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"I want to go again and again": Spiritual Emotions And Self-Improvement Through Pilgrimage

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand what it is that has made and still makes millions of Muslims taking great physical and financial hardship to go on the Muslim pilgrimage. It seems that the reason why Muslims yearn to visit Mecca has to be understood by looking at what emotions, and especially spiritual emotions, are triggered through this visit or even through the imagination of visiting the holy land. This yearning cannot just be understood based on wanting to fulfill one of the five pillars of Islam. Religious or spiritual travel like the journey to the holy land of Islam needs to be understood within the context of an individual's emotional landscape, spiritual development and urge for spiritual self-improvement to become a better person and Muslim. This article used qualitative method, particularly semi-structured interviews with the informants. The results showed that pilgrimage to the Muslim holy land in Mecca can be a changing experience for the pilgrim undertaking the journey.

Keywords: Hajj; Islam; Muslim Women; Pilgrimage; Spiritual Emotions; Umrah;

Introduction

Visiting the Muslim holy land, the house of God and the mosque of the Holy Prophet Muhammad has been the destination and dream of millions of Muslims from all around the world. In Islam, it is obligatory upon every Muslim

who has the financial means to go on the Muslim pilgrimage, hajj, once in his lifetime. However, it is not only about the obligation to fulfill God's command that is behind this enormous movement of people but the deep emotional connection to a place that is viewed to be the center of the Muslim world

and the center of a person's worship. It is towards Mecca where Muslims turn in their five daily obligatory ritual prayers. Pilgrims peregrinate toward what they perceive as their sociocultural center (Cohen 1992). That is also true for the pilgrimage to Mecca in present-day Saudi Arabia. Muslims have gone through arduous journeys to reach the place of their spiritual dreams; crossed deserts and oceans, war-torn lands and arbitrarily fixed national boundaries (Tagliacozzo 2013). They have saved up the money for ten, twenty, thirty years, every day a little amount to come closer to their lifetime dream. For many, it is a journey they intend to do only once in their lives. A journey, they do not know whether they will ever return from. Many Muslims reported carrying the wish in their hearts to die in the holy land. In their journey to the holy Kaaba, they follow the established way passed down by the Prophet Muhammad. He, in turn, followed what has been revealed to him about the pilgrimage of the father of Islam, Christianity and Judaism, the Prophet Abraham, called Ibrahim in the Islamic tradition.

Since Islam reached the Indonesian archipelago from the 8th century onward, Indonesian Muslims, like their brothers and sisters elsewhere, have also strived to reach the holy land and ritual center of Islam. Indonesia is the most populous Islamic country in the world. Around 200 Million people who identify themselves as Muslims live in this biggest Southeast Asian country and the world's largest archipelago. However, their geographical location, which is often understood to be in the periphery of the Muslim world, and the distance from the so-called Muslim heartland used to make their journey, at least in the past, an even greater challenge compared to Muslims from other parts of the world.

Following, this article gives a short introduction to pilgrimages and especially the Muslim pilgrimage. I will focus on

spiritual emotions and especially the emotion of *khushu* (commonly referred to as focus of mind and heart during prayer). I will show that learning how to feel spiritual emotions is desirable both in terms of knowledge acquisition as well as for the collection of divine reward. Furthermore, to learn spiritual emotions also impacts on a person's worldly life. The second part of this article will turn to spiritual self-improvement with a concrete example from Leila's narrative, a Muslim woman. Her narrative illustrates how the urge to improve a person's spirituality through pilgrimage leads to changes in her life both in terms of spiritual and more worldly elements. This quest for piety (Nolan & Nolan 1989), I argue, is also partly calculative in nature. Calculative reason applied by the pilgrims to gain divine reward and to improve their worldly lives cannot be overlooked. They form an essential intention and a driving force to undertake the Muslim pilgrimage.

This study used qualitative research methods, particularly semi-structured interviews with Indonesian Muslim women living in Germany. My informants, Leila and Maryam, have told me extensively about their experiences and spiritual emotions during their hajj and umrah¹. This article focuses on Indonesian women because, coming from a Southeast Asian studies background, my primary research focus is Islam in Indonesia². This article is

¹ Besides the accounts of Leila and Maryam presented here, my findings and discussion in this article are also influenced by personal talks with Muslim friends who returned from hajj or umrah. Since my conversion to Islam in 2010, I have been listening to dozens of Muslim friends who related their experiences and feelings during hajj or umrah.

² I chose to focus on Indonesian women because I feel it easy to talk to them about this topic and especially their emotions. I have been doing research in Indonesia for a total of almost two years and have lived in Indonesia for a total of around four years. I

discussing research in progress. By publishing this article at a rather early stage, I aim to generate feedback on the concepts and approaches introduced here.

Findings and Discussion

1. Pilgrimages

More and more people from different religions go on different kinds of pilgrimages. Pilgrimage is experiencing resurgence around the world (Digance 2003, 2006). The Muslim pilgrimage, hajj, or the small Muslim pilgrimage, umrah, to Mecca, is no exception. Pilgrimages have powerful political, economical, social, and cultural implications, and can even affect global trade and health (Collins-Kreiner 2018). For some countries and cities, it has been a primary economic activity (Barber 1993; Vukonić 1996, 2002), including the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. However, as I will show in this article, pilgrimages, and in my case the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, also has an immense emotional implication. Emotions experienced during pilgrimage can trigger spiritual transformations in the pilgrims. And these, in turn, can affect the surroundings and society of the individual experiencing these emotions.

Muslim doctrine enjoins and encourages certain forms of travel like the hajj, *hijra* (leaving a place where the practice of Islam is restricted for a place where no such restrictions exist), *ziarah* (visiting graves of Muslim saints or scholars), or *rihla*

(traveling for educational purposes) (Eickelman & Piscatori 1990; Tagliacozzo 2013). However, I argue, that religious or spiritual travel like the journey to the holy land of Islam needs to be understood within the context of an individual's emotional landscape, spiritual development and urge for spiritual self-improvement to become a better person and Muslim. It seems that individual's spiritual emotions, triggered through personal experiences while in the holy land, move a person to improve her relationship with the divine as well as her interpersonal relationships. These improvements can eventually make her a more active and productive member of society due to her heightened spiritual awareness and commitment. The knowledge gained through direct spiritual experiences can lead to improving a person's religious practices, deeds and actions. It seems that this kind of knowledge is obtained easier while on hajj or umrah compared to the theoretical knowledge gained by reading books or attending religious lectures.

Collins-Kreiner (2018) argues that pilgrimage must be defined holistically, encompassing both traditional religious pilgrimage and modern secular journeys³. However, this article focuses on a traditional religious pilgrimage and the emotions that are inherent in it. Because, while I agree with Collins-Kreiner that traditional religious pilgrimages are becoming more and more entwined with modern secular journeys, I also observed that the urge for traditional religious pilgrimage *only* is also present. Among Muslims, there exists an urge to focus on the religious aspects only. However, the features of modern secular journeys such as buying gifts and the like, are present as well.

speak fluently Indonesian and have come to know the people, their way of thinking and how to best approach an interview. Interviews for this article were conducted in Indonesian. Furthermore, I decided to focus on women because after doing research with mainly male informants for my Ph.D. which came with several challenges, I think that as a female Muslim researcher, talking about spiritual emotions would not be quite as easy with male informants as it would be with female informants.

³ Here secular journeys refer to journeys that are not undertaken for a specific religious or spiritual purpose.

By focusing on the individual's spiritual emotions and development experienced during pilgrimage, I aim to speak to the study of pilgrimage tourism that has focused more attention on individuals and his or her personal experience since the 1990s (Smith 1989, 1992; Cohen 1992; Collins-Kreiner & Gatrell 2006; Poria, Butler & Airey 2003, 2004). Furthermore, current research on pilgrimage emphasizes the aspect of subjectivity (Collins-Kreiner 2018).

2. Talking About Spiritual Emotions

Spiritual emotions, experiences, and spiritual growth are mostly discussed in research about Christianity and especially Pentecostalism (e.g. Gallagher & Newton 2009) and the veneration and experience of the so-called holy spirit. Emotions connected to Sufi rituals are also discussed in contemporary literature (e.g. Parveen 2014; Wolf 2000; Powers 2004; Malamud 1996). In addition, spirituality is also discussed when it comes to relating religion, religious practices, belief or spirituality to health or psychological well-being (e.g. Sharp 2010; Fredrickson 2002; Greenfield et. al. 2009; Ahmad et. al. 2011). However, the way I would like to talk about spiritual emotions takes a different approach. I propose to distinguish between religious emotions (Riis & Woodhead 2010) that are usually expected of a practitioner of religion by the respective religious doctrine, and spiritual emotions that are individually felt and experienced by a person through devotional practice, spiritual experiences or religious travel and pilgrimage.

In their book *The Sociology of Religious Emotion* (2010), Riis and Woodhead argue that scriptural and theological traditions include religious emotions among their central objectives of religious life. This means that to feel religious or spiritual emotions belongs to a believers religious reality. And "neither the Bible nor the Qur'an - nor the Hebrew scriptures - draws

the typically modern contrast between reason and emotion, or subordinates the latter to the former" (Riis & Woodhead 2010: 3). Concerning Islam, they speak of the Qur'an as an "emotionally self-aware and self-reflective source (that) repeatedly insists on the importance of feeling, and contains intra-textual prompts on the emotions that it is intended to inspire" (ibid: 2). 'Believers', it says, 'are those who, when God is mentioned, feel a tremor in their hearts, and when they hear His signs rehearsed, find their faith strengthened, and put (all) their trust in their Lord' (see Qur'an 8: 2) (ibid).

However, I prefer to speak of spiritual emotions. I take my use of 'spiritual' from the emic perspective⁴ in Islamic teachings about the human spirit or soul called *ruh* in Arabic. In the Islamic science of *tasawwuf*, which is usually dubbed Islamic spirituality, it is taught that it is the *ruh* and especially its spiritual heart, the *qalb*, that is the seat of a person's emotions. Because *ruh*, spirit, refers to the inside of a person's being, it is more adequate to speak of spiritual emotions instead of religious emotions. Religious emotions, on the other hand, refer to outside emotions. Because, again taking the emic perspective into account, religion, here Islam, refers to the outside manifestations of a person's worship that can be observed by other people. This is based on the division of Islam in Islam, which is the outside manifestation of worship, *Iman*, which is usually referred to as belief, and *Ihsan*, which is the inner, emotional manifestation of worship and a person's relationship with the divine. It is in the third category, *Ihsan*, where a person's spiritual development, spiritual emotions, spiritual self-improvement, good behavior and relationship with the divine are located, trained, developed and preserved. It is this

⁴ I was trained in area studies. Taking a view from the inside, emic concepts are an important part of area studies' findings.

inner reform that happens in a person's *ruh* that can cause a person to become spiritually balanced, which again reflects on her role as an active and productive member of society. That is why, a journey like the hajj or umrah, which leads to the geographical and collective spiritual heart of Islam is most likely to affect a person's spiritual heart and spiritual emotions.

To talk about personal spiritual emotions and what they change in a person, and connected with these the experiences a person had that led to the spiritual emotions, form something very personal. The accounts presented here tell us about the innermost self of a person and how traveling to the holy land changed her life. Different to other accounts of the hajj that mainly focus on the outside aspects of this important travel, as described by Tagliacozzo (2013), the data I present here, focuses on the inner aspects of a person's experiences.

3. Feeling *Khushu*

Leila came to Germany for her Ph.D in chemistry and has lived there for more than ten years. She is about 40 years old, married and has one daughter. She currently works in a Post-Doc position in a laboratory at a university in Berlin. Maryam has lived in Berlin for over 30 years. She is about 60 years old, a widow, has two children and works as a professional cleaner. Leila has been on hajj twice and thrice on umrah. She is currently planning her sixth visit to Mecca. Maryam went on hajj once and on umrah twice. Her last time in Mecca was together with Leila at the beginning of the year 2016. Both see their residence in Germany as a chance and possibility to go on hajj or umrah as often as possible. Undertaking the pilgrimage from Indonesia is not as easy as from Germany because long waiting lists, especially for the hajj, and higher prices make it more difficult to embark on this journey.

Leila and Maryam tried to describe their spiritual emotions during their hajj and umrah travel and the experiences that triggered them. The talks were very emotional and tears of remembrance, yearning, and gratefulness filled the silence between the sentences when words could not describe the emotions they probably felt at the moment. One predominant emotion that both women felt was peacefulness. A peacefulness that made them did not want to leave the places of pilgrimage anymore. Leila tried to explain how she felt when sitting near the Kaaba in the mosque in Mecca. This place is referred to as the *Haram* or Al-Haram Mosque, because its sanctity cannot be violated:

"When in the Haram it felt so pleasant, peaceful and secure. I felt like I do not want to leave ever again. All thoughts about my worldly life that usually preoccupy me were just gone. I felt so connected to God. So calm."

Leila further told me that her ritual prayer felt different as well. She felt as if God was talking to her through the recitation of the *imam*, the person leading the communal prayer. Although she did not understand the exact meaning of the words because she does not know Arabic and the litany used in the Islamic ritual prayer is always Arabic. Before visiting the holy land, Leila often went just through the movements of her prayer without her heart being present. While on hajj and umrah she learned to feel this special feeling called *khushu* in her prayer. When she described this feeling, she was unable to do so. Instead she compared it with the feeling when she stands alone in prayer at night when everybody else is asleep and she can pour out her heart to God. Maryam also referred to this special emotion of *khushu*, which was much stronger during prayer in Mecca and Medina compared to praying at home. *Khushu* is usually translated with focus of mind and heart during prayer. However, it

can also be translated with feeling humility or humbleness in prayer. In addition, it also includes feeling connected to God, concentrating on God and eliminating any other thought except about God from one's mind. It includes quietude out of love and fear for God, gentleness, and yearning.

Khushu in prayer is an essential emotion in Islam. It is also mentioned in the Qur'an: "It is the believers who are successful: those who are humble in their prayer" (23:1-2). In the Qur'an it is seen to be an important element of a successful prayer and manuals have been written on how to develop *khushu* in prayer. It is this element of prayer that connects a believer to God. In this sense, *khushu* can be counted as a religious emotion that is expected of the believer by the religious emotional regime of Islam. However, how to feel *khushu* is very personal and therefore, it is a spiritual emotion that can only truly be felt by the individual. It is a state of the heart of a believer. For example, it can be described as feeling *khushu* what Leila explained about her feeling that God was talking to her during the prayer in Mecca. To feel *khushu* and to learn how to feel it during prayer is something both informants learned during their travels to the holy land.

Although emotions are something rather intangible to the outsider and only really concrete to the individual that feels them, they, nevertheless, impact on a person's life. In this sense to feel *khushu* is a form of knowledge that is sought after while going on hajj and umrah. At the same time, Maryam explained that to be able to feel *khushu* will bring more divine reward for the person feeling it during prayer. Therefore, learning how to feel emotions during worship, to learn how to feel connected to God, to learn how to feel love, yearning, humbleness and humility for and in front of God can be counted to belong to the traditional reasons why Muslims go on hajj and umrah. These traditional reasons

include the search for religious knowledge and to gain divine reward (Tagliacozzo 2013; van Bruinessen 1990). At the same time, to learn these spiritual emotions like *khushu* help a person to spiritually improve herself and her relationship with God. This spiritual self-improvement cannot be separated from influencing the person's worldly life and, as will be described below, can help to make a person a more active and productive member of society.

