

THE ROLE OF BADUY WOMEN IN STRENGTHENING BADUY LOCAL FOOD AS AN INNOVATION FOR FOOD SECURITY IN THE BANTEN REGION

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ABSTRACT

The problem raised in this paper is the role of Baduy indigenous women in Strengthening Baduy Local Food as an innovation for National Food Security. The purpose of this paper is to strive so that the local ecological wisdom of the Baduy indigenous people can be combined with modern science and technology so that the results can be utilized in a sustainable Food Security development program based on National Food Security Innovation. The specific target to be achieved from this research is to examine the field of feminism and gender from the perspective of Baduy women in terms of their relationship to the development of Baduy Local Food Security Innovations. The methodology used is Juridical Normative and Sociological Normative. This research is descriptive analytical using Primary and Secondary Data Sources which are analyzed using qualitative methods, with data collection techniques from Library Research and Field Studies to Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy. Interviews and observations were conducted to obtain the necessary data. The data obtained through field research and literature study were analyzed to obtain clarity of the problems discussed. A brief summary of the results of this paper is that Baduy men and women carry out ngahuma activities and household activities together because the Baduy indigenous people have known and applied the theory of feminism and gender equality. Even in farming there are ceremonies whose implementation can only be done by Baduy women such as mipit, ngaseuk, ngalaksa, and nganyaran. In practice it cannot be done by men because it is directly related to Nyi Pohaci as a symbol of the high degree and honor of women in Baduy. Nyi Pohaci is associated with the symbol of making a living from growing rice in the huma and in the fields. Until now, the Baduy people have always maintained the Baduy pikukuh to store dry unhulled rice produced from ngahuma in Leuit as typical Baduy rice barns. The facts prove that the condition of rice is still good and still very suitable for consumption even though the unhulled rice stored in the leuit is stored for more than 50 years. Baduy people are very concerned about life in the future so that their food security can be maintained. If this is analyzed and researched in depth, it can produce a good system to be applied in maintaining Baduy Local Food Security as a reflection of National Food Security.

Keywords: *Baduy Women; Food Security; Local Food Innovation; Banten.*

INTRODUCTION

The spectrum of gender equality is diverse and expansive. It refers to the observable differences between males' and females' behaviour in certain activities. Both genders shall

mutually respect, care, and value one another equally. To this day, gender equality has not reached the expected level. Men are still perceived as the family's leaders, carrying almost all of the family responsibilities, placing the above women who solely perform house chores. In contrast, Women are frequently viewed as feeble, less persistent, incapable and so on. The higher social status of males allows them to exert control over women. Surprisingly, despite their remote geographical territories, the *Baduy* community adopted a distinct stance, as they applied gender equality in their daily routine. Such gender equality predates the discussion and approval of this concept in Indonesia.¹

The *Baduy*'s daily activities, such as farming, house chores, children's upbringing and other tasks, are genderless, which means it does not require only men or women to conduct them. It can be done either by men or women together. This reflects how *Baduy* embrace the concept of gender equality.²

Related to the above discussion, men's and women's equality also appear within religious rituals in the *Sunda Wiwitan* community since gender role are not overlapping each other. Men and women carry equal and balance roles in worshipping-related activities. In other words, neither men's nor women's roles are more or less significant in each worshipping part and practice. Both genders share common roles and are perceived as partners in order to achieve worship's objectives.³ Women are also important in terms of *Baduy*'s leadership hierarchy, known as *Jaro*, followed by *Baresan* and followed by *Girang Seurat* and *Puun*, as these leaders are obliged to have spouses or wives. Once the wives die, these leaders shall leave their positions. The *Baduy* is embracing the concept of *Ambu*, *Nyai Pohaci* and equality as men's power neutralizer. One could obviously witness the cooperation between men and women in each social role. *Baduy* women are not merely their husband's stabilisers in their leadership duties as they play a greater role. This role is related to the concept of equality, which exists and is preserved by the *Baduy* to keep their life in an adequate balance. In addition, in this balancing concept, women or wives are a mandatory condition for a man who is a political or social leader in order to perform well.⁴

