

The Economic Values of *Pancasila* in the Local Wisdom of Harvesting Rice at *Kampung Naga*

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Abstract

This research aims to explore the economic values of *Pancasila* in the local wisdom of harvesting rice in *Kampung Naga*, *Tasikmalaya*, West Java. An ethnographic type of qualitative research is conducted in *Kampung Naga*, Neglasari Village, Salawu District, *Tasikmalaya* Regency of West Java. The informants of this research are 20 people consisting of the head of the custom, head of the cooperative association, and farmers in *Kampung Naga*. The data are collected using in-depth interviews. They are then analyzed using data triangulation, including data reduction, presentation, and conclusions are drawn. The results show that the economic values of *Pancasila* in the local wisdom of harvesting rice in *Kampung Naga* are classified into practical value, the cost-saving value of harvesting, economic equity value, and the value of increasing income.

Keywords: Economic values of *Pancasila*, Cost-saving harvesting, Local wisdom, Economic Equity

JEL Classification: D40, I30

INTRODUCTION

The current digital era, the impact of the 4.0 industrial revolution, is one factor that causes the fading of the nation's noble values that have crystallized into *Pancasila*, even though these values are very important for the nation's sustainability. Digitalization has shifted people's behavior patterns in culture, ethics, and norms. The negative impact of digital flows is that changes trigger moral crises (Setyaningsih, 2017) because the values contained in *Pancasila* have not been much studied any longer in every educational level. The findings from Supriyanto (2014) showed that the values of *Pancasila* have decreased in the tradition of Indonesian life. It is corroborated by the opinion of Minister of Defense, Ryacudu (2017), who stated that the noble values of *Pancasila* have been starting to fade. *Pancasila* is no longer the main foundation in social and state life. This shift of social behavior influences economic relations shifting, which was initially familial to become business.

Although the values of *Pancasila* are getting weaker in many regions in Indonesia, there are still few which remain consistent in maintaining them in their social life. The indigenous people of *Kampung Naga* are part of those who still consistently maintain the values of *Pancasila* in all aspects of their lives (Santoso, 2019). *Kampung Naga* is only 800 m away from the *Tasikmalaya* - Garut highway

and only 25 km from downtown *Tasikmalaya*. The people of *Kampung Naga* are also not isolated and remote. They keep open relationships with their surrounding community and even abroad. It can be seen from the number of tourists who visit this site. On average, 1,800 local and foreign tourists visited *Kampung Naga* before the pandemic (Santoso, 2019). The people of *Kampung Naga* also allow their children to go to schools like their surrounding communities, and some have even become scholars.

Viewed from the location which is not far from the main road, openness to tourists who visit them, and children's educational level, the people of *Kampung Naga*, should be culturally and socially influenced by foreign cultures who come together along with foreign tourists or the younger generation who have studied outside *Kampung Naga*. However, in reality, the people of *Kampung Naga* still adhere to the noble local culture as the precious legacy of their ancestors, such as helping to plant and harvest the rice, and many other local cultural wisdoms which reflects the values of *Pancasila* that the *Kampung Naga* community still strongly uphold. Based on this observation, it becomes very interesting and important to explore the economic values of *Pancasila* that are practiced by the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga*, especially during harvesting rice.

The novelty of this research is that it tries to reveal the values of the local economic wisdom of indigenous peoples, which is a manifestation of the economic values of *Pancasila* that have been declining in other places. This research aims to explore the economic values of *Pancasila* in the local wisdom of harvesting rice in *Kampung Naga, Tasikmalaya* in West Java of Indonesia.