From the limited accounts presented here, it can be concluded that learning to feel *khushu* during pilgrimage seems to be a turning point in a pilgrim's life. The narratives illustrate that the whole hajj or umrah experience is life-changing. There is a time before a person went to Mecca and a time after it. To use Leila's words "You are not the same person when you go back home". In this sense, one can describe the process of the Muslim pilgrimage as a stage of liminality (Turner 1969), in which pilgrims find themselves in the transitory stage between two established social and also emotional and spiritual stages. Being in Mecca is a special transitory stage that impacts heavily on the individual's spiritual emotions, development, and self-improvement. The last point is illustrated by Leila's case describe below.

4. Spiritual Self-Improvement

Traveling to the holy land of Islam is chosen for several reasons, one of them has been discussed above. Another reason for traveling to Mecca and Medina, is to facilitate a person's spiritual self-improvement. Different studies show that both religious and secular pilgrims often share the trait of searching for meaningful and spiritual experiences, which can be described with different words, including transformation, enlightenment, life-changing and consciousness-changing events (Digance 2006). As I have shown above, this is also the case for Muslims

going on the Muslim pilgrimage. However, I propose that searching for meaningful and spiritual experiences is only the first step. As I will show with Leila's story, pilgrims also search for a way to spiritually improve their everyday lives back home. Spiritual self-improvement is seen as an impetus to improve the overall spirituality of an individual's everyday life.

Similar to Rudnyckyj's (2010) 'spiritual reform' in the macro context of an Indonesian company and post-new order economy in general, I see spiritual self-improvement as a way for a person to become a more active and productive member of society. Here, society also includes the smallest unit, which is the nuclear family. Rudnyckyj argues that "efforts to develop faith represent not the end of development" (2010: 4) but "economic rationality and calculative reason" are introduced "into domains from which they were previously limited or excluded" (ibid.). These previously excluded domains include religion and spirituality.

This economic rationality and calculative reason can also be observed in Muslim women's choices to visit the holy land again and again as done for example by Leila. Economic rationality can be observed in the way she approached the realization of her wish to visit the holy land. When the urge to visit Mecca and Medina arose, Leila was still a Ph.D student who lived off a small stipend and was not able to afford the amount of money necessary to fulfill her wish. This fact did not deter her and she started to write letters to different embassies to sponsor her travel to the Hejaz. However, none of them replied and she had to wait until she was financially capable of affording to pay for herself and her husband.

Furthermore, although very much tight together with her spiritual emotions, the urge to go on hajj or umrah again and again

also reflects a sense of economic rationality and calculative reason. Because, according to Leila, it is only in Mecca, close to the Kaaba, that she can improve herself spiritually the most. It is only there, where she feels closest to God and where she can come closer to her goal to become a better Muslimah. Furthermore, it is only through the different personal spiritual experiences she encounters on hajj or umrah that help her to improve her life back in Germany. One example illustrates this connection between spiritual experience in Mecca and Leila's life in Germany. While in Mecca, she attempted to pray in the holy mosque as often as possible. However, sometimes, she said, her laziness still overcame her and she stayed back in the hotel room to perform the ritual prayer. Once she finished her prayer, she saw the live broadcast from the holy mosque on television and suddenly felt a tremendous loss because she was not there in the mosque but prayed by herself in the hotel room.

The loss she felt missing the congregational prayer was eventually transformed by Leila into a motivation to take greater care of her ritual prayers. After she returned home and resumed work at the laboratory, she began to take great care of always praying in time and if possible as early as possible within the given time frame for the respective prayer. This in turn, as she described, had a positive effect on her work in the lab because she was now able to work more effectively. She was able to finish the prepared samples quicker and was even capable to achieve more than what was required of her. This experience at her work place was sufficient proof for Leila to plan to travel to Mecca again. She felt that the spiritual experiences and lessons she had made in the holy land had an immediate effect on her life back home. Her performance as a Muslimah as well as her performance as a worker in the laboratory improved.

In addition, Leila's spiritual experiences also have to be understood with regards to her expectations for her afterlife because she believes that her spiritual self-improvement will benefit her in her life after death. To become a better Muslimah does not only influence her worldly life but first and foremost is expected to have a positive effect on her afterlife, so she hopes. The belief in paradise and hell forms a strong force in pushing Muslims to change their lives to the better and to become pleasing to God. To do a good deed and to abstain from bad deeds is believed to affect one's afterlife. While it is especially desirable to do good deeds solely for the sake of God, certain economic rationality and calculative reason (Rudnyckij 2010) cannot be denied entirely because one expects a reward in the afterlife for the actions done in this world. Therefore, Leila's pilgrimage to the holy land has to be also understood in terms of her aim to improve her afterlife and to avoid punishment for bad actions and sins committed in this life.

I argue that Leila's realization about the impact of her spiritual experiences in the holy land on her life in this world can be understood on two different levels. Firstly, economic rationality and calculative reason, as described by Rudnyckij (2010), certainly play a role in Leila's choice to go again and again to the Hejaz in order to improve her spirituality and in consequence her worldly life as a working woman but also the prospects for her afterlife. Secondly, emotional satisfaction and the spiritual high Leila felt during her stay in Mecca cannot be overlooked. That is why for future studies on pilgrimage and spiritual travel, I propose to focus on pilgrim's spiritual emotions to better understand why people undertake pilgrimages and many travel to the same pilgrimage destination again and again.

Another important concept, *barakah*, roughly translated as divine blessing, was mentioned by both informants. It also seem

to play a significant role in why Muslims choose to go again and again to the holy land. Muslims believe that the pilgrimage itself and the places visited have an inherent divine blessing in them. The appointed time for the hajj in the Islamic month of *Dhul Hijjah* is supposed to carry additional blessings. Pilgrims hope that these special divine blessings are transferred to them and into their lives. The length of this paper does not allow to discuss this concept in detail here.

Conclusion

In this article, I tried to show how traveling to the Muslim holy land in Mecca on hajj and umrah can be a life-changing experience for the pilgrim undertaking the journey. Furthermore, I showed that there exist multi-layered reasons to undertake the Muslim pilgrimage. People's reasons for going on hajj and umrah need to be understood by looking at what kind of spiritual emotions are triggered through the experiences they make in the holy land, and how these spiritual emotions eventually impact the person's spiritual and worldly life. Spiritual self-improvement can lead to change in a person's worldly life and is able to contribute to making the person a more active and proactive member of society.

Furthermore, I tried to show that spiritual self-improvement in itself contains economic rationality and calculative reason because one of the main reasons a person wants to improve herself is to gain benefit in the afterlife. Here, I explicitly illustrated my point with the spiritual emotion of *khushu* that both of my informants learned while on hajj and umrah.

In addition, I argued that spiritual emotions can be viewed as being part of the knowledge a person aims to acquire during her journey to Mecca. At the same time, to learn how to feel spiritual emotions can lead to additional divine reward, another reason,

why Muslims choose to undertake the hajj or umrah. Spiritual emotions that derive from different experiences while on hajj or umrah play an important part in understanding why Muslims choose to visit the holy land again and again. Similar to what Collins-Kreiner (2018) described about Westerners visiting the Dalai Lama, the two women described in this article, undertook their journeys with specific educational and spiritual motivations, in order to return home feeling spiritually stronger and more fulfilled.

I have further shown that mobility in connection with going on hajj or umrah is both internal as well as external. The women have undergone and are still undergoing internal mobility because of the impact their pilgrimages and the spiritual experiences they made have had on them. Something has been changing within them. They have made a move towards a different life or have changed part of their lives. The external mobility is the journey itself. However, this point needs further investigation in a later article.

Further research will be investigating what spiritual emotions Muslims feel during their pilgrimage and how these spiritual emotions impact on their lives. It is necessary to understand on a broader scale Muslim's spiritual motivation in deciding to visit the holy land and why many of them want to and plan to go again or dream of going again. In order to obtain a more comprehensive view, around twenty people will be interviewed about their pilgrimage experiences. In addition, it would be interesting to compare what kind of spiritual emotions are felt by people of other religions and beliefs who undertake their specific pilgrimages or spiritual journeys.

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Regeneration Process of The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) To Maintain Its Existence By Election Year 2014

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ABSTRACT

Political parties prepare prospective national leaders through a political recruitment process. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), one of the Islamic parties in Indonesia, has a Regional Leadership Council (DPD) in each district or city. Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of Bandung City is interesting to study since it has a unique regeneration process and the organizations (under brow) have scored excellent cadres. This study aims to analyze the regeneration process of DPD PKS at Bandung City to maintain its existence in the 2014 election using the theory of political recruitment through the regeneration pathway proposed by Almond and Powell. The research was a qualitative method with data collection techniques carried out through secondary data collected by the General Elections Commission (KPU) of Bandung City. The primary data collected from PKS cadre interview process. This study found that the DPD PKS regeneration process of Bandung City affected the quality of promoted cadre, thus influencing the quality and existence of the party. The process of regeneration has produced excellent cadres through education and training stages that make it exist.

Keywords: Existence; Regional Leadership Council; The Election Year 2014; The Process of Regeneration; The Prosperous Justice Party

Introduction

The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is an Islamic Political party considered having a good strategy to select its candidate of cadres. Regeneration pattern is primary for

the party in producing qualified cadres because they will be the next figures both in PKS itself and national leaders (Suroto dan Rudianto 2003; Tunjungsari, Lestari, and Sumarno 2017).

This article is to study the regeneration process running by The Regional Representative Council (DPD) of The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) of Bandung City. The process runs three patterns, one of them is by involving the cadres to join political leadership training. The training is to prepare them comprehensively about knowledge of political parties, social issues, and other related to government. Besides, it also aims to produce qualified and Islamic characteristic cadres since they will be the next leaders both in public and internal party (PKS itself).¹

Tight competition among political parties, moreover, new parties present with much political modality due to the pattern of relations or access to the media becomes a challenge for PKS to maintain the party exist in the 2014 election. One of its regeneration patterns *Jamaah Tarbiyah* (Islamic Proselytizer community) movement on Universities (Anismar 2014) begins to face intense competition. The old and the new parties begin to enter and strengthen their influence in universities by recruiting students as the young wing of the party through movements. The parties are not only doing socialization of their vision, mission and work program but also holding activities that can embrace student voters groups such as Leadership training to entrepreneurial seminar activities.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) had already been networks in universities through the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI). However, it has begun using new strategies in embracing millennial groups through activities that are not engage with

politic. Not only that, the People's Conscience Party (Hanura) and the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) have also implemented a similar strategy with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan). Therefore, to keep it exist, PKS begins to look at new activities in its pattern of regeneration (Juliano 2014).

As a political party based on religion, PKS has ordained as a *da'wah* party from the beginning, new activities in the regeneration pattern regarded as a brave movement. The party modifies its political movements and bore enormous consequences through reorganization and change the regeneration strategy pattern. its reorganization is carried out by taking into account important factors that come from society need and the context of democracy in Indonesia, by softening the line of ideology in the context of short-term strategic interests to gain votes.

PKS needs to show the public about how the party very concerns about issues that are in demand or demanded by the public, ranging from political and legal issues, such as anti-corruption issues and consistent in guarding good governance, to the issue of people's economic development.

Aminuddin (2010) considered that the strategy provides a great advantage for PKS because if this party only moves to maintain the old ideological base, it will only get votes from its ideological voters only, while others will not.

This study is to discover how the regeneration process of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in maintaining the party exist ahead of the 2014 General Election for Bandung City ?

There are several studies or previous research that have proximity or relevance to this study. The first is a study by Anneu Dahliany (2012) entitled "Recruitment pattern of Political Party Leaders in

¹ <http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/bandung-raya/2016/11/25/pks-jawa-barat-gelar-sekolah-kepemimpinan-partai-385846> (PKS Jawa Barat Gelar Sekolah Kepemimpinan Partai) 11 Juli 2018

Increasing Political Parties work (Case Study in DPD PKS Bandung City)". The results of the study discuss the mechanism carried out by DPD PKS in Bandung City during the recruitment process of party leaders conducting *Pemira* (Great Election) with consideration from the Shura Majlis (consultative assembly or legislative body).

The second is a study by Akbar Sandro Yudho Dhiharso (2011) entitled "Cadre System among Islamic Parties (Study of Tarbiyah PKS in Yogyakarta)". The thesis discusses the Tarbiyah mechanism in the PKS as a condition and recruitment of prospective cadres.

And third is a study by Aminuddin (2010) regarding "Reorganizing the Prosperous Justice Party in Indonesia". This study explains more about the metamorphosis of PKS as part of a medium-term strategy for mental constituent bases that step by step has begun to form and cover a wider area of social-political awareness.

Therefore, this research is broadening and enriching the literature from previous studies. The three previous studies do not discuss political parties that exist as a focus of research analysis.

This study explains how the regeneration process running by the DPD PKS of Bandung City produces qualified cadres and can maintain a mass base that influences on the party exist. Beside, Bandung City is the largest PKS base since the Governor of West Java elected for two periods.

Based on the background, this article will discuss and analyze in this paper are the cadre regeneration process of cadres that influences PKS exist.

Theoretical Framework

1. The Function of Political Parties

In countries that use a political system of democracy, the existence of political parties is considered important as a representation of representatives of community groups. The presence of political parties is very important in a modern and complex structure of society because political parties consider having the ability to channel complex political participation in society (Djuyandi 2018: 150).

Although political parties in constitutional democracies (liberal) and authoritarian countries (communists) play a different role, they have similar functions:

- a. As political socialization, namely transmitting political culture in the framework of forming attitudes and orientations of community members as citizens (political education).
- b. As political recruitment, namely the party selects and selects and appoints a person or group of people to carry out several roles in the political system in general, and the government specifically.
- c. As political participation is to become a means of activity for the community in influencing the process of forming government leaders through elections and the creation or implementation of government policies.
- d. As political communication, namely as the conveyer of information about politics from the government to the community and from the community to the government.
- e. As political parties as a means of regulating conflict, namely helping to overcome or at least minimize the occurrence of conflict. This condition is also based on the view of Lijphart (1968) who said that the existence of differences or divisions at the lower

mass level can be overcome by cooperation between political elites. (Djuyandi 2018: 152-154).

Some of the functions of political parties above have in common with the views expressed by Budiardjo (2009: 405-409) that political parties in democratic countries have several functions, namely:

- a. As a means of political communication.
- b. As a means of political socialization.
- c. As Political recruitment facilities.
- d. As conflict management tools.

The difference between Djuyandi (2018) and Budiardjo (2009) related to their functions is in political participation function.

2. Regeneration of Political Parties

Based on one of the functions of the political party above, namely the function of political recruitment, that cannot be separated from that function, such regeneration process exist. The regeneration process is important for an organization as it in a political party, this reason is based on Harahap (2017: 1-2) which reveals that cadre, the party prepares or produces candidates who are ready to continue the baton of the struggle of an organization to become a leader in the future that is ready to run the organization.

Cadre preparation is carried out to educate someone to continue the baton of a party or organization (Partanto and Al-Barry 1994: 293-294). In other words, the regeneration process is expected to produce cadres who can play an important role in an organization in the future.

In Western countries, regeneration to prepare political party leaders has been done very mature. Personal skills of cadres themselves play an important role, also, to support from the party (Parwadi 2006: 7). Cadres have a strategic position for the existence of political parties.

