

# Palm Oil Farmers' Survival Strategy Analysis In Facing Livelihood Change: Case Study on Palm Oil Farmers in the Toman Village, Musi Banyuasin, South Sumatera

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## Abstract

*Economic sustainability of palm oil farmers is in uncertain condition because their income are determined by global market price. The fluctuations in the price of palm oil have put palm oil farmers in Toman village in difficult situation to fulfill their family's needs. This situation causes them to carry out any work needed in order to survive from the economic pressures. Any economic activities they undertake is a form of strategy for them to be able to survive amid the economic pressures they are facing. There are three survival strategies that mentioned by the academics which are active strategy, passive strategy, and network strategy. Palm oil farmers employ those three strategies which are; active strategy by using family power resources; passive strategy by keeping household budget tight; and networking strategies by utilizing social relations such as relatives, neighbors, moneylenders, and village cooperatives (KUD). The author conducts qualitative research by interviewing experts, in-depth observation and doing literature study from different sources. The results of this study show that these strategies benefit the farmers to be able to survive and change their economics condition by becoming more active and resilient in working in many different sectors.*

**Key Words:** *Palm Oil Farmers, Price Fluctuation, Survival Strategy*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has long been known as an agrarian country where the agriculture is a superior sector that is able to sustain and lift the country's economy. According to Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the contribution of the agriculture sector to total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) decreased 0.04 percent from 13.49 percent in 2015 to 13.45 percent in 2016. One of the fundamental problems faced by farmers is the vulnerability of majority poor farmers due to the fluctuations in agricultural commodity prices that tend to decline, while the prices of production and other life needs are tend to increase. Nowadays, global economic pressures are felt by the farmers in Indonesia, especially because agricultural products and plantation tend to be export-oriented but the price depends on the international market. For example, the palm oil price is heavily affected by the uncertain price fluctuations.

Palm oil is one of the export-oriented agricultural commodities. This commodity is needed by the general society to produce other products such as cooking oil, soap and others. According to Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Indonesia is the largest palm oil producer in Association of Southeast Asian Nations and in global, as well as the largest exporting country. The largest palm oil provinces in Indonesia in 2013-2017 are Riau, North Sumatera, Central Kalimantan, South Sumatera, and West Kalimantan.

Table 1. The Pargest Palm Oil Production in Indonesia

Province	Year Production (Ton)				
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Riau	6646997	6003241	8059846	8506646	8721148
North Sumatera	4549202	4870202	5193135	5440594	5760147
Central Kalimantan	3127138	3158239	3572982	3827087	3924780
South Sumatera	2690620	2791816	2821938	3063197	3268548
West Kalimantan	1794466	1965515	2168136	2346241	2658702

Source: BPS and Directorate General of Plantation (2017)

South Sumatera is one of the provinces that has a large plantation area and potential source of income for national and local governments. According to Directorate General of Plantation, Ministry of Agricultural in 2017 palm oil plantation area managed by three categories with the largest area managed by large private plantations (55%), followed by community plantation (41%), and state plantations (4%). Therefore, palm oil can be categorized as an important sector and economic's backbone for communities and farmers in Indonesia. Musi Banyuasin is one of the largest producer of palm oil in South Sumatera. According to BPS (2017), there are five largest palm oil districts in South Sumatera, namely:

Table 2. The Largest Palm Oil Producer in South Sumatera's Districts

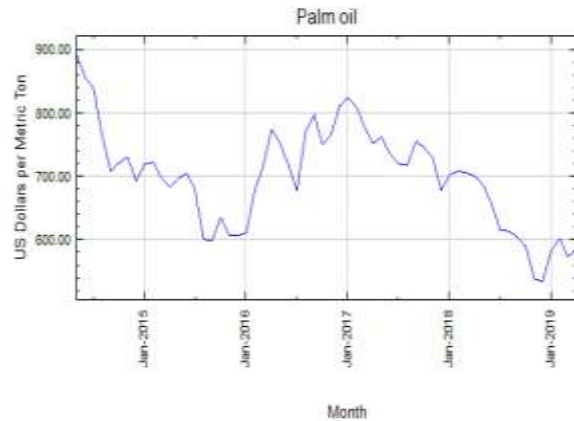
Regency/City	Plant Area (Ha)				The amount of TBS (tons)
	TM	TBM	TTM	Amount	
Musi Banyuasin	81138	81734	1858	164730	547027
OKI	68680	21138	759	90015	231465
Banyuasin	41514	25199	-	66712	210955
Musi Rawas	50617	22469	1458	74544	173808
Muara Enim	35120	7475	1244	43839	144443

Description: TBM = crop yet produce; TM = crop generating; TTM = Crop not produce, Source: BPS (2017)

Based on data above shows that most of the people's occupation is palm oil farmers and Musi Banyuasin is the largest palm oil production region and the largest palm oil area while Toman village in Musi Banyuasin became one of the center of palm oil production.