METHOD

This study involved qualitative ethnographic research, which aims to support understanding and behavior of social groups from an insider's point of view (Sekaran and Bougie, 2016) by observing, recording, and engaging in the daily lives of other cultures and then writing cultural stories, emphasizing on detail descriptive. It follows Endraswara (2015) that ethnography is a study of the life and culture of a community or ethnicity, for example, about customs, habits, law, and beliefs. The research is conducted in *Kampung Naga*, Neglasari Village, Salawu District of *Tasikmalaya* Regency, West Java. The informants in this research are the head of the custom, the head of the cooperative association, and farmers in *Kampung Naga*, totaling 20 people. The data are collected using in-depth interviews. There are then analyzed using the model of Miles et al. (2019), consisting of data reduction, display, and drawing the conclusion. Data reduction refers to selecting, coding, and categorizing. The coding gives unit labels in themes, which are then grouped and changed into categories (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). The coding means classification from the research focus based on preliminary theory, the results of initial observations become the theme, then the theme is broken down into some categories and sub-categories (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Next, the data reduction results are displayed in a matrix to organize the data and find patterns and relationships in the data so that preliminary conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, the initial conclusion is compared with the focus of the research. If it can solve the focus of the research, it becomes the conclusion, but if not, repetition is carried out in categories, display, and conclusion drawing process (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis results of in-depth interviews with some people of *Kampung Naga* show that the economic values of *Pancasila* in rice harvesting include effective and efficient values, economic equality value, and the value of increasing income.

Effective Value

Harvesting effectiveness occurs when the local harvesters are asked to select good rice stalks as seeds for planting rice for the next planting season. The local rice seeds are always needed by the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga*, who strongly believe that they are more profitable for themselves. Obtaining high-quality local rice seeds requires accuracy, carefulness, and patience, especially for mothers that have the job to sort out each local rice stalk. The prospective seeds can be sorted during harvesting and drying the rice.

The selection of rice seeds during the harvesting period is carried out by the harvesters based on the principle of reciprocity or helping each other. It means that when someone is harvesting the rice in the owner's field, he will also help the owner of the rice field to select good rice seeds, and vice versa; when the owner attends the harvesting process, he also takes turns helping the harvesters to select the rice seeds on his field. The local wisdom of helping each other is a manifestation of the values of *Pancasila* (Supriyanto, 2014; Damanhuri, 2016; Octavian, 2018), so it will influence the effectiveness of harvesting rice and preparing rice seeds.

Harvesting Cost-Saving Value

The cost-saving value exists when the rice harvesting is done on a reciprocal basis with neighbors or relatives who have helped plant and harvest rice on the fields, so that the harvesting wages given to the harvesters, which can be said to be the harvesting costs, will later return to the owner of the rice field. Therefore, it can be said that the harvesting process consumes zero cost. The harvesting systems applied in *Kampung Naga* begin with pre-harvest reciprocity activities, which consist of rice planting and continue with reciprocity activities in harvesting, assisted by relatives or neighbors by exchanging labor without being given wages. Meanwhile, the planting and harvesting processes may cost up to millions of rupiah in other areas. It follows the findings of Rifiana (2012); Amrullah and Hadi (2016). Based on Rifiana (2012); Amrullah and Hadi (2016), the farmers have to pay much money for planting and harvesting the rice. The local wisdom of the harvesting system, which requires the exchange of labor without being paid, will have a positive impact through the reduction of agricultural costs, and the harvesting cost will be zero (zero cost). The illustration of labor reciprocity in the harvesting process, which causes zero cost, is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 and Table 1 illustrate that Mrs. G, the rice field owner, harvested the rice in his field with Mrs. H and J, who have participated in pre-harvest activities, and the wage ratio of *Bawon* was 10: 1. It means nine kg for rice field owners and one kg for harvest workers. Mrs. H collected as much as 100 kg of rice and was given 10 kg of *Bawon*, plus two kg as kinship mark. Mrs. J collected 110 kg of rice and was given 11 kg of *Bawon* and two kg for the kinship. Suppose the price of dried rice (grain) was IDR 5,000 per kg, the harvesting cost incurred was 12 kg plus 13 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000, totaling IDR 125,000. Mrs. H's income

was 12 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000, totaling IDR 60,000, Mrs. J's income is 13 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000, which was IDR 65,000.

