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of Egypt / Egyptology**HOUSEHOLD'S MOTIVE TO SAVE IN THE FORM OF  
COMMODITIES**

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**Abstract**

Saving is not always in the form of cash in the bank; it can also be in the form of commodities (cloves) that are stored at home. The practice of household saving in *Negeri Ullath* is motivated by socio-cultural factors. Storing cloves as savings has been going on for a long time. This study aims to explore and analyse the motives behind the actions and decisions of saving in the form of commodities by farmer households, and the implications of this form of saving on the social status of local communities and the sustainability of livelihoods. This study uses qualitative methods to obtain field data by conducting in-depth interviews with the informants. The results show that the motive for storing cloves is to meet priority household needs, namely children's education and other needs such as health and social costs, financial independence and prestige. This strategy is based on liquidity considerations and to control spending habits. This finding impacts social ownership and becomes a form of informal insurance

**Keywords:** *saving, liquidity, spending habits, informal insurance, social status.*

**Introduction**

Households in rural or agriculture areas that rely on agricultural products or plantation products as their main source of sustenance are very vulnerable. The problems they often face include uncertain crop seasons, pest attacks, climatic influences, drought, flooding and fluctuations in market prices for the commodities they plant. These situations cause them to experience uncertainty in obtaining income (Mishra, Uematsu, & Powell, 2012). Saving is one of the livelihood strategies undertaken by many households in order to maintain household financial security (Yao, Wang, Weagley, & Liao, 2011) and a sustainable household life.

Although saving is an important strategy in ensuring the sustainability of household life, research on saving behaviour in livelihood studies is

minimal (Lont & Hospes, 2004). According to Goedecke, Guérin, D'Espallier, & Venkatasubramanian, (2018) savings that are often considered to be part of microfinance are often forgotten. In fact, although microfinance can help poor people cope with risks and save more money, in many cases the social and cultural dimensions of savings have been underestimated. Kurlanska, (2011) explains that some researchers have worked together to promote an ethnographic approach into this livelihood strategy because microfinance transactions are more than economic exchange (Lont & Hospes, 2004). Most research related to the saving behaviour of households examines saving phenomena that are associated with economic motives such as accumulation of assets (investment) or expediting consumption (Berloff & Modena, 2013; Deaton, 1989). In 1936 Keynes introduced the motives for saving by a household, namely, as a prevention, a life cycle, improve living standards, raise business capital or a down payment, inheritance, expediting consumption in the future, for profit and as a future investment (Browning & Lusardi, 1996). Whatever the motive of the household to undertake saving, their main goal is only to maintain financial security for sustainability; it illustrates the rationality decisions which households make to save their lives. Savings behaviour is influenced by various factors such as: household habits (Fisher & Anong, 2012), low income income uncertainty (Mishra et al., 2012), financial literacy (Henager & Mauldin, 2015). Saving behaviour is influenced also by household income, education level and employment status (Kelley & Williamson, 2009).

Saving is an economic behaviour, but it is not entirely determined by something rational, because saving behaviour is also influenced by social and cultural contexts, as explained by Lont & Hospes, (2004) and Goedecke et al., (2018). According to Lont & Hospes, (2004), financial transaction is a 'double contract' element and cannot be understood apart from 'some contexts' such as cultural and social contexts; while for (Goedecke et al., 2018) households save not only for financial security but also social considerations and dependence on their culture. Generally, households save in cash in banks, but this is not always the case, because there are some studies that explain saving can also be done in the informal sector by storing various assets such as gold jewellery, livestock, crops and tree ownership. (Chambers & Leach, 1989; Collins, Morduch, Rutherford, & Ruthven, 2009). Based on the explanations for these motives and saving behaviour by households, the focus of current studies relates more to economic issues, while studies relating to cultural and social factors are less and even underestimated (Goedecke et al., 2018; Lont & Hospes, 2004).