Currently, the price of palm oil depends on the global market situation whereby if the market is unstable, there will be fluctuations in the revenue and the income of palm oil farmers. Thus, the palm oil farmers could not determine the price, they can only accept prices that are determined by the factory or palm oil landowners (*tauke*). It causes economic livelihood of the palm oil farmers is in an erratic position. The fluctuations in palm oil prices led the farmers into a difficult situation to meet the needs of their families. In the early year of 2015, the commodities price decreased significantly which led to ugly consequences to the economic and social life of the palm oil farmers.

Fig. 1. Price of Palm Oil in 2015-2019



Source: Malaysia Palm Oil Futures (2019)

According to Ardiyansyah et al (2006), the unstable production of palm oil in the country is one of the causes of price fluctuations. Price fluctuations are often very detrimental to farmers than collectors (tauke). It happens because farmers cannot set their selling time to get higher prices. Price fluctuations also give the opportunity to landowner (tauke) to take higher profits by manipulating price information to the farmers. If the price rises then the landowners are reluctant to inform the farmers, while if the price dropped the information will be directly delivered to the farmers and the farmers will be pressed to sell at the lowest price. Thus, it leads to a frustrated oil palm farmers, and even a lot of farmers neglected the palm oil garden or converted its land to other commodities that are more profitable, or sold them and built housing from the land. Under this severe condition, the farmers still have to bear the cost of living which is constantly increasing. Moreover, they cannot fulfill the food necessity because no more soil to produce as the result of converted land area into housing. Not to mention, many palm oil trees aged 20-25 years are no longer productive and the qualities are decreasing. Thus, the palm oil trees are no longer beneficial to their owners.

To improve the quality of life and achieve social welfare, palm oil farmers' living adaptation is required. Midgley (1995) states that social welfare is a state or condition of human life that is created when various social problems can be managed properly when human needs can be fulfilled and when social opportunities can be maximized. The palm oil farmers must have a survival strategy that is used to survive to meet the needs of their family. The strategy is a way to achieve a specific goal.

To develop palm oil farmers, it is necessary to have survival strategy that seeks to associate the economic strategy of the community and the impact of price fluctuations phenomenon. This survival strategy will not only serve as a survival effort, but further, it also works to increase the income of the farmers. One of the survival strategy of community is implemented in Toman village, Musi Banyuasin. The palm oil farmers in Toman village facing various limitations on the agricultural sector. These limitations put them in a very difficult situation and they have often experienced the economic crisis where they have to lose their main income, namely the palm oil plantation. However, this limitation does not allow the farmers to become discouraged and resign from oil palm plantation. The farmers are able to survive by maximizing their savings, but this way cannot fully solve the problem. So, it takes a survival strategy that is able to meet the daily needs and to maintain sustainable livelihood. Survival strategy implemented in Toman village in Musi Banyuasin results in a variety of positive impacts. The palm oil farmers in Toman village were chosen because they are part of the majority of occupation in Babat Toman Regency, Musi Banyuasin. Based on the description and the results of research that have previously been set out, it may be formulated as the following research question:

“How Palm Oil Farmers’ Survival Strategy in Toman Village, Musi Banyuasin in Facing Livelihood Change?”

This research was conducted to analyze the survival strategy undertaken by the palm oil farmers in facing the livelihood change in Toman village, Musi Banyuasin.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Adaptation Strategy

Bennet and Pandley (in Helmi, 2012) saw adaptation as human responsiveness to environmental changes, allowing people to organize their behavior and actions in order to be able to adapt to the existing situations and conditions. The human behavior is adjusted to their needs after having previously passed certain circumstances and then planning a strategy to deal with the next circumstances. The successfulness of human in adjusting to the environment and living safely determined by the

ability of each individual. Thus, it can be defined that adaptation strategy is the attempts made by individuals or groups to defend themselves from the social conditions they are facing. The adaptation strategy can be interpreted as a way in which one can survive and adapt or make changes in all existing conditions where one must has their own strategy. Based on this concept, Moser (in Suharto, 2002) created the "Analysis Framework" where this framework encompassing various asset processing that can be used to make specific strategy adjustments/development in maintaining their survival such as working asset, human capital assets, productive assets, household /family relation assets, and social capital assets.

