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The Resilience of *Jengkingan* Culture Amidst the Dominance of the Labor Wage System in Farming Communities

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Abstract :

Modernization and the growing dominance of wage labor systems have eroded mutual aid practices in agrarian societies, yet existing studies often overlook the rational reasons for cultural preservation. Drawing on social exchange and social capital theories, this study addresses this gap by examining why the Jengkingan culture persists as a reciprocal agricultural practice. The research aims to analyze the resilience of Jengkingan and identify the factors that support or inhibit it. A qualitative case study approach was employed, using observation, interviews, and documentation, with data analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana interactive model. The findings reveal that Jengkingan survives because it is economically efficient and strengthens social solidarity through non-material social exchange and robust social capital. Supporting factors include kinship ties, trust, reciprocity, and local social conditions, while time constraints, shifting mindsets among youth, and minimal leadership roles act as inhibitors. The study concludes that Jengkingan can be integrated into modern life as a rational choice without losing its cultural essence, and recommends further research on its effectiveness in farming communities.

Keywords: *Jengkingan culture, resilience, social exchange, social capital*

Abstrak:

Modernisasi dan dominasi sistem upah tenaga kerja telah menurunkan intensitas praktik gotong royong di masyarakat agraris, namun studi yang ada sering mengabaikan alasan rasional di balik pelestarian budaya tersebut. Menggunakan teori pertukaran sosial dan modal sosial, penelitian ini mengkaji mengapa budaya Jengkingan bertahan sebagai praktik pertanian berbasis timbal balik. Tujuannya untuk menganalisis ketahanan budaya Jengkingan serta faktor pendukung dan penghambatnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif studi kasus dengan observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi, dianalisis melalui model interaktif Miles, Huberman, dan Saldana. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Jengkingan bertahan karena dianggap efisien secara ekonomi dan memperkuat solidaritas sosial melalui pertukaran sosial non-material serta modal sosial yang kuat. Faktor pendukung meliputi ikatan kekerabatan, kepercayaan, timbal balik, dan kondisi sosial masyarakat, sementara faktor penghambatnya adalah keterbatasan waktu, pergeseran pola pikir generasi muda, serta minimnya peran tokoh masyarakat. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa budaya Jengkingan dapat diintegrasikan dalam kehidupan modern sebagai pilihan rasional tanpa menghilangkan esensi budayanya, dan merekomendasikan penelitian lebih lanjut mengenai efektivitas praktik budaya ini pada masyarakat petani.

Kata Kunci: *Budaya Jengkingan, ketahanan, pertukaran sosial, modal sosial*

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Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelagic nation characterized by vast cultural diversity, where each ethnic group possesses local wisdom that serves as the identity and cultural heritage of its people (Yunus et al., 2024). In agrarian societies, local wisdom is also integrated into traditional agricultural systems that emphasize a balance between humans, nature, and existing social relationships. Living values such as mutual aid, solidarity, and togetherness serve as the pillars of harmonious and sustainable social life (Shen et al., 2026). Moreover, the social relationship that form influence the quality of resources, adaptive capacity, and the productivity of the community's social networks (Moghfeli et al., 2023). However, modernization and globalization have driven structural shifts that have altered work orientations and patterns of social interaction from a cooperative foundation toward a more rational and individualistic approach. One clear indicator of this shift is the fading of agricultural mutual aid practices, which have been replaced by a transactional wage labor system. Consequently, local agricultural wisdom is increasingly vulnerable to the erosion of its values, raising questions about the ability of local communities to preserve their culture amidst the accelerating pace of change.

Previous research indicates that modernization and globalization have contributed to the shift from a collective labor system toward a rational wage system (Priyanto, 2025; Simanullang et al., 2024). Ismail et al. (2023) also note in their study that the cultural values of the *Motiayo* people have shifted toward a wage system. However, most of these studies tend to prioritize economic rationality as the primary factor, failing to adequately explain the role of social capital and collective values as factors of cultural resistance within agrarian societies. On the other hand, the research by Sari et al. (2024) on the Samin indigenous community and Katarina et al. (2025) in Bhera Village offers another perspective that the local wisdom of indigenous communities and informal institutions still possess strong adaptive capacity toward modernization. However, the studies mentioned above remain focused on specific indigenous cultures and have not yet thoroughly examined the socio-economic rationales underlying why communities continue to maintain these mutual aid practices. Therefore, this study addresses this gap in the literature.