In this article, we examine how local socio-cultural factors influence saving strategies among farming community households in *Negeri<sup>1</sup> Ullath*. Most of *Negeri Ullath's* people live as farmers and generally rely on the crops planted on their *dusung<sup>2</sup>* as a source of livelihood for the household. *Negeri Ullath* is located on the Lease Islands, East Saparua District, Central Maluku Regency, Indonesia. In Saparua district, two banks are located not far from *Negeri Ullath* and access is very easy. However, people's interest in saving money in the form of cash at the bank is low. Households in *Negeri Ullath* tend to save in the form of assets like storing clove

commodities as their main income from the local community. This practice has been going on for generations. We explore and analyse the motives behind the actions and decisions of household farmers saving in the form of commodities, and the implications of saving in the form of clove commodities on the social status of local communities and the sustainability of livelihoods. In addition, there are liquidity considerations for the reason for households to keep cloves, so they can control spending habits to meet household priority needs, such as children's education and other needs (health, social costs and avoiding loans). Meeting the priority needs, such as investments in education, is important for parents because that is used later as informal insurance when they are no longer productive.

In the next section, the presentation will begin with a literature review explaining concepts and linking one concept with another as references in this research analysis. This study consists of two parts: firstly, the relationship between sustainability of livelihoods and savings and, secondly, capital relations, informal insurance and livelihoods, followed by research methods, then field findings and results obtained by analysis, and conclusions as the final part of this paper.

## **Literature Review**

### **Sustainable Livelihoods and Savings**

The concept of sustainable livelihoods means the ability to not only cope with and recover from various shocks to increase assets, but also to provide opportunity and benefit of livelihood towards others at a local level; while, in the long run, the concept shall be seen in a coherent and integrated manner. Sustainable livelihoods also relate to a combination of inputs (in the form of capital or assets) namely human nature, capital, social and physical, and output (livelihood strategies) (Pandey, Kumar, Alatalo, Archie, & Gupta, 2017; Scoones, 2009) without neglecting access to the assets since it is essential in sustaining livelihoods (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). Among them is access to utilise microfinance under an informal mechanism as explained by many researchers in their studies (Karlan, Ratan, & Zinman, 2014; Kurlanska, 2011). The access to assets plays an essential role in the life of rural farming communities because it can significantly prevent poverty, as well as provide positive impacts to sustainable livelihoods and development. The sustainable livelihoods approach can be interpreted as utilising informal savings through various financial services (microfinance) which are currently available in the community, for example, by joining a savings club or utilising Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs) (Lont & Hospes, 2004)

Other forms of informal savings often found in rural households are in the form of accumulating assets (livestock, gold, rice, trees), depositing money with a neighbour, keeping assets under the mattress, purchasing durable goods, storing illiquid goods, joining a women's savings club and exchanging funds through socially regulated microfinance: these forms of saving are carried out to anticipate future financial difficulty. These informal savings also impact on maintaining household welfare and livelihood sustainability (Collins et al., 2009; Goedecke et al., 2018; Karlan et al., 2014).

Farmer households in rural areas generally possess assets and prepare several choices, opportunities or strategies to preserve sustainable livelihoods. To strive for a safe and prosperous life, the families not only have savings from the income they receive directly by working, but also pay attention to cash flows and assets in the form of goods such as gifts received from neighbours and relatives, money transfer, loans and other forms of social capital inflow as microfinance guarantee for sustainable livelihoods (Lont & Hospes, 2004). These methods establish a social process within community life; therefore, it can be concluded that social relations influence livelihood outcomes (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). A recent study by Goedecke et al., (2018) also noted that social and cultural factors are involved in household decision making for sustainable livelihoods.

### **Capital, Informal Insurance and Livelihood**

Capital is vital to sustain a livelihood, especially for farmer households. It is because their lives are never separated from various life problems, including the risk caused by political instability and national economy mismanagement; therefore, capital ownership is needed for sustainable livelihoods.

Capital is crucial in producing goods and services to meet household demand. However, the term 'capital' emphasised in this study refers to those described by Bourdieu, (1977) as social (non-economic) relationships within a society where reciprocal, and exchange relationships occur based. Therefore, understanding capital shall not be limited to financial social or cultural capital, but must also include symbolic capital. The concept of capital is broad (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990). It means physical things (of symbolic value) and several non-specific attributes inherent with cultural significance, prestige and status. For example, land allotment, as described by (Bourdieu, 1977), has a congenital impact on the beneficiary. The receiving party shall consider his obligations since land allotment is considered as generosity shown by the benefactor. The land donation represents a symbol, in this case, financial capital is converted into symbolic capital and exchanged into social capital. As explained by Harker et al., (1990) that certain kind of capital can be exchanged into another type of capital, and be used to sustain livelihoods.