Meanwhile, another local concept relates specifically to agricultural activities, *Nyi Pohaci* is particularly related to farming activities such as planting Paddy and harvesting *Ngahuma* on the *Baduy* territory. "Female" or *Ambu* figure is described as having certain positive characteristics, including protector, guarder and nurturer, in all stages of life, before birth, living and after death or heaven. In short, the balance concept is equally focused on both men and women. The ultimate goal is to foster a balanced, peaceful and harmonious among people and among people and other creatures. The philosophical foundation for this concept is called *Pikukuh*.⁵

The relationship between the *Nyi Pohaci* concept and food security is that it enables *Baduy* people to have consistent food and farming source despite their use of modest and traditional farming tools in comparison to other communities. *Bedog*, *cangkul*, *Kampak* are some of the farming implements with which the *Baduy* is familiar. Locally known as *Nyacar* activity, every fourth month the *Baduy* people clear up the land where they will plant their staples crops.

¹Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat *Baduy*", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

²Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat *Baduy*", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

³Zaenal Muttaqien, "Peran Perempuan dalam Tradisi *Sunda Wiwitan*", dalam *Khazanah Theologia*, Vol. 1 No. 1: 23-39.

⁴Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat *Baduy*", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

⁵Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat *Baduy*", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

Huma tangtu refers to the farming land owned by the Baduy Dalam community, also known as Huma Tula and Huma Jaro. Meanwhile, *Huma penamping* is the farming land owned by the *Baduy Luar* community, or Baduy, who lives outside the traditional territory. The uniqueness of the Baduy people is that they used to store a certain amount of rice in *Leuit* to be used in the dry season when they were unable to plant paddy. This community is also well known for its distinct trade system - they forbid bargaining as they hold the principle of humbleness and honesty.⁶ It can be concluded that the women of Baduy have a significant role in multiple aspects of the community's life, such as religion, farming, worship and daily activities. Their role was also important in local food security as they carried out similar farming and gardening tasks as men. The Baduy is completely aware of the importance of food security, thus maintaining the availability of food stocks for the future. Hence, they will consume one-third of their harvest, one-third to be traded, and one-third to be stored in *Leud* to secure food supplies.

METHOD

This research applies juridical-normative and normative-sociological legal research methods. The outcome is presented descriptive-analytically using both primary and secondary data. A descriptive method in this context refers to the description of the situation, condition, circumstance and reality where relevant issues are analysed to find the most appropriate solutions. The main data sources of this research are works of literature (*Library Research*). The juridical-normative method was implemented in the discussion of a number of relevant regulations. It is known that legal normative-sociological research constructed the law as existing to be analysed in the context of society's behaviour. As a sociological, legal research, this research observes customary laws existing within the Baduy community from various angles; particular observation is taken over the firm culture characters, which provide a holistic description of the community.⁷ This qualitative data collection and analysis method sought to provide an adequate and accurate illustration of the legal character of the Baduy community⁸ Interviews and observations were conducted as means of data collection.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A. The Role of Baduy Indigenous Women in Strengthening Local Food

The territory of Baduy community in Lebak Banten is consist of several villages namely Gajebo, Cikeusik, Cibeo dan Cikertawana. Mainly, Baduy people live in the Kanekes village which is located in Kendeng mountain.⁹ The approximate width of this area is 5.1.1,85 Ha which includes the Kanekes village, Leuwidamar district, Lebak regency of the Banten province.¹⁰ Geographically, Baduy's territory is located in the coordinate of 6°27'27" - 6°30'0" North latitude and 108°3'9" - 106°4'55" East longitude.¹¹ *Urang Baduy* (Baduy people) is preferred

⁶Septiana Dwiputri Maharani, "Perempuan Dalam Kearifan Lokal Suku Baduy", dalam *Jurnal Filsafat*, Vol.19, Nomor 3, Desember 2009.

⁷Mukti Fajar dan Yulianto Achmad, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum Normatif dan Empiris*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2010, hal. 48.

⁸Soerjono Soekanto, *Metodologi Research*, Andi Offset, Yogyakarta, 1998, hal. 3.

