'Leuit' Baduy: A Food Security in Baduy Customary Law

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Abstract. One of the unique things in Baduy Tribe is the existence of rule to have Leuit. Leuit serves as a granary to store rice harvested from huma (rice field cultivated without irrigation). The rice in leuit can last for decades but is still worth consuming, which means the leuit can provide long term food security for Baduy people. This research will explore the rule of custom law about the existence of leuit in Baduy society. The approach method used in the research is a legal research conducted empirically with the type of sociological research on the law. This research uses primary and secondary data sources with library data collection and field study techniques. Results of the study revealed that Baduy customary law related to leuit regulates the procedures of making leuit, storing rice in leuit, and taking rice from leuit for certain purposes along with traditional rituals that accompany them. This is the local wisdom of Baduy community in realizing food security, which includes food self-sufficiency, food availability, and access to food.

Keywords: Baduy Customary Law, Leuit, Food Security

Introduction

Indonesia is an agricultural country with fertile land that promises decent living conditions in terms of food supply. One of the factors contributing to the designation of an agricultural country is agricultural products that remain as the highest contribution to export commodities. In general, the main livelihoods of villagers are as farmers. (Ningrum, 2014: 181). But in reality, the country's dependence on food commodities from neighboring countries is still very high. Naturally, this is an irony.

As an agricultural country, Indonesia still imports rice as staple food from other countries. Meanwhile rural and extensive agricultural areas can contribute to other sectors and also contribute to Indonesia having the predicate of an agricultural country. At national level, agricultural sector is the main sector of national economy, the provider of food and export commodities. (Ningrum, 2014: 182).

Fertile land should be able to produce rice and fulfill the basic needs of people in Indonesia. The pattern of food management is actually the cause of recent food conditions in Indonesia. Current food management has not been able to provide food independence even for farmers themselves. Reasonably, as an agricultural country, food can be managed properly so that food security can be realized. If food is being well managed, the prices could be affordable to the community. Affordable price of food for everyone will then create food security (Dasril, Anna & Kusumastuti, 2014: 127).

Food security is a situation in which all households, both physically and economically, have the ability to meet food needs of all family members. There are 3 dimensions implicitly contained therein, namely availability, stability and ability to obtain and produce (accessibility to) food. Food availability implies that in average there is sufficient and available food supply. Stability can be seen as the ability to minimize the possibility of food consumption of consumption demand, especially in difficult times. Accessibility is reminiscent of the fact that despite abundant supply, many people are lacking the food as a result of limited resources to produce or buy the needed food (Hanafie, 2010: 39-40).

In this connection, it is important to remember that if food requirement is met

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through exploitation of resources that cannot be renewed or damaging the environment, therefore it will not guarantee food security in the long run. Food security system is said to be stable if it is able to provide assurance that all residents at all times can obtain enough food in accordance with nutritional norms for healthy, growing, and productive life. The threat of risk or chance of some people suffering from the lack of food is an indicator of final performance of food security system (Hanafie, 2010: 39–40).

Law Number 18 of 2012 concerning Food provides an understanding that food is everything derived from biological sources of agricultural, plantation, forestry, fisheries, livestock, waters and water products, either processed or unprocessed which are intended as food or beverages for human consumption, including food additives, food raw materials, and other materials used in the process of preparing, processing and making food or drinks.

Food Security is a condition of food fulfillment for the country and also individuals, which is reflected in the availability of sufficient food, either in quantity and quality, food safety, diverse, nutritious, equitable, and affordable price that does not conflict with religion, beliefs, and culture of the society in order to be able to live healthy, active, and productive in a sustainable manner.

Food Safety is the condition and effort needed to prevent food from possible biological and chemical contamination as well as other objects that can disrupt, harm, and endanger human health which has no conflict with religion, beliefs, and culture of the community so that it is safe for consumption.

