic morality in the village of Waeperang, while for Miskoko,the kinship becomes the main capital in completing the fulfillment of the necessities of living together.

*B. Survival strategies of Upland Rice Farmers*

In maintaining daily life, upland rice farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages use three survival strategies within their limitations. The strategies are the active strategy, passive strategy, and network strategy. It is in line with Suharto (2009) ,who states that the strategy of survival in overcoming shocks and economic pressures can be solvedthrough various strategies. The survival strategy can be classified into 3 categories: active strategy, passive strategy, and network strategy. Similarly, multiple motives (push factors and the pull factors) prompt households and individuals to diversify assets, incomes and activities. While some diversify because they have little choice, better-off households may diversify because they have a lot of choices (Asfaw, 2017, p. 23).

The active strategy is a survival strategy that is done by utilizing all potential. One of them is by optimizing all potential of family (for instance, doing its own activity, extends working hours, and do anything to supplement its income). Diversification may occur as deliberate household strategy or as an involuntary response to the crisis; it can act both as a means of accumulation for the rural rich Likewise, the reasons

behind accumulation for the rural rich) or choice (voluntary and proactive) (Asfaw, 2017, p. 23). The active strategies that farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko Village did are to diversify their income and to earn the extra income by doing the part-time jobs.

Most of the upland rice farmers in Waeperang Village implement an active strategy to survive by optimizing their potential. The lowland location of Waeperang Village has the potential of natural resources such as the potential of marine resources and the potential of eucalyptus oil grown in the mountainous part of the village so that farmers can optimize it by doing additional work as fishermen, eucalyptus refiner, and mason. This is done because the results of the cultivation of upland rice are not sufficient for family needs so that the implementation of this strategy is necessary to be done by farmers in Waeperang village.

The farmers in Miskoko village implementedthe active strategies but have little difference with the community in Waeperang village. The Miskoko village located in the highlands of the mountains has the potential of good forest resources so that farmers in this location tend to optimize their potential by working as refiners of eucalyptus oil, coconut or coprafarmers, and a small part as brown farmers. Some farmers at this location - when the growing season of upland rice ended - will switch to other crops that are considered less water-intensive than peanuts, bananas, and vegetables so that the yields of these crops can be sufficient for life.

It is in line with Stamboel (2012) who stated that the diversification of income made poor farmers is an effort for farmers to get out of poverty; diversification can be done, among others, trade, workshop business, and other household industries. Meanwhile, according to Andrianti in (Kusnadi, 2008), one of the strategies used by households to overcome economic difficulties is to encourage the wives to earn a living.

The communities of Waeperang and Miskoko villages, earning a living is not only the responsibility of their husbands, but it is the responsibility of all family members, so the low-income family wives also work to help increasing their family income and provide the welfare for their families.

Suharto (2009)states that the passive strategy is a survival strategy by reducing family expenditure (e.g., cost for clothing, food, education, etc.). Farmers in Waeperang Village also implemented a passive strategy to sustain their lives when the farmers' financial condition is weak; they will undertake a life-saving strategy by reducing daily spending money and eating potluck. For example, in a day the wife of a farmer spending 30 thousand rupiah to buy fish, vegetables, spices, and children's pocket money, in this condition, the wife of farmers do not buy fish and eat potluck, the pocket money of children was given in smaller amounts or even give it altogether,orshe will only be made provision from home.

Based on the research results, the same thing done by farmers in Miskoko that is by implementing a life-saving strategy to minimize expenditure. In a weak financial condition, the wife of the farmer plays a significant role to manage the finances. For example, if the economy is good, the farmer's family will eat rice with other side dishes. However, on this condition the farmer's wife will engineer by making coconut rice, rice and coconut milk, boiled cassava and coconut milk or chili sauce, eggs mixed with flour and so forth. This is done to minimize spending expenditures; the most important thing for farmers is to meet the needs of their children's school.

The passive strategies undertaken by farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages are by getting used to living frugally. Thrifty is a culture that has been done by farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko Village. This is in accordance with the opinion of Kusnadi (2008) that passive strategy is a strategy whereby individuals try to minimize spending money; this strategy is one way for the poor to survive. The work as small farmers, which are generally carried out by communities in Waeperang and Miskoko villages, make their income relatively small and erratic, so farmers prioritize basic needs such as food needs rather than other needs. The efficient living pattern is done by farmers so that the income they receive can fulfill their family's basic needs. Farmers in the Waeperang and Miskokovillages usually apply frugal living by being careful about spending their money. The attitude of frugality is seen in the family habits of farmers who get used to eating with a side dish of potluck.

The network strategy is a strategy undertaken by farmers in Waeperang and Miskoko villages by utilizing social networks. According to Suharto (2009) network strategy is a survival strategy that is done by establishing relationships, both formal and with their social environment and institutional environment (e.g., borrowing money to neighbors, owing money from the shops, utilizing poverty programs, borrowing money from moneylenders or banks,etc).

The network strategy is also done by farmers in the village of Waeperang is by utilizing a network of the kinship. It is happened when they are in urgent situations such as when the child is sick, lack of capital, childrenschool needs, and so forth. In this condition, farmers will utilize the network strategy by borrowing money from the close family, co-workers, wealthy merchants, cooperatives or even to banks by mortgaging their property. What mattered to him was how to meet his needs at the time.

The same condition is done by farmers in Miskoko which apply the network strategy at certain times in the urgent situation; farmers will utilize the kinship network that is by borrowing money or goods from friends, family, and businessman, cooperative and even bank by mortgaging his property. In this condition, the most important thing for farmers is how to meet their needs. The issue of how to pay the loan back will be thought out once the need has been met.

It is supported by Kusnadi's statement (2008) that the network strategy is due to the social interaction that occurs in the society. The social network can help low-income families urgently. In general, the network strategy is often done by people in Waeperang and Miskoko villages by asking for help from relatives or neighbors by borrowing money. The borrowing or debt is a natural habit for people in the village of Waeperang and Miskoko because the culture of mutual-cooperation and the kinship is still powerful among the people in both villages.

The networking strategies used by farmers in the villages of Waeperang and Miskoko are to utilize social networks by

borrowing money from relatives, banks, and using other social assistance. The social assistance received by farmers in the villages of Waeperang and Miskoko is a social capital that plays a role as the savior when the family needs the help. This is in accordance with the opinion of Stambol (2012) says that the social capital serves as a social safety net for poor families. The assistance in family, community, and friendship has saved many low-income families.

## V. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion, several things that can be put forward as a conclusion, a) the availability of local culture in the form of *pameri*, and *masohi* as the social forces that shape the economic morality as a farmer's strength in producing upland rice in Waeperang and Miskoko villages. b) customs in the belief system of society such as *babeto* and *pamali* into a typical pattern or way of maintaining the continuity of farming in Waeperang and Miskoko villages by promoting supernatural power as a protector of land and plants. *Babeto*is a way of respecting and begging for supernatural help while *Pamali* is a value system that puts the harmonization of human action throughthe non-humanity power. c) The limitation of income is fulfilled by using survival strategy, for Waeperang villagers which geographically in the lowlands and proximity to the sea, they prefer to become fishermen and eucalyptus refinery workers whose location is located around the village, while the Miskoko community with the highlands geographically prefer to grow crops whose land is available around the village sites such as planting chocolate and producing copra. In addition, for daily consumption, they cultivate peanuts, bananas, and vegetables while waiting for the harvest time.

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