⁹Nazia Maulia Amini. "Interaksi Sosial Wanita Pekerja Baduy", dalam *Jurnal Pendidikan Lingkungan dan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan*, Volume XIX, Nomor 1, Maret 2018. Diakses pada 23 April 2021, pukul 10:44 WIB. Hal. 27. <http://journal.unj.ac.id/unj/index.php/plpb/article/view/6318>.

¹⁰Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat Baduy", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

¹¹Johan Iskandar, *Ekologi Perladangan di Indonesia: Studi Kasus dari Daerah Baduy* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1992), Hal. 21. Lihat juga R. Cecep Eka Permana, *Mitra Seajar Pria dan Wanita dari Inti Jagat: Sebuah Kajian*

to refer to as *urang Kanekes* or *urang Rawayan*.¹² Besides, outsiders often named certain natural properties over the Baduy, such as a mountain existing in Baduy's territory called the Baduy's mountain as well as a river named Baduy's River.¹³

Even though men and women share many roles together in the Baduy community, there are particular tasks only that can only be conducted by women. Including rice planting-related ceremonies. Another uniqueness of this community is that they expect the first child in the family to be a girl so that she can take care of her younger siblings. In terms of paddy planting, several rituals are only allowed to conduct by women, not men. Nevertheless, men's roles are significant in the social and religious field. Men's role in terms of leadership in the family, group, village and community are irreplaceable. In addition, only men can lead ceremonies such as celebrations, initiations, weddings, funerals, paddy plantations, paddy harvests and ancestor worshipping. One of Baduy's well-known says related to paddy's farming is "*hirup turun tinu rahayu, hurip lalarn pohaci*" meaning that "life comes from God, life comes from *Pohaci*". For the Baduy, farming is one of worshipping's forms; therefore, the associated activities are considered sacred.¹⁴

It can be said that farming or *Ngahuma* is Baduy's main life support beside trading.¹⁵ In addition the Sunda Wiwitan religion obliged its believer to do farming.¹⁶ It is forbidden for the Baduy to plant "modern" paddy seeds, synthetic fertiliser and non-organic pesticides; they are also forbidden to sell rice produced from their farming land.¹⁷ Besides, it is allowed to breed animals like cows, buffaloes and sheep for those who are unwilling to do plant farming.¹⁸

In term

B. Local food innovation of the *Baduy* as a Karuhun ancient tradition

The *Baduy* people choose to live in a traditional way and refuse modernisation. This choice is in accordance with their belief known as *Sunda Wiwitan*. Despite this belief, they maintain a good relationships and communication with modern communities around them. To facilitate the *Baduy's* traditional life with modern life around them, the *Baduy* created an institutional structure that combined their traditional structure with the national government's structure.¹⁹

One of the *Puun* stated that 'the misleading modernisation will only lead us to laziness and less grateful for God's gift. We may ignore the earth and its wealth as we claim ourselves to be modern and superior'.²⁰ Cultures functioned as ways of life that are learnt and practised and therefore, community members shall follow its culture, including the *Baduy*.²¹ Indeed, the

Antropologis (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Kemasyarakatan dan Budaya Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia, 1998), Hal. 10.

¹²Danasasmita dan Anis Djatisunda, *Masyarakat Kanekes* (Bandung: Bappeda D.T. I Jabar, 1983). Hal. 12. Lihat juga Danasasmita dan Anis Djatisunda, *Kehidupan Masyarakat Kanekes* (Bandung: Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Sundaologi Dirjen Kebudayaan Depdikbud, 1986). Lihat juga Garna, *Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan Baduy I* (Bandung: Jurusan Antropologi Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 1974).

¹³Edi S. Ekadjati, *Kebudayaan Sunda: Suatu Pendekatan Sejarah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2009), Cet. 3.

¹⁴Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat Baduy", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

¹⁵Ichwandi, I., & Shinohara, T. (2007). "Indigenous Practices for use of and managing tropical natural resources: A Case study on Baduy Community in Banten, Indonesia", dalam *Tropics*, Volume 16 No. 2, Hal. 87-102.

