

The Perspective of Customary Law Community Cosmology on Woman, Land, and Food Security

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Abstract

This study aims at understanding the customary law community to achieve food security based on the applicable customary law norms. There are several views to return and restore the role of indigenous peoples, especially women and nature. Based on this perspective, through local wisdom, the cosmology of customary law community is able to restore the role of women and nature in maintaining food security. This study is aimed to examine how does cosmology direct the perspective of indigenous peoples in relation to food security? If cosmology is able to direct the perspective of customary law community through local wisdom, and what is the role of local wisdom of customary law community to maintain food security, and what is the relations it has with the land? By applying the socio-legal method, this study found that the customary law communities have values, principles and norms to maintain food security. This food security is based on the people's perspective which highly respects nature. Through local wisdom, the communities carry out activities to maintain food security. Traditional ceremonies, customary sanctions, and rituals related to nature are the efforts of the ancestors of the customary law community to remind their heirs to maintain the preservation of nature. Therefore, it is advisable to conduct a study of food security in the perspective of local wisdom and customary law norms to be made into statutory regulations.

Keywords: cosmology, women, land, food security, local wisdom

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1. Introduction

The perspective of the customary law community in food security is related to nature maintenance, since food security is part of nature. This perspective is well known as cosmology.¹ It means cosmology is the perspective, the world view of the indigenous peoples on nature and the relationship between the customary law community and nature as a living habitat.² The customary law communities define themselves as part of this universe through the concept of 'Bumiputera'.³

Bumiputera means sons of the earth, namely humans who were created from the land and will return to the earth/land. In the perspective of customary law communities, there is no separation of the earth and land concepts. The earth is synonymous with land or in other words, earth is land. Humans are sons of the earth and the earth is the mother of humans, namely customary law communities or terra mater, because humans originate from the earth (land) and will return to the earth (land). In various Abrahamic religions, it is described that humans originate from the land and will return to the land.⁴

Several Indonesian customary law communities are in the same idea with the Abrahamic religion views, even though this perspective does not belong to the perspective of certain religions such as Christian or Islam who believe that humans are from the land and will return to the land. Some indigenous peoples who are non-Muslim or non-Christian also believe that humans are made of the land and will return to the land. The ancient Greek people who have not been Christian, and still believed in Goddess also believed in the Earth Goddess as the mother of all life, which was called *Terra Mater*.

Terra Mater or *Tellus* is synonymous with the Ancient Greek earth Goddess, Gaia or Cybele from Phrygia. The Temple of Tera Mater or Goddess Gaia was built in 268 B.C. on the Esquilina hill. Every 3 times a year, the Greeks perform a ritual to honour the Goddess Gaia, namely Fordicidia every April 15th, Consualia on August 21st and December 13th. The attribute of the Goddess Tellus (Earth Terra or Gaia) is a bunch of flowers or fruits. Her male counterpart is the God of the Sky, Caelus or Jupiter.

¹. Wessing, Robert, 1974, *Cosmology and social behavior in a West Javanese settlement*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois.

². Wessing, Robert, 2008, *Constituting the World in Sundanese House*. Dalam Reimar Scelfold, P. Nas, Peter JM., Gaudenz Domenig, & Robert Wessing (Ed.), *Indonesian House: Survey of Vernacular Architecture in Western Indonesia, Vol. 2*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

³. Dominikus Rato, 2019, "Kosmologi Tanah dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam." Dalam *Prosiding Seminar Nasional*, dengan tema Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam Berbasis pada Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Adat dan Eksistensinya dalam Hukum Nasional, On October 29 - 30 (2019) in STIH Palembang.

⁴. Renal Rinoza, 2016, *Perempuan dan Lingkungan: memahami Bumi sebagai Kerahiman; Suatu Upaya untuk Kembali pulang ke Rahim Ibu Pertiwi*. Paper on Earth Day Seminar held by KPA Arkadia UIN on April 22, 2016.

The *Ngadhu-bhaga* community in Central Flores, NTT celebrates Reba at the end of year. Reba is a year-end ritual as a thanksgiving for the meeting between the Earth Mother, namely the Ancestral Spirits and the Heavenly Father or Goddess. The ancestral spirits are symbols of Mother of Earth called Nitu, and the Goddess are symbols of Male Ancestral Spirits. The prayers are uttered as an honour to the two God Zeta and Nitu Zale.¹

In the Javanese, the prayer '*Bopo Koso* (father of Heaven), *Ibu Pertiwi* (mother of Earth), *sedulur papat, limo pancer, kakang kawah, adi ari-ari...*' etc., essentially remind us of the creation elements of the great universe and human. The Madurese and Balinese also utter these prayers in every birth ceremony, building a house, and opening a new garden. In some ways, between humans, ancestors, home and land are in one concept, namely fertility. Therefore, societies with this belief shall maintain the harmony between the universe (macrocosm) and humans (microcosmos).²

The classical view assumes that humans and nature are single. Humans are from nature and will return to the nature. This view is known as cosmology. In the cosmology of customary law communities, humans and nature are not only single and unified, but identical, human equals to nature. The two entities may be distinguishable, but are cosmologically 'inseparable.'