Furthermore, the law on food provides an understanding of Food Independence, namely the ability of the country and nation to produce diverse foods from within that can guarantee the fulfillment of sufficient food needs up to the level of individuals by utilizing the potential of natural, human, social, economic resources, and dignified local wisdom.

If it is independent, it will be sovereign. Law on food provides an understanding of Food Sovereignty which is the right of the state and nation to independently determine food policies that guarantee the right to food for people and give the community the right to determine food systems that are in accordance with the potential of local

resources.

Food security must include availability, distribution, and consumption factors. The food availability factor serves as a guarantee of food supply to meet the needs of all population in terms of quantity, quality, diversity, and safety. Distribution functions to create an effective and efficient distribution system to ensure that the community can obtain sufficient quantity, quality, and sustainability of food at affordable prices; while consumption factor serves to direct the food pattern nationally to meet the principles of quality, diversity, nutritional content, security and halal (permissible or lawful) (Prabowo, 2010: 63)

Focus of food security is not only on the level of territorial food supply but also on the supply and consumption of food at regional and household level and even individuals in meeting their nutritional needs. Agricultural development is expected to be able to open employment and business opportunities. Strengthening family food security not only requires the participation of family heads as household leaders, but also requires the participation of housewives as family food managers and providers. Thus, the program to strengthen food security is directed at all family members. Involvement of family members is expected to accelerate the process of achieving the program's goals in the future (Syarief, Rizal Sumardjo & Fatchiya, 2014: 11).

Regarding food security in modern era, there is nothing wrong with looking at indigenous people. In the indigenous Baduy community, there is a local wisdom that has been carried out for hundreds of years in terms of rules of customary obligation to have a Baduy *leuit*, with one of the objectives to prevent people from starving. The rice stored in *leuit* will last for decades, which guarantees food availability for their children and grandchildren in the future.

The customary law that obliges every Baduy to have *leuit* is a good rule in realizing food security for Baduy people. Having a *leuit* serves to store rice for decades makes Baduy people economically independent, not dependent on the availability of rice provided by people outside Baduy or the State. With the existence of *leuit*, Baduy residents can avoid food insecurity.

The specific objective of this research is to study and know Baduy local wisdom of

customary laws regarding the obligations of its citizens to have *leuit* to store paddies. Results of this study are expected to be inputs for food security policies in positive law.

The urgency of this research lies in studying local wisdom of Baduy customary laws which requires every citizen to have a *leuit* to store paddies and other customary rules related to *leuit*. In accordance. similar rules can be found to be used as input for public policy in modern society in the form of positive law to realize food security.

Research Method

The research being conducted is empirical legal research with the type of sociological research on law. Sociological research on law does not construct law as a norm system in the form of laws and regulations that have been understood so far, instead it is something steady and institutionalized and obtains social legitimacy (Fajar, Mukti & Yulianto, 2010: 48).

This study tries to construct the behavior of indigenous Baduy people related to the obligation to have *Leuit* and all matters relating to the care of *Leuit*. The obligation to have *Leuit* is constructed as something permanent and has been in the Baduy community for generations.

Sociological research on law observes how laws exist in society. What becomes the characteristic of a society's behavior in an area of social life aspect is further described and analyzed qualitatively descriptive to obtain a complete picture of the relationship between the interests and all values that are adhered to and believed in by the community (Fajar, Mukti & Yulianto, 2010: 56).

The behavior to be studied is local wisdom in Baduy customary laws related to the existence of *leuit* to store paddies. Some behaviors related to *leuit* are not selling the harvested rice, separating *leuit* from the house, and possible other behaviors to realize food security of Baduy people. The approach taken in this study is qualitative. It is used to uncover what lies behind people's behaviors to understand the laws exist in it (Fajar, Mukti & Yulianto, 2010: 57). In this case, it reveals the laws behind the behavior of making *leuit*, storing paddies in *leuit*, and other behaviors related to the existence of *leuit*.