Research Methodology

The method used in this research is a qualitative method. Qualitative research is a method for exploring and understanding meaning derived from social and humanitarian problems. This method is considered appropriate for researching political parties, such as PKS because in addition to being able to describe a phenomenon in more detail it can also help this research to diagnose problems that occur. This study also uses a descriptive approach that allows describing how the regeneration process carried out by the DPD PKS in Bandung City as a party that has a strong enough exist in Bandung city.

The determination of case studies in qualitative methods is considered strategic in this study because it can investigate carefully an event or activity that occurs somewhere. In the case of studies, research can also choose suitable information and data to get maximum results (Creswell 2014: 278). With case studies, research can analyze the regeneration process carried out by PKS to get superior cadres who are wanted by the community and can carry out the objectives of the interests of political parties. Data collection in this study used the technique of determining informants by purposive or deliberately by the requirements required. The criteria for informant requirements are: (1) Having knowledge and understanding of the history and movement of the PKS; and (2) Having extensive knowledge and insight, and knowing and contributing to the regeneration process.

By choosing people who are considered to be the most knowledgeable of the information being studied, they are expected to be able to explore the object or social situation under study, then analyze the results of the research with the research theory.

Discussion and Result

1. PKS Regeneration in Da'wah movements

PKS collaborates in various strengths to uphold the values and Islamic system that is *Rahmatan lil alamin* (mercy for the universe) and accelerator with the realization of civil society in Indonesia. With this mission, PKS began to expand Islamic da'wah and print cadres who could then develop Islamic social institutions in various fields as *markaz taghyir* (center of change) and solution center. The development carried out by PKS included campus missionary movement which was a movement calling for religion by students on campus. The missionary movement is transformed into a Student Activity Unit (UKM) or Campus Da'wah Institution (LDK) as a forum for all da'wah activities to expand networks. (Muhtadi 2012: 32-39).

The regeneration pattern for the Prosperous Justice Party is outlined in the Articles of Association (AD/ART) issued by the PKS Central Executive Board (DPP) Article 5 Chapter III. As for every member who registers voluntarily, they must be able to participate in every training held, and cadre formation carried out by the party.

Tarbiyah is a small group-based formation under the guidance of someone murabbi which is carried out through party non-formal activities. Tarbiyah plays an important role in the regeneration process. PKS underbrow organizations such as *Garuda Keadilan* (GK), Salimah Workers' Union (SPK), Indonesian Prosperous Fisheries Farmers Association (PPNSI), Indonesian Muslim Student Action Units (KAPMI), and Indonesian Muslim Students Action Unit (KAMMI) developed patterns and models individual regeneration. The groups that formally are not PKS under bow but ideologically have quite close to the PKS are Islamic Spirituality (*Rohis*) and Campus

Da'wah Institution (LDK). Both of them also developed a typical pattern of formation and cadre. The formal party cadre regeneration process is carried out officially by party management, which consists of seven levels, namely: TOP I (One Party Orientation Training), TOP II: TD I (Basic Training One), TD II: TL I (Advanced One Training), TL II, and Training in Social Management and Leadership (TMKS). This formal regeneration process is also a means of coaching as well as cadre gaps which will have implications for the distribution of roles and structure in PKS (Dhiharso, 2011).

2. Implementation of Regeneration Strategy

The regeneration process of DPD PKS in Bandung City was analyzed using Almond and Powell's theory of political recruitment. Almond and Powell's political recruitment theory emphasizes the selection of candidates for political party leaders and administrators by providing three paths as the process of running political recruitment. Almond and Powell's theory of political recruitment is different from other theories of political recruitment because this theory is an ongoing theory of political parties. Because it can be applied to the recruitment of prospective legislators so that it does not only look at the activities of political parties that carry out political recruitment activities. Besides, each pathway can be applied to a whole series of political party recruitment activities. Political parties can use political recruitment to improve regeneration activities starting from the selection process, improving and maintaining the quality of cadres, to produce superior cadres to improve party votes.

The process of political recruitment aims to produce qualified cadres by applying several qualification criteria. Before carrying out the political recruitment

process, political parties naturally carry out a regeneration process to produce qualified cadres who can be placed as public officials through elections.

The regeneration process is a program that contains an activity of forming character and personality through a process of education and training that aims to produce qualified cadres. Through elections, political parties must submit candidates who are acceptable to the public so that they can increase the number of party votes.

Quality cadres have a very important role in the existence of political parties. People can get to know political parties through party activities carried out by their cadres. A qualified cadre can be a bridge for the community to channel their aspirations to the government. By maintaining public relations and trust, it is expected to increase its electability in Bandung City.

a. Informal Regeneration

Informal Kaderiasi in DPD PKS Bandung City is one of the efforts to give birth to superior and qualified cadres. This regeneration pattern is carried out in a long and long period. This long-term education was carried out by the DPD PKS cadres in Bandung City to their families, ranging from children to their teenage years. In addition to education, DPD PKS Bandung City also establishes a character for each candidate cadre and his family. Each cadre is given a guide to "10 Characteristics" which is a mainstay in the formation of personality and the application of Islamic values in everyday life to achieve the aspects needed to be able to compete. In informal regeneration there are principal values or points of application of regeneration that support regeneration success, namely:

1) Cadre Based on manual, such as Statutes/Articles of Association and

specific guidelines used by political parties.

- 2) Regeneration through the family, the practice of applying direct regeneration to the families of each cadre.
- 3) Cadre Through Local Environment, there are two paths, such as vertical, where each cadre is tried to have another position and organize in a community environment, where they are expected to be able to make a positive contribution to the community. Then the horizontal path, each cadre must be able to prove and apply the learning outcomes that have been received to the environment of political parties.

b. Formal Regeneration

The formal regeneration process is an effort made by DPD PKS Bandung City in shaping an education that is implemented programmed and integrated to achieve the goals expected by the party. The formal regeneration process must follow a predetermined curriculum that is carried out within a certain period. DPD PKS Bandung City conducts evaluation activities based on a specified period to maintain and improve the quality of cadres as party representatives in the community.

The regeneration process has a positive value that can encourage and improve achievement by increasing competence and fair competition. DPD PKS Bandung City memorizes Al-Qur'an activities with a weekly period to foster motivation to develop themselves. This can increase cooperation between cadres by practicing together in reading and memorizing the Al-Qur'an. This teaches an important stage process that is spreading goodness to the people around beforehand before spreading goodness to the community.

- 1) The formal internal regeneration process is a regeneration process that aims as a leadership exercise. Each cadre is given alternate assignments to lead each other to give rise to a sense of responsibility as a leader and as a led cadre. DPD PKS Bandung City through the field of Human Resources is responsible for handling the process and implementation of Basic Leadership Training (LDK) activities. There are 2 stages of the process in implementing leadership exercises including (1) Members are initially led by young members, (2) Young members are led by middle members. Each member will have the opportunity to lead and be led at each stage of the process. Every stage of the leadership training process has an assessment report book as an evaluation and development material.

The workshop activity is a follow-up activity after leadership training activities. This activity is an activity agenda set by the center which aims to establish PKS cadres. This stage is a training step for each cadre to apply the knowledge gained during the training period. DPD PKS Bandung City has prepared various facilities for cadres to carry out these exercises. To maximize the results of education and training, DPD PKS Bandung City requires each cadre to carry out activities in the field. This aims as a means for cadres to apply the knowledge gained during education and training to the real conditions that occur in society.

- 2) The process of formal external regeneration is the process of selection stages as candidates for legislative and executive leaders. Each prospective cadre is given the obligation to participate and participate in activities held to become leaders for a certain

time. One of them is by spreading goodness to the community. Through this process, it is expected to be able to produce qualified leaders who can show the party's background.

The DPD PKS of Bandung City does not question the prospective cadres from outside the party who do not have family relations. One of the main priorities of prospective cadres is expected to be a *Khanif* (good person). For example, PKS cadres in the Tasikmalaya area have made changes to someone so that someone is included in the PKS cadre section. This is an application or task that has been carried out by PKS cadres in the form of interactions with individuals or the community.

Gema Keadilan, one of the under brows who is active in the community, conducts activities to educate children, youth, youth, and society in general. Those who have interacted with PKS have also established communities on campus. As there are universities, if there are students who follow and apply PKS thoughts, it is the result of education from families who are part of the PKS or they have participated in coaching as a partnership with PKS.

c. The Existence of DPD PKS Bandung City

DPD PKS Bandung City requires all prospective cadres to become members first before participating in the regeneration process. In carrying out the regeneration process, prospective cadres must pass in performing obligations in the education process until they can be declared graduated.

The influence that the cadre has on the existence of political parties is very important. Cadres who will be known and

accepted by the community become the key to the existence of political parties. Besides, political party activities carried out with the community and inviting the public will make political parties more remembered by the community. PKS is an Islamic party with a level of existence that has reached a stage that is well known and known to the people of Bandung. Cadres who are promoted by PKS are cadres currently needed by the people of Bandung City. PKS cadres often carry out activities together with the community such as holding recitation activities or workshops for the community and other direct activities with the community.

The existence of political parties is also influenced by the presence of qualified cadres around the community so that they can make the community have the necessary leadership leaders. It is undeniable that the public still judges the person or person. DPD PKS Bandung City must prepare various levels of leadership that can be accepted by the community. The regeneration process is not an easy thing because many cadres who look good and are considered great by internal parties are not necessarily accepted by the community. Therefore DPD PKS Bandung City conducted an electability survey of prospective leaders. This activity is a means of measuring the ability of prospective leaders and accepting the opinions and desires of the community about the criteria needed by leaders.

DPD PKS Bandung City activities are considered acceptable in the community and able to increase the party's voice in the city. The approach was also carried out by all levels of prospective leaders prepared. Also, PKS cadres must maintain their idealism. PKS cadres must prioritize the people interests, not only personal interests. A direct approach to the community by PKS

cadres will increasingly introduce PKS in the community.

The PKS voting base in Bandung City is the highest compared to other Islamic based parties. This was evidenced by the results of the vote in the legislative elections of the Bandung Regional Representatives in 2014. PKS Bandung City in 2014 got a valid vote of 136,983 and became an Islamic party with the most voted. Followed by the United Development Party (PPP) ranked in second place with a vote of 64,993. Then the National Awakening Party (PKB) followed as in the third position with a total of 42,906. PKS votes are very large compared to other Islamic party letters. Even as a whole PKS has succeeded in shifting nationalist-based parties such as the Party of Functional Groups (Golkar) and the Democratic Party (Demokrat). DPD PKS Bandung City became the third place as the most voted after the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) and the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra). The difference in vote acquisition is not so great. This proves that the PKS supports base in Bandung is quite convincing. Based on these votes, the PKS of Bandung City won as many as 6 seats for Bandung Regional People's Representative Council in 2014 (KPU of Bandung City 2014).

DPD PKS Bandung City is known for its interesting in regeneration process, disaster response actions and faith-based activities that involve the local community. PKS is very close to the community through its qualified cadres. This illustrates that PKS as a political party has achieved sufficient existence.

Conclusion

The results showed that the resource person was very confident and believed in the regeneration process carried out by the

DPD PKS in Bandung City to produce qualified and accepted cadres in the community. The regeneration process is carried out based on guidelines that have been made nationally. DPD PKS Bandung City has an interesting regeneration process compared to other political parties, especially Islamic political parties. From The theory of political recruitment, the regeneration process of DPD PKS of Bandung City runs well. On the other hand, there are several different implementations. In other words, the DPD PKS of Bandung City improvised in several parts of the regeneration process. This is done to achieve the party's vision, mission, and goals.

DPD PKS Bandung City runs the regeneration process informally and formally. Qualified cadres present is very influential on the party exist among people. Therefore, the DPD PKS of Bandung City carried out a regeneration process to produce excellent cadres needed by the community and political parties. The regeneration process carried out by the PKS DPD in Bandung City reached a good level because each cadre spreads a positive side to the family so that good things related to religion can make someone closer to God.

DPD PKS Bandung City has carried out the regeneration process by producing cadres that enthusiasm in community activities. DPD PKS Bandung City fully understands that by improving the quality and capabilities of cadres can maintain the party exist. The existence is measured by the vote and the victory of political parties in the General Election as well as the results of the political party coalition victory as long as it benefits the PKS. Also, the growing number of members is an indicator of the existence of political parties. This is because PKS is a political party that is considered to be a party that is in line with political

thoughts that are built personally by cadres. (Almond 2000).

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The Efforts of Talang Mamak Indigenous People to Maintain Their Existence in Customary Forest Resources Battle

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ABSTRACT

The resources of Customary Forest play an important role in Talang Mamak Indigenous People to survive. The exploitation of the forest by private companies and investors has caused violent conflict. The situation of the indigenous people becomes worsen since the local government does not fully protect their rights of the forest. Even, the local government tends to defend private company and investor in addressing the conflict. Customary forest of Talang Mamak indigenous people is in the oligarchs grip and conflict of interest with their elder. The Indigenous people are in crossroad; to preserve or to release their heritage and right. This study aims to determine the efforts of Talang Mamak Indigenous People to maintain their existence in the customary forest resources battle with private company and investor. This study used qualitative descriptive method. The data collection were documentation analysis and other relevant literature. This study used Theory of Oligarchy (Winters 2011) as grounded theory. The result found that the efforts of the indigenous people to fight for their rights getting weak. Some of them begin to accept compensation from the company and investor, in other word, some of them are willing to release their heritage and right on the forest.

Keywords: Customary Forest; Oligarchy; Private Company; Resources; Talang Mamak Indigenous People;

Introduction

Conflict on customary forest exploitation of Talang Mamak Indigenous people is not only with private company but also several new entities such as the local elite and the government.

Local Elite, The indigenous chief and the village head, acts as a broker trading the customary land to private company for personal gain without permission of the community. This is a strategy of private company and capital owner to take over indigenous forest resources. Not only land grabbing for plantation area expansion, but companies engaged in paper production also do illegal logging.

This study discusses about the conflicts between Talang Mamak indigenous people who live in Indragiri Hulu, Riau Province and private companies engaged in palm oil and paper production. Both the people and the companies have struggled for ulayat land since the beginning of 2000 and ending in 2017.

Since the indigenous people have loss their customary land and forests, they are increasingly losing economic resources, traditional wealth and culture.

By investigating the dynamics of the conflict occurred between private companies, investor, and the indigenous people in early 2000 to 2008, and comparing it with the development of conflicts in the end of 2010 until 2015, this study aims to discover the efforts of Talang Mamak Indigenous people to maintain their existence in customary forest resources battle.

Theoretical Framework

1. Theory of Oligarchy: Customary forest tenure Local Elite shifting

Jeffrey A. Winters, in his book entitled *Oligarchy*, states that oligarchs were

viewed as empowered by wealth for centuries. The common thread for oligarchs across history is that wealth defines them, empowers them and inherently exposes them to threats. The existential motive of all oligarchs is wealth defense. How they respond varies with the threats they confront, including how directly involved they are in supplying the coercion underlying all property claims and whether they act separately or collectively. These variations yield four types of oligarchy: Warring, ruling, sultanistic and civil.

Related to this study, the indigenous chief of Talang Mamak plays a rule as warring category, if at first the power in the form of coercion from the Indigenous Chief or indigenous used for collective interests such as maintaining land claims or other resources shared with other dominant actors as common enemies, it can then be used to make wealthy enriching and strengthening individuals or groups as chief, who maintain and control their own groups first and then others around whom they succeed in defeating¹. Although it will eventually be concentrated only under individual control, material power is initially organized into "collective social power" because it is based on resources in the form of village assets, small clans, and families, which are prepared and maintained as "together". The legitimacy of the Indigenous Chief or village head is exploited arbitrarily, the claim of these resources will implicate for the material resources united over individual ownership rather than the collective. In other words, the expression "ours" becomes "mine".