In fact, it is undeniable that the behaviour of customary law communities is found environmentally unfriendly. Several communities, in the Nusa Tenggara (the West and East) region, are often found to the behaviour of setting fire to the forest to chase game. The hunters deliberately burned the forest during the hunt, so that the animals would come out and run away, and they would be easier to be chased and caught. In the *Nadhu-bhaga* community in the past (before the 1960s) it was called *Paru Witu* or *Paru Udu*.³

Para witu or *lung witu* is an annual ceremony in several villages, such as Tajo village when the dry season comes in the area. The Tajo tribe knows *Paru Witu* as *phebu witu*, which means hunting based on the customs.⁴ In the dry season, the grass and shrubs start to dry up and the wild animals run out of food. If these animals are not hunted, the farmers' crops are destroyed. To prevent this harm, wild animals are hunted and killed. However, such behaviour is highly unacceptable, because the running animals are not selective. After a few days it was discovered that all the animals in the forest that could not escape were caught in the fire. They were found charred and non consumable, as they had decomposed.

This behaviour is not attached to all customary law communities. Some of them strongly oppose forest fires. In Kalimantan, the Dayak people fight burning forests. Forest burning for large plantations (oil palm plantations) was not carried out by the Dayak customary law community. This detrimental action is carried out by outsiders who are deliberately paid to burn forests.⁵

Several years ago, Indonesia became the world's spotlight, especially Southeast Asia because it exported smoke to neighbouring countries, especially Malaysia. The smoke was the result of the behaviour of forest burners in Sumatra to open oil palm plantations. Thus, the indigenous people in the Sumatra region were blamed, even though the perpetrators of the forest burning were carried out by people assigned by the plantation business actors.⁶

Forest fires are not always started by humans. In Maluku, for example, in several places, forest fires are not caused by human behaviour, but due to the nature. Barren land where under the soil surface has a rock or natural material that is easily flammable due to the dry season hot air, can cause a fire. It is also found in the small islands around Komodo Island where the grasses of shrubs are flammable because they grow on rocks.

Regarding the above review, some question arises, namely: How does cosmology direct the perspective of indigenous peoples in relation to food security? If cosmology directs the perspective of indigenous peoples through local wisdom, then how does the local wisdom of indigenous peoples function in an effort to maintain food security?

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Relations between Women, Land and Food Security

This discussion is preceded by the meaning of land and soil fertility in the cosmology of customary law

¹. Arndt, Paul, 2009, *Masyarakat Ngadha: keluarga, Tatanan Sosial, Pekerjaan dan Hukum Adat*. Terjemahan, Paulus Sabon. Ende: Nusa Indah.

². Bakker, J.W.M., 2015, *Filsafat kebudayaan: Sebuah Pengantar*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

³. Wayan Resmini, Abdul Sakban, dan Abdurachman Fauzan, "Nilai-Nilai yang Terkandung pada Tradisi Paru Udu dalam Ritual Joka Ju Masyarakat Mbuliwaralau Kabupaten Ende, Nusa Tenggara Timur." Dalam *Jurnal Civicus: Pendidikan-Penelitian-Pengabdian Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*. Vol. 7 No. 2, Edisi September (2019), p. 66 – 75, p-ISSN. 2338-9680, e-ISSN. 2624-509X.

⁴. Radho, Belmin, 2019, *Ritual Phebu Witu dan Konsep Berburu Ekologis Masyarakat Adat Tajo*. in <https://ekorannt.com/2019/10/07/ritual-phebu-witu-dan-konsep-berburu-ekologis-masyarakat-adat-tajo>, Accessed on April 07, 2023.

⁵. Fitria Dewi Susanti dan Sadam Richwanudin, 2021, Fenomena Kebakaran Hutan Kalimantan dalam Kacamata Ekologi Politik. Dalam <https://sebijak.fkt.ugm.ac.id/2021/03/02/fenomena-kebakaran-hutan-kalimantan-dalam-kacamata-ekologi-politik/>, Accessed on May 10, 2023.

⁶. Octa Bandy Saiyar, 2020, Joint Declaration: Forest and Land Fire Law Enforcement. Joint Notice between the Minister of Environment and Forestry and the Indonesian National Police, No. PKS.3/MENKLH/PHLHK/GMK.3/2/2020; No. Mak/01/II/2020 Concerning Forest and Land Fire Law Enforcement. Jakarta: GAKKUM (Forestry and Environmental Law Enforcement).

community. Then it is followed by understanding the correlation between local wisdom and soil fertility on food security.¹ Then it is followed by understanding the correlation between local wisdom and soil fertility on food security. The Land in Sudanese is known as *Nyi Mas Siti Pertiwi* and in Old Javanese the whole land refers to *Siti Pertiwi*. This symbolism (Mother of the Earth) gives a special place to the earth as a source of life that is full of compassion and fertility. The earth, like a mother, feeds her children and protects them from evil and sins (*memedi, gendruwo*).²

In several places in Indonesia, such as in Papua, land is called mother (known as *Ibu* in Bahasa Indonesia). Likewise, some customary law community refers the land to Mother of the Earth. As a mother, the land is symbolized in various forms, such as *danyang*.³ *Danyang*, in the Ngadhu-bhaga community in Ngada Regency is called *Nitu*, namely the ancestor or God of the Underworld. As the God of the Underworld, she was highly respected, loved and feared. When the mother is angry, she changes into a very scary form, *ebu ngiu* (grandmother of darkness), but the mother is being honoured, then she is called *Susu Keri Asu Kae* (hidden grandmother).⁴

