

TINUNGGLU'S GOVERNING : TRADITIONAL FOOD BUFFER SYSTEM IN MENTAWAI AS GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper to elaborate of Tacit-governing of food buffer systems in Mentawai island, Tinunglu. Tinunglu is old system on agriculture systems of Mentawai People, especially in Siberut Island. its role as buffer stock food system when their life in vulnerable situation. This analysis focused on to look at three major sets of variables contributing to governability of societal entities, including the natural resources valued by those entities: those entities considered a system-to-be-governed (SG), those governing these entities, labelled the governance system (GS), and the interrelation between these two, worked out in terms of governing relations or interactions (GI). Finally, its resulted identify the area of governability whereas intersection among government and traditional system on tinunglu.

Keywords : tinunglu, system to be govern, governability

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini untuk menguraikan Tacit-governing sistem penyangga makanan di pulau Mentawai, Tinunglu. Tinunglu adalah sistem lama pada sistem pertanian Masyarakat Mentawai, khususnya di Pulau Siberut. Perannya sebagai buffer stock food system ketika hidup mereka dalam situasi rentan. Analisis ini difokuskan untuk melihat tiga set variabel utama yang berkontribusi terhadap governability entitas sosial, termasuk sumber daya alam yang dinilai oleh entitas tersebut: entitas-entitas yang dianggap sebagai system-to-be-governed (SG), yang mengatur entitas-entitas ini, diberi label sistem tata kelola (GS), dan keterkaitan antara keduanya, bekerja dalam hal mengatur hubungan atau interaksi (GI). Akhirnya, hasilnya mengidentifikasi wilayah pemerintahan sedangkan persimpangan antara pemerintah dan sistem tradisional di tinunglu.

Kata kunci : tinunglu, sistem yang akan diatur, governability

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INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic is indeed over, but during that period, Covid-19 became a trigger for change and almost affected all aspects of human life. The Covid-19 pandemic that occurred in Indonesia has implications on the socio-economic life of the community, mainly in fulfilling basic needs, especially food. This implication can be seen in the policies that implement during the pandemic such as the implementation of PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions), policies regarding the new normal and PPKM (Implementation of Restrictions on Micro Activities) or also known as community



activity restrictions enforcement.

This paper is the result of research in Madobag and Buttui, South Siberut, Mentawai Islands Regency, to observe the governance of the Mentawai people in food security during the 2019-2022 pandemic, which works by the Tinungglu system. Some Part of this material was also presented at the national seminar "Mentawai first, now and tomorrow" Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP) Andalas University, West Sumatra, on June 7 2023.

Curiosity about Tinungglu is occur based on the LAKIN KKP report (2020) showing that West Sumatra is classified as a "moderate food insecure" province with one affected district, namely the Mentawai Islands, which is stated from the results of the FSVA (Food Security and Vulnerability Map). This affects the food supply which is a priority concern by the government, namely the commodity of rice. However, in the Mentawai, rice food is not sufficient for the needs of the community, so it must be imported from outside the Mentawai, even though some islands have paddy fields, but the rice yields do not cover the rice needs of the Mentawai people.

The condition of PPKM has caused limitation on marine transportation which is the main accommodation in Mentawai which disrupted and affected by bad weather. This requires the community to return to non-rice local food, where the Mentawai people have long had their main staple foods, namely sago, taro and bananas. This situation is in line with the vision of the Food Availability Centre and Insecurity which is "Strengthening Food Availability and Reducing Food Insecurity Based on Local Resources to Realize Food Sovereignty and Food Self-Reliance". This vision is affiliated in the form of a long-term program (2020-2024) with the "Diversification Improvement Program and Community Food Security". Non-rice carbohydrate sources include cassava, sago, potatoes and bananas, and resources in the surrounding natural environment, in the form of marine products and forest products. This can be pursued in the Mentawai Islands, because geographically, this district is surrounded by the sea and has good forests (land).