Based on previous research, it can be seen that most studies on agrarian communities have focused on shifts in cultural values and the weakening of mutual aid practices due to modernization, while studies focusing on communities that have successfully maintained agricultural mutual aid practices remain limited. Furthermore, previous research has not thoroughly examined the reasons why communities continue to maintain a culture of mutual aid as a consistently beneficial choice. Another limitation lies in the lack of integration between the perspectives of social exchange theory and social capital theory in explaining the resilience of local agricultural culture. Therefore, there remains a research gap regarding how and why local farming communities maintain traditional *Gotong royong* practices as a rational and valuable choice amidst the increasingly modern changes in the agricultural work system.

This research is important because it examines the preservation of local agricultural knowledge and the social resilience of agrarian communities, which view these mutual labor practices as a means to reduce costs and strengthen social bonds within agrarian communities. Amid a trend toward increasingly individualistic and transactional social interactions, Dukuh Karanganyar, a hamlet in Karanganyar Village, Todanan Subdistrict, Blora Regency, commonly known as "*dukuhan*" by locals, has successfully maintained the *Jengkingan* tradition despite the dominance of wage-based systems in neighboring hamlets. The "*Jengkingan*" culture is a practice of voluntary, rotational collective labor in rice farming without expecting material compensation. This culture reflects the strength of trust, reciprocal norms, and social relationships within the community as a source of social capital that can be harnessed for shared goals (Colleman, 1998 in Syarif et al., 2025). Thus, this study seeks to examine why the community continues to maintain the *Jengkingan* culture, even though the wage system has been widely adopted in neighboring villages. This examination of the *Jengkingan* culture is relevant for understanding how traditional mutual aid practices persist as a rational choice in the modern era.

This study aims to examine the reasons behind the resilience of the *Jengkingan* culture among the farming community of Dukuh Karanganyar amid the growing dominance of the wage labor system, as well as to analyze the factors that support and hinder the sustainability of the *Jengkingan* culture as a traditional practice of mutual aid in the modern era. Social exchange theory and social capital theory are employed to analyze the reasons why this *Jengkingan* culture remains well preserved by the community. Thus, the research findings are expected to contribute to the development of literature on the preservation of local agricultural culture, particularly in understanding the mechanisms of cultural resilience amidst the socio-economic rationality of society, and to demonstrate that local wisdom can be integrated into modern life to create a sustainable and adaptive social system that keeps pace with the times, without losing the essence of its local values.

Method

The selection of the traditional practice of "*Jengkingan*" as the research theme was driven by the serious challenges arising from the dominance of the wage labor system, which is now widely implemented in the agricultural sector (Buana & Pratama, 2023). Changes in community work patterns have the potential to erode the value of mutual cooperation, which has long served as the foundation of social relationships among farmers (Rifaldi et al., 2025). The *Jengkingan* culture was chosen as the research focus to examine how agrarian communities adapt to preserve local cultural values, thereby remaining resilient amidst socioeconomic changes in society. Dukuh Karanganyar is the only hamlet in Todanan Subdistrict that consistently maintains the "*Jengkingan*" culture amidst a wage-based system dominating the surrounding villages; this is the specific rationale for selecting "*Jengkingan*" culture as a case study requiring investigation. This practice is important to study because it reflects a local cultural practice capable of surviving amidst the of modernization. This study is expected to make a positive contribution to the study of local wisdom and to serve as a foundation for strengthening the social values of rural communities.

This study employs a qualitative single-case study approach to conduct an in-depth exploration of the sustainability of local cultural wisdom of *Jengkingan* in

Karanganyar Village. The single-case study design was chosen due to the uniqueness of Karanganyar Hamlet in preserving its local agricultural culture, which requires an in-depth exploration that cannot be achieved through a multi-case approach. This case study involves an in-depth exploration of events or activities, limited to a specific time frame and utilizing various data collection procedures (Creswell, 2016). The unit of analysis in this study is the farming community of Karanganyar Hamlet, RT 07 RW 02, as a social unit that collectively maintains the *Jengkingan* cultural practice. Primary data consists of transcripts of semi-structured in-depth interviews and direct observations of *Jengkingan* practices in the field. Secondary data was obtained from the analysis of documents relevant to the research topic. Field research was conducted over 2 months, specifically during the planting season, involving 9 informants: 5 farmers actively engaged in *Jengkingan*, 1 RT 07 Chairperson, 1 Village Head, and 2 village elders. Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their involvement and knowledge of the *Jengkingan* cultural practice.