In the Eastern cosmology, especially Southeast Asia, Mother of the Earth refers to feminine figure. However, as the view of Eastern Cosmology, especially Southeast Asia which is monodualism, dualism, or binary-opposition, the figure of mother earth connotes a functional relationship which is dialectical and co-existent, terrifying as well as protecting. Monodualism, dualism, or binary-opposition means two realities but one meaning. For example, male – female, strong – weak, hard – soft, tall – low, light – dark. To create while to destruct, and to unite while to separate. Thus, harmony and balance are required to maintain its fertility and sustainability.⁵

Harmonious and balanced relationships bear fertility of the earth or fertility of nature in broader context. The earth's fertility has 2 (two) implications, namely whether its fertility is exploited or preserved. Therein lays the civilized human consciousness to maintain harmony and balance in maintaining and exploiting the fertility. This awareness, normative-idealistically, is exploiting as well as maintaining its fertility.⁶

To maintain this harmony of fertility and exploitations requires wisdom. And the customary law community carry this characteristic through customary law norms. These characteristics are shown through traditional ceremonies, namely rituals performed during the ceremony. If this character is not found in indigenous peoples, it means that they have committed a deviation.

The view of modernism assumes that ceremonial and ritual activities are only idealistic or even utopian and mythical. For the Modernists, ritualism actually worsens the situation because it maintains stability, whereas efforts to maintain fertility require a change. The opinion is highly egotistical and negates other points of view. It is baseless accusations. Modernists should also be open to understanding other points of view.

The cosmologic perspective by the Naturalists provides space to understand the traditional viewpoint. For example, when the soil has reduced its fertility, fertilization is carried out. Fertilizer meant is natural or organic.⁷ This fertilization pattern is carried out through shifting cultivation habits. It means the land left temporarily grows plants that function to restore the soil's fertility. The leaves that fall from these trees become humus which can fertilize the soil.⁸

Efforts through shifting cultivation and reforestation are carried out naturally. The modern view actually sees that shifting agriculture can destroy nature; moreover moving to a new location is done by burning forests. This view sees hunting as other destructive habits to forests. Hunting by burning forests is an act of destroying nature and worsening food security. Such differences occur if each party does not open up to each other to understand each other mind-set.⁹

¹. Intan Permatasari dan Achmad Zuber, "Kearifan Lokal dalam Membangun Ketahanan Pangan Petani." *Jurnal JODASC (Journal of Development and Social Change)*, Vol. 3 No. 2 (2021), p-ISSN. 2614-5766, e-ISSN. 2615-7187.

². Geertz, Clifford, 1983, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, p. 32-33.

³. Muhamad Masruri, "Kosmologi Danyang Masyarakat Desa Sekoto dalam Ritual Bersih Desa." *Jurnal Penelitian LPPKM IAIN Kudus*. Vol. 7 No. 2 (2013), p-ISSN. 1693-6019, e-ISSN. 2477-6580.

⁴. Lihat pula, Djandon, Maria Goreti, "Fungsi *Woe* dalam Sistem Sosial Masyarakat Tradisional Desa Turekisa." *Historis: Jurnal Kajian, Penelitian & Pengembangan Pendidikan Sejarah*, Vol. 5 (2), Desember (2020). P-ISSN: 2549-7332, e-ISSN: 2614-1167, p. 171-179.

⁵. Bratawijaya, Thomas Wiyasa, 1997, *Mengungkap dan Mengenal Budaya Jawa*. Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita, p. 233. ISBN. 979-408-394-1.

⁶. Pemberton, John, 2003, *Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, p. 331. ISBN. 979-9471-10-9.

⁷. Helena Mathilda, Sterra; Binsar Jonathan Pakpahan, and Sandro Hosoloan L. Tobing, "Sistem Ladang Gilir Balik sebagai Ekoteologi Masyarakat Dayak." *Jurnal Teologi Berita Hidup*, Vol. 4 NO. 1 (2021), 117-137, e-ISSN. 2654-5691; p-ISSN. 2656-904.

⁸. Herkulana Mekarriyani S., 2023, *Kajian Analisis Sistem Ladang Bergilir dalam Pertanian Berkelanjutan pada Era Globalisasi di Kalimantan Barat*. Pontianak: West Kalimantan Provincial Research and Development Agency. <https://litbang.kalbarprov.go.id/artikel/artikel/kajian-analisis-sistem-ladang-bergilir-dalam-pertanian-berkelanjutan-pada-era-globalisasi-di-kalimantan-barat>, accessed on June 10, 2023.

⁹. Ataribasa, Yuliana; Iwan Setiawan and Trisna Insan, "Pola Pergeseran Nilai Kearifan Lokal Sistem Ladan Berpindah pada Masyarakat Arfak." *Mimbar Agribisnis, Jurnal Pemikiran Masyarakat Ilmiah Berwawasan Agribisnis*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (2020). DOI: 10.25157/ma.v6i2.3570.