¹ Jeffrey A. Winters. 2011. *Oligarchy*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama. p. 64

2. Theory of Conflict Approach

Conflict means perceived divergence of interest, a belief that the parties current aspirations are incompatible (Pruit and Rubin, 2009). the power of oligarchs will immerse conflicts among the indigenous people with private companies have been related each other.

Research Methodology

This study used qualitative method with descriptive. Sugiono (2008: 15) states that it is in constructive paradigm research design and the researcher is a key instrument when the study conducted in natural objective. The data sources were media, related research articles, and legislation. Data collection were analyzed as it reflected on the title. Data Validation test and information of this study based on specific criteria; data validation and level of trust in describing finding and discussion, conclusion, and explanation. This study used data as comparison for various information by organizing, compiling into pattern and category, and interpret them using some schema.

Discussion and Result

1. A brief history of Talang Mamak Indigenous People in Riau

The indigenous entity live along the Indragiri River, Indragiri Hulu district, Riau Province. This tribal community belongs to the Old Malay race (*Proto Malay*). The customary forest area reaches around 400,000 hectares and it has been approved by the Dutch colony through the Resident of Indragiri in 1925². The Talang Mamak

people is an Indragiri Indigenous community and often calls themselves as Tuha people, means the first men live in Indragiri Hulu. Their distribution Riau is spread in four sub-districts, they are in Batang Cenaku Sub-district, Kelayang Sub-district, Seberida Sub-district, and Batang Gasal Sub-district. Two sub-districts, Kelayang and Batang Cenaku Sub-districts, covered 17 villages specifically in Talang Mamak has two Communities: Firstly, Talang Mamak Tiga Balai Community Area in Kelayang District, Secondly, Malay Community Area in Batang Cenaku in Batang Cenaku District³.

Their livelihood is farming and planting especially rubber plantation. Rubber is main commodity of the community. Before that, since the beginning of the 19th century the forest products are varies, like dragon's blood palm dragon (*Daemonorops didymophylla* Becc), jelutung (*Dyera costulata*), red / white *balam* (*Shorea balangeran*) and aloes tree (*Aloidendron barberae*) and rattan (*Calameae*). The people income increases with demand for forest products. Rubber planting certainly makes them more settled and at the same time as a tool to maintain their land and forests. Forests are the main source of livelihood for the Talang Mamak indigenous people as their main livelihood, forests is a great cultural value for them.

Land and forest as living areas are an inseparable part. Since hundreds of years

² Court Decision Number 35/PUU-X/2012 about Constitutional Review Number 41 Year 1999 about Forestry in The 1945 State Constitution of the

Republic of Indonesia. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia. P. 102

³ Gilung. *Talang Mamak: Hidup Terjepit Di Atas Tanah dan Hutannya Sendiri-Potret Konflik Kehutanan Antara Masyarakat Adat Talang Mamak Di Kabupaten Indragiri Hulu, Provinsi Riau Dengan Industri Kehutanan*. Presented as additional material witnesses on Constitutional Court Review No.41 year 1999 about forestry in The 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia at Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, June 14, 2012, p. 2

ago, the community has become unity with nature. The environment in which they live is regulated through customary law, and the management decision is regulated by *Patih* or the indigenous chief who is the highest power for Talang Mamak under the Indragiri Sultanate.

The importance of forests for their life has been loudly delivered by one of the chief named Laman; "I'd better be shot dead, than the customary forest runs out". Forest which is a communal property, in terms of its arrangement is carried out by a *Patih* which is a symbol of the highest power of the community. There is an old saying that is well-known among them : "it is better a child dies, rather than tradition". It indicates that their identity cannot be separated from customary forests managed by customary law under the supervision of *Patih*.

2. Rights of Talang Mamak Indigenous People on Lands

The first chief of the Talang Mamak Community was Datuk Patih Nan Sebatang, in beliefs as oral tradition, their ancestors gave three regions as inheritance for their children and grandchildren, they are the Talang Parit area which means land where trenches (streams) , Talang Perigi where in that area there are perigi (wells) and Talang Durian Jajar which means there are durian planted in raw in the region as customary boundaries.

The community has measured their Indigenous Forests which are bordered by trenches, perigi and durian lanes which still exist today, with the total area of customary forests is 451,411 hectares. This customary land ownership was also recognized by Haji Indragiri Hulu, the king in the past and documented in the Resident of Indragiri in 1925.

3. Dynamics of Conflict: Talang Mamak Indigenous People and Palm Oil Plantation Company

The conflicts of land between Talang Mamak Indigenous People to claim their customary forest and the company occurred complicatedly. From year 2000 to 2007, the indigenous people made various efforts to stop the companies that were considered to occupy the customary forests of the Talang Mamak indigenous, such as throwing stones at the operational vehicles of private companies, asking for "road money" to drivers of private companies operating vehicles⁴. According to James C. Scott, The efforts are a form of resistance from those who lose. He examines the lives of farming communities in the Sedaka area (not real name) in the State of Kedah, Malaysia, with the aim of observing the lives of farmers and the form of "daily resistance" that occurs. Resistance takes place with unique forms, resistance is not in a structured form, but in the form of small daily resistance such as small-scale stealing, slowing down, pretending to be sick, pretending to be stupid, swearing behind, pretending to agree, and doing sabotage at night⁵. The resistance carried out is not in a massive and structured form, but only in the form of small resistance from those who are powerless and not so capable of destabilizing the group of private companies as "winners". The indigenous people of the Talang Mamak indigenous people take on the role of "losers", namely those who do not have power, must carry

⁴ MongabayIndonesia.com. *Talang Mamak Hak Ulayat Musnah Diterjang Budaya Uang*. Accessed from <http://www.mongabay.co.id/2013/01/19/talang-mamak-hak-ulayat-musnah-diterjang-budaya-uang/> on December 17, 2018, on 13.20 WIB

⁵ C. Scott, James. 2000. *Senjatanya Orang-Orang Yang Kalah, (Bentuk-bentuk Perlawanan Sehari-Hari Kaum Tani)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia. p. 318

out "daily resistance" to continue their lives while avoiding greater risks. The resistance to be understood if it traces the conflict between the community and private companies which have grabbed the customary forests. When compared with the strength of the company, the resistance action did not bring any impacts. As Scott explained, they ask for money for the

drivers of the company's operational vehicles just to guarantee their survival is threatened because of private companies presence that seize the forest and land that initially became their place of life.

Dynamics of Conflict occurrence were as followed⁶:

Table 1.
Dynamics of Conflict between Indigenous People and Company in 2019

Years	Incidents	Triggers	Parties Involved	Results or Loss
2000	Marched to against Regunas Agri Utama Ltd (PT. RAU) to expand Oil Palm Plantation area	PT Regunas Agri Utama (PT. RAU) opened new land about 10,000 ha for oil palm plantation in three locations, they are Talang Selantai village, Talang Perigi village and Talang Durian Cacar village. The locations are Ulayat land, customary land of Talang Mamak Indigenous Community	Talang Mamak Indigenous People vs PT. RAU, this conflict were mediated by DPRD Indragiri Hulu	Indigenous People marched in the offices of regional house of representatives and Indragiri Hulu head of sub-district. The people demanded the plantation as theirs. DPRD suggested PT RAU to give the indigenous people new land which can be planted oil palm as they need. However, the people refused it.
July 2002	Conflicts occurred in village of Talang Sungai Limau Rakit Kulim Indragiri Hulu subdistricts	National Land Agency (BPN) Indragiri Hulu issued land certificate about the conflicts between private company and Indigenous people for land battles about 200 Ha in 1.056 Ha, land area of Inecda Plantation Ltd which handed over ownership to Mega Nusa Inti Sawit, Ltd. Indigenous People of Talang Sungai Limau argued that they never had any compensations on the 200 Ha. Also there are no agreement with Pola Inti Plasma maupun pola PIR (Perkebunan Inti Rakyat). The indigenous people have clear certificate both land certificate and right of Ulayan land ownership	Talang Mamak Indigenous community in Talang Sungai village vs Inecda Plantation Ltd. and Mega Nusa Inti Sawit, Ltd	Review on land certificate issued by BPN especially in conflict land of 200 ha, which has been grabbed by . Mega Nusa Sawit, Ltd as it land abundance of Inecda Plantation, Ltd

⁶ Johnny Setiawan, et al. *Laporan Final Penelitian: Analisa Konflik Pertanahan di Provinsi Riau Antara Masyarakat dengan Perusahaan*. Research and Development Team FKPMR 2007. p. 89-103

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Years	Incidents	Triggers	Parties Involved	Results or Loss
November 2002	Audiences to DPRD Indragiri Hulu and regent of Bupati Indragiri Hulu	Mega Nusa Inti Sawit Ltd and the Talang Sungai Limau Village people visited the Indragiri Hulu DPRD office. In the same month they met the Regent through the Regional Secretary of Indragiri Hulu.	People of Talang Sungai Limau village and Mega Nusa Inti Sawit, Ltd	Regent of Indragiri Hulu issued a letter so that Mega Nusa Inti Sawit, Ltd. resolve cases of land disputes with indigenous peoples as well as possible.
2004	The people of Talang Sungai Limau Village and Talang Sungai Parit Village, Rakit Kulim Subdistrict, Indragiri Hulu conducted a march on Inecda Ltd. office. and the office of the Regent and the Indragiri Hulu DPRD.	Continuing conflict with Inecda Plantation Ltd regarding the control of 200 ha of land for the company's oil palm plantations	Inecda Plantation Ltd vs people of Talang sungai Limau and Talang Sungai Parit villages	No result
2004	people of Talang Sei Parit and Talang Sei Limau Villages, Rakit Kulim Subdistrict, Indragiri Hulu held a demonstration in the PTPN V company area	The people claimed as land owners of PTPN V area about 1.700 ha.	PTPN V vs people of Talang Sei Parit and Talang Sei Limau villages	No result
June, 2006	Since 1997, Inecda Ltd has built a new 9000 ha oil palm plantation in the communal land of the Talang Mamak indigenous community, and they did not know that presence	Indigenous community refusal on development of oil palm Inecda Plantation Ltd about 9000 ha	People of Talang Sungai Parit and Desa Talang Sungai Limau villages vs Inecda Plantation, Ltd	The mediation with DPRD Riau province, FKPMR and WALHI but no result
2005-September 2006	In 2002 PT Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah obtained a business permit for the utilization of forest products in the form of timber and plantations covering an area of 13,450 ha. In 2005 - mid 2006, the company destroyed the community rubber plantations and oil palm plantations to replace acacia plants.	The community was angry and took action to extract the acacia planted on the communal land of the Talang Mamak native indigenous.	Indigenous Community vs PT. Betabuh Sei Indah Ltd	The Indigenous People Destructed acacia plants owned by Beautiful Batabuh Sei, Ltd

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Years	Incidents	Triggers	Parties Involved	Results or Loss
June 2005	Residents of Talang Mamak, Talang Sungai Limau Village, counted 7 times to visit the DPRD office to complain about the looting of communal land by PT Inecda Platanion covering 3,200 Ha. Hundreds of times residents came to the Indragiri Hulu DPRD office to ask for clarity. But because the Indragiri Hulu DPRD did not provide concrete solutions. The community then complained to the Riau DPRD. Residents only demand 1,600 hectares of land from 3,200 hectares of communal land controlled by PT Inecda	The villagers demand that the land owned by residents be returned to an area of 1,600 ha	Indigenous People vs Inecda Plantation, Ltd	The mediation agreement with Regent of Indragiri Hulu, Thamsir Rachman, about 1,600 ha of land managed by Inecda, Ltd returned
2006-2007	Talang Mamak indigenous, Rakit Kulim District and Peranap Indragiri Hulu. Conducting demonstrations on massive activities taking place on their land which took place since 2002 by PT. Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah which is customary forest	The community demands the return of the area because of its status as ulayat forest, it cannot be converted into Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI)	Indegenous community vs Bukit Sei Betabuh, Ltd	No result
2006	Indigenous Forests The Talang Mamak indigenous was scheduled to strengthen its legal umbrella through regional regulations in accordance with the Joint Decree (SKB) Number 31 of 2006 concerning the Indigenous Forest of the Talang Mamak indigenous.	The community wants customary forests to be returned to citizens with a more comprehensive legal umbrella	Indigenous people vs Inecda, Ltd, Bukit Sei Betabuh Indah , Ltd and etc.	Unrealized loss or no result

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Years	Incidents	Triggers	Parties Involved	Results or Loss
2007	A total of 13,450 hectares of customary land of the Talang Mamak indigenous, Peranap District and Kulak Inhu Rakit were taken over by PT Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah	The community refused to take land by Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah Ltd	Indigenous People vs Betabuh Sei, Ltd	No result
2008	SAL Ltd entered into a cooperation agreement with three village heads, namely the Head of the Selantai Village, the Talang Durian Cacar Village Head and the Talang Perigi Village Head. Based on the agreement, where PT. SAL is allowed to control a forest area of 1000 ha.	The community refused it because the community felt disadvantaged by the system of partnership initiated by the company.	Indigenous People vs SAL, Ltd	No solution
2013	Conflict occurred between the community and Perkebunan Nusantara V Ltd, the company promises to build an oil palm plantation with a KKPA pattern of 680 ha	The community collects the promise of PTPN V which will empower the people by building oil palm plantations covering 680 ha	Indigenous people vs PTPN V	in fact, they only built 200 hectares for six thousand families of the Talang Mamak Indigenous Community

Source: data analysis of researcher, 2019.

4. A total of land area grabbed by Private Companies⁷

Tabel 2.
A total of land area grabbed by Private Companies in 2019

Years	Incidents	A total of Land grabbed by Private Company	Areas
2003	Land occupation by Inecda Plantation, Ltd	9000 ha	Villages of Talang Sungai Parit and Talang Sungai Limau Rakit Kulim sub-district
	Okupasi oleh PT. Regunas Agri Utama (PT. RAU)	10.000 ha	Talang Durian Cacar village and Talang Perigi, village of Talang Selantai Rakit Kulim sub-district
	Occupation by Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah Ltd (PT. BBSI)	13.450 ha	Talang Tujuh Buah Tangga village, Rakit Kulim sub-district Indragiri Hulu district, Riau
2005	Occupation by Inecda Plantation, Ltd	3.200 ha	Rakit Kulin sub-district
2007	Occupation by Bukit Betabuh Sei Indah Ltd (PT. BBSI)	13.450 ha	Kecamatan Peranap sub-district and Rakit Kulim Inhu
2013	Land remained for Talang mamak indigenous community	2.300 ha	Sub-districts of Peranap and Rakit Kulim Inhu

Source: Data of Research Analysis, 2019.

There are four customary forest areas; 330,933 hectares of river, 98,577 hectares of Durian Cacar forest, and 21,901 hectares of Kelumbuk Tinggi Baner forest⁸. The forest area spread in Rakit Kulim and Rengat Barat Districts which total area is 451,411 hectares. However, Mongabay Indonesia's report which conducted an empirical study stated that in 2013 there were only 2,300 hectares of Talang Mamak forest, which is approximately 20 percent of the total customary forest area, 2,300 hectares of this area functioned for six thousand people. This 2,300 hectare area also includes a count of the buffer zones of Bukit Tiga puluh National Park. In an interview of Mongabay Indonesia with Talang Mamak indigenous young man named Abu Sanar, "just taking wood for home is now being held by officers"⁹.