The main data source used is primary data, whereas secondary data will be derived from literatures. The technique of collecting data is done by interviewing and observing Baduy tribe. Interviews and observations are carried out to explore social facts that are not only seen on the surface, such as the existence of a *leuit*, but also at the depth related to the obligation of having a *leuit* for Baduy people.

The results of analysis will then be presented descriptively which gives a full picture of Baduy community local wisdom of customary obligations in having a *leuit* as a form of food security in traditional communities. Results of the study are expected to be inputs for policymakers to make regulations within the framework of national food security.

Baduy and Customary Laws in Indonesia

Customary laws are an inseparable part of Indonesian culture. Long before the application of colonial law in Indonesia, the ancestral community had adopted its own legal system. Despite the fact that customary laws and cultural element existed in Indonesia are more local than the universal colonial law, the locality of customary laws is able to accommodate and even strengthen the diversity of the nation. (Pide, 2014: 20). In other words, customary laws is a reflection of cultural ideas consist of cultural values, norms, and rules that are interrelated with each other which become a system and have sanctions (Pide, 2014: 20–21).

Customary laws can be said as a form of legal culture used by people for generations to regulate life guidelines in a customary laws community. The life of indigenous people is bound by solidarity with equality of interests and awareness. As a legal culture, customary laws is a formulation of rules which is formed without going through the legislation, but is born from popular opinions and reinforced by customary sanctions (Pide, 2014: 24–25).

With such form as habit, legal culture existed in a customary laws community tends to be an unwritten law. Another character of legal culture in a customary laws community is that the applicable law always considers the psychological conditions of community members, so that the core function of obeying the law is based on a sense of justice and a sense of need for law in society (Pide, 2014: 25).

The elements of customary laws which can give rise to legal obligations (opinion

necessity) for members of indigenous people state that: first, the element of fact that customs in the same situation are always taken notice by people or members of indigenous people; *second*, the psychological element, a belief of indigenous people or members that the customs as referred to has legal force (Wulansari, 2014: 11). Customary laws essentially prioritize deliberation and consensus in the family, kinship relations, neighbors, starting a work and even ending a work, especially judicial matters in resolving disputes between one and the other. It is prioritizing the settlement in harmony and peace with deliberation and consensus by forgiving each other and not simply taking the dispute immediately to the state court (Wulansari, 2014: 21).

Some of the features inherent in customary laws that can be used as sources of identification are traditional patterns, religious patterns, a concrete and visual togetherness, open and simple, can be changed and adapted, not codified, deliberation, and consensus (Wulansari, 2014: 15).

The acknowledged form of customary laws, among others, are: first, the unwritten law and is the largest part applied in indigenous communities; second, the written law and is the smallest part found in indigenous communities, such as the laws and regulations issued by the previous kings or sultans; and written legal descriptions (Wulansari, C. D., 2014: 11-12).

Soenaryati equates customary laws to land and national law as building on the land. The building must stand firm and be able to meet the needs of Indonesian people in this era. One thing that needs to be noted is that the customary law which is used as a foothold must, of course, still be in line with the nation dignity based on Pancasila (Fathurokhman, 2014: 43-44). The existence of customary laws in Indonesia is still very dominant. Some indigenous people still adhere to customary laws in maintaining a pattern of behavior in their way of life, for example, the indigenous Baduy people. Until now, they still use customary laws as a guide and guideline in behavior, both for personal behavior and things related to others and the environment.

An example of behavior patterns of indigenous Baduy people who still adhere to Baduy customs is in maintaining agricultural products in the form of paddies. The indigenous Baduy people have their own mechanism to protect the benefits of paddies that have been produced, starting from the way of plating the paddies by means of farming, the stage of planting by using *kolenjer* (dating system) to the pattern of paddy storage in *leuit*. All of these stages become an independent pattern of food security for Baduy people.