## 2.2. Survival Strategy

Snel and Staring (in Resmi Setia, 2005) suggest that the survival strategy is a series of actions chosen by default by socially poor individuals and households. In other words, individuals can strive to increase alternative income to meet their life needs. While Suharto (2009:29) defines a survival strategy as a person's ability to implement a set of ways to overcome the various issues that surround their life. The ability to handle issues is essentially the ability of all family members to manage their own assets. To overcome the shock and economic pressures can be done with various strategies. Suharto classifies the strategy into three categories, namely:

### 2.2.1. Active Strategy

The active strategy is a survival strategy that is done by utilizing all human's potential. According to Suharto (2009:31), active strategy is a strategy by poor families by optimizing all potential of family members (e.g. doing their own activities, extending working hours and doing anything to add more income). Active strategies are usually done with the diversification of earnings or looking for additional income by doing a side job.

According to Stamboel (2012:209), the diversification of income made by the poor farmers is a business that can be out of poverty. A diversification that can be done, among others, such as trading, workshop business and other household industries. Meanwhile, according to Andrianti (in Kusnadi, 2000:192), one of the strategies used by households to overcome economic difficulties is to encourage the wives to participate in the economic activities. Thus, it can be concluded that the active strategy is a survival strategy that a person or family does by maximizing all the resources and potential that their family has.

### 2.2.2. Passive Strategy

Suharto (2009:31) state that passive strategy is a survival strategy by reducing family's spending (e.g. expenses for clothing, food, education, and others). A passive strategy usually performed by a poor farmer is to live a frugal living. Saving behavior is a culture that has been implemented by the village community, especially the poor farmer. Meanwhile, Kusnadi (2000:8), saving is one of the poorest ways to survive. Farming that is generally done by the villagers make their income relatively small and erratic so that the poor farmers in rural area prioritize the basic needs such as food than any other needs.

The saving behavior done by the poor farmers so that the income they receive can be sufficient for their family's basic needs. In this study, the palm oil farmers in Toman village are applying frugal living by being cautious in spending their money. This saving life pattern becomes a passive strategy to complement the active survival strategy that poor farmers do. Thus, it can be concluded that passive strategy is a survival strategy that is done in a frugal way in regulating family's budget.

### 2.2.3. Network Strategy

Network Strategy is a strategy that is done by utilizing social networks. According to Suharto (2009:31), network strategy is a survival strategy that is done by establishing relationships, both formal and with the social environment and the institutional environment (e.g. borrowing money to neighbors, borrowing from nearby shop, utilizing the poverty program from the government, borrowing money from the moneylenders or banks and other). Meanwhile, Kusnadi (2000:146) states that the network strategy occurs due to social interactions occurring in the community where social networks can help poor families who needed money in advance. In general, network strategy is often done by rural communities that belong to the poor by asking for help on relatives or neighbors. Borrowing behavior or debt is a natural thing for the villagers because the culture of family and kinship bond is still very strong among the village community. Thus, it can be concluded that the network strategy is a survival strategy that is done by requesting assistance to relatives, neighbors and other people through utilizing relationships both formal and informal when the palm oil farmers in Toman District in difficulties.

According to Redclift (in Widiyanto, 2010:2-3) explained that people in a marginalized position such as farmers and mall business groups are using survival strategy. In general, the survival strategy is defined as a deliberate economic action by households with high motivation to satisfy most basic human needs, at least at a minimum level according to social and cultural norms of the community. The strategy survive is only done by those who are in the mid-middle economic layer. Farmers in the rural areas is included in the middle layer down as they rely only on agricultural processing's result. The farmers conducted various strategies to sustain his family's life. This survival strategy is implemented because the income of farmers are only enough for their daily needs.

## 2.3 Farmers

Farmers are those who has a profession of planting (growing plants) with the purpose to meet the people needs. The farmer is identical with the people living in rural areas that cultivate agricultural business and work with the simple processing system. Other work done is a side job, such as carpenters, merchants, craftsmen, and others. According to



Redfield (1986), which is meant by farmers is one who effectively controls the plot of land, which he himself has tied with the bonds of tradition and feeling. For the farmers, the land is not only material, which is only produced automatically, land is also a symbol of honor and glue of the social status. The view of life for the farmers is that productive activity is the main thing, therefore farming is considered better than trading.

