

The Livelihood Strategy of Rural Women through the Mechanism of Nutmeg Collecting Tradition in Negeri Booi, Central Maluku

Fibryano Saptanno¹, Ali Tutupoho², Hendri Dony Hahury³

^{1,2,3}Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Pattimura, Indonesia

hahury31@gmail.com

Abstract

The existence of rural women has always been identified as the most vulnerable group to losing their livelihoods due to limited access to assets. This study examines the role of local institutions (traditions, local wisdom and norms) in securing the women's livelihoods. This study is done in a qualitative manner with an ethnographic approach that focuses on cultural studies in a holistic sense of social groups using the perspective of a sustainable livelihood framework. This research was conducted in negeri Booi, Saparua island, Central Maluku from July to December 2020. The informants included Raja, dusung owners, women nutmeg collectors and the village government agency. The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews, observations and focus group discussions (FGD). The results show that the livelihood strategies used by the rural communities in dealing with various livelihood vulnerabilities through the use of livelihood assets could be collaborated with local wisdom or traditions as informal insurance, so that the efforts to "save or secure" the poor from "unsafe" to "safer" conditions could be guaranteed and continued to be sustainable. In short, the local wisdom of collecting nutmeg intended for women in negeri Booi had guaranteed the sustainability of women's income sources.

Keywords

rural women; livelihood strategy; tradition; household income



I. Introduction

Household life in rural communities has always been identified with poverty due to limited access to assets (Ramamoorthi, 2020) and livelihood vulnerability (Martin & Lorenzen, 2016), causing the household unable to provide sufficient needs. This has also been exacerbated by various vulnerabilities threatening the lives of rural communities. One of them is the Covid-19 pandemic.

Realizing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, the government issued policies and programs aimed at people directly affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, for example funding stimulus and non-cash food assistance (*Bantuan Pangan Non Tunai* (BPNT)) in the form of providing basic groceries (Abdi & Burhanuddin, 2020). The expected objective of this policy is to be able to create an economic independence and social justice (Abdi & Burhanuddin, 2020) and to have the ability to survive the pressure or threats (Diana & Rina, 2020). In macroeconomic terms, the policies adopted by the government are considered excellent.

The outbreak of this virus has an impact of a nation and Globally (Ningrum *et al*, 2020). The presence of Covid-19 as a pandemic certainly has an economic, social and psychological impact on society (Saleh and Mujahiddin, 2020). Covid 19 pandemic caused all efforts not to be as maximal as expected (Sihombing and Nasib, 2020).

In *negeri* (village) Booi, Central Maluku, the local institutions combined with natural resources are known as the tradition of nutmeg (*myristica fragrans*) collecting especially intended for women. This local tradition or wisdom is illustrated by an expression of “*buah pala di atas pohon milik tuang dusung sedangkan di atas tanah milik orang lain*” (which means that the nutmeg that is still hanging on the tree is the garden owner’s property and the one that has fallen to the ground belongs to anyone). In the life of *negeri* Booi community, the nutmeg plant is the main source of community income and a plant of legacy passed to generations. The reality also shows that, not all members of *negeri* Booi has nutmeg and *dusung* (gardens).

Moreover, the *negeri* Booi community applies a patrilineal system in inheriting their *dusung*. The *dusung* is inherited based on the male / father lineage so that women are vulnerable to losing their source of income. The existence of people who do not have *dusung* and women is the reason and basis of the tradition of nutmeg collecting which is specifically intended for women. At this level, the authors view the traditional mechanism of nutmeg collecting as a strategy to secure the women's livelihoods from “unsafe” to “safer” conditions. For this reason, in the context of this research, the tradition of nutmeg collecting cannot be seen as just a “habit”, but can be considered as a local institution facilitating the community’s livelihood strategies. The local institutions are dominant systems (informal and formal) that are interconnected and become the basis for the economic behavior of the community (Nee, 2003). Meanwhile, the livelihood strategies are the activities involving the access to assets (natural, human, financial, social and physical asset) mediated by institutions and social relations which collectively determine the results obtained by individuals and families (Ellis, 2000; Saragih et al., 2007).

