From Local Food Wisdom to Local Food Movement in Kampong Cireundeu, Cimahi City, West Java

Rakhmat Hidayat, Eko Siswono & M.Hasymi Yanuardi
Faculty of Social Sciences - State University of Jakarta

Abstract
This paper describes the transformation of the Kampong Cireundeu which is a village of indigenous people who have local food wisdom of the local food movement. The Cireundeu indigenous community is one of the communities of Sunda Wiwitan, a group of communities spreading in several regions of West Java. The Cireundeu indigenous community have been consuming cassava since 1918. This tradition has been inherited from one generation to generation. The consumption of cassava is a legacy of their ancestors that is still maintained today. This is the socio-cultural power of the indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu. They have a philosophical basis for consuming cassava as their main food. In fact, local food wisdom has transformed into a food-based local social movement that carries a comparative discourse against global phenomena. More specifically, this paper discusses the process and dynamics of transformation towards the local food movement and further become a food justice in terms of critique to the modernization and global capitalism.

Keywords: wisdom, sunda wiwitan, food, movement, cassava, justice

1 INTRODUCTION
The Sunda Wiwitan community in Kampong Cireundeu, Cimahi City, is an example of indigenous communities who survive the complex changes of social life. The word “Wiwitan” literally means the origin, while Sunda Wiwitan means an early Sundanese (Indrawardana, 2014). Sunda Wiwitan has been considered by Indonesian anthropologists as one of the concepts of the religious system and identity of the Sundanese people, especially the Baduy or Kanekes. The establishment of the Sunda Wiwitan community now called as the indigenous community of the way of Karuhun Urang (our ancestor) or Perkumpulan Aliran Cara Karuhun Urang (PACKU) is inseparable from the Sunda Wiwitan community leaders, namely Kyai Madrais or Pangeran Sadewa Alibassa Kusuma, Wirat Ningrat (see Hidayat, 2017; Hidayat and Adlin, 2017).

The uniqueness of Kampong Cireundeu is that the villagers still consume cassava as a main food everyday. Historically, Kiai Madrais, the founding father of Sunda Wiwitan in West Java was the one who
introduce cassava as the main food to the community. It is obligatory to Kiai Madrais’s followers to consume non-rice foods (Putranto and Taofik, 2015). Indeed, they respect and then confirm it as the way of life. The most important aspect is that this tradition is different with other traditions in Sunda Wiwitan community. This tradition is still maintained and inherited to the new generation in Cireunde village. The Cireundeu people respect their ancestors by not eating rice but cassava. Prince Madrais once said, if the Cireundeu people did not want to be affected by the disaster, they would never eat rice (Tramontane, 2017). If we see the contemporary situation, now their belief is proven in which other people are confused about the rising price of rice. The people are too easy to get the cassava from their garden. Eating the cassava reflect that a culture and also beliefs of Sundanese has been socialized and inherited by the old generation until now. In fact, the children as a new generation from Kampong Cireundeu is familiar with the name anak singkong (cassava child) and also kampung singkong (cassava village). If a person claiming him or herself as a Sundanese does not practice his Sundanese identity and runs the traditions of others, then he does not deserve to be called a Sundanese. The puritan tradition is deepened, occupied, but the original beliefs of our own culture are not even recognized. This is related with a Sundanese proverb "moro julang ngaleupaskeun peusing" meaning that leaving something certain and find for something that is not certain to succeed.