2.2 Soil Fertility in the Perspective of Indigenous Peoples and the Role of Local Wisdom

Local communities as part of the customary law community also have different point of view from the Modernists. They have their own perspective as local wisdom. Indigenous peoples' local wisdom towards nature, especially land can be found in several customary law communities, such as the customary law community in the Traditional Village in Bali and the Dayak Indigenous Community in Kalimantan. This view originates from the inseparable unity of nature and human.

The customary law community of traditional villages in Bali has a *trihita karana* philosophy contained in the *awig-awig* of each traditional village.¹ In the Dayak customary law community in Kalimantan, has similar philosophy of *trihita karana* in Bali, namely *huma betang*.² The relationship between humans and nature, including land, is highly guarded and seen as sacred. In the *trihita karana* philosophy, there are three causal relationships as a source of human welfare, namely, *parahyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*. *Parahyangan* is the relationship between humans and God, *pawongan* is the relations between human beings, and *Palahan* is the relations between humans and the earth or nature.

Similar to *trihita karana*, *huma betang* in Kalimantan has philosophical values, namely kinship (human relations with fellow human beings), human relations with nature, and obedience to law. For the Dayak customary law community, law has a very important meaning. Law functions to unite and maintain the relationship between humans and nature. Without law, those relationships are meaningless. The function of *huma betang* law historically began with the *Tumbang Anoi* Agreement in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan.

A Madurese saying 'mon atana atané mon adhagang adhaging (who does farming, eats rice, who trades, eats meat)' means that if you want to eat rice (in the broad sense of 'live') you should do farming, and if you want to eat meat (eat well) you should trade. This saying should be interpreted that if someone wants to live well he should guard, manage his land properly, and protect it from criminals such as the land mafia. To maintain the fertility of the land, inherited from their ancestors, and the continuity of its ownership, it must be properly managed, planted (and guarded (maintained)).

There are 2 (two) very important and valuable subjects of Madurese people, namely land and women. These two subjects should not be touched by unauthorized people. Harassment of women is considered the same as encroaching on land, which can endanger lives by *carok* (fighting). The correct expression in this case is *lebbi Bagus pote tolang, atembang pote mata* (it is better to die than to be ashamed).³ Land and women are in one concept of fertility. Land provides survival, and women provide continuity of offspring. A Javanese expression says '*sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi, ditohi pati*' (a touch of the forehead, an inch of ground, life is at stake).⁴ The honour of a Javanese aristocrat is on the forehead, the honour of a farmer is on the ground. If a Javanese aristocrat's forehead is touched, it is similar to an inch of land for a farmer, so lives are at stake (death). Essentially, for farmer, it is not merely honour, but survival.

The customary law community in Lio, Ende-Flores Regency has a philosophy on the relationship between humans and the earth. This relation is contained in the expression '*ine pare*' (mother of rice). Mother of rice is identical with mother of the earth. The myth of *ine pare* relates to the relationship between humans, humans and nature, and humans and their ancestors. *Ine pare* is a form of human sacrifice for one's neighbour, even though one's neighbour has jealousy. Evil could not stop the nature to give its mercy to human.

That mercy is expressed through the compassionate nature of a mother, an ancestor. Ancestors are a symbol of God Almighty, *Ndua Nggae*.⁵ *Ndua Nggae* is the designation for the Supreme Reality), or Goddess or God Almighty. Like God's love for humans, so does the love of an earth's mother for her son, namely *Bumi Putra*. Even though the earth is damaged, traded, trampled on, it still gives its fertility to plants to be used as food for humans, even for all living things.

3. Research methods

This study applies anthropological point of view which sees customary law norms as a cultural product, the result of human mind-sets. Customary law norm is a result of the absorption of socio-cultural values, creativity, initiative, and human feelings. These legal norms will always vary by time and place. to time and place. The enforceability (geldings or geltung) of customary law norms cannot be separated from the context, namely the context of time, place, person, and culture.

¹. Putu Ronny Angga Mahendra and I Made Kartika, "Membangun Karakter Berlandaskan Tri Hita Karana dalam Perspektif Kehidupan Global. *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Undiksa*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (2021).

². Endri Ahmadi, Anang Puji Utama, and I Nengah Putra Apriyanto, "Analisis Falsafah Huma Betang Sebagai Sarana Rekonstruksi Perdamaian Pasca Konflik Suku Dayak – Madura di Kalimantan Tengah. *Jurnal Damai dan Resolusi Konflik*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (2022).

³. Hani'ah, "Ideologi Masyarakat Madura Dalam Ungkapan-Ungkapan Idiomatis." *Jurnal Prosodi*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (2010).

⁴. Hari Bakti Mardikantoro, "Bahasa Jawa Sebagai Pengungkap Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Samin di Kabupaten Blora." *Jurnal Komunitas*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2013), p. 197-207. ISSN. 2086-5465.

⁵. Jebarus Adon, Mathias, Siklus Rikardus Depa, and Vinsensius Rixnaldi Masut, "Hubungan Antara Konsep Ndu'a Nggae Sebagai Raelitas Tertinggi Suku Ende-Lio dengan Iman Kristiani." *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi-Studi Agama*. Vol. 7 No. 2 (2021). ISSN: P. 2407 – 9146; E. 2549 – 5666.