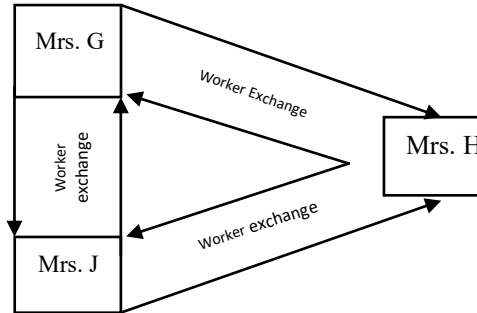


Figure 1. Worker Reciprocity in Rice Harvesting to Cause Zero Harvesting Cost

Table 1. Amount of Harvest and Rice Wages Received through Worker Reciprocity

Reciprocal Harvesting 10:1	Obtained Rice(kg) (1)	Wage (kg) (2)	Add <i>Bawon</i> (kg) (3)	Total cost (kg) (4)	Cost 1kg@ IDR500 (5)	Total Owner's Share (kg)(6)	Add <i>Bawon</i> (kg)(7)	Income 1kg IDR 5000 (8)	Total Owner's Share (kg)(9)
Rice	100	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	100
harvesting	100	10	2	12	600	88	13	650	101
G	110	11	2	13	650	97	12	600	109
Mrs. H									
Mrs. J									
Total G	310	21	4	25	1250	285	25	1250	310
Rice	100	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	100
harvesting	110	11	2	13	650	97	12	600	109
H	100	10	2	12	600	88	13	650	101
Mrs. G									
Mrs. J									
Total H	310	21	4	25	1250	285	25	1250	310
Rice	100	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	100
harvesting	100	10	2	12	600	88	13	650	101
Mrs. G	110	11	2	13	650	97	12	600	109
Mrs. H									
Total J	310	21	4	25	1250	285	25	1250	310

Note(s): column (5) cost is column 4 x 50 = (8) income is column 7 x 50

Next, when Mrs. H harvested her rice field and invited Mrs. G and Mrs. J to participate, Mrs. G was able to collect 110 kg of rice and get 11 kg of rice for *Bawon* plus two kg, and Mrs. J got 100 kg and 10 kg of *Bawon* plus two kg. If the price of unhulled rice was IDR 5,000, then the harvesting cost was 13 kg plus 12 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000, which was IDR 125,000. Meanwhile, Mrs. G's income was 13 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000, IDR 65,000, and Mrs. J's income of 12 kg multiplied by IDR 5,000 was IDR 60,000. When Mrs. J invited Mrs. G and Mrs. H to harvest rice in her field, Mrs. G could collect 100 kg of rice and get 10 kg of rice for *Bawon* plus 2 kg, and Mrs. H got 110 kg and 11 kg of rice 2 kg for *Bawon*. If the price of unhulled rice was IDR 5,000, then the harvesting cost incurred by Mrs. J was the same, IDR 125,000. Based on this example, Mrs. G spent 125 thousand rupiahs but received income from harvesting at Mrs. H and Mrs. J's place of IDR 65,000 and IDR 60,000 so that the total income was IDR 125,000, so it can be said that the harvesting cost is zero (0) or "zero cost." This illustration is only a simple

example, so it could be that the expenditure is greater than the income (deficit), or even the income is higher than the cost (surplus). Based on this case, through a reciprocal harvesting system, the harvesting cost can be reduced to zero (0) “zero cost.” In other words, this research has found that a reciprocal harvesting system is more efficient for reducing harvesting costs.

The concept of “Zero cost” through workers exchange in rice harvesting in *Kampung Naga* is reviewed from a combination of Scott’s moral economy theory (1981), Homans exchange theory (1961), and Chayanov farmer economic theory (Thorner, 1966), which essentially reveals that the comparable workers exchange in rice harvesting in the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga*, which is a subsistence community, is following the prevailing norm (working sincerely without being paid). Therefore, based on those three theories, the workers' exchange in rice harvesting cannot be considered the cost. The impact of workers' exchange in rice harvesting is “zero cost” and can reduce agricultural costs.