Symbolic capital in the form of social prestige and dignity can be generated by financial capital and accumulation of wealth. Symbolic capital is associated with competition for power among individuals and members of a group for dominant positions and legitimate recognition in this case the ethics of honour represent the ethics of personal interest in social formation, groups or classes which constitute a symbolic capital inheritance (Bourdieu, 1977). Redelius, Fagrell, & Larsson, (2009) describe symbolic capital as a valuable possession, in which quality, assets, or resources are considered important and highly desirable, prestigious and pursued by the people. In other words, the subject of assessment is not individual, but the view of the social group. Members of a social environment (society) tend to acknowledge certain qualities (Bourdieu, 1984). Financial capital represents symbolic capital as it is closely related to ownership of certain assets by

households as a community member. For example, gold is considered as the main financial asset in India. In addition to the financial capital it represents, the possession of gold also symbolises identity, wealth and social status (Goedecke et al., 2018). Financial capital is used to preserve the livelihood and to meet the life needs when a household experiences financial difficulty.

Financial capital can be transformed into human resources investment through children's education to obtain status in society (Bourdieu, 1984). As a means of informal insurance, financial capital is also convenient to transfer among family members. As described by Tella & Macculloch, (2002), informal insurance is the most prevalent among relatives or family members (Morduch, 1999). Asset transfer is practical to be exchanged in order to maintain a sustainable livelihood, especially when it is difficult to obtain formal insurance. Household investment through children's education is inseparable from the moral hazard (liability) of the family as insurance providers in order to achieve welfare (Tella & Macculloch, 2002). It illustrates socio-economic activities to form a long-term investment which is useful in the future to sustain a livelihood. Furthermore, social capital (social networks/ relations, trusts, norms, reciprocal relations) is converted into economic capital through exchanging gifts which affect reciprocal relationships. This method is generally used to strengthen the social and economic relationship as a form of informal insurance (relatives or neighbours) which is important in overcoming future risks as described by Wahhaj, (2010) in their study of livelihood sustainability. For this reason, Mbugua, Nzuma, & Muange, (2019) argue that farmers are very dependent on informal risk management strategies such as social networking through transfers (loans and gifts). In addition, social networks can also influence the demand for investment, such as human resources (Adelman, 2013). Wahhaj, (2010) found that social norms (through obligations and events), which unfortunately prevent families from improving their savings (capital accumulation), might benefit the poor by improving welfare and ensure the sustainability of household livelihoods. Both social norms and social networks are part of social capital which play an important role in the lives of rural farmers as described in the study by (Sutherland & Burton, 2011).

### **Methodology**

This research applies the qualitative study method since the researchers were directly involved in collecting data through in-depth interviews with 20 informants. The study employs a case study approach. A case study approach was selected because in research that involves farmers in the village. The name mentioned in this paper is not a real name, it aims to keep the identity of the informant a secret. The interviews aimed to explore various life experiences of clove farmers in accordance with the theme of the research. Ambon Malay language was used to converse with the informants to gain an in-depth understanding. The interview was not structured to allow the researchers to obtain a great depth of information. This situation illustrates data saturation. The whole interview process was recorded, while the researchers also took note of important points during the interview.

This research was conducted in Saparua Subdistrict, Ullath District, Central Maluku Regency from June 2017 to December 2018. An emotional relationship approach was used by the researchers to gain in-depth information on the subject data. The researchers also participated in various worship activities at the location of research to be well received by residents. The researchers were also assisted by congregation (church organisations) members in gathering information related to the topic of the study. Even so, the researchers always made an appointment with the informant prior to a house visitation so as not to interrupt their schedule. The researchers remained objective about facts that occurred in the field and did not manipulate data. All the results of interviews were then made in the form of transcript results without adding or subtracting any words. The results of this transcript are then used as field data. The researchers also use different sources to triangulate the data by observing and interviewing other informants to obtain the facts. All the observation was written in the form of field notes. After considering all these inputs, the researchers then determined the research theme based on data obtained. The data were grouped based on theme similarity as the researchers implemented the interpretatif analysis. Processed data were then synthesised into an abstract based on empirical results and field context.

## Results

### Clove Harvest Season, Storage Process and the Risk

The clove harvest season occurs only once a year from August/September to October/November. The harvesting process takes approximately a month because farmers harvest cloves gradually by selecting flowers that have a yellowish or reddish colour. Clove flowers that are still green are left on the tree. Cloves that are still green will shrink when dry and have little oil content, so the selling price on the market will be low.