Primary data were obtained through discussions with several community members during research in Flores, Madura, Osing, Timor, and Dayak. The secondary data are journals, and internet articles as tertiary data. The data obtained is analysed qualitatively with emic (phonemic) and etic (phonetic) approaches. It is often found that the interpretation of researchers is different from that of members of the community. To deepen and understand the values that exist in the mind-set of indigenous peoples (such as in Madura, Dayak, and Osing) due to different symbols and expressions, there are 2 (two) strategies used, first: modality, and second: breaching. The supposing strategy is the way the researcher presupposes himself with the speaker, who owns the data/information, being studied.

Breaching is a strategy often used by phenomenologists to seek and find values behind human behaviour that are difficult to express. Sometimes research finds it difficult to understand the meaning behind the symbol because the subject (informant) hides, is reluctant to speak openly due to suspicion of the researcher). When the researcher encountered this situation, the researcher made a deliberate mistake. The reaction given by the subject (informant) to the error causes in-depth interviews to be conducted.

4. Discussion

4.1 The Role of Local Wisdom for Food Security

Several customary law communities have certain local wisdom to maintain food security.¹ Food security is important so that it has been implemented since the ancient times. The implementation of food security is carried out through crop diversification. From the plant diversification, the various functions of the food are divided.²

In the ancient times, members of the community stored durable foodstuffs in barns. The barn was an appropriate and important tool for food security. The people most important needs were food to eat, houses to live in, and clothes to wear. Time has changed everything, the basic needs are not only food, shelter, and clothing, but has become increasingly complex, such as vehicles as a means of transportation, and cell phones as a means of communication.

Currently, long-stored foodstuffs are rarely used, because they are sold directly to the market. For example, in Java, agricultural products such as rice (grains), fruits, tubers are brought directly to the market. People prefer to save money than to save groceries. The people basic needs shifted from foods, houses, and clothes to vehicles and cell phones. The things considered as luxury needs in the past, has now become primary needs as well as foods, houses and clothes. Even in rural areas, television is now a necessity that needs to be met.

This behaviour is beneficial to the capital owners who can store the food for a long time, and when people need it, the food is sold at high prices. The fruit is squeezed and stored in a variety of canned goods, juices, or candies and sold when people need it. Post-harvest technology only seems to be owned and controlled by the owners of capital, while the Indigenous peoples are lagging behind in such mastery of science and technology.

By such changes, how will the cosmology of indigenous peoples function? The government has reminded that food security is needed and important. Customary people are directed to fulfil what they need, not only what they want. They need to be invited to discuss the importance of using their products for food security. Ancestral culture on food security that has lasted for centuries needs to be rebuilt and preserved.

Village granary or granary in each house need to be revived and refunctioned considering that it has a vital function in food security which has been destroyed through market ideology, Barns are symbol of food security for customary law communities, such as in Toraja. In Toraja there are at least 3 (three) types of granary or *alang* based on the number of pillars. There are *alang seba* which only have 4 (four) pillars, private granaries and tongkonan granaries which have 6 (six) poles.

The Minangkabau people calls rice granaries as *rangkiang*.³ *Rangkiang* derives from the word *ruang hyang* (*Dewi Sri in Java or Ine Pane in Flores*). There are the *rangkiang si bayau-bayau*, *rangkiang di tangguang lapa*, *rangkiang si tinjau lauik*, and *rangkiang keciak*.⁴ *Rangkiang* is a house where rice is stored after the harvest season, and is located close to the traditional house, *Rumah Gadang*.

Rangkiang si bayau-bayau is a place to store rice for daily needs. This granary is very large, and has 6 (six) or more pillars like *Rangkiang Pagaruyung* Palace which has 12 pillars. *Rangkiang di Tangguang Lapa* is a place to store rice with 4 (four) pillars. It is identical with *Rangkiang Sitingjau Lauik*. However, difference between the two is that the *rangkiang di Tangguang Lapa* is a place to store rice in preparation for emergencies, while *Rangkiang Sitingjau Lauik* is a place to store the rice to be sold for the purposes that they cannot afford themselves. The *Rangkiang Keciak* is the smallest and lowest rice storage area of all the *Rangkiang*. It functions

¹. Neti Kesumawati, Yukiman Armadi, and Rita Hayati, "Pentingnya Menggali kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Petani dalam Rangka Memelihara Kelestarian Lahan Pertanian sebagai Pendukung Ketahanan pangan di Kabupaten Rejang Lebong." *Jurnal Agribus*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2021).

². Winati Wigna and Ali Khomsan, "Kearifan Lokal dalam Diversifikasi Pangan." *Jurnal Pangan*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2011), p. 283-294.

³. Elda Frazia, Yasraf Amir Piliang, and Acep Iwan Saidi, "Rumah Gadang as a Symbloic Representation of Minangkabau Ethnic Identity." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (2015).

⁴. Schelold, Reimar (Ed.), "Indonesia Haouses: Survey of Vernacular Architecture in Western Indonesia." In *Seri Arsitektur Indonesia 2*. Leiden: KITLV Press, ISBN. 9789004253988.

as a place to store seeds.