Moreover, the local institutions of rural communities can – in fact – be combined with their natural resources as a livelihood strategy as well as a guarantee for the sustainability of women's livelihoods. Thus, the perspective on this rural women's livelihood strategy can be collaborated with local traditions or wisdom as a novelty of the concept of a sustainable rural community livelihood strategy in the context of the indigenous community of *negeri* Booi, Central Maluku. For this reason, this study is expected to contribute insights to researches on the livelihood strategies of rural communities which have only focused on increasing the household income and tended to ignore the existence of local institutions that can actually secure the women’s livelihoods.

Based on the explanation, the research questions of this study are: What are the livelihood assets and local institutions owned by the *negeri* Booi community regarding the access to assets as their source of livelihood? What are the options of livelihood strategies for the *negeri* Booi community in dealing with vulnerabilities? Do the institutions owned by the *negeri* Booi community have an impact on the sustainability of their livelihoods, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic?

II. Review of Literature

A Sustainable Livelihood in the Context of Rural Community

A sustainable livelihood is such a concept that arises from the context of rural development which has been applied to various research areas, including in poverty alleviation and resource management (Wall & Ming, 2015; Wu & Pearce, 2014; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). The life of rural community has always been faced with various vulnerabilities. Various efforts have also been made in overcoming the vulnerabilities by creating a variety of activities that can contribute to their household income. These various community activities are known as livelihood strategies. The livelihood strategies for rural

communities are closely related to how the communities can manage or combine available livelihood assets and determine priorities for sustaining the livelihoods (Scoones, 1998; Chen & Liu, 2018).

In addition, the community efforts to maintain their livelihoods often depend on the assets which belong to other people. This kind of behavior indirectly plays a role in forming social capital networks between the asset owners and other communities as the asset users (Teye & Yebileh, 2014; Gosling et al., 2017). Thus, the sustainable livelihood framework proposed by the DFID (2001) and Tao & Wall (2011) can be collaborated with the local wisdom (women who collect nutmegs) as a novelty that can contribute ideas to the concept of sustainable livelihood strategies. Moreover, the concept of livelihood strategy has not provided a place for the presence of women as the most vulnerable group to losing income when faced with various livelihood vulnerabilities. In other words, the various livelihood strategies above imply that in their daily activities, the rural communities have prioritized the livelihood strategies and opportunities to utilize the available assets so that their livelihoods can be sustainable.

III. Research Method

This research is done in a qualitative manner with an ethnographic approach. The ethnographic approach focuses on cultural studies in a holistic sense of social groups (Creswell, 2010; Chariri, 2009). This article uses the perspective proposed by the Department for International Development (DFID, 2001) and Tao & Wall (2011) on a framework for sustainable livelihoods. This sustainable livelihood framework is used to find an in-depth understanding of the local wisdom mechanism as a household sustainable livelihood strategy through the use of the nutmeg trees specifically for women in the *negeri* Booi. This research was conducted from July to December 2020 in *negeri* Booi, Saparua island, Central Maluku.

The research location in *negeri* Booi was selected for several reasons. *First*, *negeri* Booi was one of the largest nutmeg producing centers in Saparua island and Maluku. *Second*, most of the *negeri* Booi community worked as farmers and their main source of household income was nutmeg. The primary data was obtained from field researches through in-depth interviews and observations as the data collection strategy. The key informants involved were nutmeg farmers as *dusung* (land) owners and women nutmeg collectors such as Mr. Petrus, Mr. Cia, Mr. Ibek, Mr. Emus, Mrs. Ato, Mrs. Heni, Mrs. Aya, Mr. Frans, Mr. Elly, Mr. Max and Mr. Pice. All of the key informants had a deep understanding of the local wisdom of nutmeg collecting and an excellent experience in applying the local wisdom in their daily lives.