As an illustration of an informant's household, Andre (72) lives with his wife and two grandchildren as conveyed to the researchers in an interview. In 2017, Andre's clove gardens produced 99 kilograms of dried cloves that were not sold but stored. Some were used to meet daily needs and pay workers' wages at harvest time. Andre explained that, at that time, to fulfil his daily needs during the harvest, Andre sold 10 *cupa*<sup>3</sup> of wet cloves at a price of 7,000 IDR per *cupa*, so he got 70,000 IDR every day for the length of the harvest. Besides that, Andre also gave his grandchildren the opportunity to harvest produce and sell it for their own needs in accordance with the tradition of the Ullath community. The results of their picking were used to buy clothes and the rest was stored for personal use. In the Ullath community, at harvest time, family members are given the freedom to pick cloves from the top of the tree for their own needs.

To support the economic life of farmers' households, they are required to save post-harvest cloves as savings and ongoings even though banking institutions have begun to enter their areas. This habit is not something new for farm households. This tradition has been going on from generation to generation until the present. Another research informant, Koni (56) said

that his family always kept cloves from their family's crops at home. His father also did the same thing. His father's habits began after his father and mother were married in 1955. Previously, cloves were stored in burlap sacks that could hold 50 - 60 kilograms of dry cloves. After watching the habits of his father and grandfather for years, he started to follow their habits. However, now Koni keeps cloves in a plastic bag with a capacity of 25-30 kilograms. Furthermore, according to Lisa, she used to dry cloves on plastic tarps, and mats made of pandan leaves. Drying lasts for two to three days until the cloves are completely dry (so they are not easily damaged or go mouldy). Next, the clove is put in a plastic bag and sewn, so it does not splatter. Then, she places several boards on the floor as a buffer, so that cold temperatures will not damage the sack containing cloves. Cloves can last up to three years if stored this way. This habit that has been going on for generations is not necessarily replaced by financial institutions such as banking. The general public is still reluctant to save in the form of money in a bank even though the habit of storing cloves is also quite risky.

Saving cloves in the long run (one to three years) runs the risk of heavy depreciation of the commodity due to weather or fluctuating clove prices if, when needed, the price of cloves is low. One of the informants, Lency (65) experienced such an incident. The last time she sold clove deposits in January 2016 to meet the needs of their children in Ambon, the price of cloves was only 80,000 IDR per kilogram, while two months earlier in November 2015 the price of cloves reached 105,000 IDR per kilogram. Ms Lency acknowledged that the incident was a risk she had to face. In the experience of Okto (45), when she sold cloves to traders in Saparua, the weight of the clove was reduced from 32 kilograms to 30 kilograms, even though the clove was only stored for a year. A similar event was experienced by Yana (58) when her clove savings were reduced by three kilograms.

There are several reasons given by the informants to store cloves: firstly, to meet the priority needs of children's education, secondly, social community costs and to getting recognition from others

### **Motives for Saving Cloves**

#### ***Meeting Children's Educational Needs***

The choice of saving in the form of cloves is felt to be safer to avoid the possibility of wasting money. Niken explained that, if she saves in cash, she will often use it so that it runs out quickly.

Children's education becomes a priority in the lives of peasant households in Ullath region. When the harvest season comes, the households plan that the harvest will be used for the benefit of their children's education. Niken has three sons, her eldest son has just completed his education and obtained his Bachelor of Education degree. He is currently looking for a job. The second child continued his studies at one of the tertiary institutions in Ambon, while her youngest was still in high school. Niken explained that saving cloves helps to meet the various educational needs of her children, such as paying a semester fee of 1,700,000 IDR, monthly rent of 300,000 IDR and transportation and food

costs 1,000,000 IDR. Sometimes she also has to send an additional amount of 200,000 - 300,000 IDR to meet other needs, such as buying photocopy textbooks of lecture materials, doing assignments at an internet cafe and printing lectures and thesis assignments. Various education needs of the children must be fulfilled and they require a relatively large amount of cost which means that each clove harvest is only intended for children's educational needs.