The research location was selected through purposive sampling in Dukuh Karanganyar, RT 07 RW 02, Karanganyar Village, Todanan Subdistrict, Blora Regency, due to the uniqueness of this hamlet in preserving agricultural traditions compared to neighboring hamlets. Research data were collected through participatory observation, including direct observation of *Jengkingan* practice and the social activities of the farming community. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using open-ended questions to explore motivations, held values, and challenges in preserving the *Jengkingan* culture. All interviews were audio-recorded for durations ranging from 7 to 18 minutes and transcribed with the informants' consent. Documentation was obtained through the analysis of journals, books, and village archives relevant to the research theme. Data analysis was conducted interactively, following the model proposed by Miles et al. (2014), which consists of a data condensation stage using tables to simplify and focus the data; a presentation of data in narrative form, tables, and direct quotes; and a conclusion-drawing/verification stage based on the thematic patterns identified. Data validity was tested using source triangulation and other techniques to ensure the reliability of the findings.

Results and Discussion

Results

Forms of *Jengkingan* Cultural Practices

The *Jengkingan* culture is a tradition of mutual aid in agricultural activities that has been practiced by farming communities since ancient times as a form of cultural heritage passed down from generation to generation. Based on research findings, this *Jengkingan* culture remains an active social practice within the agricultural system of the Dukuh Karanganyar community (RT 07 RW 02), even though the wage-labor system in neighboring villages appears to be increasingly dominant. The local community of defines *Jengkingan* as a reciprocal agricultural mutual aid system without monetary wages. *Jengkingan* activities are carried out in rotation from one plot of land to another using the same system as a form of reciprocity and the principle of taking turns. This practice serves as a social glue that strengthens harmony and togetherness among residents through direct interaction in the field.

Table 1

Participation in the Implementation of Jengkingan Culture

Activity	Interviews Findings	Observation Notes
Community Participation	Farmers say community participation remains very strong; the wage system is only used in emergencies. (Farmer, interview, January 2026). Farmers	Adult to elderly farmers are still actively engaged in *Jengkingan*. Involvement among the younger generation tends to be lower. (Observation notes, December 2025).
Social Interaction	Farmers believe that togetherness and cooperation are reflected in the practice of the *Jengkingan* (Farmer, interview, January 2026).	During the event, community members joked around, shared stories, and worked together. (Observation notes, December 2025)

Note. Data sources were drawn from interview results and observation notes.

Figure 1. *One of the stages in the practice of the Jengkingan culture*



Note. Documentation of a communal meal in the practice of the *Jengkingan* culture

The practice of *Jengkingan* does not involve paying wages in money. Participants receive only simple refreshments, such as food or snacks, provided by the landowner as a token of gratitude for their assistance. This practice involves neighbors and close relatives and is based on the principle of mutual assistance, carried out voluntarily without coercion or any underlying written rules. This work pattern demonstrates that labor relations within the *Jengkingan* culture are not transactional in nature, but rather based on the principles of mutual aid and reciprocity within the local community. In this context, the *Jengkingan* culture is understood as a form of non-material social exchange that farmers perceive as more beneficial in the long term. Moreover, social participation in rural communities can strengthen community resilience through networks of trust, solidarity, and mutual support (Landaburú-Mendoza et al., 2024).

Figure 2. *Stages Of Implementing The Jengkingan Culture*



Note: Data sources are derived from obeservation record and interviews.

This practice *of Jengkingan* is widely observed in agricultural activities, particularly during the rice and corn planting seasons, with a higher frequency during planting than during harvest. In practice, many people automatically participate in *Jengkingan* when they see that it is about to take place, even before receiving direct notification from the landowner (Winarsih, 43 years old). Additionally, information can be disseminated verbally or via text messages on social media. Field data also indicates the absence of rules or sanctions within this *Jengkingan* culture. Farmers' participation in *Jengkingan* is entirely based on individual awareness, voluntarism, and availability of time. Hafid et al. (2024) also emphasize in their research that community characteristics and conservation strategies play a crucial role in preserving local culture.