In its journey from 2000 to 2007, the community continued seeking ownership rights of their customary lands to the government continuously making demands on the accountability of private companies that grabbed their customary forests. But in 2008 to 2013, there was no longer any resistance from the community over private companies and the government, while the Talang Mamak Customary Forest area continued to decrease. As in 2013 there were only 2,300 hectares, compared to 2007 people who continued to demand 49,100 hectares of forest rights, but in 2013, only

⁸ Kompas.com. *Talang Mamak dan Masyarakat Adat yang Merana*. Accessed from <http://sains.kompas.com/read/2010/04/03/23204793/Talang.Mamak.dan.Masyarakat.Adat.yang.Merana> on December 17, 2018, at 13.00 WIB

⁹ MongabayIndonesia.com. *Talang Mamak Hak Ulayat Musnah Diterjang Budaya Uang*. Accessed from <http://www.mongabay.co.id/2013/01/19/talang-mamak-hak-ulayat-musnah-diterjang-budaya-uang/> on December 17, 2018, at 13.20 WIB

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104-107

2,300 hectares remained. This means that throughout 2013 until 2017, the community has lost 400,011 hectares of land. However, the conflict was not so prominent in the media as in previous years. So the question is, what kind of compromise or transaction occurred in 2007 to 2013?

5. The role change : Indigenous Chief to be Cukong or Broker

The decision-making system in Talang Mamak indigenous people is through customary deliberations. Decision making through this system is to determine all matters of a general nature, such as the management of pool prohibition, management of communal land, both in the rules of management and determination of harvest time. Communities can take actions regarding the use of customary forests under Indigenous Chief supervision. The chief position is important even it confirmed in their adage "better to die children than customary death" which means that the position of customary is at the top of the hierarchy. Elected leader is not descendants of ordinary people, but descended from previous traditional leaders.

From 2000 to 2007, all *Patih*, Talang Mamak indigenous Chief, and the people felt that they shared a common enemy, but a private company that grabbed their land, various resistance efforts were made to demand the return of Talang Mamak customary forest. From 2007 to 2013, the large number of forests lost and turned into oil palm plantations no longer gave birth to resistance from the community as happened in 2000. Based on collected sources, both from newspapers and simple interviews with one colleagues who visited to examine the life patterns of the Talang Mamak in one village. Son of one of the Indigenous Chiefs acknowledged that his father's profession in addition to being the

Indigenous Chief was also a *cukong* or broker who sold customary land to private companies. This is to survive because every year the number of customary forests lost due to being seized by private companies is increasingly widespread. Herbert Spencer explained social change and related it to the Theory of Evolution put forward by Darwin, Spencer explained in social interaction, change would always exist and be dynamic, change would start from the tribal stage which is hegemony and simple to modern and complex stages of society. In line with what Darwin said, Spencer argued that the strongest would be the one who won, who was capable and passionate and able to adapt to changes that would win the struggle for life, weak people would be marginalized and marginalized¹⁰.

Patih Gading, the grandson of Patih Laman who is now the successor to the chief of the Talang Mamak, explained that the forest has been a victim of greedy people who do not care about the environment. As stated in the Commander's Oligarchy theory by Jeffrey A. Winters, within the customary structure there is the Customary Chairperson whose initial is Patih "Y" and several people who are included in his alliance to trade customary forests, participate in this group Durian Cacar Village Head initials "H". The mechanism is that the Village Head makes a document regarding the ownership of recognized customary land through the signature of Patih "Y" who is also the grandson of Patih Laman, then the results of j transactions carried out with private companies are not distributed to the public but are enjoyed by groups this group.

¹⁰ Herbert Spencer. 1896. *Principles of Sociology*, in Aminudin Ram. 1992. *Sosiologi*. Jakarta: Erlangga. p. 208

Although the consequences of the actions were dismissal as chief by King Indragiri on charges of betraying customary oaths on inheritance debts, the reality that occurred in the field, the position of Patih "Y" was still very strong and could not be prevented from the trading. Even the community that is also a community of the Talang Mamak who are members of the sale and purchase of this land is increasing. Patih Laman also reported the case of trading to the police, but it had no continuation, while the practice of customary forest trade and purchase continued. This has an impact on the overlapping of land ownership, on the one hand private companies feel that they have carried out customary forest sale and purchase transactions with the community, so that customary forests changed ownership¹¹.

6. Private Companies and Talang Mamak Indigenous Community Compromises

People who realize that the resistance efforts carried out so far have only been in vain because there is no settlement from the company on their demands, plus some of the land they consider has been taken over by the private companies actually has official ownership documents that are endorsed by The Indigenous Chief and village head who has changed roles as a broker. So, by comparing the dynamics of the conflict that occurred in 2000 to 2008 and thereafter, from 2008 to 2013, the conflicts that occurred in 2008 to 2013 were no longer related to the return of customary forests, but demands for compensation or compensation money. This means that most people choose to compromise the situation that has occurred. The compromise that occurs is: First, companies that have planted

oil palm seedlings in customary forests of the Talang Mamak indigenous will pay compensation for customary forests use. Second, the company will buy community land and then exchange it with one oil palm plot, which can then be sold to the company when the harvest period arrives¹².

Compromise happened because the community felt that it was the only way that was felt most likely to survive in the midst of greater power control, because the resistance effort was unable to deal with the strength of the company. As stated by Spencer, a person or group must be strong in order to survive and adapt to change, known as the concept of survival of the fittest.

Nevertheless, there are still groups that continue to try to maintain their customary forests such as a group of indigenous named Tiga Balai under Patih Laman, in order to fight for rights to customary forests. They reject and oppose all forms of development and are willing to die to defend the forest. The reason they maintain their customary land is due to the narrowing of the environment of Talang Mamak forest which has an impact on the difficulty of carrying out a farming system and must adapt, for those who are unable to adapt their lives will be threatened¹³.

The company and capital owners made an offer under the pretext of wanting to prosper the Talang Mamak indigenous community. They persuaded that customary lands and forests be submitted for processing. In this case, of course the indigenous people did not agree with the

¹² MongabayIndonesia.com. *Beginilah Nasib Masyarakat Adat Talang Mamak Bagian 1*. Accessed from <http://www.mongabay.co.id/2016/07/24/beginilah-nasib-masyarakat-adat-talang-mamak-bagian-1/> on December 15, 2018, at 21.30 WIB

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 16

¹¹ Jhony Setiawan, *op.cit.*, p. 3

offer, but the private companies continued their efforts by approaching the Customary Chair and the Village Head. Because of this, society is divided into two parts; First, the community agreed to the company's offer and Secondly, the community refused to approve and continue to try to defend Customary Forest. Because of the divisions that occurred in the bodies of indigenous peoples and also traditional elders, the company took advantage of this situation and then freely obtained the approval of individual indigenous chief and Village Heads. Then for this reason, private companies and owners of capital submitted permits to the government, saying they had obtained the consent of indigenous peoples. Even though the agreement in question is only the approval of the Indigenous Elders and the Village Head and not through customary deliberations¹⁴.

7. Private Companies presence and Poor Government Roles to protect customary forest

Land is very important for indigenous people since it contains many important things to support themselves, such as economic resources, identity, self-determination and their cultural interests¹⁵. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) Article 17 guarantees rights to property, including land. Specifically regarding the issues of indigenous peoples, several international legal mechanisms guarantee access of indigenous peoples to their lands through Article 13 to Article 19

of the ILO Convention 1989. Regulated also in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), in article 8, paragraph 2 b) stipulates that states must be responsible for providing effective instruments to prevent any action, which causes the disposal of land, territories and resources of indigenous peoples. Added in article 10, the declaration guarantees that indigenous peoples cannot be forcibly transferred from their lands and territories, and that no relocation occurs without their free, prior prior approval. The act of relocation must also provide fair compensation and the possibility to return. Then, through articles 25 and 26, the declaration recognizes the spiritual and cultural relations between indigenous peoples and traditional lands that have been owned, occupied or used. Based on these provisions, the state must provide legal recognition and protection of these lands and resources with respect to traditions, customs, and ownership systems that are owned by indigenous peoples¹⁶.

Based on Schutter report on the right to food to the United Nations, he came to the conclusion that indigenous peoples were vulnerable to the seizure of large-scale land in the world. In a larger domain such as Southeast Asia, Magallanes & Hollick shows that as the most vulnerable group in society, indigenous peoples have suffered a lot from the influence of development in Southeast

¹⁴ *Ibid.*,

¹⁵ Gilbert, J. 2007. *Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights Under the International Law: From Victims to Actors*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff. p. Xv-xvi in Dini Suryani *Structural Violation Of Indigenous Human Rights In Indonesia: A Case Study Of Merauke Integrated Food And Energy Estate (Miffee) In Papua*. Journal of society and Culture, Volume 18 No. 1 year 2016, p.100

¹⁶ Schutter, O. d. (2009, June 11). *Large-scale land acquisitions and leases - Special Report on the Right To Food*. Retrieved October 31, 2014 from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: <http://www.oecd.org/site/swacmal2010/44031283.pdf>, p 8, in Dini Suryani. *Structural Violation Of Indigenous Human Rights In Indonesia: A Case Study Of Merauke Integrated Food And Energy Estate (Miffee) In Papua*. Journal of Society and Culture, Volume 18 No. 1 year 2016 p. 100

Asia, which has taken the form of losing their land¹⁷.

The loss of the customary forests in addition to land grabbing carried out by private companies was also supported by the poor performance of the Indragiri Hulu the local government to save the rights of the indigenous community over their forests. Hundreds of times people complained about the land grabbing problems they faced to Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) Indragiri Hulu but none of the cases were resolved. This requires more in-depth and comprehensive research on whether the Regional Government of Indragiri Hulu Regency is involved in a compromise with private companies.

In 2006, the Regional Government of Indragiri Hulu Regency was scheduled to strengthen the legal umbrella for the customary forests of Talang Mamak through Regional Regulations. The regent of Indragiri Hilir and the Chairperson of the Indragiri Hulu DPRD agreed on a Joint Agreement Letter (SKB) Number 31 of 2006 concerning the Indigenous Forest of the indigenous community. However, since the decree was signed, there has never been a continuation of the regional regulation. There is no concrete evidence for the implementation of the SKB. The Indragiri Hulu Regency Government does not care about land grabbing that continues to occur¹⁸.

Report from the letter, the Indragiri Hulu Government only recognized the rights of the Talang Mamak indigenous which included rights to their customary forests on August 24, 2017¹⁹. The government only acted when the customary forests of the Talang Mamak were already gone and cultures that had taken root in people's lives almost extinct because land grabbing happened.

Conclusion

Customary forests exploitation has destructed economy, environment, and water around the Indigenous people neighborhood. As a result, their life and culture has been changed, their customary wealth and existence extinct. The people who were very early on working as fishermen and farmers, conducting barter system as their ancestor doing. Nowadays, their indigenous chief has been a broker although he broke the customary law by trading the forest to private companies. Some people have been becoming oil palm farmers and working as laborers in the private companies. The changes, as Spencer states, must be done to survive. On the other hands, there are other people against the decision working at the companies, unfortunately the people work at the companies increased. In the year 2000 and 2007, the companies were public enemy, resisted the land grabbing, now they take and accept the companies presence. In the

¹⁷ Magallanes, C., & Hollick, M. (Eds.). 1998. *Land Conflict in Southeast Asia: Indigenous People, Environment and International Law*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, p 6-7 in Dini Suryani *Structural Violation Of Indigenous Human Rights In Indonesia: A Case Study Of Merauke Integrated Food And Energy Estate (Miffee) In Papua*. Journal of society and culture, Volume 18 No. 1 year 2016 p. 101

¹⁸ Kompas.com. *Punahnya Hutan Suku Talang Mamak*. Accessed from

<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/05/17/10324076/Punahnya.Hutan.Suku.Talang.Mamak> on December 15, 2018, at 20.00 WIB

¹⁹ Riauonline.com. *Pemkab Indragiri Hulu Komitmen Akui Hak Adat Suku Talang Mamak*. Accessed from <http://www.riauonline.co.id/riau/read/2017/08/24/sejarah-pemkab-IndragiriHulu-komitmen-akui-hak-adat-suku-talang-mamak> on December 15, 2018, at 21.00 WIB

year 2008 until 2013 they worked at the companies to survive. The indigenous people did it since their efforts to claim the forest did not meet any good responses both from private companies and the local government of Indragiri Hulu district.

Even, in 2013, an NGO, has supported the people to return their rights on the land, however, did not solve the battle. The NGO, Mongabay Indonesia, only issued their findings related to the forest conditions. The zero action, both NGO, moreover environmental NGO, and the local government to return the indigenous rights on the forest, only aggravated the conflicts.

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The Shift of Staple Food from Sago to Rice: A Study about Food Security and Indigenous Communities

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ABSTRACT

Food security is still becoming a crucial issue in developing countries nowadays, either in urban or rural areas. There are many factors triggered this condition, such as the increase in population pressure and conflict, privatization and changing tenure arrangements, poverty, social differentiation and also environmental degradation. It's undeniable that food security is a multidimensional problem, especially for people who lived in rural or isolated areas. In Mentawai Islands, a district located in the western part of Indonesia, the indigenous people depend on forest product (sago) as their main source of food. However, since 2012, the government has destroyed their food culture by establishing the 'National Food Security Improvement Program' and conducting the agricultural intensification as well as establishing 600 hectares of new rice fields in six sub - districts; South Pagai, North Pagai, Sikakap, South Sipora, North Sipora, and South Siberut. This study is conducted comprehensively using the Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (FSVA) to understand and describe the exact profiles of food-insecurities and vulnerable households. Furthermore, it also identified the risks and vulnerabilities of food consumption in Mentawai communities. Findings depict that shifting or transforming the food culture from sago to rice is a serious issue because socio-cultural aspects influence it and surely the government has to make a parallel policy that can accommodate the people needs, not only prioritize the national development agenda.

Keywords: Food Security; Indigenous Communities; Mentawai Islands

Introduction

One of the biggest issues faced by developing countries is providing proper food for community, both urban and rural communities. In the context of the rural community, the problem is commonly caused by the scarcity of natural resources, in this case, "food". It is also difficult to access food because of its agricultural condition. Furthermore, internal factors, such as the increase in population pressure and conflict, privatization and changing tenure arrangements, poverty, social differentiation, and environmental degradation have affected the type, quality, accessibility and reliability of food¹.

As stated at the World Food Summit in 1996, managing the natural resources, especially food, should be based on the participatory approach, involving community, planners and also policy makers. Involving community is a formula and strategic way to inform them about food demand and it can guide them to maintain or even sustain the natural resources (Braun, 2014). All the information related to community demand noted by the planners and policy makers as the important points to consider the formulation of the policies, rules and project arrangements. Demanding responsive project that involve community, it can create the sense of belonging and contribute to the project sustain.

Many efforts have been established to cope with food provision and malnutrition problems. Many projects also held to secure the food provision for rural communities, whether they are conducted by the government, non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) and even world organizations such as World Bank and United Nations. As In Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Guatemala and South Africa, they were funded by USAID. On the other hand, In Ecuador, Ghana, Nepal, the Philippines and Zimbabwe were funded under a grant from the U.K Department for International Development (DFID) and IFPRI (Quisumbing, A and McClafferty, B., 2006).