¹⁶Suparmini, Setyawati, S., & Sumunar, D. R. S. 2013. "Pelestarian Lingkungan Masyarakat Baduy Berbasis Kearifan Lokal" dalam *Jurnal Penelitian Humaniora*, Volume 18, No. 1. Hal. 08-22.

¹⁷Jamaludin, (2012). "Makna Simbolik Huma (Ladang) di Masyarakat Baduy" dalam *Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora* 11 (1) : 1-91.

¹⁸Iskandar, J., and Iskandar, B.S., "Various Plants of Traditional Rituals: Ethnobotanical Research Among the Baduy Community" dalam *Biosaintifika*, Volume 9, No. 1 (2017) Hal. 114-125.

¹⁹Syani, Abdul. *Sosiologi dan Perubahan Masyarakat*. Bandar Lampung: PT Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 1995.

²⁰Septiana Dwiputri Maharani, "Perempuan dalam Kearifan Lokal Suku Baduy", dalam *Jurnal Filsafat*, Volume 19, Nomor 3, Desember 2009, Hal. 209. Diakses pada 23 April 2019, pukul 10:44 WIB. <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/wisdom/article/view/3435/9400>.

²¹Muhamad Muslih, Eki Furqon "The Effectiveness Of Government Regulation Concerning Marriage Record-ing For Baduy Banten Believers", *Nurani Hukum : Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 4 No. 1, (Juni, 2021)", hlm. 65-76.

Baduy refused modernisation in various aspects yet managed to solve problems, defend their territory and secure food with such wisdom.

Leuit is a local Baduy rice storage. According to Ayah Mursyid, there are two kinds of *Leuit*: *leuit Lenggang* of Baduy Dalam community and *Leuit Gugudangan* of Baduy Luar community. The difference is that *Leuit Lenggang* made of *Gelebeg* (woods that stacks in a particular way to prevent mice entering the *Leuit*). The size of *Leuit* could be 7 spans or 5 spans. *Leuit* should be made once someone gets married and lives separately from their parent. Someone may make his own *Leuit* or inherit it from his parent. *Leuit* is an important possession of a married couple, even more, important than a house. Jaro Alim emphasises that a marriage could have a *Leuit* to prevent their family from food shortage. Having *Leuit* is not mandatory; only the wealthier members of the community are obliged to do so. In other words, it becomes mandatory when someone has economically capable. Making *Leuit* has become a habit for many generations. As someone gets married, he will build a *Leuit* where he will store his harvest. This habit's preservation is laid on the Baduy's legal awareness and obedience toward their ancestors' instructions. In addition, Ayah Mursyid explains that there are 2 kinds of Paddy mast used to prepare new seeds: *Pamelakan* and *Pamipitan*. The paddy stem shall always be an odd number, either 5, 7, or 9, depending on the farmer's need.

Furthermore, the stems must be pulled alongside with their roots, even with the soil attached to them. This method differentiates the Baduy's from other farming methods that cut paddy stems. *Pamelakan* mast refers to the last harvested stems, which later will be used as seeds. In contrast, *Pamipitan* mast refers to the first harvested stems. These masts are stored in the *Leuit* and are tied together with other plants, such as *Kukuyaan* and *Mara Pepek*, known to have pest removal efficacy. Prior to the mast storing, a particular ritual called *salametan ngadiukeun indung* shall be conducted, aimed to find the most proper time. Time calculation is conducted by *Puun* or *Kokolot*, who is knowledgeable about *kolenjer Baduy* or the Baduy calendar. According to the Baduy culture, the paddy storing ceremony started with delivering the stems to the *Leuit* by women wearing traditional clothes consisting of *Kain Samping* (similar to skirt) and *Karembong* (shawl), leaving their upper bodies uncovered.

Meanwhile, the men, who could be the *Leuit*'s owner or the community's elderly, should carry the paddy entering the *Leuit* under a ceremony called *ngadiukeun indung*. Besides particular rituals, there are certain mantras to be recited called *Ngadoa* within the ceremony that the Baduy people only know. The *ngadiukeun indung* ceremony continued with *Salametan*, a prayer recital and supper (*bacakan*) conducted in a location close to the *Leuit*. While having the supper, the community's elderly thought about how to conduct traditional farming and local rules related to the *Leuit* to the younger generations.²² Once the paddies enter the *Leuit*, they cannot be removed for daily use. They can be taken out for particular usages such as traditional ceremonies, celebrations, either weddings or circumcisions or *Seba Baduy*. As the crops are harvested, they will be divided into two parts, to be stored in the *Leuit* and to be used in *Seba Baduy* ceremonies – known as crops handover to the Ibu Gede ceremony. *Seba Baduy* of 2017 was conducted on 28-29 April in the Governor's office's hall.