The results of data collection are in the form of field talk – recorded interviews, daily notes and field notes as well as photographs. Meanwhile, the secondary data was obtained from various related documents. In the interview process, the author was also accompanied by a *saniri negeri* (Traditional Village Government Agency) named Mr. Kabetuh who helped the author in translating the local language (local emic terms), so that they were easily understood as accurate information. The interview was also carried out in stages, considering the informants' working hours. The author followed every informants' activity to the *dusung*. This method turned out to make the author's presence acceptable and considered as a part of the informant's family.

The data was analyzed by adopting the methods used by Chariri (2009), including:

3.1 Data Reduction

Researchers performed data reduction in order to easily interpret the data according to the research objectives. The data reduction includes several activities, such as determining categories (themes) and coding the data by grouping them into certain themes.

3.2 Understanding and Examining Data

It is done by comparing the data with other data in detail. At this stage, the researchers also used a triangulation technique with sources (informants). The steps taken were comparing the observed data with the interview data; comparing what the informants said in public and in private; and comparing the informants' circumstances and perspectives with the opinions of people from various classes (*Raja*, community leaders and traditional leaders).

3.3 Data Interpretation

The result of interpretation is an attempt to describe the meaning of the data displayed and then linked to the theoretical framework that the researcher has chosen so that the interpretation is not biased.

IV. Results and Discussion

In this study, the empirical findings imply the community's livelihood strategies in *negeri Booi*, Saparua island, Central Maluku by referring to the local wisdom and five livelihood assets including the natural, physical, human, economic and social assets.

4.1 Natural Asset

In the life of *negeri Booi* community, they understood plantation land and forest ownership as *dusung*. This term had a different and special meaning compared to the one in other areas in Indonesia which referred to an administrative area which was a part of the main village. The *dusung* owned by the *negeri Booi* community was not a plantation area cultivated by each individual, but was a legacy passed through generations. In this study, the results show that the *dusung* inheritance system in the *negeri Booi* community was implemented based on the paternal lineage system meant for the sons. One of the key informants explained that the *dusung* inheritance system was divided into three parts, including *dusung dati*, *dusung pusaka* and *dusung pengusahaan*. The *dusung dati* was the inheritance that belonged to the big family and meant for the sons. The *dusung pusaka* was the one inherited for both sons and daughters. Meanwhile, the *dusung pengusahaan* belonged to individuals instead of a big family.

Furthermore, this study also found that according to the customs of *negeri Booi*, the inheritance of *dusung dati* to the sons could not be implemented if in the paternal lineage, there was no sons. Thus, the *dusung dati* must be returned to *mata rumah*. Similarly, the inheritance of *dusung pusaka* to the daughters could not be implemented if the daughters got married. Thus, the *dusung pusaka* must be returned to the *mata rumah* and the daughters did not have any right to the *dusung pusaka*. The local customs also regulated that if the *dusung pengusahaan* was on *tanah dati* or *tanah pusaka*, then the *dusung* could be used as the property of the *mata rumah* with prior approval from the owner of *dusung pengusahaan*.

In addition, the authors observed that every *dusung* in *negeri* Booi was planted with nutmeg (*Mystica fraagrans*) which made it the main household income source for the local community. Besides, there were many other plantation crops planted in the *dusung*. A key informant explained that the crops were complimentary and meant to be consumed daily.

4.2 Physical Asset

The infrastructure development in *negeri* Booi could be considered very slow. It was caused by geographical factors of *negeri* Booi which was located in a mountainous area so that the development process was almost invisible. One of the most recent completed development was the access to *negeri* Booi. Uniquely, it was the only way in and out of the *negeri* Booi which was initially hundred-year-old stairs. Initially, the road was just a few hundred years old of traps and have now undergone changes into a road that could be accessed by four-wheeled and two-wheeled vehicles. The road construction process had received resistance from the *negeri* Booi community who protested to the *negeri* Booi government, but the road construction process was still being carried out. As a result, the traps that were the pride of the *negeri* Booi community were dismantled and replaced with asphalt roads.