### 2.3.1 Causes of Poverty on Palm Oil Farmers

At present, palm oil plantation felt the impact of the global crisis. The direct impact on the palm oil farmers over the global economic crisis resulted in the declining demand of global palm oil which cause the palm oil industry in Indonesia should be reduced to offset the *supply* on declining demand of palm oil. The decline in the demand for palm oil resulted in palm oil prices falling as purchasing power and demand tends to diminish. This means that companies do not want to buy the palm oil from the farmers, to maintain *supply*, the company tends to prioritize palm oil from the their own company plantation. This resulted in the price of the palm oil at the farmers level experiencing a very significant decline. Therefore, the price of the palm oil is one of the important indicators that can affect the bidding of the farmers (Ardiyansyah *et al* 2006). Various factors are influential in the formation of palm oil price, the price of CPO determined by the government. There are basically two major strengths that influence the formation of the price of palm oil commodities, namely market forces and the government control (Chalil & Zen 2009).

### 2.3.2 Farmer's Welfare

Agriculture has an important role in the economic development of a country (Balakrishnama, 2013). The higher knowledge of farmers in the utilization of production facilities, the more income the farmers earn to fulfill their needs and affect the welfare level of farmers (Endah, 2016). The revenue gained from the utilization of the use of production means is called sub-system income. The knowledge of farmers in the utilization of existing production facilities is the most dominant factor in determining the farmer's income. Increased production will be oriented towards increased revenues and is another side of economic development (Bhagas. 2016). This increase is expected to form a prosperous society.

According to Hernanto (2004), the amount of income that will be gained from a farming activity depends on several factors that affect it such as land area, production level, entrepreneur identity, cropping, and efficiency of use of labor. If farmers' income is getting bigger then the welfare of farmers will also increase. For the welfare of farmers to be better, they need to earn a greater income. In conducting farming activities, farmers hope to increase their income so that the daily necessities of life can be fulfilled (Soekartawi, 2000). Another factor that can affect a farmer's income is education. Education is one of the things that makes people compete in the workforce because it is expected with the higher one's education, the person's productivity is also higher (Buranda, 2015). Likewise, in agriculture with the use of technology application in the agriculture. Specialized technology on the aspect of making superior seedlings, spacing, precise fertilization, and maintenance has been sought by various methods or ways.

### 2.4 Earlier Studies

Research conducted by the authors involves previous research that has been done by the other researchers. Previous research are used to know the relationship between research that has been done with the current research. The main problem faced by the palm oil farmers is that the price fluctuations that resulted in the decreasing of farmers' income per month, decreasing in farmers' investment capacity, decreasing of the purchasing power, and other sources of income (Lina Fatayati Syarifa, 2016). This condition is increasingly worsen by the increasing price of basic needs. As the result, the farmers must have strategies to adapt to the new condition (Awaluddin Iksan, 2018). The adaptation strategy makes them able to survive and can solve the economic problems (Edi Iwan Siregar, 2009). Therefore, adaptation strategy is very important in conducting actualization of life activities and improving the quality of life (Kartini Putri Pertiwi and Nurhalimin, 2012). Thus, by understanding the poverty experienced by the farmers should encourage the government to think about how to alleviate the poverty rate and to create the social welfare (Eddy, Tyler D, et al., 2010). From the previous researchs, this study will show a picture of how the survival strategy of the palm oil farmers to handle the problem of palm oil price fluctuation. This study focus on the palm oil farmers strategy to be able to exit from economic pressures that threaten the sustainability of their life.

## III. RESEARCH METHOD

The author conducted the qualitative approaches. Creswell (2012) explained that in qualitative research, researchers did not put the theory in a central position when designing the research and conducting data interpretation, but rather qualitative research is used to understand certain social phenomenon. In addition, a qualitative research is ideographic, which not only pays attention to the crucial aspect alone but all aspects related to the research object. Therefore, using a qualitative approach, researchers can analysis the subject matter more broadly and in depth. This research aims to understand the social problems facing palm oil farmers based on the context of the life survival.

Therefore, informants selected should have sufficient information about the phenomenon to be researched so that researchers can understand the phenomenon that occurs related to the research object. This study employs the purposive sampling selection technique (Neuman, 2016). The data analysis techniques conducted in this research are qualitative data

analysis techniques. The data that has been collected from interviews and literature studies or documentation will be analyzed and interpreted to know the intention and the meaning that is then linked to the research problem.