The reciprocal system among relatives and neighbors impacts reducing harvesting costs. It follows the findings of Suratman (2015). If the employer of workers in the family (TKDK) is 40%, it will reduce harvesting costs. In other words, both economic sociology and modern economic theories support that the workers' exchange (TKDK, the term for modern economic theory) will significantly reduce workers. There will be “zero cost” in the economic sociology study, there will be “zero cost,” and in modern economic theory, there is a term of “low cost.” In fact, according to Rifiana's (2012) findings, the harvesting cost is IDR 1,742,000 / Ha.

In the context of harvesting costs, the findings of this research also contradict those of Susilowati (2005); Andaninggar (2011), who stated that the slash system and wholesale system are more efficient at reducing harvest costs. It is because it contradicts previous studies, such as Rifiana (2012); Amirullah (2016); and Amrullah & Hadi (2016), who found that the harvesting cost per hectare is IDR 1,480,000 - IDR 3,200,000. Meanwhile, Table 1 shows that the harvesting cost is “zero cost.” In our view, there lies the privilege of the implications of the values of *Pancasila*, which are familial but have an economic impact, namely the savings in harvesting costs.

Besides, our prediction about previous research states that the *Bawon* harvesting system is not efficient in reducing the harvesting cost compared to the slash and wholesale systems because *Bawon* harvesting system used is not a pure *Bawon* harvesting system, which does not require pre-harvest obligations. There is no obligation for the rice field owner to determine which harvesters may participate in harvesting in their fields, and it is not a reciprocal activity in harvesting. Such a shift in the harvesting system has occurred in many areas outside *Kampung Naga*.

In terms of overall agricultural costs, the findings of this research contradict the findings of Susilowati (2005) that the wholesale harvesting system is more efficient at reducing harvest costs and the number of yields received by rice field owners through the *Bawon* harvesting system is lower than the wholesale system. Our predictions regarding Susilowati's (2005) analysis are because they do not compare with other components of agricultural costs, such as planting and harvesting costs, even though the planting and harvesting costs are quite high. Following Amirullah (2016), the harvesting cost is 37.21% of the total agricultural

costs. Rifiana (2012) even found that the planting and harvesting costs have reached 41% more than the total agricultural costs.

In the wholesale system, the planting costs are borne by the rice field owners, which are not small in number, while in the *Bawon* harvesting system, the planting costs are zero (zero cost) because of the reciprocity of labor. Likewise, in the wholesale system, the harvesting costs remain and are quite large, whereas, in illustration Table 1, it can be said that the harvesting costs of the reciprocal harvesting system are non-existent (zero cost). When there is a “zero cost” in planting and harvesting rice, the total cost of agriculture in a reciprocal harvesting system will be much smaller (down more than 41% of the total agricultural cost) than the cost of farming with a wholesale system. Therefore, it can be stated that the reciprocal harvesting system is more efficient than the slash system or the wholesale system. An illustration of this case is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of Reciprocity and Wholesale System Agricultural Costs

Cost	Amount (IDR)	Reciprocity System	Wholesale System
Land processing cost	6000	6000	6000
Seed cost	4000	4000	4000
Planting cost	5000	<i>Zero cost</i>	5000*
Upkeeping cost	5000	5000	5000
Harvesting cost	1.3000	<i>Zero cost</i>	7000*
Total Cost	3.3000	1.5000	2.7000

Note(s): (*) in the wholesale system, there are still harvesting and planting costs, although they are not as much as the normal one

Based on Table 2, it can be seen that the total agricultural costs are higher in the wholesale system, and there is still a harvesting cost, even though the amount is low. However, with the “zero cost” in the planting and harvesting process due to the workers' reciprocity, the reciprocity system reduces agricultural costs. Supposedly, suppose we want to compare the efficiency of a reciprocal system with the wholesale system from an agricultural costs aspect. In that case, the wholesale system should consider the amount of planting and harvesting costs compared with the amount of planting and harvesting costs in the reciprocal system. The principle of reciprocity is the embodiment of helping activities, which reflects the noble values of *Pancasila*.