The informant further said that further, he continued that the rejection did not only happen to the *negeri* Booi community, but also to those who lived outside the *negeri* where some agreed and some did not. The authors investigated and found that the stairs in *negeri* Booi did not only serve as a way to facilitate the community activities. It had been such a symbol for the *negeri* Booi. The key informant – who was native and raised in *negeri* Booi – explained that there had never been any accident due to the existence of the stairs, such as someone fell or sprained and broken their bones.

While on the other hand, the reality shows that the reason some community members agreed with the asphalt road construction was solely based on the ease of activities which could be done while using motorized vehicles in marketing the *dusung* products. Moreover, the activities to the market and selling the nutmeg harvest were carried out by women by placing the nutmeg harvested on their heads while walking. The key informant further revealed that for them, it was better to take advantage of the government assistance rather than not accepting it at all. The asphalt road construction was not carried out on all roads in the *negeri* Booi, but only on the entrances.

4.3 Human Asset

This study also found that the number of community members who lived in *negeri* Booi had increased every year. However, compared to other *negeri* in Saparua island, the increased population in *negeri* Booi was still considered small. The total population of *negeri* Booi community in 2020 was 933 people, consisting of 542 men and 481 women. The increase also influenced their efforts to meet the household needs. They had always met their needs from the nutmeg harvest.

In addition to the increasing variety of household needs, it turned out that the *negeri* Booi community had set their priority to fulfill the most important household need: education cost. In the *negeri* Booi community's perspective, the education cost included transportation, books, school uniforms, and university tuition for their children. A key informant explained that there was only one elementary school building and one kindergarten building. Meanwhile, there was no building for the junior and senior high school. Students had to go to *negeri* Saparua and Ambon island to continue their study in university. This condition caused the key informant to prioritize their nutmeg harvest for education purposes.

Furthermore, the key informant also stated that to meet the education needs, she treated both sons and daughters the same. To meet the household needs, she tried to maximize the household income by involving all family members. So far, the household needs had always been met by men as the head of the household. However, the household needs were getting more complex each day that the initial income could not cover all their needs.

As a result, they involved all family members – for example the wife, children, in-laws, nieces or *konyadu* (brother-in-law) – to earn more income. The authors observed that the involvement of family members consisted of two main parts, such as nuclear family member (wife, children and in-laws) and blood-related family members (nephews, *konyadu*, or *mata rumah* / clan). They were involved in harvesting the nutmeg or other plantation crops and opening new *dusung*.

4.4 Economic Asset

The effort to fulfill the household needs of *negeri* Booi community who relied on nutmeg as the main source of household income was influenced by the nutmeg harvest season. There were two seasons that produced abundant nutmeg harvests. They were called *pala babuah banya* which occurred in the “eastern season” in June-July and “western season” in December-January. Beside in the *pala babuah banya* seasons, the nutmeg trees would still produce nutmegs although there were not many. This was what made the *negeri* Booi community still be able to continue to use the nutmeg for their needs.

During the *pala babuah banya* seasons, the *negeri* Booi community could meet all their household needs well. In fact, they also used it to pay off their debts to neighbors or relatives. This debt behavior occurred when they lacked of money to meet their household needs. According to a key informant’s experienced, when she did not have cash, she would borrow some to the neighbors who owned a stall or to relatives. The debt would be paid when they got some money during the *pala babuah banya* season. While when the nutmeg was not in the season, they would pay off the debt with the remaining nutmeg that had not been harvested during the season.