The Dawan community in Timor refers barns as *Lopo*. In Ngadhu-bhaga in Ngada District, NTT, granaries are called *sao are* (*sao* = house, *are/pare* = rice) or *bo*. In the Dawan community, *lopo* is a house, a symbol of women, while *sane/pale* (dwelling house) is a symbol of men. *Lopo* or barn is a symbol of fertility, and women are fertility or the source of life itself.¹

The Ngadhu-bhaga community in Ngada District, NTT has similar philosophy with Dawan's. *Sao are* have 2 (two) meanings, namely: a) *sao* is as a place to store food, and b) a place where girls are ritualized to become adults. *Sao are* as food storage is placed around the house, either in the village and/or in the garden, rice field or moor. This *Sao are* is the basis for tribe members to prepare food ingredients to be used at any occasion, houses for example traditional ceremonies, building traditional houses, building ritual for the mother of origin (*bhaga*), setting up *tiang lingga* or phallic poles (*pemali*, symbol of the father of origin), *reba* and cutting teeth ceremonies, and *ripa ngii* or *poo* (circumcision).

Sao are in the second meaning is a magical-religious or mystical symbol which is a symbol of women. In the Ngadhu-bhaga community, in the ancient times, the rituals of *ripa ngii* (cutting teeth) and *wadho* (getting up or growing up) were always performed for every girl who was growing up (ready to marry). This ritual requires a lot of funds so that the role of the barn (*sao are*) is very important. During the *wadho* ritual, the girl shall stay in the *sao are*.

Nowadays, when traditional ceremonies and rituals are rarely performed, the function of the granary is increasingly important as a symbol of food security. This function shall increase its role to maintain food security. Local wisdom that was destroyed due to the ideology of capitalism was in power, shall then be returned or restored. The old abandoned ancestral philosophy shall now be reconstructed.

In the Kerinci community in Jambi Province, the place where rice is stored is called a rice booth. Even though it is no longer functioned, and has even been converted into a warehouse, in ancient times the ancestors of the Kerinci customary law community had many rice chambers. The market ideology has destroyed everything. People prefer to save money than material treasures such as rice, corn, and grains.

In the past, granaries had contributed to food security. The arrival of the capitalist mind-set replacing barn with banks has destroyed the ideas of food security that were once constructed by our forefathers. Thus, it is the time for the country to carry out the reconstruction of barns as a symbol of national food security in the future. By storing food in the barn, the money earned will be spend to buy other goods.

4.2 Women, Land and Food Security

The relationship between women, land and food security will be further discussed as these components have strong and close relationships one another. This idea has been reflected in the mind-set, philosophy, and paradigm of the customary law community.

It as been previously mentioned that land is always synonymous with women. Empirically, land cannot be separated from land. In some customary law communities, land is always close to land. It does not only relate to heirs, but it also relates to land management for household interests. In the Madurese perspective, land and women cannot be separated even these matters are different entities. In addition, the *Ngadhu-bhaga* indigenous people and their customary law communities, and the Lio indigenous people and their customary law communities believe that women and land are cosmologically identical.²

Minangkabau indigenous peoples and their customary law communities have similar ideas. Likewise the indigenous peoples of Dayak, Papua, Timor, Kerinci, and several tribes in Timor. A documentary film clearly shows that women in the Kendeng Region-Central Java, East Nusa Tenggara, Mollo, Banggai, Central Sulawesi and Banda Aceh have a strong and close relationship with the earth and the environment.³ As stated by Vandana Shiva⁴ the relationship between women and nature (earth) is like the relationship between *Prakriti* (nature) and *Purusha* (human). This relationship is well known as functional-equivalent relationship which gives and takes, content-fills, and supports one another. The cosmological foundation says that humans come from the land and will return to the land.

The foreign perspective breaks this relationship. The western anthropocentrism which prioritize human exploitation on nature, in which human are considered superior and powerful to control. This western anthropocentrism view, especially androcentrism, is different and even contradictory to anthropocentrism in

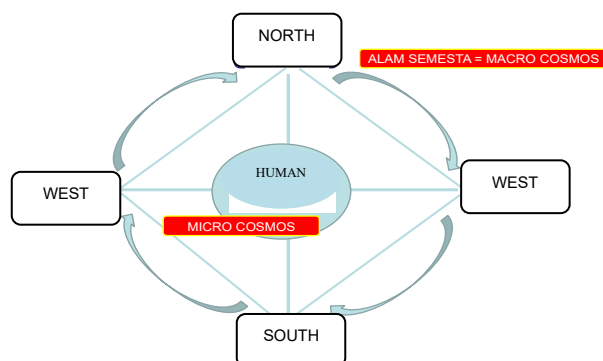
¹. Silab, Wilfridus, Kanahebi, dan Soleman Bessie, 1997, *Rumah Tradisional Suku Atoni – Timor, Nusa Tenggara Timur*. Kupang: Depdikbud Prop. NTT.