Food provision activities and nutrition in Indonesia are also supported by financial and technical assistance from World Bank, Asian Development Bank and many other agencies. Until now, the food and nutrition issue in Indonesia still focused on physical sector (Quisumbing, Estudillo and Otsuka, 2000).

To enhance the sustainability of the food provision scheme, many agricultural projects, whether facilitated by government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have applied participatory approach in the project cycles, including planning, implementation, and also monitoring and evaluating process. Unfortunately, food management is not fully over handed to the community as the beneficiaries. As evaluation has shown, that the past food provision and malnutrition problems supported by aid agencies in Indonesia poorly addressed access equity for the poor community. Regarding to this condition, actually since 2012, Indonesian government has already established the regulation about food security in Act No. 18/2012, where its clearly stated that *"food security is the condition which all people, in all households, at all times have sufficient food in both quantity and quality to enable them to live healthy, active, productive and sustainable lives, and that the food is safe, diverse, nutritious, equitably distributed and affordable, and does not conflict with religion, beliefs or culture"*. But in contra, this regulation is triggered many conflicts in Mentawai Islands. It happened because national government tried to apply

¹ In South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, population growth has pushed people to settle in ecologically sensitive area such as hilltops and wetland. It will makes them loss the availability of food and difficult for them to find food in new settlement (Dyson, et.al).

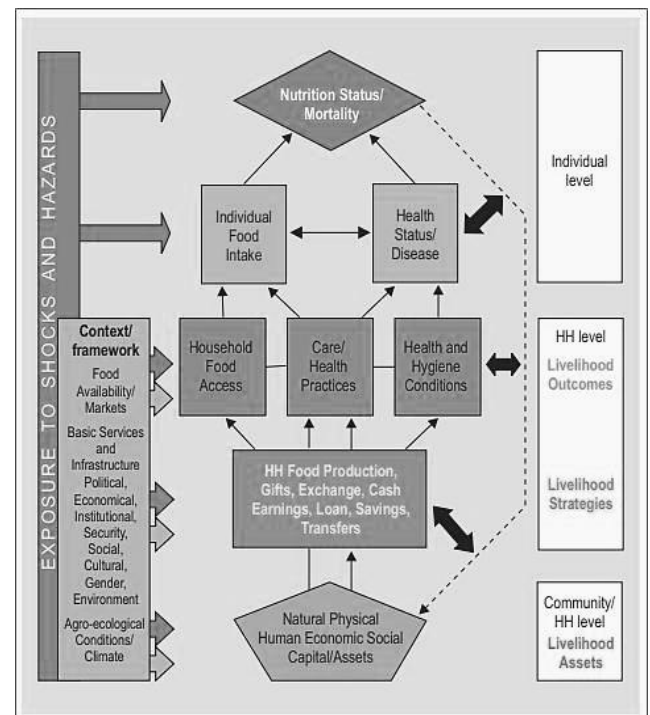
agricultural intensification and establishing 600 hectares of rice fields in those Islands, but ignoring the crucial needs of people. As a matter of fact, Mentawai people are really depended on forest products as their food, such as sago, yam and cassava. Furthermore, the demographic factor like soil condition, human resources skill to manage the rice fields, as well as the technology that will be applied on did not fit with their life.

Transforming the food culture is a crucial thing and needs to consider socio – cultural aspects of the people. The national regulation should be parallel with the culture of indigenous people and also their ecological condition. It is important to ensure the sustainability and security of food, and surely prioritize their basic needs.

Methodology

Food security is multidimensional problems and requires an analysis of a parameter range which consists of three indicators; aggregate food availability, households' access to food, and individuals' food utilization. Since the complexity, this study was conducted comprehensively using the Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (FSVA). This analysis was very crucial to understand and describe the exact profiles of food-insecurities in communities or households. Furthermore, this study also identified the risks and vulnerabilities of food consumption in Mentawai communities. Moreover, this study observed facts and situation related to perspective of indigenous people and how they engaged in food provision and security, it was crucial to provide an important insight into a food security situation.

Figure 1. Food security conceptual framework (adapted from WFP, 2009)



Hence, the primary data were collected through field research. Data collection techniques consisted of field survey in six sub-districts of Mentawai Islands (South Pagai, North Pagai, Sikakap, South Sipora, North Sipora and South Siberut), as well as in-depth interviews with ten indigenous people (including men, women, and *Sikerei*; indigenous leader) and also focus group discussions. The secondary data were collected from government documents, NGOs report, reports on previous relevant study to the research topic. These data collection supported the Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (FSVA). As mentioned in previous paragraph, this analysis attempted to describe the profile of the food-insecure and vulnerable households, as well as to identify the causes of food insecurity, risk and vulnerabilities within the community (WFP, 2009). In this study, FSVA was very crucial because it strengthened the findings and results related to food security and how indigenous people were involved and engaged on it.

Result and Discussion

Defining the food security means there should be a sufficient food condition, and at the same time, the food has to be accessible. Four basic concepts in food security are: sufficiency, temporal considerations, access, and security (Maxwell and Frankenberger, 1992). Sufficiency of food is often a subjective measure; in this issue it was a measure of the frequency and severity of means for coping with food insufficiency.

Sen (1981) also found that access to food is determined by food entitlements, the sum of assets - human, physical or financial - which an individual or household can use to acquire food, and the rate at which those assets can be converted into food, either through exchange or production. Security of access is the converse of the risk of entitlement failure; the higher the share of a household's resources devoted to the acquisition of food, the greater the risk of failure (Maxwell and Frankenberger, 1992).

Talking about individual and community condition in gaining the access to food, it cannot be separated with livelihood assets, and it's definitely related to the sustainable livelihood frameworks². The sustainable livelihoods framework is concerned about five essential things; there are human capital, natural capital, financial capital, social capital, and physical capital. One of the outcomes of this framework is to improved food security.

² Sustainable livelihoods: Putting people at the centre of development (Adapted from Chambers, R. and G. Conway (1992) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century*. IDS Discussion Paper 296. Brighton: IDS) implies that; the livelihoods approach is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development. A specific livelihoods framework and objectives have been developed to assist with implementation, but the approach goes beyond these. In essence it is a way of putting people at the center of development, thereby increasing the effectiveness of development assistance.

In Indonesia, improving food security is really depended on knowing who is vulnerable to food, the size of the food-insecure population, where people live and what makes them vulnerable. Nonetheless, there is also a concerned with the availability of food, started from production, distribution process until consumption. All the cycles are influenced by many factors, such as; climate, soil type, rainfall, agricultural inputs, irrigation systems, technologies and farming practices, and the most crucial one, policy or regulation. In this chapter, there will be holistic explanation about food security in Indonesia, especially in Mentawai islands, and how indigenous communities tied to their food culture, as well as responded the shifting process from sago to rice in their daily life.

1. Food Security in Indonesia

Food security issues always have interconnection with many aspects, such as agricultural aspect, social aspect, economic aspect, and even legal aspect. Food security is a complex problem and there are multiple causes for its existence in many developing countries. In Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, it is such a vivid condition, that there are many poor people closely related to poverty and hunger. In Indonesia, food is the most fundamental right for everyone and it needs to fulfill every time. It was clearly stated on article (27) of Indonesian Constitutional Law or UUD 1945, and Act No. 7/1996 about food. The lack of food can make a bad impact on human's life (Purwaningsih, 2008).

In Indonesia food always identified as rice. It has been assumed because rice is a kind of staple food for Indonesian. Many experiences had been proven that if the instability of food were happened, it can reflect as an economic crisis. For example in 1997/1998, Indonesia was trapped at the

multidimensional crisis, which was made a tremendous impact to social and national atmosphere. It was contradictive with Indonesia's national development goal, which clearly defined 'food security' as one of the important thing to achieve.

Subsequently, Indonesia has diversification of foods; there are about 400 varieties of fruit, 370 varieties of vegetable, 70 varieties of tuber and 55 varieties of spice. However the main staple food in all over Indonesia is rice; but in some other places people consumes potatoes, maize, cassava, taro and sago. Regarding to this situation, Indonesia has set food policy to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, mainly rice, maize and soybeans. This policy aimed to promote agricultural production and increase the productivity of farmers. Based on the data from Ministry of Agriculture, agricultural sector has been contributed 14.71% to Indonesian gross domestic product (Kementerian Pertanian, 2015).

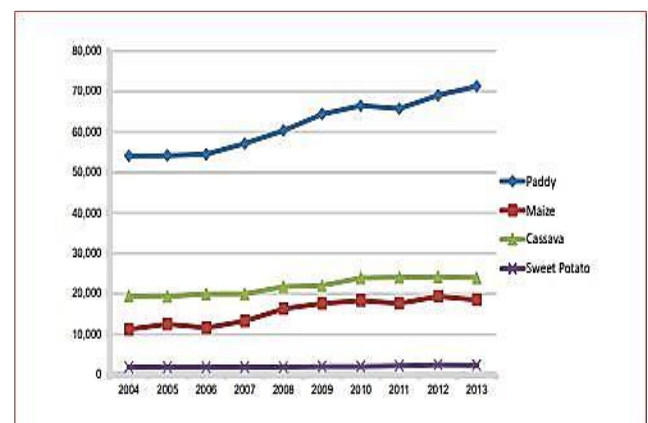
Rice, as the worldwide staple food is very dominant crop which grew in more than 13 million hectares of land in Indonesia. Since its massive production, government has tried to decrease the needs for imports and fulfill the indigenous rice consumption. At the other side, Indonesia also has cassava, maize and sago as staple foods, especially in eastern part and also some in western part (like Nias and Mentawai). But unfortunately, there is only few data available about cassava, maize and sago production.

According to the data of National Statistics Agency (BPS), the biggest production of rice or paddy in Indonesia occurs in Java and Sumatra. These two islands have variability in climate and big intensity of rainfall which suit to rice or paddy. From 2004 to 2013 the rice production in Java increased rapidly from 5.71 million ha to 6.47 million ha, while in

Sumatra the amount was increased from 3.16 million ha to 3.52 million ha for a decade (BPS, 2018).

In Sumatra, rice production or paddy reached the highest peak in 2013, while other staple food such as maize, cassava and sweet potatoes remained stable. And as described in the previous paragraph, sago consumption could not be measured as it only consume in Nias and Mentawai. The data about staple food production in Sumatra as show in the graphic below:

Figure 2. Staple food production in Sumatra from 2004 – 2013 (ha)



*data from BPS

Even though the production of food increased yearly, yet agricultural sector in Indonesia has to bear with tremendous challenge such as climate change, unpredictable weather and also natural disaster (floods, droughts, etc) which may threatening the progress of food security (LIPI, 2016).

For more than a decade, undeniably, Indonesia has achieved self-sufficiency in rice. It makes the dependency with rice as main source of food was very significant. Although in some parts of Indonesia, people still consume cassava, maize and sago but government wanted to change the food culture. Shifting food culture or food preferences are becoming the big agenda for policy makers. They completely forgot that

there are some challenges that need to be solved related to food production (especially rice production):

- The land conversion issue has become the biggest challenge, especially in Java, where people tried to convert agricultural land become non - agricultural uses (such as for industries, settlements, etc).
- The land degradation that caused by environmental damages or destructions.
- The limited water sources that cause by forest degradation.
- The irrigation systems that is not sufficient for rice or paddy fields.
- Natural disasters such as floods and droughts that may impact on food harvest.
- The farming systems in Indonesia are still not prioritizing the small farmers

Due to many obstacles of food security issue, Indonesia government then set up the Nine Priority Agenda (Nawa Cita) on 2014 which emphasized food sovereignty as a guiding principle to achieve food security. Then those priorities are regulated in the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019 under five key strategies:

Five strategies in food security

Increase food availability by enhancing domestic production of key crops (rice, maize, soybean, meat, sugar, chili and onion

Improve the quality of food distribution and the accessibility of food

Improve the overall quality and nutritional value of the Indonesian diet

Protect food security through preparedness for natural disasters, mitigating the impact of climate change and preventing infections and diseases in pest or animals

Improve the livelihoods and welfare of farmers, fishermen and other food producers

Access to food is also very crucial in food security issue. Access to food is determined by food entitlements (Sen, 1981), the sum of assets - human, physical or financial - which an individual or household can use to acquire food, and the rate at which those assets can be converted into food, either through exchange or production. Security of access is the converse of the risk of entitlement failure; the higher the share of a household's resources devoted to the acquisition of food, the greater the risk of failure (Maxwell and Frankenberger, 1992). Which means accessing the food is attached to household's ability to obtain sufficient, safe and nutritious food from a combination of sources including own production, stocks, purchases, bartering, gifts, borrowing and food aid.

Food may be physically present in a region, but not accessible to certain households because of some limited access like: a) physical access - market infrastructure, ways of reaching markets, and the functionality of markets; b) economic access - the financial capacity to purchase adequate and nutritious food; and/or c) social access - the social capital needed to engage in informal support mechanisms such as bartering or borrowing, or the presence of social support programs.

Improving and achieving food security are equal to maintaining household purchasing power. To improve purchasing power is a multifaceted effort. Maintaining food prices and controlling inflation - especially for food products - are crucial factors. However, a holistic review on agricultural policies found that an emphasis on domestic food production and the provision of various kinds of support to food producers have significant impact on the general population's access to food, not least by maintaining relatively high food prices (OECD, 2015). A holistic review of

agricultural policies is very useful to analyze the imbalances between strengthening domestic food production and protecting poor consumers. But still, there is awareness that global demand could be another big obstacle in food security issue.

Furthermore, another indicator to ensure food security is its utilization. Food utilization refers to a household's use of the food to which it has access; and an individual's ability to absorb nutrients. Food utilization usually depends on:

- The facilities available for food storage and processing
- Knowledge and practices in food preparation and the feeding of young children and other dependent individuals – including sick and elderly people – which may be impaired by the low education of mothers and other caregivers, cultural beliefs and taboos
- Food-sharing practices within the household
- The health status of the individual, which may be impaired by disease, poor hygiene, water and sanitation and lack of access to health facilities and health care.

These three indicators; availability, access and utilization of food are not applicable in Mentawai case because in that area, those indicators are not always become the parameters. There should be an acknowledgment to community and their food culture, so that we can analyze and understand their food security condition. In the upcoming discussion, an explanation regarding to indigenous people in Mentawai and their food culture will be shown.

2. Indigenous Communities in Mentawai and Their Food Security

The Mentawai Islands consists of four main islands; Siberut, Sipora, North Pagai,

and South Pagai. The biggest island is Siberut, and it covered 4,090 km² and consists of two sub districts, north and south Siberut (Persson, 1997). The capital, Tuapejat is located in Sipora. In Mentawai, the population is about 70.000 people but it is very difficult to obtain the reliable statistical information about the archipelago (Nordholt, 2007). The majority of clan that occupied is indigenous people, which count for about 23.000 people in Siberut, and then there are the Minangkabau people who migrated from mainland Sumatra which count for about 2.000 people.

In the New Order era, Mentawai experienced the massive project called 'transmigration'. This project aimed to relocate people from overpopulated islands, so the demographic development could be balanced. More than 70% of Indonesian population lived in Java, as the main island. And over two decades, there were 170 million inhabitants from Java, Madura, Lombok and Bali were relocated (World Bank, 1999). Transmigration has a long story; it has been started in 1950 which replicated the Dutch colonial government program, and later continued by Indonesian government after 1945, year of independence. Earlier, transmigration has positive purposes, (1) to relocate millions of people from most populated islands such as Java, Bali and Madura to less populated islands, (2) to reduce poverty by providing land and employment opportunities for Indonesian, and (3) to find other resources in those less populated islands. But unfortunately, this programmed seems unsuccessful (DTE Five Years Report, 2011).