Economic Equity

In *Kampung Naga*, there is a verbal covenant that those who are allowed to participate in the harvesting process are people who have helped plant rice on a reciprocal basis. Participation in harvesting is a manifestation of wages in planting rice because when planting rice, they are not getting paid, so the wages are included in rice harvesting. By helping each other, everyone is involved in the harvesting stages. The positive impact is that the harvest is equal distribution as a form of reciprocity among neighbors, even though the yields are not good enough. All people will acquire rice by following the rice harvest in their neighbors' fields. When everyone gets rice and wages from rice harvesting, the food needs have

already been met. Therefore, economically, people do not need to spend money to buy rice.

The reciprocal harvesting system reduces the risk of not having rice because everyone gets rice by helping their neighbors harvest it. Farmers whose harvests are not good, in a reciprocal relationship, will attend the rice harvesting in their neighbors' or relatives' fields so that they receive *Bawon* to eat for their families. Moreover, the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga* always use *ani-ani* to harvest their local rice. However, it is because of a hereditary habit that cutting local paddy must be done using *ani-ani*. The local wisdom contained in this case is that the people can sort rice seeds carefully than using a sickle. Also, rice harvesting using *ani-ani* contains a high social meaning, an even distribution of the harvest.

When *ani-ani* is used for harvesting, the rice yields obtained by the harvesters are relatively the same so that the wages are also the same (Santoso et al., 2020). Therefore, the use of *ani-ani* in *Kampung Naga*, apart from having effective work, also means socio-economy, equal distribution of yields, and the selection of rice seeds. Meanwhile, the superior rice harvesting in *Kampung Naga* is similar to other areas (using sickles) because it is faster and more efficient. Because of the rice harvesting system implemented in *Kampung Naga*, there is economic equality which reflects the fifth precept of *Pancasila*.

More Income Increase

The harvesters' local wisdom in *Kampung Naga*, which is based on reciprocity and kinship, positively impacts the local people's income. It occurs when the principle of reciprocity is implemented properly. When the owners of the rice fields give wages to the harvesters (likened to a cost), it will return to them when they join to work on the harvesters' fields so that their yields are intact literally.

Also, there is a strong sense of kinship supported by the principle of reciprocity, and the harvesters will carefully harvest the rice belonging to their neighbors so that the grains are not scattered, and the yields are kept safely. The harvesters will harvest carefully because there is a feeling that if they are careless, they will disappoint the rice fields' owners. The harvesters will get an equal reply when harvesting their rice fields. Therefore, the value of kinship as the manifestation of the *Pancasila* values (Ismail, 2018), applied in rice harvesting activities, can trigger more harvest income.

The local wisdom of the harvesting system applied by the *Kampung Naga* indigenous people is not economically detrimental, as stated by Andaninggar (2011); Susilowati (2005). This research found that the harvesting system applied in *Kampung Naga* benefits local farmers because it can make planting and harvesting costs be "zero cost," although this research could not compare which is better between the *Bawon* system and the slashing system on the results obtained by the farmers in *Kampung Naga*. This limitation is because *Kampung Naga* only applies the *Bawon* system, so it cannot be compared to *the tebasan* or *borongan* (wholesale) system, as in other villages that may use the *Bawon* is side by side with the *tebasan* or wholesale system.

However, with the reciprocity system and a good sense of kinship among the residents of *Kampung Naga*, the yields received by farmers and workers with the *Bawon* system are better than *tebasan* or wholesale system (see table 1). As in the previous illustration (Figure 1), with the exchange of harvesting, the harvesting

costs in the *Bawon* system in *Kampung Naga* can be zero (zero cost), so it can be said that all the harvested rice belongs the owners of the rice fields.