The existence of a granary or village granary has played a very important role in supporting food availability in the village. The strategic functions of village granaries in the past were (1) as a food supply reserve; (2) in situations where crop failure due to pests or natural disasters, food needs are met from food reserves in the granary; (3) as a means to improve the bargaining position of farmers; (4) when there is excess of production during harvest, farmers can arrange their supply by storing crops in the granary and will be taken to the market at a better price; (5) as a place for seed storage. At harvest time, the products were sorted, and the good quality ones stored in the granary to be utilized as seeds; (6) have a social role. Village granaries have a social role including helping farmers with their food needs in times of famine (Purwaningsih, 2008: 23).

Food granaries are also found in each farmer's household. A farmer's household has a special room or place to store crops and seeds (Purwaningsih, 2008: 24).

The existence of village granaries that have social functions and are managed together will foster a sense of social bond among members, and this is a social capital for development. Thus, it is necessary to enlarge the village granary or improve its functions, especially if it does in an independent food village which has been initiated by the government. The existence of food granaries is directed towards village granaries as a means to increase community food reserves which function to realize food availability, distribution, and consumption over time (Purwaningsih, 2008: 24).

The existence of village granaries in current conditions will be a great help in managing crop yields within the framework of food availability in food-producing villages. Food availability is one aspect of the realization of food security.

Leuit Baduy: A Local Wisdom of Legal Regulations of Baduy Customs in Realizing Food Security

Baduy people who settled in administrative region of Banten Province, are located at 6°27′27 °-6°30′ North Latitude (LU) and 108°3'9" -106°4'55" East Longitude (BT), to be exact, in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency. Indigenous Baduy Community consists of two major groups namely: Inner Baduy which inhabits three villages of Cikeusik, Cikertawana and Cibeo,; and Outer Baduy which reside in at least 51 villages.

Baduy people inhabit the Keundeng Mountains region, owning customary land of approximately 5,108 hectares. They have the principle of peace-loving life, avoid conflicts and obey their old traditions and customary laws, and of course they have their own traditional wisdom which is considered unique and interesting for people outside Baduy tribe. Baduy community in general has the concept and practice of nature conservation. For example, they are very concerned about forest safety. This is due to their awareness that by protecting the forest they would also maintain the continuation of their fields. Forest land found outside the settlement area is normally cleared every year in rotation to be used as farmland. (Suparmini, 2013: 47)

Baduy Community is an indigenous community that still adheres to customary laws and maintains harmony of natural environment. A typical life pattern, simple, down to earth, mutual cooperation, obeying customary laws, and obeying the advice of ancestors as well as close to nature are applied in daily life by Baduy people. Law enforcement is not limited to maintaining the contents of the rules but also the balance with nature.

Indigenous Baduy people, especially the Inner Baduy, still adhere to customary mandates. Ancestral advice of "Nu buyut teu meunang robah" (what has been passed on may not be changed), for example, was ancestors' order that has been carried out for generations and becomes a tradition and even a customary law and may not be changed hence it becomes a basic foundation of interaction between fellow individuals and men's relationship with nature and The Creator. In this case, the indigenous Baduy people consistently uphold their customary laws, even though it is not confirmed in written form, but that does not mean that each of its members will not adhere to such law, instead it becomes a unique legal awareness that can be learned from Baduy.

In living their lives, indigenous Baduy people are inseparable from their traditions. The physical characters and indigenous of Sundanese culture as the original identity are still maintained and strengthened as cultural identity and national cultural heritage. This traditional Baduy tradition has organized their entire lives either as individuals or as social and religious group. In traditional and philosophical traditions there have been ways to survive, one of which is in the habit of making building. (Jambak et al, 2014: 1). Building a *leuit* is one of the typical buildings inherited from generation to generation in Baduy residents.

Various behaviors of Baduy community are hereditary inheritance, including the method of managing land and yields. It is also one of the great commands that have been carried out by their ancestors and preserved for generations and will continue to be maintained. The indigenous Baduy people use a system of dry paddy fields, rain-fed in the fields (*huma*), which is different from the way of farming in several other areas. Baduy prohibits the management of wet rice fields and the use of agricultural tools such as hoes or even modern tools.