The findings also supported by Action in Solidarity with Asia and the Pacific (2019), which stated that the transmigration process in 'outer islands' especially in Mentawai has triggered the conflict among trans-migrants and indigenous people. The native or indigenous people claimed that

the national government gives the limited access for them, which could be said that contra with the trans-migrants. And on the other hand, indigenous people seem did not obtain sufficient infrastructure to support their lives (such as roads, health facilities, school etc). In the other hand, the land ownership status also become very important, because indigenous people felt that indigenous government did not give their rights and land certificate even though they have legal evidence of their land. More than 60% of rainforests in Mentawai has been cut-down for transmigration program,

and that makes indigenous people lost their homes and their source of food (DTE Five Years Report, 2001). Undeniably, the objective of transmigration may destroy the live of indigenous people. Transmigration made it possible for landless peasant and homeless people from urban Java. But, with this action, they destructed the forest and distributed to environmental degradation in Mentawai. It can be assumed that the transmigration program have failed so far to lower the population pressure in Java, and congers poverty.

Table 1. The transmigration phase in Indonesia

Colonialized Period	Pelita Period (New Order Era) from 1969 - 1999	Reformation Period (2000 - now)
1st transmigration occurred in Lampung (1905 - 1941) There were about 175.867 people moved from Java to Lampung, and it divided through 5 phase: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1905-1921 • 1921 • 1922 • 1923 • 1932-1941 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pelita I (1969/1970 - 1973/1974) In this phase, the regulation about transmigration was established (Act No. 3/1972) • Pelita II (1974/1975 - 1978/1979) For about 65.517 people from Central Java was moved to West Sumatra • Pelita III (1979/1980 - 1983/1984) • Pelita IV (1984/1985 - 1988/1989) Transmigration has focused on opening the rainforest area into industrial forests • Pelita V (1989/1990 - 1993/1994) • Pelita VI (1994/1995 - 1998/1999) 	Transmigration in this phase is focusing on establishing the independent and integrated town (<i>Kota Terpadu Mandiri</i>), so that it could boost the regional economy and development.

Source: Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration, 2015.

Based on the field interview that has been conducted by LIPI (2016), it gave the hypotheses that the most difficult part of the transmigration process is always attached with indigenous people who lived in Mentawai. There is a critic about transmigration program, because indigenous people that it's violating their rights. The migrants implied that transmigration program was only about political tools and power.

Figure 3. The settlement of trans migrants in Sipora



As mentioned in previous part, transmigration program has destroyed the forests as the food sources of indigenous people. It can be seen because the economic system in Mentawai remained slow since most indigenous people do not have money and they just depended on the food product they produce themselves. There is only few people can afford rice and chicken, because mostly they eat the food from forest (such as sago) and ocean (such as fish). Sago, as their main staple food is obtained from the sago pal, and it grows wild in their surroundings. Then they have root crops, bananas, and fruit trees (Persson, 1997). Rice is not a common part of Mentawai people's diet, because it is not cultivated in Mentawai. It has been imported from Padang, the capital city of West Sumatra. Rice is then, for the poorest people too expensive (Johansen, 2008).

Another study conducted by Erwin (2017) argues that most of Mentawai people

do not only like to consume rice, they prefer sago. The preference as rice is a prestigious symbolic food, due to its price tag and the challenge of them to reach it. In Mentawai, if a person is able to consume rice a few days in a week, then that person could be classified as the 'haves'. Furthermore, indigenous people value rice not only because they view it as a luxurious food for the wealthy, but also because they value it as being 'modern' and 'developed'. The reasons make them consider sago as a 'primitive' food, which mostly consume by remote Papuans, upstream Dayak or by people in islands a long distance away, such as in Maluku.

Regarding this condition, Indonesian government tried to reinforce food program "Raskin", which is short for '*beras miskin*' or 'rice for the poor'. In Mentawai, as elsewhere, that program does not supply the indigenous sago staple food, but rice for poor families. The social signal this program sends is that 'everyone should have rice to eat', reinforcing the message that sago and taro are second grade foods. Sago grows in wet and waterlogged soil. When people cut down a sago tree there are always some saplings in the vicinity which will take its place. After about eight years, the new trees are ready to be harvested. Normally, one good mature sago tree can produce sufficient starch for a family of four or five for about eight to ten weeks.

Figure 4. The household chores to process sago in Mentawai



Besides being a staple food, the sago tree provides other benefits to them. Sago leaves can be used as one of the sturdiest thatched roofs in Indonesia. They are a useful wrapper for roasting sago bread sticks or for making tapir, as mentioned above. They are also made a resilient wall material. In addition, the strong sago palm bark can be used for flooring and it burns well in the kitchen fireplace. Parts of sago trees' such as the crown, which does not contain starch, will eventually drop to the ground and in combination with other tree litter, will decay and become the perfect host for sago beetles. The grubs of this beetle are an easy catch and a delicious and much sought after protein source. In sum, the sago palm is a valuable multipurpose plant for the people of Mentawai.

Recently, the local office of the Ministry of Agriculture has assisted in the introduction of rice as main staple food in Mentawai. It makes the existence of sago become smaller. When Mentawai people grow rice as their source of foods, they run risks because it does not suit their culture. Adapting to the new food culture needs more than a decade, especially if the ancestors had introduced sago as the food and philosophy of life (Johansen, 2008). Until now, sago is still valued in the community. In many indigenous rituals, Mentawai people still use sago. Undeniably, it cannot be separated from Mentawai people life, even though government pushed them to change their food culture. And again, shifting or transforming the food culture from sago to rice is a serious problem, because it cannot be separated from socio – cultural aspect of the people. Finally, the consideration to implement the National Food Security Improvement Program has to be parallel with their food culture and also their ecological condition, because sustaining and securing food have

to acknowledge the indigenous people needs.

Conclusion

Food security issue in Mentawai islands is very crucial because even though government tried to apply agricultural intensification by putting rice as the staple food, but they did not consider the indigenous people needs, they still depend on forests product (sago). The missing gap between these two should be solved by using the Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (FSVA) to understand the exact problems of food security in from households until community level. For Mentawai people, sago is not only their staple food, but it has many functions to support their life. Despite of the good intention and program of national government to shift the food culture should be appreciated, but they are supposed to conduct and in-depth studies related to food culture and society, so that the objective is not against the socio and cultural aspects within indigenous community.

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Adaptation of Migrating Betawi People: Existences, Forms, and Developments

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ABSTRACT

Adaptation of migrating Betawi people as the ethnic migrant in urban areas is an interesting social phenomena related to urbanism. This study aims to analyze the urbanism or the way of life of the Betawi people in Palembang city. This study used the social definition paradigm, an ethnography research method. The data were the Ethnic Betawi group in the Kebon Sirih and the Lorong Jambu areas. The data were obtained from the primary data and the secondary data. The primary data was obtained through participatory field observations, and in-depth interviews, meanwhile the secondary data was obtained from articles or journals. In analyzing the data, codes system and coding were used. Field observations were carried out in Kampung Betawi, Kebon Sirih and Talang Betawi Villages, Lorong Jambu. Interviews were conducted to participants, the Betawi people, used purposive sampling or based on certain characteristics. The results of the study indicated that the urbanism or a way of life of the people in Palembang was to adjust to the environment in terms of work to meet their daily needs. In addition, it adopted the Palembang wedding tradition when the Betawi people are married. The results showed that the people acculturate with the Palembang culture, specifically in wedding tradition.

Keywords: Acculturation; Betawi; Ethnography; Palembang; Urbanism

Introduction

The city presents different situations and conditions in the village, referring to *tangible* characteristic that can be seen from the appearance and the function and

intangible characteristic. The tangible characteristic appears from the functions such as political functions characterized by the central office of the government. Meanwhile, the intangible

characteristic is defined as the way of life with the peculiarities of each region. Borrowing the term from Bardo (in Kartono, 2010), it is referred to as a feature of social organization. It is related to how to manage the place of residence, how to manage the social interactions, and how to regulate the lifestyle. In the view of sociologist, L. Wirth (in Kartono, 2010) the city is seen as a way of life (Urban as Way of Life).

It is widely known that there are two indigenous ethnicities who inhabit Palembang city, they are *Wong Jero* and *Wong Jabo*. *Wong Jero* is noble descent or highborn, while *Wong Jabo* is common people. However, the ethnic communities around Palembang are various such as Malay, Komerang, Pasemah, Gumai, Semendo, Lematang, and Ogan. There are also some immigrant ethnic groups namely Arabs, Chinese, and others from Europe. Palembang city also has one of Indonesia ethnic communities, the Betawi Ethnic which is originating from Jakarta and its surrounding areas. The uneven composition of the population and unequal development outcomes became one of the main causes for the people making dislocation. Then, it causes the targeted city having the further development that makes the appearance of new social level, the changes in attitudes and lifestyle, and the changes in livelihoods. The urbanism carried out by the Betawi ethnic group encouraged them to adjust to the new environment, especially the environment of Palembang city. In different circumstances, the other ethnics have come to Jakarta causing that the Betawi Ethnic is no longer dominating Jakarta.

One technique that has been used as a tool for urban development in recent years is cultural regeneration. This is seen as a means to restore and improve the quality of urban life through increasing and developing unique characteristics of a place and its people. Human living space is not

only limited by the place where he was raised and born but also in other places and times where by means of him all needs can be fulfilled (Jelamu, 2006). It is as the Betawi people do which not limited by space and time to fulfill their needs. Their presence in Palembang city forced them to adjust to the surrounding environment. Ethnic Betawi is closely related as carpenters. At first they worked as carpenters but over time the adjustments were made. Along with the progress of the industry that was built in urban areas, most of Betawi people switched their work as sellers, such as local food sellers (tekwan, pempek, bakso), greengrocers, livestock sellers (cattle and goats), stall business men, and rattan handicraft businesses men. It is interested to study the Betawi people in Palembang on account of their existence, form, and development in Palembang city as well as their cultural adaptation to local culture.

Theoretical Basis

This study referred to the theory of Louis Wirth "how to live in the city (*Urban Way of Life*)". Wirth defines the city as "Relative Large, Dense, and Permanent Settlement of Socially Heterogeneous Individuals", which is a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement with a population of heterogeneous social position. According to Wirth (in Kartono, 2010) the typical lifestyle of city is called urbanism, and this is determined by spatial characteristics, secularization, voluntary associations, integral social roles, and vague norms. To see how the process of urbanism takes place, how the local people live in that city must be seen. Furthermore, how to live in urban areas can be seen from the way people use facilities in the city.

Research Method

This study was about the Betawi people urbanism in Palembang city. It aimed to analyze and explain the history of their existence in Palembang city, the form of urbanism, the development of Betawi culture, and the defense strategy to live in Palembang city. Therefore, the research method used was ethnographic research method with the social definition paradigm. The Ethnographic research method is a description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system (Cresswell, 1998). This research was to figure out the Betawi people history, form, and development and understand the real meaning of life experience to those under study from participants' perspectives. As Ethnographic research method, data were collected in great quantities of material to describe what people believe and how they behave in everyday situations; therefore, data analysis and interpretation can be challenging (Roper & Shapira, 2000). The data were obtained from the Betawi people live in Kampung Betawi, Kebon Sirih and Talang Betawi Villages, Lorong Jambu. Thus, this research was intended to understand social situations in depth based on reality or phenomena nearby. To generate the answers, the research steps are needed such as formulating research questions such as history of the Betawi people existence, the form of urbanism, and their development in Palembang city. To have research objectives, determining the benefits of the research, making a framework of thinking, and determining the technical analysis of the data and the validity of the data. The data collection method used in this study was the combination of library research, field observations, and in-depth interviews with the people using notes, logs, and diaries. Additional data may also be found in items such as published and unpublished documents, papers, books, public records,

letters, photographs, videos and assorted artefacts.

Research Results and Discussion

A. The History of the Existence of the Ethnic Betawi

An Australian historian, Lance Casle, in Erwanto (2014) describes that Betawi is as a newly born ethnicity. This statement is based on demographic studies of the residents of Batavia. The census of 1815-1853 showed that Ethnic Betawi had not been recorded. Betawi was categorized as ethnic in 1930. Lance concluded that the Betawi Ethnic group was an assortment of Sundanese, Javanese, Arabic, Bali, Sumbawa, Ambon, and Malay. The source of the website of the local government, <https://bappeda.jakarta.go.id> provides the information that records the ethnic formation of those who were used as slaves, where in the 18th century a majority (49 percent) of the population of Batavia. The same thing was stated by Erwantoro (2014) Ethnic Betawi emerged as a new category in the population census data in 1930. In the 1930 census, there were 778,953 Ethnic Betawi people and became the majority of Batavia at that time.

Based on the results of observations and interviews, the Betawi people in Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu, the first generation moved to Palembang city due to economic factors. Instead of just escaping from colonialism, the Ethnic Betawi nomads thought that Palembang city had a better chance of living with the availability of jobs, the extent of vacant land, and the small number of people in Palembang. But in reality, the funds and the skills are the main requirements because at that time the Betawi people migrants had low education so they had to work as

entrepreneurship like running their own business. The Betawi people were known as "clever wood" in the first generation, many of them undertook this business to make a living in a foreign land. A participant explained that their ancestors were carpenters (UP, 52 years old):

"... Who doesn't know the Betawi people, from the time of the ancestors, the Betawi people have been good at timber business, timber trade, and making furniture from lumber. That is why many have the expertise to be carpenters nowadays. But only a few who can be business holder while the rests are collies. The Betawi people had a lot of land there, but they sold it all because they didn't know whether they were displaced causing them being destitute people now."

The arrival of the Betawi people in Palembang city from the beginning had been involved in the timber business, the location was in the regions 10.13 and 14 ilir (SA, an participant, 72 years). After trying to work as a carpenter, the Ethnic Betawi migrants spread out to other areas in Palembang city, such as Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu. At that time, Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu were shrubs, the areas then were built by the Betawi migrants. Over time, the place has become the largest Betawi settlement in Palembang city. According to the head of the local RT, the Betawi people are still widespread in various places such as Boom Baru, Kuto Market, Tegal Binangun, Plaju, 22 ilir, Talang Kerikil, Lebung Gajah and so on. But their spreading is not a lot and forms a settlement, if people want to know their existence through personal means. Their migration to Palembang city was intended to improve the economic condition. During Jakarta was filled by various people from all over regions to work and live. The Betawi people lost

their chance since they had low education. Whereas, the construction of the structure and infrastructure of Jakarta forced them to sell their land and house causing them being displaced. This condition forced them to migrate to other place. Since the Betawi people believe that their ancestors are from Palembang, this city had been their destination to start a new living. A participant (YA, 60 years old) described: *"... Our oral story always talk about Palembang as our great grandfathers, our ancestor. This story has been time to time telling to their posterity. This oral story has built emotional connection between this city and us. It is the main reason why we choose Palembang as our destination to immigrate."*

Factors of migrated destination is not only caused by the situation but also oral story, Palembang city has been their destination seems as "reunion" for the people.

B. The Form of Urbanism

According to Wirth (in Kartono, 2010) the typical lifestyle of city is called urbanism, and this is determined by spatial characteristics, secularization, voluntary associations, integral social roles, and vague norms. To see how the process of urbanism takes place, how the local people live in that city must be seen. Furthermore, how to live in urban areas can be seen from the way people use facilities in the city.