². Sile, Angelius Chrisantho Marician, I Wayan Suwena, and Ni Luh Arjani, "Relasi Gender Dalam Sistem Kekerabatan Matrilineal." *Humanis: Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 24 (2). May Edition (2020), p. 177-185, p-ISSN: 2528-5076, e-ISSN: 2302-920X. DOI: <https://doi.org/24843/JH.2020.v24.i02.p09>

³. Simanjuntak, Monalisa Agnes Pamela and Firtianni Lubis, "Hubungan Perempuan dan Alam dalam Film Dokumenter 'Tanah Ibu Kami': Kajian Ekofeminisme." *Jurnal Sastra Indonesia (Sasindo)*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2022). P-ISSN. 2301-590X, e-ISSN. 2985-7465. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24114/sasindo.v11i1.36035>

⁴. Vandana Shiva, 1988, *Staying Alive: Woman, Ecology, and Development*. New Delhi: Zed Books.

Indonesian culture. The relation of local wisdom in Indonesia, as follows:



An image of the relationship between humans (microcosmos) and nature (macrocosmos)

the picture shows human is the center of the universe. As the center, the continuity of the universe depends on humans. If humans cause damage to nature, they will feel the impact. It is not nature that needs humans, but humans do.

Western anthropocentrism, especially androcentrism destroys the universe since it is embraced by greedy capitalists. Indonesian anthropocentrism has a different perspective. This difference sees nature and humans are equal, humans come from the land and will return to the land. With this perspective, humans (micro-cosmos) and nature (macro-cosmos) are always on equal positions. Thus, the relationship between the two is always be in harmony. This view belongs to functional-equivalent.

What does human is from the land and will return to the land mean, and why this relation is called functional-equivalent? This analysis is made through perspective of legal cosmology, especially the cosmology of customary law. Cosmology is a perspective (philosophy) of natural law that views everything in nature as always one. Diversity in nature can be distinguished, but cannot be separated. It cannot be reviewed from any religious point of view of any religion, since the analysis is materialistic. The analysis will begin with the proposition that all living things, especially animals and humans, came from a mixture (singleness) between sperm and egg cells.

Where did the sperm and egg cells come from? Sperm and egg cells are from the foods human eat, such as vegetables, seeds, fruits, and leaves and these foods are from plants that grow in the soil through natural processes. Food eaten through natural processes forms cells in the body such as blood, flesh, bones, skin, saliva, fur, hair, including sperm and egg cells, etc.

In a religious perspective it is known as life creation. God the Almighty intervene through the process of creation 'transforming' something from nothingness into existence, such as heating (blood), breathing and smell, growth (growing), moving, etc. However, the creation process is not discussed, due to the fact that this context does not have the competence to analyse such things. The context being discussed is materialistic, rational, and real, which can be captured by the five senses, only through intuition and reflection. The process of creation, in the context under discussion, which is different from creation, is a natural process that is functionally equivalent as part of a native natural process.¹

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Each of the natural elements complements each other functionally. The local cosmology believes that nature is formed by 5 (five) elements, namely land (earth), fire (sun), water, wind/air, and human. The four elements namely earth, fire, water, and wind form the universe (macrocosm), and human makes up the small universe (microcosm). These four elements of nature form the human body (physical), and the spirit, in the cosmological context, originates from the ancestors, while in the context of religion, it is given by God.

Humans consist of 2 (two) elements, namely, the body which is formed from 4 (four) natural elements and the subtle body bear from the Spirit. The five elements within the human being work functionally, including the Spirit or the human body as the driving machine. The relationship between humans and the Ancestral Spirits happens through the subtle human bodies which are believed to be inherited from the ancestors. In such context, in the local religion (ancestral religion), God is identical with the Ancestral Spirit. If the ancestors have become

¹. Dominikus Rato, 2019, *loc. cit.*

one with God, then their children and grandchildren appeals to God are made through the intercession of their ancestor. Therefore, our forefathers are called 'ancestors' because of their lofty qualities that have brought us live until today. If the ancestors did not own noble qualities, it is always possible that their descendants will become extinct due to hunger, die in war without protection, and die from illness without any proper treatment.

The local religions see women as a symbol of the gross body (macrocosm) and men as a symbol of the subtle body (microcosmos), because the Ancestral Spirit (Spirit of God) descends to posterity (newly born) from men through the marriage process. Thus, in this context, a woman is close to nature and is believed as the nature itself, namely the earth. In the Ngadhu-bhaga community, the ancestral spirits are called the Lower Gods (Nitu Zale) and the Supreme God is called the Zeta God (God Above, *Susu Keri Asu Kae*).¹

The local religion has experienced degradation after the Revelation religion was accepted in society. The revelation religion has been able to shift local religions, but it has not been able to eliminate local religions. Local religion will always survive as long as indigenous peoples believe that the relationship between humans land and ancestors persists. Even though the land, earth or nature, has experienced a degradation of meaning and value, it is only a means of production. However, the mind-set of the local community will not be abolished by this modernist-materialistic view. This view has reduced this magical-religious reality as a process since the Middle Ages.²

Khalisah Khalid³ provides data showing that inequality in the control of natural resources, which was originally oriented towards ecological sustainability held by women, has now reduced, even leading to extinction. A development which is oriented towards economic growth by ignoring ecology and humans (women) has changed the mind-set of humans which has placed ecology and women in a vulnerable position. Women are always considered as a powerless group; therefore they are not involved in every development policy.