### ***Meeting Social Community Costs***

Savings in the form of cloves are also important to meet the needs of social costs. To ensure they can participate in community activities such as celebrations for confirmation of church members<sup>4</sup>, baptism of children and weddings, households must have savings that can be used any time to donate. According to Lency when she was absent one time, there was a sense of shame when she accidentally met a family who had an event she could not afford, because when her family held the same celebration, they attended. She once sold 5 kilograms of dried cloves at a price of 85,000 IDR per kilogram to attend the church's confirmation event, because she did not have enough money. Invitations to attend the celebration of church *sidi* member confirmation are normally for around 15-20 people, while infant baptism is for around 15 children. These all occur simultaneously in December. While these events may also occur in the other months, most occur in December. To meet this need, they set aside some of the clove crops. Because social relations remain very important in the Ullath region, social needs are as important as other household needs such as sending children to school and health needs.

### ***Meeting Social Status Costs***

Social status is also attributed to the number of clove deposits in the household. When a neighbour or relative visits a house and sees deposits or smells the scent of cloves in the house, they will consider these people to be well off. Usually, when the harvest season arrives, the previous year's crops are sold and, subsequently, the newly harvested crops are stored. Yana's (56) family has a habit of saving cloves from the current harvest season to the next harvest season. This situation has been going on for six harvest seasons. Initially, the harvest was used for children's educational needs, but is now no longer required. Both of their children have finished high school and now work as a teacher and a civil servant. For Yana's family to keep cloves, aside from retaining habits, they want others to know that they have clove deposits. Cloves have a distinctive aroma so it is very easy to know of their existence. Some put cloves where they are easily seen by others because there is no special room to store them. Lisa explained that she deliberately keeps cloves in the dining room for others to see, so that they know that Lisa stores cloves. Saving cloves is like saving wealth or money. The assumption is that the more cloves are stored, the richer the person is. In other words, just as having a savings account simply illustrates that they have money, this situation is the reason why they keep cloves at home.

### **Discussion**



The life of farmers is very vulnerable. They often face challenges ranging from crop failure as a result of climate change, natural disasters and pest attacks in addition to fluctuations in the price of the commodities they plant. These various conditions result in them experiencing difficulties in meeting household needs because of erratic income. One strategy that they apply for sustainability is through savings. This also happens in the farmers' lives in Ullath. Their savings are in the form of clove commodities, not in cash. Saving in the form of commodities (informal savings) for farm households not only addresses the urgent or priority needs of the household, but is influenced by local cultural factors.

Cultural capital derives from the social environment. This happens in the households of clove farmers in Ullath State. Habits that take place are behaviour based on the experience of each household from one generation to another and are embedded, influenced by the social environment in the local community, so it can be said that the habit of saving cloves as savings for the sustainability of their livelihood occurs naturally. This practice can be adapted to conditions, both in the past and present and it does not rule out the possibility that this habit, in the future, can present a real opportunity. Even though it has risks, it can also be seen that where the household decides to save in the form of clove commodity, it contributes to livelihood sustainability.

The repeated practice is not without reason but is closely related to the understanding of social values (culture) that are embedded in their perspectives and mindsets about prestige and social status in society. Bourdieu, (1991) explains prestige and status as part of symbolic capital. For peasant households in the Ullath State to have legitimacy within their social environment, they must save cloves. It is because this commodity is a symbol of wealth. Even the people of Maluku often call it an arrogant fruit because of their pride when they have the object. Saving cloves is like having a valuable asset because, when more and more cloves are stored, then the family is said to have wealth (the rich) and have social status in society. This view is one of the characteristics raised by Weber and Mills (1977) that social status is determined based on wealth owned. In this case, the ownership of social status by the clove farmer household is not from birth, but ownership of the status of his business and hard work and does not rule out the possibility that status can change when he does not have wealth (clove). It can be traced to the habit of farm households storing cloves to achieve status in the community which can lead to becoming socially accepted. Consequently, there is legitimacy when farm households have economic capital in the form of cloves. For this reason, this commodity is not only seen as an object but is related to ownership status. By owning social status, there is the possibility of occupying a position in the neighbourhood. For this reason, the farmer's household always keeps cloves.