Crops that will be consumed daily are stored in the house or farming hut. There are certain mantras and procedures applied to remove paddies from the *Leuit*. Only the men are allowed to take paddies from the *Leuit*, wearing only lower body parts cover. While the women in charge carry paddies to the smasher. This ceremony, known as *Nutu*, which is conducted on selected days, is forbidden to be done on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Baduy believe Paddies would not be damaged once they are stored in the *Leuit* despite the colour changing and threats by

²²Rena Yulia, Aliyih Prakarsa, Ahmad Fauzi, *Leuit Baduy: Sebuah Ketahanan Pangan dalam Hukum Adat Baduy*, dalam *Mimbar*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2018 (265-273).

mice and pests. It is also believed that disobedience to local law regarding *Leuit* making and paddy storing would impact the crops' sustainability. Similarly, in terms of planting the crops, obedience to local law is believed to impact the crop's livability and the community's food security. The Baduy claim that their *Kolenjer* (calendar) could predict nature's cycle, including animals' and pests' live cycles.²³

Therefore, the Baduy customary law determines the most appropriate timing to plant, harvest and store paddies in the *Leuit*, in order to well-preserve the crops. This method has been applied and empirically proven for hundreds of years. It can be said that storing crops in the *Leuit* helps the Baduy to maintain their food stocks, thus a cultural aspect that needs to pass down to younger children in order to preserve their food security. Interestingly, paddies that store in the *Leuit* are also heritable for the children as they stay consumable for many years. The Baduy claims that paddies' resistance is determined by the process and ritual, such as how they are tied and dried, which is held before they are stored in the *Leuit*. Bringing the harvested paddies directly to the *Leuit* is more important than bringing them home. Before the crops enter the *Leuit*, processes such as mantra recital and spreading *Cangkudu* leaves and holly water to the entire crops must be done. Many other rituals are involved in this tradition.²⁴

The making of *Leuit* is a significant element of culture that has been regulated by the elderly. Materials selection, such as appropriate woods to be used as its cantilever, appropriate dried plant fibre for roofing and building structure that allow pests prevention is part of the process in the *Leuit* making that have been developed since hundreds of years. The location of *Leuit* is also an aspect that has been carefully consider by the *Baduy* ancestor. This building must be erected outside the residential area, at least 100 meters from the village. The aim is to keep food stock safe in an incident like fire. Most likely this strategy has not applied in some modern communities.

The Baduy community has developed their simple way of life for centuries. The basic notion is to live harmoniously with other people and nature. Their main livelihoods are mainly farming and gardening, which harvests are partly stored in the *Leuit*. The existing farming and storing method managed to secure local food sovereignty. In addition, their contribution to natural preservation can also be enjoyed by non-*Baduy* communities. Hence studying local wisdom can assist the attempt to address national food security issues. Baduy's local wisdom largely lies in a harmonious relationship with nature which they believe is the key to life's sustainability. The obedience of the community members to their local law indicates their high legal awareness. This wisdom is transmitted among generations through routine meetings between the local leaders (*Puun*) and the community member. Within the meeting, several local rules are described orally as *Baduy* is unfamiliar with the written law. In other words, Baduy's customary laws are transmitted in person and orally.

The Baduy is unfamiliar with formal education; the only education system applied is direct learning from local customs. Boys will learn from their fathers, and girls will learn from their mothers. Customary laws that contain local wisdom, like the Baduy's shall be integrated into the national legal system instead of being inferior to Western laws. As noted by Artidjo Alkotsar that we are currently trapped in a discriminative perspective due to the exclusion of traditional valued and customary laws in the national legal formulation.²⁵

²³Rena Yulia, Aliyth Prakarsa, Ahmad Fauzi, *Leuit Baduy: Sebuah Ketahanan Pangan dalam Hukum Adat Baduy*, dalam *Mimbar*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2018 (265-273).