The Forum for the Environment (WALHI) also revealed that 82.5 per cent of ecological destruction, land grabbing and resource conflicts are caused by the behaviour of corporations, government and security forces.⁴ It is acceptable due to the fact that several previous studies have shown the criminalization of indigenous peoples⁵ and the land mafia. In fact, according to WALHI, 85 per cent of people are landless and women are the most vulnerable to all ecological crises. Even though the sustainability of national food security is in the hands of women, development in Indonesia has been gender biased. In the hands of women, land, forests, water sources are being taken care of, since women are aware on the sustainability of nature and food security are closely related to the continuity of generations.

This view has been destroyed by theories embracing the concept of western anthropocentrism. A view which is contrary to the mythology of Dewi Sri, Ine Pare, Mother of the Earth (*Pertiwi*) in Indonesia. The food pattern no longer considers its nutrition and health, but it has focused on the delicacy, luxury and even fast food. The Eastern Cosmology of women shows mothers as gatekeepers⁶ for food availability in the household, but owning no authority over food control which is held by men. It is the androcentrism view.⁷

Therefore, to involve women's participation on food security, the mind-set needs to be changed to 'sustainable agriculture'. Women are allowed to get involved in farming and cultivation. However, it aims to empower women rather than to defraud them. They are empowered by women themselves through the method of 'women's active participation', meaning that women are given a chance and sovereignty for resources control and management.⁸

The idea of 'back to nature' provides opportunities for greater food availability. This mind-set gives women a wider space. It is not dichotomizing roles as if women were placed in the subsystem space (agriculture), but as an effort to return the roles of women and nature as one unit. Thus, this mind-set is an effort to restore the productive role of women and nature in food supply, food security, as well as maintaining the ecological cycle.

¹. Arndt, Paul, "Die Religion der Nad'a." *Candraditya*, No. 06 *Seri Etnologi* (2005). Maumere: Puslit Candraditya.

². Shiva, Vandanna, 1988, *loc. cit.*

³. Anti Mayastuti and Diah Apriani Atika Sari, "Membangun Ketahanan Masyarakat Berbasis Gender Melalui Adaptasi Iklim." *Journal of Law, Society, and Islamic Civilization*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2014). E-ISSN: 2776-2173. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20961/jolsic.v4i2.50494>.

⁴. Swararahima, 2018, *Khalisah Khalid, Ekologi Politik Feminis: Mengungkap Pengetahuan Perempuan tentang Lingkungan*, <https://swararahima.com/2018/08/13/khalisah-khalid-ekologi-politik-feminis-mengungkap-pengetahuan-perempuan-tentang-lingkungan>, accessed on May 11, 2023.

⁵. Dominikus Rato, "Perlindungan HAM Masyarakat Hukum Adat Yang Bhinneka Tunggal Ika di Era Digital." *Majalah Hukum Nasional*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (2021). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33331/mhn.v51i2.147>

⁶. Lewin, K., "Defining the 'field at a given time.'" *Psychological Review*, 50 (3), 292-310 (1943). Dalam <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0062738>, accessed on May 11, 2023.

⁷. Counihan, Calore M., 1999, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning and Power*. Routledge: Psychology Press. ISBN: 0415921937, 9780415921930.

⁸. Bandingkan, Rinoza, Renal, "Perempuan dan Lingkungan: Memahami Bumi sebagai Kerahiman, Suatu Upaya untuk Kembali Pula ke Rahim Ibu Pertiwi." in <https://readersblog.mongabay.co.id/rb/2016/04/23/perempuan-dan-lingkungan-memahami-bumi-sebagai-kerahiman-suatu-upaya-untuk-kembali-pulang-ke-rahim-ibu-pertiwi>, accessed on May 12, 2023.

5. Conclusion

By the above short analysis, this study has concluded several significant ideas, namely: Cosmology relates to the concept of harmony in nature, i.e., harmony between elements in the universe. One of its concepts on food security is restoring the role of women and nature based on local wisdom to build a harmony between nature (macrocosm) and humans (microcosmos) as the centre of the universe. This concept of harmony has always been actualized through local wisdom before the perspective of modernism destroys it.

The local wisdom of customary law communities has laid the foundation that women and nature need to be returned and restored, both in terms of the work space, active-participation methods, and creative freedom. Workspaces for women, which are dominated by men, through a patrimonial perspective and androcentrism need to be reconstructed to build a harmony between men and women's workspaces, especially on nature and food security.

Regarding the above conclusions, the authors note some important commendations, namely: The land, especially the customary lands of indigenous peoples, has a very important and fundamental function on food security. The cosmology of the customary law community provides direction and rhythm for the use of customary land in relation to food security, especially in regard to the belief of the customary law community that humans and land have an eternal relationship. Due to such a belief, excessive exploitation of land and the natural resources contained therein can be prevented and avoided. Customary law norms, through the local wisdom of each customary law community that regulates excessive land use, are formed to prevent, protect and rejuvenate customary lands through 'reforestation'. Therefore, this study suggests that recognition, respect and protection of customary law communities and their rights to the land and natural resources contained therein, shall be formed and ratified as positive law. The positive law continues to provide space for living laws to strengthen and complement each other;

The exploitative behaviour that adheres to a patrimonial perspective and androcentrism needs to be regulated and prevented. Moreover it relates to the management of food land that needs to be regulated and protected, especially the living space and work area of women.

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