To prove interest in managing food buffer stocks in Mentawai, a study was conducted on Tinungglu, starting in Rogdok hamlet, meeting with Alexandro Tasiguruk or Aman Jairo, a Sikerei (60 years old). Aman Jairo admits that he is not worried about food shortages at the moment, even though there is an economic crisis and the government is limiting community activities. He has Tinungglu which contains bananas, taro, sweet potatoes, areca nut, medicinal plants and sago. Furthermore, because they have their own source of food, Aman Jairo and his family are not too worried if they don't get government assistance. Aman Jairo stated:

"Because the food we are looking for is always available from our garden, and we also receive assistance provided by the government, there is no influence, whether there is assistance or not, we can get our food ingredients from garden that have been around for a long time and available all the time,"

Aman Jairo admits that his family has never gone hungry. What he worries about is only if he or a member of his family is sick, so he can't take care of the fields, or when there is a flood. He stated that "During floods, plants can be damaged and die, of course there is nothing we can eat (when that happen)". He also doesn't depend on rice because he has



sago. Processing sago once takes a week, usually it is enough to meet the needs of one to two months. The sago is processed into flour and cooked into kramut (wrapped in sago leaves) or baked in a bamboo tube. Sago is eaten with fish or shrimp.

This opinion is the reason for uncovering how the food buffer system is owned by the Mentawai people, so that they feel they are not experiencing too many problems of hunger or food shortages during the disaster, both when they were hit by the Tsunami disaster, and the pandemic, which has paralyzed distribution to and from where they areauan teoritis

Theoretical Review

Based on field observations on the management of the food buffer stock system, this study focuses on describe the mindset of the Mentawai people in thinking about and managing the natural storage system as an effort to survive from misery and hunger.

These thoughts are recorded in their culture. As Striano (2011) says¹ :

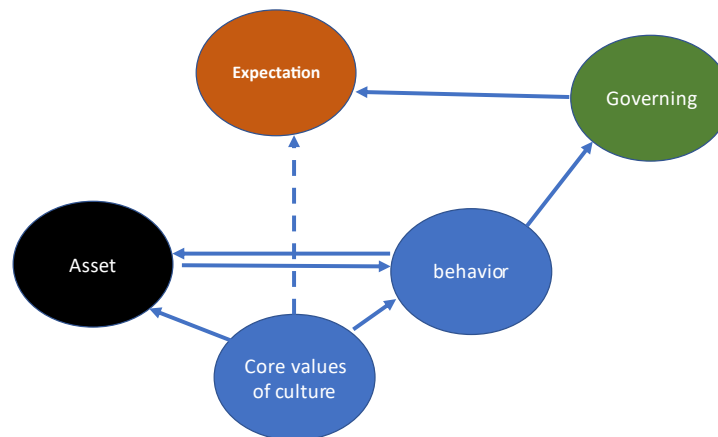
“Communities generate relationships of commitment, sharing, and understanding that are the ground of caring thinking habits, but they are also the generative context of a process of continuous building/re-building/validation of shared meanings and sensibilities which is the ground for critical thinking. In a community context the dynamic between individual-individual and individual-community is both the expression and the management of conflict and opposition, and the construction of new existential, expressive and cognitive forms that allow for the emergence of thoughts capable of composition, integration, qualitative leaps, and surpassing and transcending phases therefore generating creative forms of thinking. As such, the community of philosophical inquiry represents a socio-relational matrix that is inseparably both epistemic and existential, and which reverberates along new links that build up between objects, between people, and within the world in a continuous circuit, and in which new senses and meanings are always being generated”

In simple terms, the application of the Straino concept related to the value construction behind food security in traditional societies, can be broken down as the following diagram

¹ Sebagian paragraph pada artikel ini pernah dipresentasikan pada Seminar Nasional berjudul “ Mentawai, dulu, kini dan Esok” Fak.Antropologi Universitas Andalas, Sumatera Barat dengan judul “Governing Ketahanan Pangan Suku Mentawai Selama Pandemi 19” 31 mei 2023



Figure 1:
The frame value behind traditional community food security



Adapted from Straino (2011)

Through Straino (2011), this study aims to describe the hidden construction behind the Mentawai people's assets management in food security, to explain the core values of Mentawai culture, related to nature and human life, conditions of hope in order to avoid famine and alleviate poverty during disasters, related to conditions that are completely limited in access. There are four dimensions used to identify the management pattern of the natural food buffer that they have so far, Tinungglu, namely: the concept of assets (land), the basic values of Mentawai culture, farming behavior, the hope of not going hungry, and the governing pattern of Tinungglu.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method uses field research, with observation and interview techniques with SiBakkat Laggai (village owner), Sikerei (physician) and other community leaders who are in Madobag and Buttui Villages, South Siberut District. The data display is intended to describe how Tinungglu has been managed as a buffer for natural food stocks owned by the Mentawai people for a long time. Even though it has undergone adjustments to t times and developments in farming patterns in the community, Tinungglu is currently still surviving and able to become a reliable food buffer system when the Mentawai people are hit by a disaster which separates them from the aid chain.