Figure 3
Jengkingan Culture Practice



Note. Documentation of the *Jengkingan* culture practice in the field

Field data indicate that the practice of *Jengkingan*, as a form of social strategy, is based on farmers' rational calculations to balance the costs and rewards involved. The costs incurred include the allocation of time and labor, as well as the provision of

simple refreshments. In return, farmers receive rewards such as cost savings, guaranteed labor assistance, and enhanced social standing within the community. Interview results confirm that amid rising living costs, the community views this mutual aid practice as more efficient (Winarsih, 43 years old). The research findings also reveal that the wage system has not been entirely abandoned; rather, it serves as a supplementary mechanism when there are insufficient participants or time constraints (Sri Waniti, 47 years old). This flexibility demonstrates the existence of social adaptation mechanisms without undermining local wisdom values.

The decision to continue practicing the culture of *Jengkingan* also reaffirms that the values of labor exchange and social solidarity remain a tangible part of daily life in rural communities. These findings indicate that this culture of *Jengkingan* is practiced in environments characterized by close-knit community ties, voluntary community participation, and a tradition of mutual aid (Sapoan, 67 years old). A sense of justice and equality is deeply rooted in the continuity of social interactions within the community (Ndaguba & van Zyl, 2023). Thus, this practice of *Gotong royong* not only serves as a mechanism for reducing production costs in agricultural activities but also as a form of social strategy that can strengthen solidarity among farming communities (Adam et al., 2025). This finding aligns with Lengi (2025) research, which explains that farmers operating under a *Gotong royong* system are more efficient in terms of time, labor, and capital compared to non-*Gotong royong* systems.

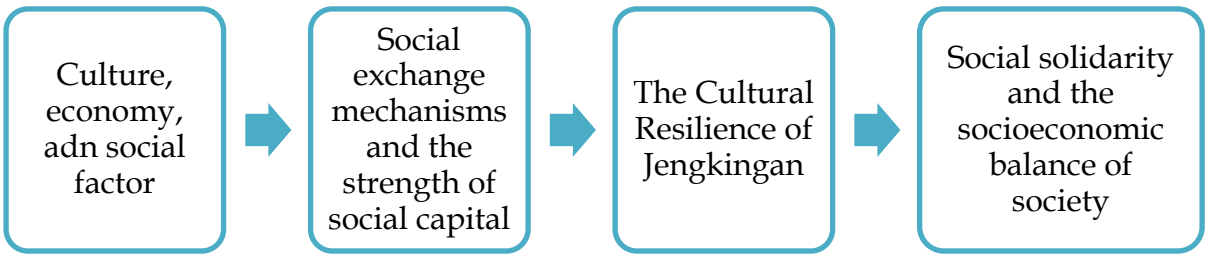
Factors Contributing to the Cultural Resilience of the *Jengkingan*

Based on interview and observation results, the continued existence of the *Jengkingan* culture to this day is attributed to several key factors. The primary supporting factor is the strong social bonds and kinship ties among farming communities. These social relationships foster mutual trust and cultivate an awareness of the importance of helping one another without coercion. The practice of *Jengkingan* is also viewed as a means of maintaining harmony, strengthening social bonds, and reinforcing the community's shared values-a legacy passed down through generations. Additionally, the relatively small size of the hamlets facilitates coordination and participation in the implementation of *Jengkingan*. From an economic perspective, *Jengkingan* is considered a rational choice for farming communities as it is believed to reduce agricultural production costs, particularly amid rising living expenses and high labor wages. Furthermore, social capital, comprising trust, voluntarism, reciprocity, and the value of mutual aid, serves as the primary foundation for the sustainability of this cultural practice.

On the other hand, the survival of the *Jengkingan* tradition faces challenges that act as barriers to the sustainability of this traditional cooperative culture. The primary barrier is the limited time farmers have due to other non-agricultural commitments, which often leads to reduced participation in *Jengkingan*. A shift in the younger generation's mindset, which tends to be more pragmatic and prefers working outside the agricultural sector, also poses a serious challenge. Another factor hindering the sustainability of the *Jengkingan* tradition is the lack of active involvement from community leaders, which means the preservation of this tradition relies entirely on local farmers' awareness. This lack of participation can lead to weakened social bonds and social capital within the community.

Chart 1

The Flow of Jengkingan Culture Sustainability



Note: the *Jengkingan* culture

The sustainability of the *Jengkingan* culture is influenced by factors such as traditional cultural practices, cost efficiency, and social relationships within the community that foster the formation of social exchange mechanisms based on cost- benefit calculations, supported by strong social capital. This mechanism allows *Jengkingan* cultural practices to persist amidst the development of a wage system, thereby strengthening social solidarity and the socioeconomic balance of agrarian communities.