In addition, it was also found that the nutmeg harvest in *negeri* Booi was done based on the tradition that had been done through generations where in every harvest season, not all nutmegs could be harvested at a time on a nutmeg tree. There were nutmegs intentionally left on the tree. As time went by, the nutmeg would eventually fall to the ground and all members of *negeri* Booi community could collect them. This tradition helped those who did not have *dusung* of nutmeg to be still able to meet their household needs.

4.5 Social Asset

The life of *negeri* Booi community who still followed and maintained their customs and traditions was reflected in the interaction between *anak negeri* (natives of *negeri* Booi) and *anak dagang* (people outside *negeri* Booi) in their daily activities. During the *pala babuah banya* season, the key informant needed additional labor to harvest the nutmeg in their *dusung*. He acknowledged that in one day, he could only be able to harvest 6 to 8 nutmeg trees. He added that the ability to harvest the nutmeg depended on age. The older the person, the less the ability to harvest the nutmeg. Besides, this study also found that the key informant’s nutmeg tree plantation area was one of the largest areas in *negeri* Booi. The geographical location of the *dusung* was located on a hillside which required more labor to be able to harvest the nutmeg.

To obtain additional labor, the key informant had to ask for help (*mintu tulung*) from close relatives or neighbors around his residence to collect the nutmeg together. Usually, in the *mintu tulung* tradition, he would only provide foods and cigarettes for the labor. However, sometimes he would prepare a separate “share” for them. He explained that although the persons helping him did not ask for a share of the nutmeg harvest, he understood that they would still have to meet their daily household needs. The authors also observed that the key informant involved two additional workers to harvest his nutmeg due to his *dusung* size.

Another phenomenon revealed through these findings is the traditional cooperation system, known as *masohi*. The *masohi* system would usually appear in activities that required a lot of manpower, for example the process of opening a new *dusung*, building houses, and activities carried out by the Booi government.

In the process of opening a new *dusung*, the key informants would first convey their intention to the extended family or *mata rumah* / clan. Then, the information would spread and be known to other people and at the appointed time for work, each person would bring their own equipment and the *masohi* activities to open a new *dusung* would be done together. In this *masohi* system, the labor costs were completely free and on the contrary, sometimes members of the extended family or *mata rumah* / clan would provide foods, beverages, and cigarettes. The *masohi* system costed them nothing.

4.6 Traditional Asset of Nutmeg Collecting

Further, the results also show that so far, the livelihood of *negeri* Booi community highly depended on the *dusung* of nutmeg (*dusung pala*). However, not all members of *negeri* Booi community had *dusung pala* and they were known as *orang kurang* (less fortunate people). The way the *negeri* Booi community managed and utilized their *dusung pala* was influenced by traditions or Booi people’s way of life. The tradition was obtained from the local common knowledge and passed down through generations, for example collecting the nutmeg. The authors observed that this particular tradition was specifically intended for widows, orphaned children and *orang kurang*.

A key informant explained that this tradition of nutmeg collecting was represented in an expression saying “*di atas pohong, tuan dusung pun dan yang di bawah pohong, iitu milik samua orang*”. It means that the nutmeg on the trees are the property of the *dusung* owners, while the ones fell on the ground are the property of all Booi community. Then, this nutmeg collecting tradition was especially intended for widows, orphaned children and *orang kurang* so that they could meet their daily needs. This behavior showed that for the *negeri* Booi community, nutmeg was not all about fulfilling the *dusung* owner’s household needs, but also for all *anak negeri* Booi. This was because not all people in *negeri* Booi have nutmeg garden (*dusung*). In the tradition developed in *negeri* Booi, everyone (fellow Booi community member) could take the nutmeg fallen on the ground although the *dusung* was not his/hers. This was done so that anyone who did not have a *dusung* still could meet their household needs. This tradition could be explained in their local daily expression that “*di atas tana, itu samua orang pung*” ([the nutmeg] on the ground is everyone’s). This tradition had been around for a long time and was still being practiced.