Saving in the form of clove commodities by farm households is related to a sustainable livelihood, one of which is through investments in education (children's education). This form of investment is utilised in the future, and not only enjoyed by children (mobilisation), but parents can label it as informal insurance. Parents are objectively aware of the various

opportunities that children can achieve, so they decide to invest in education. It can be said that the ability of households to carry out this strategy is related to the ability of households to form and maintain networks for the sustainability of their livelihoods in the future (informal insurance). Different conditions were found in the Bhandari (2013), namely farm households in Nepal consider children as assets to work in the fields as productive labourers to generate household income due to lack of labour for farming so that children's education is not a household priority. In the view of clove farmer households, education is beneficial to bring a change towards a better direction in the development of human resources; in addition, education can also increase the degree of household welfare because with education comes the possibility of getting a job easily. This is in line with the view Elliott, Constance-Huggins, and Song (2013) that the title becomes an entry point in obtaining a better future (economic mobilisation). Investment in education is a long-term investment that is utilised in the future. Becker (1975) called it a human capital investment in which the return from this form of investment is huge. Not only is it mobilisation to get a job, but the level of education can also affect their life in the community. Through education, a person or household can obtain a certain social status.

The exchange which is carried out socially concerning insurance is part of the survival strategy of clove farmers' households in Ullath. In this case, social exchange using family members plays an essential and very dominant role in protecting the household in the future. Exchange occurs because of limited resources to obtain certain goals, one of which is informal insurance. For this reason, households maximise profits through investment (education) strategies. This situation illustrates rational choices made by households because they already know that there is no old age insurance as happens for other households (working in formal institutions). Therefore, investment in the form of children's education carried out by parents is more selfish because the results also affect the sustainability of their livelihoods. However, the results of this form of investment are directly enjoyed by children who can achieve their own success. In this case, households strive to achieve maximum benefits and their goals among the available opportunities. Not only is there achievement of the main goal of the household (investment in education), but the second goal (informal insurance) can be achieved which is also valuable.

Investment in human capital is part of the transfer of assets from parents to children and can be an insurance conduit. Parents' wealth (income) can be translated into use for children's education costs, to get a good future, and when parents are no longer productive, then the full cost of living is borne by their children. This asset transfer is not only related to Hadzard's morals as described by Deaton (1989), but is related to the high quality of protection because, in general, clove farmer households do not have insurance. In this way, it can be a guarantee for the future, so it can be said that asset transfer programs have high rates of return (Deaton, 1989; Jimenez, Lockheed, Luna, & Paqueo, 1991). Transfer of assets carried out in the households of clove farmers in Ullath State is inseparable from social norms. It is due to reciprocal relationships or exchanges. In this case, the

child is aware of the obligations that must be made when he obtains a secure future through the sacrifice of his parents. The obligation is to reciprocate by financing all the needs of parents when they are no longer productive as emphasised by Bloch, Genicot, and Ray (2008). Morduch (1999) view explains that the structure of households is formed to meet the goals of informal insurance. In other words, children are produced to provide informal social security. A similar thing is also explained by Tella and Macculloch (2002) that family can be a social insurance provider. Thus, human capital investment (education sector) can be useful as informal insurance for clove farmer households, so it is crucial to save cloves to finance children's educational needs and also have an impact on sustainable livelihood.

### Conclusion

The farmer's habit of storing cloves in the household has been going on for generations with the aim to obtain recognition within the community (prestige) because clove for the people of the State of Ullath symbolises social status or wealth markers. When having clove deposits, a household is considered to have wealth because, for them, cloves are as valuable as money. Having large clove deposits, the household is classified as having much wealth and has social status in the community. This situation results in the household keeping cloves.

Saving in the form of commodities aims to control spending habits so that household priority needs, such as children's education can be met. The importance of children's education for farm households is related to future needs (informal insurance) when they are no longer productive.

This study has limitations. the researchers also did not conduct comparative studies with other locations with similar subjects. Therefore, future studies are suggested to conduct a comparative study to validate the phenomenon of saving behaviour in households in relation to livelihood strategies in meeting daily needs and to enrich literatures on socio-cultural studies.

### Notes

- [1] The term *negeri* is a change within The Act No 5 Year 1974 about Village Government, in relation to the execution of regional authority causing a naming change from *desa* to *negeri* which is then harmonised with local language (Maluku), based on Regional Regulation of Maluku No 3/2008 that states using the name *negeri* as a unity.
- [2] *Dusung* is inherited land planted with a variety of long-life and short-life crops that are traded.
- [3] *Cupa* is a unit of measurement of clove ores using a tubular meat can. The bottom of the can is made convex with the aim to accomodate more ore. One kilogram is equal to six cupa.
- [4] Confirmation of church members is a Christian tradition for adults aged 17 years and over, after receiving child baptism.

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