The Implications of *Jengkingan* Cultural Resilience for Agrarian Communities

The resilience of the *Jengkingan* culture has tangible implications, including adaptation strategies to address modernization and the strengthening of social capital within the community. This practice demonstrates that unpaid cooperation can still be a rational choice because it balances cost savings with the strengthening of social capital. Based on social exchange theory, farmers in the community make calculations in which rewards, such as trust, recognition, and reciprocity, are considered more valuable (Blau, 1964 in Anam, 2025). Research by Kesonga Nsele et al. (2023) also indicates that collective work practices can serve as an adaptive strategy when facing resource constraints, transforming them into the strength of harmonious social relationships. Voluntary participation makes this *Jengkingan* culture an effective social mechanism for strengthening social solidarity. By making mutual aid a survival strategy, this culture not only saves this ancestral heritage from extinction but also creates a self-reliant, stable agricultural system capable of strengthening social bonds within the community amidst social change and technological advancement.

Table 2

Forms of Social Implications in the Practice of Jengkingan

***Jengkingan* Practices**	**Form of Implementation**	**Social implications**
Unpaid collective labor	Mutual aid during the planting season	**Cost savings and strengthening of social ties**
Voluntary participation	Presence without formal rules	**Stronger social capital**
Informal interactions	Chatting and joking while working	**Reducing social distance**
A rotation system	Helping other members' fields	**Stability of agricultural work**
Community solidarity	**Kinship-based work**	**Social resilience of the community**

Note: Every form of *Jengkingan* cultural practice contributes to strengthening social capital and the social resilience of farming communities.

The social implications of the *Jengkingan* cultural practice are evident in the quality of social interactions that develop during the event. Activities such as casual conversation, storytelling, joking, and other forms of togetherness that emerge during the event create a social space that strengthens bonds among agrarian communities. These informal interactions deepen emotional closeness, reduce social distance, and foster mutual trust-the cornerstone of rural community life. Thus, the social values reflected in the practice of the *Jengkingan* culture—such as mutual aid, togetherness, reciprocity, and growing trust-represent a social value system that can strengthen community cohesion, maintain social harmony, and serve as the foundation for the social resilience of farming communities amidst social changes in the modern era.

Discussion

The cultural practice of *Jengkingan* in Dukuh Karanganyar is still actively practiced by the community as a form of reciprocal agricultural cooperation that persists amid the prevalence of wage labor systems in the surrounding area. This practice is commonly carried out during the rice and corn planting seasons through a rotating work system among fields that involves neighbors and close relatives. Community participation takes place voluntarily without written rules. In practice, participants do not receive monetary wages but only food as a form of appreciation for the assistance provided. Field findings indicate that this culture can help reduce production costs while also serving as a space for social interaction that strengthens relationships through cooperative activities among residents. The resilience of this culture is rooted in the awareness of agrarian communities regarding the importance of maintaining social relationships and mutual assistance in the face of rising living costs (Prasetya & Ribawati, 2025; Tshotsho et al., 2023). Just as social cohesion plays a crucial role in maintaining the stability and prosperity of a community (Mountifield, 2025).

The resilience of the *Jengkingan* culture is rooted in the strength of social capital and the rationality of the farming community, which are supported by mutual trust and strong social bonds, without relying on formal structures or complex social diversity. The minimal role of community leaders indicates that the continuity of traditions is supported by collective consciousness and direct community participation, where the extent of trust and social connectivity has been shown to influence a community's resilience (Liu et al., 2022). Limited resources and increasing economic needs further position the *Jengkingan* culture as a precise adaptation strategy, reinforced by the intergenerational transmission of culture and the relatively small geographical scale of the hamlet. Therefore, this culture serves as a safeguard against social fragmentation (Prayogo et al., 2025), while also forming a foundation of solidarity to face shared challenges in community life (Hamiru et al., 2023). This aligns with the concept of cultural preservation, which can be achieved through self-protection from external influences (Spjeldnæs & Eriksen, 2025).