#### IV. DISCUSSION

##### 5.1 Socio-Economic Conditions of the Palm Oil Farmers in Toman Village

Nowadays, palm oil farmers often have to suffer losses because the selling price is not balanced with the cost of production. As the result, farmers would be deprived of capital to start the next plantation. The palm oil farmers require additional income to meet these needs. These issues can be solved by making a fulfillment effort through economic activities. This is a fundamental perspective in the adaptation strategy of how people set their lives to face the possibilities in their daily lives. To preserve their survival, humans use survival strategy. A survival strategy is an attempt by an individual or group to defend his or her life through the activity or work he/she does. Economic problem is a very important issue for every human being due to its concerns on the welfare and fulfillment of the needs of people's life. Each individual or group performs various attempts as a form of adaptation strategy to sustain his survival.

##### 5.2 Survival Strategy of Palm Oil Farmers in Facing Price Fluctuations

###### 5.2.1 Active Strategies

An active strategy is a strategy that optimizes all potential of family members to increase income due to greater demands on life. Various forms of strategy built by the family of the palm oil farmers include: conducting own activities or conducting the division of work, looking for a side work, and utilizing the potential resources to add more income. The role of housewife is indeed important as housewife works on the domestic sector, set up the entire household income, then arranged in such a way as to remain within the point of balance so that the needs of the family remain fulfilled. In addition to the domestic role, the wife also plays a role in the effort to increase husband's income such as collecting the seeds of palm oil fruits (*brondolan*), open small business, raising livestock to be consumed or sell, and others. In this case, there can be *multiple roles* of the wife in an adaptation strategy amid the uncertainty of of palm oil price.

On the one hand, the child's engagement strategy in the economic role will nurture the child's ability to read economic opportunities. They will be better able to utilize the situation and conditions to access money. But on the other hand, this strategy will have an impact on fulfilling the needs of children's rights, especially the right to obtain an education. Most of the time it is supposed to learn, they use to work or assist the family. Usually, the activity of collecting *Brondolan* is done by their children when harvesting period is finished. The results of the sale of the *brondolan* are used to help to buy food and snacks for their children.

A significant decrease in the price of palm oil in the last 4 years makes some of the villagers that originally considered the more profitable commodity, such as *Gambir*, a local plant which produces latex. Many palm oil farmers are starting to cultivate the Gambir. Planting Gambir is obviously more useful because the demand of Gambir in the market is relatively high since Gambir is now one of the official handicraft of Musi Banyuasin.

###### 5.2.2 Passive Strategy or Emphasizing on Farmers Family's Subsistence Pattern

The oppression of household expenditure is a passive strategy, which is to reduce family spending (e.g. spending on expenses for clothing, food, social costs, transportation, health, education, and other daily necessities). Based on the results of this study shows that the farmers often reduce expenses. Basic needs are in the first order in their survival strategy. In the situation of declining prices of palm oil, farmers, especially their wives, make the family's financial arrangements to determine what types of expenditure choices should be fulfilled. Emphasis on the consumption pattern of secondary and tertiary goods such as household utensils such as cabinets, chairs, clothes, refrigerators and so on must be removed first.

The strategy committed by the farmers included utilizing the house backyard as a small garden to be planted with various types of vegetable crops. In daily life, the housewife is actively planting different kinds of plants and the husband is only in charge of clearing the area of the shrub from bushlands such as grass, roots, fibers, and wild plant species using equipments such as hoe, machetes, and others. The cultivation of vegetables can help to reduce the cost of consumption and they do not have to buy from stores or supermarkets. The costs that should be incurred are for example, like rice, oil, onion, and coconut, can be obtained in their own small garden.

Until now the adaptation strategy conducted by the palm oil farmers has been able to overcome their problems in meeting the basic needs. The palm oil farmers in the Toman Village were able to survive from circumstances. The farmers implement survival strategy by optimizing their family members to work to help the economy, reduce expenses for unimportant items, and emphasis on consumption patterns.

###### 5.2.3 Network Strategy

Network Strategy is one of the efforts pursued by the family of oil palm farmers in Toman village in overcoming the financial problem. The network meant is the social relation, both formally and informally with its social and institutional environment. Based on the result of the study, palm oil farmers in Toman village often ask for help to his social relation

especially to fellow palm oil farmers or neighbors. This condition suggests that among them have strong solidarity and mutual trust. It seems that neighbors are the hope for gaining help and as the first place to go when they are experiencing problems.