This method of cultivation or *huma* is one of the farming techniques that adapts to local intelligence (local genius) because Baduy people understand that the management of critical land is a solution to the survival and preservation of nature, in addition to maintaining their own food security, Baduy also contributes in maintaining the forest because they do not damage the forest in any land clearing for *huma* (Jambak et al, 2014: 1).

Baduy community living in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province, still maintains a strong *huma* system as ancestral habit inherited from generation to generation. For Baduy community, farming (*ngahuma*) is not only considered as a business to obtain economic benefits (interests), but also considered as an obligation according to their religion of *Sunda Wiwitan* or native Sundanese (moral interests) (Iskandar, Johan & Iskandar, 2015: 1266).

The process of handling post-harvest in Baduy community also reflects how the cultural and customary systems they have built can actually be studied as a study of food security.

Baduy people store their crops in a rice granary called *leuit*. There are more or less 300 *leuits* in Inner Baduy, while the Outer Baduy has 800 *leuits*. Indeed, there is no exact amount of how many *leuits* there are, but each family head has at least one *leuit*, so that if there are 150 heads of households there will also be 150 *leuits*. At present, one head of household could have two *leuits* or even 8 *leuits* depends on the economic capacity of the family. (Interview with Baduy Tribe, 2018)

Baduy people sell some of their agricultural products to the market and keep some for their personal use. They keep paddies for themselves and do not sell them. Usually after harvest, the paddies are dried and immediately placed in the *Leuit*. Rice granaries (*leuit*) are made of woven bamboo strung together with large wood and roofed with *kirai* (coconut fiber). Every Baduy family has one or more *leuits*. Paddies stored in granaries are preferred to be used during traditional ceremonies and also for daily consumption (Suparmini, 2013: 8)

In Baduy custom, according to Jaro Alim, agricultural products of paddies may not be sold, but other agricultural products such as bananas and cassava are being sold. Baduy custom rules prohibit selling paddies or rice but allow buying paddies or rice.

Each family head has at least one *leuit*. Even though a *leuit* ownership is privately owned by individual (it does not belong to customary community), but one cannot open a *leuit* without permission from *Puun* and *Jaro* (traditional leaders). For example, in Cikeusik village, which consists of 81 houses and 131 head of families, they have more than 250 *leuits*. Each family head has at least 2 to 5 *leuits*. Even the *puun* of Cikeusik has 8 *leuits*.

Leuit is a place to store paddies. According to Mursyid's father, in the Baduy community, there are two types of *leuits*, namely *Lenggang leuit* which can be found in Inner Baduy and Gugudangan Leuit found in Outer Baduy. The difference is that *Lenggang Leuit* uses *Gelebeg* (wood to hold back mice from climbing up into the *leuit*). The size of a leuit is 5 inches or 7 inches. Leuit is made when someone from the tribe gests married, has a family of their own, and is separated from his/her parents. At that time when you have to have a *leuit*, it can be obtained either by making one or receiving a *leuit* as inheritance from parents. Even though they don't have their own house, but if they are married, they must have their own *leuit*.

According to Jaro Alim, every married

man in Baduy is advised to immediately have a *leuit* so that his family would not suffer from famine. Having a *leuit* is not a customary obligation for all Baduy citizens, but it is required for those who have economic ability. It can be said that having a *leuit* becomes a customary obligation only for the wealthy (economically capable of). It is a hereditary habit that every citizen who gets married will definitely make a *leuit* to save his harvest that year. It was based on legal awareness and their obedience to customary habits of ancient time's ancestors.



Figure 1. Leuit

According to Mursyid's father, there are 2 types of *indung* (mother) of paddies, namely *indung pamelakan* and *indung pamipitan*. The number of stems is odd, that is 5, 7, or 9 stems which depend on the owner's intention. Unlike the usual cutting paddies system, the rice stem is removed with its roots, even the soil that is still clinging onto the roots will also be taken. *Indung pamelakan* is a paddy taken from the last harvest to produce seedlings. *Indung pamipitan* is paddy from the first harvest. These two *indungs*, put together in a *leuit* by tying them together with other leaves such as *kukuyaan* and *mara pepek* which are believed to be pest repellent.