²⁴Rena Yulia, Aliyth Prakarsa, Ahmad Fauzi, *Leuit Baduy: Sebuah Ketahanan Pangan dalam Hukum Adat Baduy*, dalam *Mimbar*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2018 (265-273).

²⁵Artidjo Alkotsar (1998). *Keadaan Hukum Adat Masyarakat Peralihan Agraris-Industri dalam Hukum Adat dan Modernisasi Hukum*, Fakultas Hukum UII, Cetakan I, September 1998, Yogyakarta.

C. The Baduy's system as a food security innovation in the province of Banten

Food security can be translated into a condition where everyone can access adequate food, thus enabling a healthy life.²⁶ Law Number 7 of 1996 concerning food stated that food security refers to the condition of food fulfilment for every household where there is an availability of adequate and good food in terms of quality and quantity, safe, evenly distributed and affordable.²⁷ Food security is oriented toward nutrition fulfilment and aimed at a healthy and productive life. It prioritises food accessibility for families and individuals in terms of physical, economic, and social, which means the food shall be available and accessible at any time.²⁸

The people of Banten and West Java have a long history of farming²⁹ using local knowledge and belief.³⁰ One of the ancient cultures is paddy stored in the *Leuit*. Currently, many of these values have been replaced with market economic interests.³¹

As a matter of fact, in modern society, traditional food management is difficult to find and has almost vanished. In contrast, the Baduy of Banten still preserves their ancient traditions, especially the food storing method. Such tradition is a potential research object that can be combined with Western scientific knowledge to be applied in the Indonesian national program of public empowerment based on sustainable food security.³²

The Baduy is an agriculture-based community. Thus, their main activity is farming. Daily, they mostly consume plants. Animals are not supposed to be consumed daily except chicken and salted fish, they even forbid consuming sheep, cows and buffalos.³³

Despite the dominant modern system applied in many aspects in West Java and Banten province, the *Baduy* is consistently preserving their tradition of paddy storing the *Leuit*. It is known that paddies that are stored in the *Leuit* could last for more than 50 years and are still consumable.³⁴ Ironically, not many modern discoveries allow long-term paddy preservation.³⁵

Sundanese language plays a great role in the preservation of Baduy's traditions. As this language is used to transmit local knowledge from parents to their children orally.³⁶ One of the Baduy's proverb says that "*Tanah teu meunang digaru, diwuluku (dibajak), disawah, dikipar, teu meunang ditincak munding, teu meunang ditincak kambing. Lamun dilakukeun, engkena bakal aya cilaka, seperti longsor cai, gempa bumi, gelap gede, kena angin topan, penyakit keras ka manusa, keur usum halodo nempel ka halodo, keur usum hujan nempel ka hujan, nempel ka panyakitna*". Meaning that soils should not hijacked and trodden by sheep. As if this happens, disasters like landslide, flood, hurricane or diseases will emerge.

²⁶Heri Suharyanto, Ketahanan Pangan, *Jurnal Sosial Humaniora*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November 2011, hal 186-187. Diakses pada tanggal 13 Maret 2019.

²⁷Undang-Undang Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 1996 tentang Pangan. Kantor Menteri Negara Pangan RI.

²⁸Palmawati Tahir, Muhamad Muslih, dan Rani Sri Agustina, "MUI Halal Certification On Milkfish Satay As An Effort To Support National Food Security", dalam *Legal Standing Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 4, No.1, Maret 2020 (233-246), Hal. 237. DOI : [10.24269/lj.v4i1.2670](https://doi.org/10.24269/lj.v4i1.2670) <http://journal.umpo.ac.id/index.php/LS/article/view/2670>

²⁹Adimihardja, K. "The Traditional Agricultural Rituals and Practices of the Kasepuhan Community of West Java" dalam *Indo Pacific Prehistory Assn*, Bulletin 10 (1991) Hal. 226-234..