The decrease in the price has affected the level of income of society in Toman village. Palm oil farmers who feel the most financial shock first ask for help to his closest neighbor. In terms of borrowing money to relatives or neighbors in general they rely on social capital by mutual trust between fellow relatives or neighbor. According Fukuyama (2002), belief or trusts is an important element in social capital which is an adhesive of relationships within the community group.

In addition, borrowing money for urgent purposes is a strategy that everyone must do. This situation can happen to anyone, including palm oil farmers in the Toman village. The financial difficulties threatened the farmers in fulfilling their basic needs. As an effort made to overcome these issues then the initiative to find money loans arise. Borrowing money is done especially when economic difficulties are increasingly urgent. In addition to borrowing from neighbors or relatives, farmers also often get stuck with the moneylenders. The loan system that emphasizes on the interest system is one of the options that can be done in order to meet the needs that are very urgent. In addition to borrowing money, oil palm farmers also have an alternative to borrow money from the Village Cooperative (KUD). Borrowing money from village cooperative requires a long period of procedure because the palm oil farmers must fulfill the requirements that have been determined by the village cooperative for its clients who want to borrow money. The loan money from the village cooperative is usually used for basic needs and children's education. The excess money is usually used to set up small business stalls such as food stalls. The circulation of the revenue proceeds from the stall was kept to pay monthly loan to the village cooperative.

### 5.3 Survival Strategy Amid the Issue of Palm Oil Rejuvenation

Approximately 1.2 million ha of 3.6 million ha total of palm oil plantations in Indonesia need a rejuvenation. The average age of this plant has been over 25 years. To achieve the target of increased production of 40 million ton of CPO by 2020, the government should pay attention to the rejuvenation of the oil palm trees. Thus, the problem that occurs in oil palm plantations is that most of the plants has passed through the economical age and need large capital. The role and interconnectedness of the implementing institution in the credit scheme of oil palm plantation's rejuvenation strongly determine the effectiveness of credit repayment by farmers. The problem of palm oil rejuvenation needs to be discussed and explored the various issues. Aspects that need to be discussed include the choice of technology, financing scheme, and the form of partnership and sustainability of industry development ahead.

As long as rejuvenation is done, it will occur within a period of five years the risk of losing large amounts of income borne by the farmers, so it needs to be anticipated. Some of the reasons are: 1) The high per capita income that has been received by farmers has changed the pattern of household consumption, and 2) Most of the gardens are likely to have been inherited to the next generation. Thus, the expected partnership pattern becomes one of the anticipated risks that may be faced, through the diversification of palm oil plantation's pattern with crops or livestock.

The combination of plantation integration system with livestock characterized by interdependence between crop and livestock activities (resource-driven) with the aim of the optimal recycling of local nutrition resources available (Low External Input Agriculture System). The advantages of plantation and livestock integration systems are: 1) diversification of the use of resources, 2) reduce business risk, 3) efficiency of the use of manpower, 4) efficiency of use of production inputs, 5) Reduce the dependence of chemical energy, 6) environment-friendly, 7) increase production, and 8) sustainable farmers' household income (Wildayana *et al.*, 2011).

## V. CONCLUSION

As the majority of Indonesian society who live in the countryside, the farmers are vital economic actors who also have to fulfill various needs of families such as clothing, food, education, clothing, household equipment, and others. Various problems also arise in the lives of the farmers as a result of the global market system such as economic, social, and cultural issues. The farmers who rely on the palm oil plantation sector as the main livelihood system of their life are often faced with the economic problem which is the declining commodity prices of palm oil. The decrease in the price of palm oil is very significant, resulting in the income of farmers is increasingly reduced, especially in Toman village, Musi Banyuasin. The worst impact is that they still should support the family and other expenses such as education for their children, shelter, social expenses and others amid the uncertainty economics condition. Based on the results of the research, it can be concluded that the problems faced by the palm oil farmers when palm oil price is declining, they do various ways or strategies in order to meet the needs of daily life. These strategies are; first, active strategy, some of the palm oil farmers optimizing their family's support by asking their wife and children to work; second, passive strategy, they keep their household budget strict and reducing unnecessary needs; last, network strategy, by borrowing money to neighbors based on social capital (*trust and reciprocity*), borrow money to a nearby community, even to the moneylenders and the village cooperatives (KUD).



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