A key informant who was also a public figure of *negeri* Booi also shared the same story. However, this tradition could not apply to *orang dagang* (people from outside the *negeri* Booi community). When the *orang dagang* collected the fallen nutmeg, this behavior was considered as an act of theft. He added that he once found an *anak dagang* collecting the fallen nutmeg on his *dusung*, then he expelled the *anak dagang* to leave his *dusung* and *petuanan negeri* Booi (customary territory or the *negeri* Booi area).

In relation to the nutmeg collecting tradition, the key informant stated that she could collect nutmeg twice or thrice in a day. The frequency to collect nutmeg depended on her schedule and duty as a housewife. The faster the key informant was able to complete the chores (cooking and washing), the greater the opportunity to collect nutmeg. Usually, the amount of nutmeg depended on the season. When the nutmeg harvesting season was in, she could collect more than 100 nutmegs in a day, yet when it was not in the season, she could only collect less than 30 nutmegs in a day. Further, she added that under every nutmeg tree, there were only 4-7 fallen nutmegs that could be collected.

4.7 Local Wisdom of Nutmeg Collecting as A Livelihood Strategy for Women in *Negeri Booi*

The activity of nutmeg collectings for women in *negeri Booi* confirmed the existence of “shared prosperity” as an effort to fulfill the household needs motivated by the local wisdom in *negeri Booi*. This local wisdom also illustrated the interaction between women as the asset users and “*tuang*” *dusung* as the asset owners who systematically and regularly used nutmeg to meet their life needs.

As a result of the threat of Covid-19, women were “forced” to create various activities that could contribute to the household income or to find new alternative sources of income so that their livelihoods could be sustainable. These various activities were known as livelihood strategies which were closely related to the use of available livelihood assets as a community effort to achieve a sustainable livelihood (Scale Up, 2011; Liu et al., 2018; Wijayanti et al., 2016). In the context of this research, the local wisdom or tradition of nutmeg collecting intended for women in *negeri Booi*, Saparua Island, Central Maluku Regency could be seen as part of livelihood assets used to support their livelihoods from the threat of “vulnerability”.

Based on the perspective of the sustainable livelihood framework proposed by DFID (2001) and Tao & Wall (2011) – which starts with community livelihood assets as a livelihood strategy used by rural communities – these livelihood assets could survive in facing the vulnerability. However, with the existence of an economic boost due to the increase in the household needs which were increasingly varied from time to time, it was possible that these livelihood assets would not survive and guarantee long-term livelihoods.

In contrast, this study views that the livelihood assets of rural communities proposed by DFID (2001) and Tao & Wall (2011) above will be able to survive and continue to be sustainable if there were elements that bound these livelihood assets into informal insurance for rural community itself. Certainly, these elements should have gone through a process of interaction and adaptation with the existing natural resources, so that people are able to develop ways of maintaining their livelihoods by creating value systems and local institutions, such as traditions, local wisdom and habits. This element of local wisdom or tradition is used as informal insurance that bound these livelihood assets.

In the context of *negeri Booi* community, the existence of local wisdom in nutmeg collecting by women had been used for a long time. This local wisdom or traditional assets were the main assets that moved the access to other livelihood assets. The nutmeg collecting activity was inseparable from the existence of *dusung* (garden) as a place to carry out this activity which aimed to fulfill the household needs. The *dusung* ownership system was the right of sons based on the patrilineal lineage, but the ownership of this *dusung* could end if the owner passed away or did not have a son as the successor. Thus, the *dusung* would be taken over by the extended family (clan / clan). The *dusung*'s

ownership take-over resulted in the loss of a source of income for women who had become widows.