Storing the two mothers of paddies in *leuit* is called *salametan ngadiukeun indung* ritual. This is done by first finding the best time which is calculated by the *puun* or *kokolot* who understand Baduy *kolenjer* or Baduy calendar.

Placing the harvested products begins with *indung pare* in a manner that has been regulated by Baduy customary laws, that is the one who takes it to *leuit* must be a woman wearing traditional clothes (side cloth or undergarment) and *karembong* (shoulder cloth) without wearing tops; while the one who brings the tied paddies into *Leuit* has to be a man without wearing a shirt. Those who do the ritual can be the owner or an elder who understands the procedure of *ngadiukeun indung*. This is due to not only the ritual that must be performed but there are also certain spells that must be recited which are called *ngadoa* (praying). The mantra is only known by Baduy residents.

After *ngadiukeun indung*, a greeting event was held filling with prayer reading and eating together (*bancakan*) around the *leuit*. During this eating together, parents provide lessons on farming and customary rules related to *leuit* to their children.

For the paddies that have been placed in the *leuit*, it cannot be carelessly taken out for daily needs. It can only be used for certain purposes, among others: customary events, greetings (celebration) for wedding or circumcision ceremonies, and *Seba* Baduy. At the time of harvesting, the harvested paddies will be separated to be stored in *leuit* and delivered to *Seba* Baduy event. It is an event/a ceremony to hand over the harvested paddies to *Ibu Gede (The Great Mother)*. Seba Baduy event was held in April 28-29, 2017, at the Governor's Office Hall.

Harvest for daily needs is stored in the house or hut in the field. The procedure of taking paddies from *leuit* is regulated in such a way that there are several rules and prayer spells that must be recited. At the time of taking, only men are allowed to take the paddies from the *leuit* by only wearing undergarment; whereas those who take the paddies to a *Lisung* (Hull) to be pounded are women. This tradition is called *nutu* and implements on certain days. It is not permissible or taboo to implement *nutu* on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Paddies stored in *leuit* will not spoil and only change their color. Paddies will only be intruded by mice and pests. The making of *leuit* that was not in accordance with customary rules (for example, in the form of building) and storing *indung padi* without following traditional rules (for instance, choose the forbidden day) can have effect on rice security. This also includes the method when planting paddies. If it is not in accordance with customary laws, it will affect the sustainability of food security, for example, the paddies will be attacked by pests. This is due to local wisdom of indigenous Baduy people, through their kolenjer (calendar), which tells all the natural cycles including the movement of animals and pests.

In Baduy customary laws, determining

the day for planting, harvesting, and storing paddies in the *leuit* is solely for the purpose of producing the best and highest rice yields. The indigenous Baduy community has been implementing this method for hundreds of years. This method is proven to be effective in maintaining their food security.

The habit of having this *leuit* viewed from its function is as keeper of rice needs, either for everyday consumption or to give inheritance to the posterity later in the future so that there are no rice supply deficiencies or excess in the family. Paddies that have been stored in *leuit* will become a property to be inherited to their heirs. Paddies stored in *leuit* can last up to hundreds of years and is still worth consumption.



Figure 2. Harvested Rice is being dried by people of Outer Baduy.

Various processes and rituals which carried out before placing the paddies into *leuit* are believed to provide strength and make the paddies last long. After being harvested, the paddies are then tied into a number of bundles then dried under the sun. This process is carried out in *huma*. After being dried, the rice will be carried into the *leuit*. It is not permissible to take the bundles home and must go straight to the *leuit*.

When stored in *leuit*, there are spells that must be recited whilst sprinkling the paddies with noni leaves that have been soaked in water before so that they will not be a subject to pests. A number of other rituals are also complementary to this tradition.