1. Job Preferences, such as:
 - a) The Wood Processing of Household Furniture

The Betawi people are known for their expertise in the field of wood processing, ranging from merely refining wood, making household appliances from wood, and making

wood carvings. In other words, Betawi people are able and willing to process wood into finished goods or semi-finished goods. At first, many Ethnic Betawi people worked in the timber business when they were migrating to Palembang city. The 13 ilir area was the center of the first settlement of ethnic Betawi. There, the timber business was also firstly started by Ethnic Betawi. IL, an participant (45 years) said that many relatives did not have permanent jobs so he hired them.

"...The timber business is developing quite well, right! It is because the employees are still a few so the relatives are involved. Moreover, many of them who come here as migrants having no job, so I do a favor for them."

b) The Daily Work

The other work done is a day laborer, a conventional motorcycle driver, and a household assistant. These works are carried out based on their last educational average levels: elementary, middle and high school graduates. Women who are as household assistants work in other environments, such as Ibu Sumiyah (50 years old). She works for a Javanese ethnic family whose house is across an alley. The head of the local RT stated:

"...The Betawi people had a lot of land there, but they sold it all because they didn't know whether they were displaced causing them being destitute people now. There are various jobs of the people here such as a civil servant, an entrepreneur, a laborer, and even a household assistant who is cleaning the house, or only washing and ironing."

c) The Flowers and Ornamental Plants Selling Business

Since a migration to Palembang city, the first and second generations have not had a permanent job. All was based on expertise and works as a laborer, at that time the economy was classified as middle to lower level. Not a few of the Betawi people tried other jobs to fulfill their daily needs, such as being a flower seller. It is another alternative job realizing that it did not require large funds. Even though it required more patience and thoroughness, but for the Betawi people, any business could be done as long as the funds used was not too large. Considering the driving factor for migration is to help the family economy by finding sources of sustenance elsewhere. One of the participants, AT (51 years) revealed:

"...Because I am working under people's business, there is a feeling of wanting to have an own business. In that era, there were still a few people who sold the flowers but I saw that the development had been started, so I thought the flower selling business was just a trial and error which did not need lots of funds. Open the business at the front, just need to walk then arrive! It is economical. That is why I am still selling flowers until now. The important thing is that family's need is fulfilled."

d) The Food Seller

Selling food is another alternative for getting the money. This work is done by women as a job in public scope. Some of them sell Palembang traditional food like *tekwan* and *pempek*, while others sell vegetables, *soto betawi*, and their own Betawi foods, namely *roti buaya*

and *uli tape*. For Betawi people, this work can add to daily spending, give pocket money to children, and help in paying electricity bills. This job is enough to help the women, because they sell in front of the house, this is to minimize the cost of funds that must be spent if they rent a place or shop. AI, an participant, (46 years) whose wife opened a business selling food stated:

"...Looking for money is difficult, frankly I didn't have much money for the funds at that time, so I sold ice first then my wife helped me to sell the model, and thank God it becomes a pempek shop now".

e) The Cattle Raising

One other finding is cattle raising, this is the only ones left. But it provides many benefits, because it can employ other Betawi people. Besides that, it is developed into meatballs selling business. Then more and more, Betawi people are employed. IL, an participant (45 years) revealed that Bang Ilham explained that currently it is difficult to find grass for his livestock:

"...My cows fed their own selves freely, but it's no longer. There is barely grass, so running the cattle raising becomes my business here."

Individually, the economic conditions of the Betawi people are middle to lower. Considering the first and second generation as they migrated to Palembang city, they did not have enough funds for there is uncertain income and the highest education mostly completed is high school. The Betawi people, socially, can adapt well. It is proven through the works adjusted to the

surroundings and expertise as well as various activities carried out to cultivate the kinship. One of Louis Wirth's researches on urbanism is job preference; these jobs depict that the Betawi people labors based on their expertise such as carpenters and traders.

2. Betawi People Activities

Recitation, Social Gathering and Aerobics.

The points discussed by Louis Wirth (in Kartono, 2010) regarding urbanism include: (1) the lack of individual interaction, and (2) anomie or not knowing the norm. In this study, the Betawi people did not show a lack of individual interaction. The actual interactions are even high and active. Recitation, social gathering, and aerobics are carried out solely to cultivate kinship among fellows of Betawi ethnic groups while at the same time showing their existence as Betawi ethnic. In contrast, it encourages mothers and teenage girls to actively play a role in the neighborhood. The values of traditional Betawi traditions and norms are also still represented in everyday life such as *Lek-lekan* or gatherings which teach us to have a harmonious neighboring and to help each other. Other values and norms are not allowed to sit or stand by the door since it can block out people who want to pass and can hurt themselves. Next is that when we work on something, we have to surely finish it as it teaches a sense of responsibility for the work.

3. Spatial Space

According to Pranawita (2015) in a settlement, natives will create their own settlements with certain characteristics.

Pranawita further explained that, as in the coastal areas, the natives' settlements are for fisherman. The coastal area is inhabited by Javanese, Chinese and other migrants. Then the next area, hinterland (inside), is a settlement characterized by agriculture or plantations. This area is inhabited by Sundanese, Javanese, and Betawi ethnic groups. The Betawi town in Palembang is a manifestation of a settlement with a Betawi characteristic. Similar to Melayu town and Betawi town, they mark their respective ethnic backgrounds. The Betawi town in Palembang city is not characterized by agriculture and plantations, but demonstrates the process of shaping the Betawi group.

This study shows that Betawi ethnic settlements do not have obstacles in social relations in settlements. The naming of "Kampung Betawi" and "Kampung Talang Betawi" does not necessarily restrict their movement to interact. the Betawi people can interact directly with others freely by considering that they do trading, processing wood, selling food and running grocery stalls. Often stalls, places of sale, and wooden depots are merged with their homes. MM participant (66 years) stated:

"...Here, in Kebon Sirih. My neighbor's sibling said it is better to settle in Kebon Sirih as there were many Betawis, so it would be good. When I arrived in Palembang, I immediately settled in Kebon Sirih, the children were born in a midwife clinic near here."

4. Secularization

The majority of the Betawi people is Muslim. For them, religion and culture has an equally significant portion. Harmonization of both lies in the function of each. Kuntowijoyo (in Edi, 2011) states that religion, in the

perspective of social sciences, is a system that does a number of conceptions regarding the construction of reality, which play a major role in explaining the structure of normative and social order and understanding and interpreting the world. Meanwhile, art and tradition are expressions of creativity, work, and human intention containing religious values and messages, philosophical insight and local wisdom. Whereas according to Azra (2011), religion and culture are two things that are equally beneficial. Religion will give spirit to culture, while culture provides wealth to religion.

The results of observations and interviews showed that the religion believed by the Betawi people in Kebon Sirih and in Lorong Jambu is predominantly Islam. The beliefs other than Islam such as rituals or traditional ceremonies that cannot be accepted by human rationality have long been abandoned by them since the first generation came to Palembang city; they no longer believed in the supernatural things. the Betawi people does not associate Islam with the myths or superstitions of ancestral heritage. In the current millennium, the Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu Betawi ethnic communities are aware of the world beyond the five human senses but not associating them with everyday life. They believe in one belief and the one Allah SWT. Currently, the religious activities carried out are routine recitation, as taught, so that they always beg and pray only to Allah SWT.

5. Voluntary Association

The voluntary association of the Betawi people is the Association of Silaturaahim Betawi South Sumatera (FORWABES) and the Betawi Sriwijaya community (KOMBETS). Both are

formed in order to accommodate Betawi ethnic people in South Sumatra. The establishment of FORWABES was started by Betawi ethnic people who met in Palembang city and then got to know each other and some were siblings. As the time flies, FORWABES was established in 2015. Other voluntary associations are KOMBETS and Kampung Betawi Youth. KOMBETS is only addressed to Betawi residents in Kebon Sirih which does not have a management structure and is not legal according to law. However, they call themselves KOMBETS; a naming of identity to introduce to the public. Giddens said that identity is very important for an ethnic group, "It can provide important threads of continuous with past and is optically kept alive through the practice of cultural traditions" (Giddens, 1991). Thus, almost all cultural identities have an opinion of whether an individual is understood in relation to the identity of kinship, race, and ethnicity. KOMBETS identifies themselves as "native" Betawi descendants.

The other voluntary association, *Pemuda Kampung Betawi*, is chaired by Anton. This association accommodates Betawi youth into a place. It was started from the concerns of Anton, Untung, Muklis, Toni and Kusdi (in 2018) who saw the children of Betawi town dropping out of school, just sitting around wasting time. By these five Betawi people, they formed a voluntary association consisting of youth of Betawi town. Their backgrounds range from junior high school graduates, high school graduates, to students, and university students. *Pemuda Kampung Betawi* was established before August 2018. Since it was just currently formed, there is no vision and mission for this association, yet. The activities of it only

deal with memorials such as the 17th of August state red-letter day, the commemoration of the Hijri New Year, and become the committee of *qurban* in Eid al-Adha. Betawi youth was deliberately involved in various activities so that they had activities which channel their thoughts and energy in a positive way and in addition, they also take a contribution to introduce the Betawi ethnic culture in Palembang city.

6. Utilization of City Facilities

The city facilities around Kebon Sirih are Bukit Sangkal Health Center, Bukit Sangkal Village Office, Dapur Mutiara Shopping Center, JM Shopping Center, PTC Shopping Center, Giant Shopping Center, and Transmusi Bus Stop. The city center of Palembang has grown into a commercial city, so it's no wonder that there are many malls in which are located there. The Betawi ethnic of Kebon Sirih are not really fond of shopping centers, they choose to shop for the food needs in Megaria or Pasar 16. Cheap and negotiable prices are the main reason. The quality of goods in the market and in mall is almost equal. Public transportation access to get to Megaria market and Pasar 16 is quite difficult. If you have a private vehicle, it will be easy to reach, yet the observation shows that very few of Betawi ethnic people have four-wheeled vehicles or cars, most of whom have two-wheeled vehicles or motorbikes, instead. This can be seen from the houses that hardly have yard. Hence, they used to choose *angkot* as transportation.

The facilities around Talang Betawi Lorong Jambu are Kemuning police station, Transmusi bus stop, Sekip traditional market and PTC shopping center. The location of Talang Betawi Lorong Jambu is in distance with the

main road, there are no groceries sellers in the area, the Sekip traditional market is the main choice for the Talang Betawi group of Lorong Jambu to shop for groceries. As in Kebon Sirih, the Talang Betawi group is less interested in shopping for food needs at the mall, though PTC shopping centers are not so far from Lorong Jambu.

Public transportations used are *angkot*, *transmusi*, conventional *ojek* and online *ojek*, both motorbikes and cars. If you want to ride an *angkot* or *transmusi*, usually, you should be dropped off first by relatives using a motorbike to the highway. Then, you can use *angkot* or *transmusi*. Online *ojek* also becomes another alternative transportation, both motorbikes and cars. Often and most of the Betawi ethnic people who use public transportations are women, they generally use conventional *ojek* and *angkot* to travel. Both transportations are the main choice because they are quite convenient to find around the residence.

C. Development of Betawi Ethnic Culture

This research concerns on the development of Betawi ethnic culture through cultural adaptation that views the way individuals or groups adjust to changes in the socio-cultural order. In this research, the Betawi ethnic and local and other social and cultural settings are different. While the people living together on RT 03 and RT 11 were Betawi ethnic, Palembang ethnic, and mixed ethnic groups. Changes in social order occurred in Betawi Ethnic group are in terms of language and livelihood. While changes in the cultural order of the Betawi people resulted in a balance of Betawi culture and Palembang culture.

Koentjaraningrat (1990) explains that a culture often emits a particular characteristic seen by strangers,

character or ethos often appears in the style of behavior of its citizens, their interests, and various cultural objects of their work. Based on these thoughts, the typical character of Betawi is "*Lo-lo, Gue-gue*" means that the Betawi people have a character that they do not interest in other people problems for no apparent reason, ignorant. The Betawi people hold the principle that "*if I am not touched, so I will not touch you back*". This character still exists in the Betawi people of Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu. According to some participants, that distinctive character can avoid conflicts both with Betawi fellows (internal) and with other ethnic groups (external).

D. The Defense Strategy

In the defense strategy in urban areas, some Betawi ethnic groups sell groceries in their homes. Therefore, the neighbors do not have to go all the way to the market and use public transportation. There are also some who open a small shop that sells daily necessities. Trading is the right choice of low economic conditions so you don't need lot of fund to run a business. Additionally, there are also food, such as *soto*, *pempek*, *bakso* and *ketoprak*. Betawi people admits that they find no obstacle in interacting with the surrounding area. The dominant number of Betawi people in Kebon Sirih and Lorong Jambu makes them easy to interact with each other. Although in its development there were residents who moved and came with different ethnicities, they did not cause problems in interaction.

The next strategy is from the cultural side. There is no new culture, no mixed culture, and no discarded culture. Betawi culture acculturates with the Palembang Culture, where Betawi

Culture is still used in certain events only, but the Betawi people still maintains it. While the Palembang culture continues to be used as a form of respect. For example, the culture of marriage. When an Ethnic Betawi married to another ethnic such as the Palembang ethnic, both families hold the events based on the ethnics in their home. The facts show that there is enthusiasism of Palembang people to see Betawi culture at the wedding.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the research of the Betawi people in Palembang city, the conclusions are as follows:

1. The migration carried out by the Betawi people to Palembang was not only intended to improve the economic condition of the family which at that time, Jakarta was filled with people from various regions to work, but also emotional connection. Moreover, the construction of the structure and infrastructure of Jakarta forced them to sell their land and house causing them being displaced. The lack of the funds and the skills made the Betawi people worked as a carpenter.
2. There is no superficiality of individual interactions and anomies. Spatially, Betawi settlements are formed due to ethnic cultural similarities, and secularization does not occur.
3. The Betawi people acculturates the tradition of marriage. As migrants, Betawi people use the Palembang wedding tradition, but they also maintain their own cultures such as enlivening the event with firecrackers, *tanjidor*, and doorstop. As a minority, these maintenance efforts can be interpreted as a symbolic form of strengthening Betawi ethnic identity in

the dominant non-Betawi cultural city space.

4. The defense strategy carried out by the Betawi people was to work in accordance with the new environment. This was done due to the lack of funds and limited skills. In addition, FORWABES participated in the Betawi cultural arts performance as an effort to introduce and maintain Betawi culture.

From the research done on the urbanism of the Betawi people in Palembang city, it can be suggested to several parties that:

1. This research is expected as an input and contribution to the development of sociology as well as a reference for subsequent research specifically regarding to environmental sociology. This is because many similar studies are carried out by other disciplines such as architecture, geography, and psychology. As already explained that research on ethnicity in a culture must continue to be carried out.
2. The acculturation that occurs in the Betawi people must be maintained, this is related to preserving the Betawi cultural tradition. Besides that, it can uphold tolerance and create a harmonious life between Ethnic Betawi and Ethnic Palembang. The young generation of Betawi Ethnic group needs to increase their care for the Betawi culture. The various efforts that have been made by FORWABES should be continued and improved.
3. This research can beinput for the government, especially the Palembang Tourism and Culture Officein taking over a policy, as well as help FORWABES in completing the requirements as a group organization in South Sumatra Province. If FORWABES is officially registered by the government and legally recognized by

the law, the Ethnic Betawi will be easy to be introduced to Palembang people. Betawi settlement can be developed into a cultural tourism village such as Arab Village in Plaju. So that it can enrich the culture in Palembang city.

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