Realizing that the widowed woman did not have a job to meet their daily needs as well as to maintain good relations between them, they were allowed to collect nutmeg in the *dusung* owned by their late husbands' extended family. Over time, this activity became a habit. Further, it was no longer limited to the *dusung* owned by the extended family, but to all *dusung(s)* in the *petuanan* of *negeri* Booi. On this basis, it was only the women who could collect the nutmeg and it was considered as a local wisdom in *negeri* Booi. In other words, the livelihood strategies of rural communities were highly dependent on their livelihood assets in overcoming risks and shocks (Sarah & Kai, 2016 and Liu & Xie, 2018).

Furthermore, the empirical explanation above shows that the behavior of women who collected nutmegs was the behavior of securing livelihoods among the *negeri* Booi community which was practiced in the form of local wisdom or tradition and used as a behavior guide (rule of conduct) for the interactions between communities. This argument is in line with the study by Nee (2003) which explained that the institutions were the dominant system of formal and informal elements that were interconnected and become the basis for the community's economic behavior, such as customs, shared beliefs, conventions, norms and rules in which the actors based their actions when fulfilling their interests. It was at this level that the authors view the activity of women collecting nutmeg as a livelihood strategy through the local wisdom or traditions in *negeri* Booi which aimed to "secure or save" the poor from "unsafe" to "safer" conditions.

In the context of the local emic of *negeri* Booi community, they viewed the widowed women, orphans and people who did not have nutmeg garden (*dusung*) "less fortunate people" or the poor. Their presence, especially the widowed women, raised the collective awareness of the *negeri* Booi community that the widowed women were very vulnerable to losing their source of income. These empirical findings show that there were conventions in the rural communities that provided support for women in creating alternative sources of income for households (Gosling et al., 2017; Kebebe & Shibr, 2017; Ramamoorthi, 2020; Phillipson et al., 2020). This also shows that the livelihood framework could be used as a strategy in overcoming limited access to assets through local wisdom in threatened situations such as the current Covid-19 pandemic (Mhlanga & Ndhlovu, 2020; Siche, 2020).

In addition, these empirical findings also indicate that the economic aspect which always prioritizing benefits in utilizing the potential or natural resources (livelihood assets) available was highly inversely proportional to the behavior of the use of nutmeg by the *negeri* Booi community. Maximizing the utility and profit was not the main measure for them, but the social relations as an *anak negeri*. At this level, it could be seen that the economic motive for seeking profit was not the main objective, but the ability to survive by relying on cultural values, mutual trust and local wisdom were the drivers of socio-economic relations (Aldrich & Mayer, 2015; Teye & Yebleh, 2014; Meita et al., 2020). These framed and preserved social relations were what ensured the livelihoods of widowed women and the less-fortunate people to survive and be sustainable.

Thus, it can be concluded that the tradition of nutmeg collecting by women in *negeri* Booi community carried out based on their knowledge and experience had provided a sustainable livelihood. In this case, the authors view the tradition of nutmeg collecting has guaranteed the women's income, so that the efforts to meet their household needs could always be met.

V. Conclusion

The livelihood strategies used by the rural communities in dealing with various livelihood vulnerabilities by utilizing various livelihood assets owned were intended to make their livelihoods sustainable. This livelihood strategy also differed in each region. In the life of rural communities, they had traditions or local wisdom that sided with women as an effort to “secure or save” the poor from “unsafe” to “safer” conditions. In the context of the *negeri* Booi community, the efforts to ensure the livelihood of women were implemented through the local wisdom of nutmeg collecting which was specifically intended for women. This local tradition or wisdom was then collaborated with their livelihood assets as a livelihood strategy as well as informal insurance, so that the efforts to secure the livelihoods of the households of the *negeri* Booi community could be guaranteed and continue to be sustainable.