Based on Table 1, it is shown that when Mrs. G asked Mrs. H and Mrs. J to help harvest rice in her rice field and gave 12 kg of *Bawon* to Mrs. H, and 13 kg to Mrs. J, the total reduction in the yield of Mrs. G was 25 kg. However, the reduction would return to Mrs. G when she helped Mrs. H (13 kg) and Mrs. J (12 kg), so it can be said that with the *Bawon* system, there is no reduction in the yields of the rice field owners and workers, because they sometimes take the position of owners and at other times become workers. Therefore, the results of this research are not in line with the findings that the *Bawon* system reduces the owners' shares (Andaninggar, 2011; Susilowati, 2005). This difference is because, in Andaninggar's (2011) research, cultivators work on the rice fields, and during harvesting time, they use the common *Bawon* system. That is why the shares received by farmers are reduced by *Bawon* for the workers and are still reduced by the shares from rice cultivators so that the yields they get are not that much. It is different from the *Bawon* system practiced in *Kampung Naga* because the rice fields are not cultivated, and the *Bawon* system is purely applied. The reciprocal harvesting system in *Kampung Naga* is a pure *Bawon* harvesting system application.

Besides, the findings support Ismail (2013) that the farmers get more yields using the *Bawon* system. Hayami and Hafid (1979) also confirmed that the rice yields received by workers are higher using the *Bawon* system than in the fixed-wage system. Therefore, these findings suggest that the *Bawon* system is more profitable than the daily wage system. It follows the findings of Ismail (2013).

On the other hand, the findings of this research do not support the statement that using *Bawon* system with many workers causes a lot of yield loss for landowners, both scattered and theft. The author's view is that through this system of workers exchange in harvesting, each harvester tries his best not to lose rice, either scattered or stolen. They will feel bad if they harvest badly or steal the rice no matter how little they are because their neighbors will respond with similar actions when harvesting rice in their fields. Therefore, they harvest the best they can in the hope of being treated the same by their neighbors. It is different from the daily or piece-rate system. Usually, they pursue more on the target of completing work and less seeing the amount of rice that has been collected because whether they can collect much or little rice, the wages are the same. As a result, the daily wage system can cause irregularities, whether rice is scattered or others.

The implementation of a reciprocal harvesting system in *Kampung Naga*, which is carried out reciprocally in planting and harvesting, has made the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga* have sufficient rice supplies to meet their daily needs and even always have leftovers, which are then kept in the storage for preventing them running out of foodstuff in the future. Therefore, the rice harvesting system implemented in *Kampung Naga*, which uses the principle of reciprocity as a reflection of the values of *Pancasila*, makes the income of the people of *Kampung Naga* increase regularly.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study concluded that the economic values of *Pancasila* in the local wisdom of harvesting rice in *Kampung Naga* are as follows. First, the

value of effectiveness, namely when harvesters help choose rice to be used as seeds so that the field owner does not carry out the activity of selecting seeds. The activity of selecting seeds is carried out on the principle of reciprocity and reflects the values of *Pancasila*. Second, the value is cost-effective because rice harvesting is carried out on the principle of reciprocity so that the harvest wages given to neighbors will later be returned when the rice field owner helps the neighbor's rice harvest. Third, the value of Economic Equity occurs because of reciprocity in harvesting rice so that all residents get rice as harvest wages. In addition, the harvesting tool, namely ani-ani, impacts the yields obtained, which are relatively equal so that the wages are relatively the same. Fourth, the value of income is higher, which is the impact of the principle of reciprocity in harvesting rice so that it creates a sense of caution in harvesting rice. As a result, rice is not scattered, and more yield is. This research has only revealed the economic value of *Pancasila* in rice harvesting activities. Further researchers are expected to reveal the values of *Pancasila* in rice harvesting activities from social, cultural, or institutional aspects and expand the research theme to explore more *Pancasila* values owned by the indigenous people of *Kampung Naga*.

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