The making of *leuit* has also been arranged in such a way by the ancestors, for example in choosing wood to be used as *leuit* building material. Roofs are made from sago/fiber of palm, a building architecture of *leuit* to prevent the entry of mice which had already created since first *Leuit* was made from hundreds of years ago.

The place where to build *leuit* is

apparently already considered in such a way by Baduy ancestors. *Leuit* must be built far outside the village for at least 100 meters. This is done as prevention just in case the village is caught on fire, so that they would still have food reserves.

Such *leuit* placement reflects the pattern of food security owned by Baduy community. A simple reason for building *leuit* far outside the village to keep the food reserve safe when there is fire contains high philosophical value that may not be thought of by modern society today.

Baduy community is a simple society that lives a daily life with a local order that is able to make them survive constantly for hundreds of years. They live harmoniously alongside nature and fellow human beings. The Baduy community consists of cultivators, planting, harvesting and storing *huma* paddies in each family's *leuit* (granary) located at the edge of the village.

This farming and crop management system from Baduy community has proven to maintain food sovereignty and food security for Baduy community itself. Contributions to natural conservation can also be felt by people outside the Baduy community. Therefore, exploring local wisdom related to food security in Baduy community is important to be taken into consideration in responding to the challenges of national food security.

Local wisdom that has been brought to life by the indigenous Baduy people reflects the harmony of life with nature which can then guarantee their survival. The advices from ancestors that passed down from generation to generation make every member of Baduy community aware of their traditional laws.

This hereditary advice is carried out routinely through meetings between customary leaders (*puun*) and Baduy residents. The meetings convey various customary laws they have adopted and delivered verbally because Baduy customary laws cannot be written down. Therefore, all customary laws can be known from generation to generation directly and verbally.

In Baduy customary laws, it is not permissible to go to school. People learn according to their learning habit, that is boys learn from their fathers and girls learn from their mothers.

The study of customary laws that contains local wisdom like the one in Baduy

should have a place in the formulation of national law and it does not necessarily become inferior to western law. It is appropriate to place noble values of tradition and Customary Laws in a proportional position in the draft of National Law Procedure.

This is a Baduy saying:

Tanah teu meunang digaru, diwuluku (dibajak), disawah, dikipar, teu meunang ditincak munding, teu meunang ditincak kambing. Lamun dilak u keun, engkena bakal aya cilaka, seperti longsor cai, gempa bumi, gelap gede, kena angin topan, penyakit keras ka manusa, keur usum halodo nempel ka halodo, keur usum hujan nempel ka hujan, nempel ka panyakitna.

(Land may not be plowed; it should not be trampled by buffaloes or goats. If that happens, there will be disasters, such as landslides, floods, hurricanes or even severe diseases onto humans).

The sanction from nature as described above is what makes the indigenous Baduy people stick to the customary rules that they believe into date. There are no criminal sanctions for people who commit violations; however, fear of suffering due to customary violations will then makes the Baduy people obey their customary laws.

Conclusion

The existence of *leuit* in the indigenous Baduy community has its own customary laws. Making a *leuit* is arranged in a specific method starting from designing the building, the size and the distance from the house to the *leuit*. Storing paddies in the *leuit* also has a ritual called salametan ngadiukeun indung. Taking paddies from leuit has to be done carefully. There are rules binding and must be performed. All stages are carried out by first counting the good days according to Baduy calendar. All stages must be carried out according to the applicable customary laws with the aim for the paddies stored in the *leuit* to continue to be durable and suitable for anytime consumption. Violations to these rules can have an impact on the poor quality of paddies being stored in *leuit*. Therefore, various Baduy custom rules related to the existence of *leuit* in its implementation can create food security, food independence, food availability, and access to foods.

The design of food security practiced in indigenous Baduy community can be

implemented in modern society, among others, by making granaries in villages or even rice producing areas. To make it easier to implement, arrangements related to the presence of granaries in each rice-producing village can be regulated by local government. This arrangement is solely to realize the food security.

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