The Kampong Cireundeu is a traditional community located in the Gunung Kunci valley, Mount Cimenteng and Gunung Gajah Langu. Administratively, this area belongs to the Leuwigajah Village, South Cimahi District, Cimahi City. It consists of 50 families or 800 people, most of whom are farming cassava (Putranto & Taufik, 2014). Cireundeu village itself is 64 ha consisting of 60 ha for agriculture and 4 ha for settlements. This Sunda Wiwitan teaching was first brought to Kampong Cireundeu by Kiai Madrais from Cigugur (Kuningan city) in 1918. Cigugur is the centre of Sunda Wiwitan community in West Java (Hidayat and Marasabessy, 2017). The Sunda Wiwitan community was lived and emerged in the community before Indonesian independence. The people of Kampong Cireundeu have carried out the teachings of trust and continued to preserve the culture and
customs that have been passed down through generations from their ancestors. This study describes both the process of local food formation and the adaptation strategies of the Kampong Cireundeu indigenous peoples in local food wisdom. This paper try to answer the important questions: how the process and dynamics of transformation towards the local food movement and further become a food justice in terms of critique to the modernization and global capitalism.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
This research was conducted by qualitative methods. The characteristics of qualitative research are it; rests on the basis that researcher is the main instrument of data collection; is inductive; is based on the meaning of participants; often states; often includes a theoretical perspective; is interpretive and holistic (Creswell, 2001). The research was taken place in Cimahi City, West Java, especially in Kampong Cireundeu. It is because most of the indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu still maintain local food wisdom namely cassava as a main food. The informants in this study are consisted of the elders and young generation of the Kampong Cireundeu. Supporting informants are indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu. The data collection techniques used in this study are in-depth interview techniques for informants. The duration of the interview is varied depending on the situation and conditions at the time of the in-depth interview.

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION
3.1 The rise of local food wisdom
The Kampong Cireundeu has existed since the 17th Century before the city of Cimahi emerged. The Cireundeu adheres to the self-belief. In the 19th century, Cireundeu village experienced the effects of colonization by the Dutch. The residents in Kampong Cireundeu experienced food insecurity. At first, the people of Kampong Cireundeu used rice as their main food (Hidayat and Nurhidayati, 2018). In 1918, the Cireundeu community had the idea to totally stop consuming rice. Since indigenous peoples experienced a food crisis, people began to look for other ingredients instead of rice, such as corn, sweet potatoes, taro, and cassava. However, geographically, the area of Kampong Cireundeu is very suitable for growing cassava, so the people of Kampong Cireundeu agree to replace the use of rice with
cassava or "cassava rice". Historically, the conversion of the main food of the people of Kampong Cireundeu from rice to cassava or beras nasi (rasi) began in 1918. It was pioneered by Omoh Asnamah (1887-1971). She was familiar with her nick name “Abu Omoh”. Abu Omoh began developing this non-rice main food. The government Cimahi Wedana gave her an award as “the local food security” in 1964. She gave a principle foundation for the community toward independent nation physically and mentally (merdeka lahir batin). It means that they must be independent from anyone particularly from the colonialist country. Furthermore, she began to stop consuming rice and then replaced it with the cassava. This is a strategy for the survival of the people during the colonial period. The indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu have a living guide, "Teu boga sawah asal boga pare, teu boga beas asal bisa nyangu, teu bisa nyangu asal bisa dahar, teu bisa dahar asal kuat’’ meaning that it is no matter if there is no rice field as long as you have rice, it is no matter if there is no rice as long as you can cook rice, it is no matter if you can’t cook rice as long as you can eat, and it is no matter if you can’t eat as long as you are strong. In addition, according to its history, Kampong Cireundeu is referred to an indigenous community for a reason that it has customary laws that are different from other communities, ranging from birth, marriage, to death using the customary habits of the Kampong Cireundeu.

3.2 The ancestor, beliefs and indigenous communities
In an effort to preserve local food of the Cireundeu traditional community, it is certainly not free from the negative stigma from the surrounding community. Because they have a different culture, it is certainly a source of ridicule from the surrounding community. However, by the time goes, the negative stigmas have begun to disappear and the indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu still manage to preserve the culture of consuming cassava. In fact, cassava have a special attraction that is owned by the indigenous community of Kampong Cireundeu, which makes the indigenous community of Cireundeu become exist in national to international circles because their culture consumes cassava as a main food. The culture of consuming cassava that is still maintained until now is one of the efforts made by the indigenous people of Kampong
Cireundeu to preserve what their ancestors is inherited. The indigenous community of Kampung Cireundeu have their own reasons why they still maintain the culture. The indigenous community of Kampong Cireundeu realize that if they were not the ones who keep struggling of the ancestors to escape the Dutch grip at that time, the struggles of their ancestors would be in vain. Therefore, they still maintain what the ancestors have inherited to consume cassava as their main food. In addition, the reason for the indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu is to maintain the culture of consuming cassava because of the foresight that is the principle of the indigenous people of Kampong Cireundeu. In the future, indigenous peoples have not lived in fertile place. They thought of how they could survive in the said condition of place or land. They must change their mindset. The main meal which was rice would be difficult to find in the future. Indigenous community consume cassava because the terrain here is suitable for growing cassava.