Tinungglu As Food Stock Governing

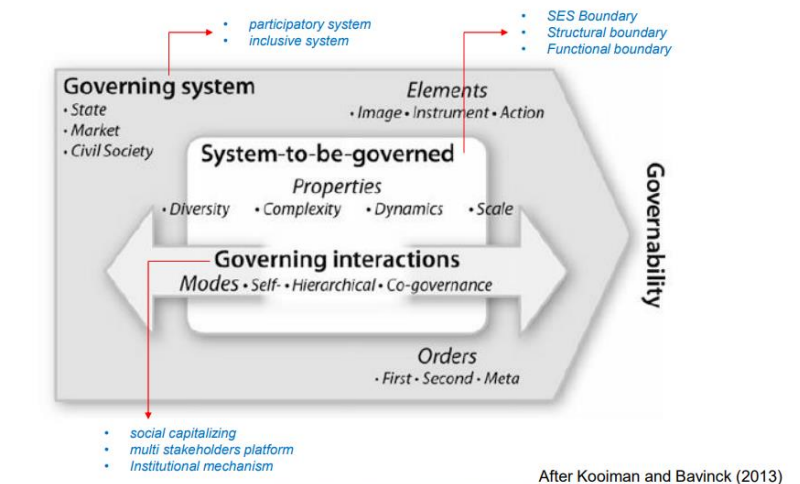
The concept of "Tinungglu" is a manifestation of governance concept of the traditional Mentawai people and the power structures they have in food security. Tinungglu is indeed not a system formed by a formal government, but formed by the *Tacit* power structure that the community had for a long time. The function of Tinungglu is as a buffer system for food availability in the form of vast fields and rivers. The buffer system has existed since they cleared the forest for shelter. Moreover, in Tinungglu, governance interactions occur, namely from elements of the community or Laggai, rights



owners (sibakkat laggai), cultivators, and elements of Uma. Thus Tinungglu is actually The overall capacity for governance of any food security entity or food buffer-stock system.

Theoretically, Kooiman and Bavinck (2013) diagrammatically explain how governance is performed. Through the diagram, this research makes Tinungglu a system to be governed in food security, which then resulted in the tension between SiBakkat Laggai (a person who clears land initially having a large area of land (10-100 hectares) will face the laws related to land tenure. In this condition, there is a wedge to determine governability between functionalization and tiny productivity with a certain mechanism.

Figure 2 :
Governabilitas : governing system-system to be governed, governing intersection



Furthermore, interaction with the government, carried out with basic assumptions, considering governance as a systemic work tool as a whole. The Tinungglu system is a management system defined by social systems that have performed food security for a long time since the ancestors, in order to protect people from hunger and food misery. Society with its value system gives meaning to *Tinugglu* as a system that is sacred to the Mentawai people, so the interactions between those elements form a unique relationships in Mentawai. Although in its development the relationship will change along with the growth of internal dynamics and conflicts of interest occur, but conceptually, starting point is to look at three major sets of variables contributing to governability of societal entities, including the natural resources valued by those entities: those entities considered a system-to-be-governed (SG), those governing these entities, labelled the governance system (GS), and the interrelation between these two, worked out in terms of governing relations or interactions (GI). All three add in varying degrees to governability. Governability is always changing, depending on external and internal factors. What may be high governability at a given time may be low governability at another. Similarly, what may be effective governance in one place may be ineffective in another.



Governability as a whole, or any of its components can be influenced by acts of governance. However, many external factors influence governability as well, some of which can only be poorly handled in governance or not at all. This often enhances uncertainty with respect to the governability of a societal system or entity.