³⁰Iskandar, J., & Iskandar, B. S. (2011). *Agroekosistem Orang Sunda*. Bandung: Buku Kiblat Utama Press.

³¹Iskandar, J., and Iskandar, B. S., "Various Plants of Traditional Rituals: Ethnobotanical Research Among the Baduy Community" dalam *Biosaintifika*, Volume 9, No. 1 (2017) Hal. 114-125.

³²Johan Iskandar dan Budiawati Supangkat Iskandar, "Kearifan Ekologi Orang Baduy dalam Konservasi Padi dengan Sistem Leuit, dalam *Jurnal Biodjati*, Volume 2, No. 1, 2017, 38-51. <http://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/biodjati>

³³Baiq Setiani, "Fungsi dan Peran Wanita Dalam Masyarakat Baduy", dalam *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Agustus 2006, 153-167.

³⁴Toledo, V. M. (2000). Ethnoecology: A conceptual framework for the study of indigenous knowledge on nature. Plenary lecture, Seventh International Congress of Ethnobiology, Athens, Ga, 22-27 October 2000.

³⁵Carlson, T. J. S., & Maffi, L. (2004). Introduction: Ethnobotany and Conservation of Biocultural Diversity. In Carlson, T.J.S, and Maffi, L. (eds), *Ethnobotany and Conservation of Biocultural Diversity*. New York: The New York Botanical Garden, New York, pp.1-6.

³⁶Berkes, F. 2008. New York: *Sacred Ecology*. Routledge..

The awareness of potential emerging natural sanctions leads to the Baduy's obedience to their customary laws. There is no formal criminal sanction for their disobedience. However, the fear of nature's sanctions ensures the Baduy's commitment to their local laws.

The existence of *Leuit* is regulated under a certain customary law. The law determines the building type, size and even its distance from the owner's house. Storing paddy in a *Leuit* must follow particular ritual named *salametan ngadiukeun indung*. Removing paddy from *Leuit* must also be done with specific procedures. Timing for such rituals and procedures determine by *Kolenjar* or the Baduy's calendar. Each step shall be conducted precisely as it will determine the quality of the crops that are being stored in the *Leuit*. In other words, disobedience to customary law will negatively affect the crops. Therefore, the local law regarding law contributes to the attempt at food security, independence, availability and accessibility.

This food security model is potentially implementable in modern security. For example, by making storehouses in each village or agricultural area. To strengthen the legal basis, the government should establish a particular local law. The objective of this law is to support food security attempts.³⁷

In addition, the government has established food security strategies in relevant laws. These laws serve as legal frameworks for cross-cutting national institutions to carry out their duties related to national food security. The food security bureau of the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture, for instance, requires a relevant legal basis that describes its role in achieving national targets and carrying out its duty, function, and authority related to food security both at the national and regional levels.³⁸

CONCLUSION

Local wisdom, such as the Baduy's obligation to have a *Leuit* can be a means of food security. This centuries-old local custom was primarily intended to prevent starvation in the community, ensuring the younger generation of Baduy will not experience food shortages. It is known that the crops that are stored in a *Leuit* could last for decades. In the end, this local wisdom may support food security, independence and accessibility.

Women perform a significant role in maintaining the Baduy's food security. Their particular role in agricultural-related rituals including *Mipit*, *Ngaseuk*, *Ngalaksa* and *Nganyaran*, which specifically involve only female members of the community because men are forbidden to do so due to the symbol of *Nyi Pohaci* or the ultimate supremacy, refers to female figures of the Baduy. Needless to say, miss management is the key issue for the current Indonesian food instability. This article aimed to enrich existing literature in the field of food security as well as to suggest policy formulation to promote food security.

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³⁷Rena Yulia, Aliyih Prakarsa, Ahmad Fauzi, *Leuit Baduy: Sebuah Ketahanan Pangan dalam Hukum Adat Baduy*, dalam *Mimbar*, Volume 34, No. 2, 2018 (265-273).

³⁸Muhamad Muslih, *Ketahanan Pangan dan Halal Food dalam Hukum Islam*, Tangerang: CV Media Edukasi Indonesia, Cet. 1, Maret 2020, hal. 39.

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