3.3 Between local food movement and toward food justice?

When Abu Omah began this tradition as a part of the beliefs, it was a resistance strategy to againts the colonial army when she was exiled in a village forest and she was considered as a dangerous person in the village by the colonial army. She thought of how she could survive while being exiled at the village forest. She thought that geographical area of Kampong Cireundeu was potential to grow cassava. Her thought was considered as a progressive thought by the colonial army at that time and it could encourage the spirit of local people particularly the young generation to againts the colonialist. On the other hand, the people of Kampong Cireundeu at that time had experienced food crisis due to crop failure. Since that time, their ancestors were anxious that if the people were still dependent on the rice, they will have a prolonged food crisis in the future. This historical background then trigger the local people to be a collective consciousness and they keep maintaining this tradition as a local beliefs. From the local beliefs, then it moves to economical aspect because they can process the cassava for the various cake and local snack such as egg roll, chips, crackers, muffin, cassava tapai or *dendeng* made by local woman. They can increase their income and help the local family at the Kampong
Cireundeu. According to this empirical situation, we can see the society empowerment process basing on the local potential such as economy and natural resources. At this point, Kampong Cireundeu become independent local food community. They are no longer dependent to the rice as the main food. They use the subsistence mechanism regarding local food by consuming cassava. We summarize and view this phenomena as local food movement from the local community. Based on the empirical situation, this is familiar with the concept of food sovereignty. According to Hannah et al (Peter, 2017), food sovereignty is defined as the right of people and nations to have control their food systems, food cultures, markets, production modes and environments. This concept was introduced at the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996 (Suppan, 2008; Peña, 2013). From this definition, it can be inferred that the main point is right of people in term of food system. As a food local movement, their beliefs as well as the food pattern try to against the industrialisation regime that marginalizes the rice field for the commercial center such as hotel, apartment, mal, central business district, office, etc. The marginalization of rice field contributes to the environmental degradation which is related to local indigenous people. Regarding Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011), we borrow the term food justice to illustrate the social and cultural structure in the Kampong Cireundeu. As mentioned before, this concept emphasizes on the right to food and locally-sourced food.

4 CONCLUSION
This research draws three major conclusions to the advancement of our theoretical understanding of the food local wisdom and food local movement in general. First, it integrates elements of the local beliefs from the customs ancestor, the Sunda Wiwitan in West Java particularly in Kampong Cireundeu, to consume the cassava as the main consumption for the Sunda Wiwitan community since 1918. Looking at this history, the rice was monopolized by the colonialist and also the growth of population has increased cause the rice fields become more decrease. This phenomenon will occur rapidly since their thought and assumption have emerged at that time. They already predict the future situation with the complexity industrialization as well as
modernization which marginalize their life. In fact, when they consume cassava, they consider their healthy especially the disease that can affect them as consumers such as diabetes - one of the worst impacts of consuming too much rice-. In deed, the cassava as main consumption makes a principle identity which is different from others. These backgrounds do not only relate with the local wisdom but also with the struggle and resistance strategy during the colonial period at the Kampong Cireundeu with the local hero, Abu Omoh as the pioneer of this movement. It would take the second position in terms of local food movement and apply this theoretical framework to broader concept called as food sovereignty. Third, this study gives the insight regarding a food justice contributing to our empirical understanding of the food sovereignty and food movement. This case study of Kampong Cireundeu also gives the first in-depth reconstruction of the policy and approach on adaptation the local or indigenous community in this country. Besides providing the data for this research, it also could help the stakeholders particularly the local government understand the food policy in more depth.

References
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