The continuity of this *Jengkingan* culture has a positive impact on social harmony in agrarian communities. This practice shares similarities with other traditions of mutual cooperation in emphasizing the values of togetherness, reciprocity, and strong social bonds (Dewi et al., 2022; Handoyo & Susilawati, 2021). This practice also helps instill character values relevant to daily life (Agusta et al., 2024). Based on the values of mutual aid and economic demands, it has been empirically proven to minimize conflicts and social inequalities among residents. On

the other hand, reliance on public awareness and shifts in the interests of the younger generation have the potential to reduce the intensity of these *Gotong royong* cultural practices (Salam, 2025). A further consequence of the vulnerability of this *Jengkingan* culture is the occurrence of social fragmentation within farming communities. Social concern in the form of voluntary assistance may also fade in favor of material gain alone (Gebru et al., 2021). Therefore, the *Jengkingan* culture can be understood as a form of culture-based social engineering that functions to maintain community cohesion through informal social exchange, thereby strengthening community resilience amidst social change.

Compared to various agricultural mutual aid practices in other regions that tend to shift toward wage-based systems, the *Jengkingan* culture in Dukuh Karanganyar demonstrates strong socio-cultural resilience (Ismail et al., 2023; Priyanto, 2025; Simanullang et al., 2024). The mutual aid practices in Bhera Village share similarities with the "*Jengkingan*" cultural practices, which help reduce production costs and strengthen social bonds among farmers amid modernization (Katarina et al., 2025). This similarity in patterns indicates that local agricultural wisdom plays a strategic role in maintaining social solidarity amidst the pressures of modernization (Sari et al., 2024). The resilience of the *Jengkingan* cultural practice in the modern era stems from the community's rational calculation to maximize benefits and minimize costs in their social interactions (Blau, 1964). Furthermore, this cultural resilience is also supported by a high level of trust, strong social networks, and the voluntary internalization of mutual aid norms without coercion, which aligns with the concept of social capital theory (Putram, 1992 in Field, 2016).

Given the strategic value of the *Jengkingan* culture in fostering social solidarity and sustaining a cooperative-based agricultural system, policy measures are needed to support its preservation. Concrete steps include the active involvement of village governments and community leaders in promoting the preservation of this culture. The government can facilitate consultation forums or regular meetings as venues for outreach, to reinforce cultural values and revitalize *Jengkingan* cultural practices. Future research could also focus on the younger generation as research subjects within this *Jengkingan* culture to examine their perspectives and analyze the potential for cultural resilience in the future. Additionally, documenting *Jengkingan* culture is necessary so that it can be easily understood by the general public and the younger generation. Moreover, social media posts serve as digital cultural objects that can be interacted with, interpreted, and recontextualized, thereby facilitating cultural regeneration (Coetzee, 2025). Expanding reach and public participation are also more effectively achieved through digital media (Panigrahi et al., 2025).

Conclusion

This study shows that the *Jengkingan* culture remains active amidst the dominance of the wage labor system among the farming community of Dukuh Karanganyar, particularly during the planting season. *Jengkingan* is carried out through a cooperative mechanism based on the exchange of labor without material compensation. Factors supporting the sustainability of the *Jengkingan* culture include strong social and kinship ties, the relatively small geographical size of the hamlet, and the economic and social considerations of the farming community. Additionally, factors hindering the continuity of *Jengkingan* include time constraints, declining participation and interest among the younger generation in agricultural

activities, and the limited formal role of community leaders in preserving the *Jengkingan* culture.

The main finding of this study is that the *Jengkingan* culture has managed to survive and remain relevant amidst the existence of a wage system, while maintaining local traditional values and the socio-economic balance of the agrarian community. This study provides a theoretical contribution to the development of research on local cultural resilience and agrarian cooperation practices, particularly through the integration of social exchange theory and social capital theory in explaining the sustainability of traditional mutual aid practices in the modern era. Practically, this can enhance social harmony within the community, thereby minimizing conflicts that could divide agrarian society. Through a qualitative case study approach, this research successfully revealed that the sustainability of these mutual aid practices depends on mindset, beliefs, norms, and strong social networks. The findings of this study support previous findings stating that the agricultural *Gotong royong* culture has proven to be efficient and strengthens the social bonds of agrarian communities.

Although this study has a positive impact on the sustainability of social bonds within the community, it has several limitations that future research should address. From a methodological perspective, the use of a single qualitative case study limits the transferability of findings, as the results cannot be generalized. Therefore, future research is advised to employ a mixed-methods approach by combining qualitative and quantitative data to yield more representative findings. Additionally, the study's subjects were predominantly adult farmers with small plots, leaving the perspectives of younger generations and large-scale farmers largely unexplored. Consequently, future research is advised to expand the study locations and involve the younger generation as primary subjects, thereby yielding a more in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the resilience of the *Jengkingan* cultural practice as a form of agricultural cooperation that persists in the modern era.

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