References

- A. Gosling, C. M. S. & J. G. (2017). Community-based natural resource use and management of Bigodi Wetland Sanctuary, Uganda, for livelihood benefits. *Wetlands Ecol Manage*, 25, 717–730. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/s11273-017-9546-y>.
- Chariri Anis. (2009). Landasan Filsafat dan Metode Penelitian Kualitatif. Laboratorium Pengembangan Akuntansi (LPA). In *Fakultas Ekonomi-Universitas Diponegoro*.
- DFID. (2001). *Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets*. www.livelihoods.org.
- Diana Simanjuntak dan Rina Fitriana. (2020). Gegar Budaya, Adaptasi, dan Konsep Diri Sumber Daya Manusia Pariwisata dalam Menyongsong Era New Normal. *Jurnal Society*, 8(2), 403–418. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i2.200>
- E.Kebebe, F. S. (2017). Impact of Alternative Livelihood Interventions on Household Welfare: Evidence From Rural Ethiopia. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 75(February 2017), 67–72. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2016.12.001>
- Ellis, F. (2000). *Livelihood Diversification and Sustainable Rural Livelihoods*. In Carney (ed.) “*Sustainable Rural Livelihoods. What Contributions can we make?*”. Department for International Development Nottingham: Russell Press Limited.
- Ian Scoones. (2009). Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1), 171–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150902820503>
- Liu, Z.; Chen, Q.; Xie, H. (2018). Influence of the Farmer’s Livelihood Assets on Livelihood Strategies in the Western Mountainous Area. *Sustainability*, 10875. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10030875>
- Meita Arsita, A. Z. dan A. D. (2020). Keterlekatan Sosial UMKM Sarung Tenun Goyor di Desa Sambirembe, Kalijambe, Sragen. *Society*, 8(2), 359–371. <https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i2.198>.
- Ming Ming Su, G. W. & K. X. (2015). Heritage tourism and livelihood sustainability of a resettled rural community: Mount Sanqingshan World Heritage Site, China. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1085868>
- Ningrum, P. A., et al. (2020). The Potential of Poverty in the City of Palangka Raya: Study SMIs Affected Pandemic Covid 19. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)* Volume 3, No 3, Page: 1626-1634
- Raúl Siche. (2020). What is the impact of COVID-19 disease on agriculture? *Scientia Agropecuaria*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/dx.doi.org/10.17268/sci.agropecu.2020.01.00>

- Saleh, A., Mujahiddin. (2020). Challenges and Opportunities for Community Empowerment Practices in Indonesia during the Covid-19 Pandemic through Strengthening the Role of Higher Education. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*. Volume 3, No 2, Page: 1105-1113.
- Sarah M.Martin, Kai Lorenzen. (2016). Livelihood Diversification in Rural Laos. *World Development*, 83, 231–243. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2016.01.018>
- Sarah M.Martin, K. L. (2016). Livelihood Diversification in Rural Laos. *World Development*, 83, 231–243. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2016.01.018>
- Scale Up. (2011). *Konflik sumber daya alam dan penghidupan yang berkelanjutan*.
- Sebastian Saragih, J. L. dan A. R. (2007). *Sustainable Livelihood Framework*. https://www.zef.de/fileadmin/user_upload/2390_SL-Chapter1.pdf
- Sihombing, E. H., Nasib. (2020). The Decision of Choosing Course in the Era of Covid 19 through the Telemarketing Program, Personal Selling and College Image. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)* Volume 3, No. 4, Page: 2843-2850.
- Tao, T., & Wall, G. (2011). A livelihood approach to sustainability. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 14(2), 137–152.
- Teye, J.K., Yebleh, M.Kd. (2014). Without Economic Assets: Livelihoods of Liberian Refugees in the Buduburam Camp, Ghana. *International Migration & Integration*, 16, 557–574. <https://doi.org/DOI 10.1007/s12134-014-0352-6>
- United Nation-Woman. (2020). *Menilai Dampak Covid-19 Terhadap Gender Dan Pencapaian Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan di Indonesia*. https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/Report_Counting the Costs of Covid-19_Bahasa.pdf
- Wu, M.Y., & Pearce, P. L. (2014). Host tourism aspirations as a point of departure for the sustainable livelihoods approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(3), 440–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.839689>