The Tinungglu mechanism is not only seen from the assets and production aspects, but also must cover three aspects, namely food availability, food access and food utilization, so that at the household level can be fulfilled properly so the need ((of food) in a household level can be properly fulfilled). If food security at the household level is stable, the national food security can be strengthened. The President's Vision for 2020-2024 was arranged based on the directives of the 2020-2025 RPJPN, namely "The Realization of an Advanced Indonesia that Sovereign, Independent and Has a Personality Based on Mutual Cooperation". This vision is embodied through 9 (nine) Missions known as the Second *Nawacita*, namely: 1. Improving the Quality of Indonesian Humans 2. Productive, Independent and Competitive Economic Structure 3. Equitable and Fair Development 4. Achieving a Sustainable Living Environment 5. Cultural Development Reflecting National Personality 6. Upholding Corruption-free, Dignified and Trusted Law System, 7. Protection for All Nations and Providing Security to All Citizens 8. Clean, Effective and Reliable Governance, 9. Local Government Synergy within the Framework of the Unitary State The RPJMN 2020-2024 is the starting point for achieving the target of Indonesia's Vision 2045, namely Advanced Indonesia. Moreover, by the reason of that, strengthening the process of economic transformation in order to achieve the development goals of 2045 is the main focus in the context of achieving better infrastructure, quality of human resources, public services, and people's welfare. As a strategy for implementing the Nawacita mission and achieving the goals of Indonesia's Vision 2045, 5 (five) main directives of the President have been determined, including: 1. Human Resources Development; 2. Infrastructure Development; 3. Regulations Simplification; 4. Simplification of the Bureaucracy; and 5. Economic Transformation.

Furthermore, to see the food security management of the Mentawai people through the Tinungglu and Pariagra systems, it is necessary to describe how the Mentawai people understand about land. Land that becomes fields is the most important property for the Mentawai people. Land is communal property (communal resources) or *Uma*'s property, and in line with the change in mindset, people are starting to understand the importance of individual ownership. In addition, even though obtaining ownership rights to individual land is obtained through efforts such as buying, which is still difficult to do until now, because communal ownership of land is still firmly held.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The land (*polak*) where they live, and *mone* for migrants are the main assets whose ownership must be clear, for a sense of security and assurance for the lives of the Mentawai people down to their descendants. However, Si bakkat laggai has not given ownership rights by selling them to newcomers. The bakkat laggai has not yet received clear rights from the government over the land that has been turned into a village. The bakkat laggai



only gave his land as usufructuary rights to the villagers. The Mentawai Islands have a large area, consisting of 4 major islands, namely Siberut, Sipora, North Pagai and South Pagai. The land use as follows:

Figure 1
 Land Utilization in Mentawai Island

Kecamatan Sub-district	Luas Lahan (ha) / Area									
	Pemukiman House Compound	Sawah Wet Land	Tegalan Dry Field	Kebun Campuran Mixed Garden	Perkebunan Estate Land	Hutan Forest	Semak Belukar Comfor table	Kolam Water Ponds	Hutan Sejenis & Lain-Lain Homogenic orest & Others	Jumlah Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1 Pagai Selatan	304	8	0	6,454	2,316	68,584	8,202	0	4,240	90,108
2 Sikakap	453	193	0	3,781	1,097	17,298	3,751	0	1,272	27,845
3 Pagai Utara	171	14	0	2,232	2,475	27,258	864	0	1,188	34,202
4 Sipora Selatan	478	39	0	7,585	822	16,055	1,420	0	448	26,847
5 Sipora Utara	424	126	49	6,608	4,437	19,168	5,352	0	2,144	38,308
6 Siberut Selatan	326	190	47	3,294	144	41,323	5,165	0	344	50,833
7 Siberut Barat Daya	240	6	0	5,300	1,936	48,940	7,294	200	992	64,908
8 Siberut Tengah	142	14	19	7,416	1,000	61,830	2,466	0	1,100	73,987
9 Siberut Utara	414	121	16	15,600	753	58,623	5,464	0	620	81,611
10 Siberut Barat	144	29	0	10,236	2,144	97,222	2,711	0	0	112,486
	3,096	740	131	68,506	17,124	456,301	42,689	200	12,348	601,135

Sumber : Badan Pertanahan Nasional Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai

Sumber: Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai

Source: Mentawai's Marine Affairs and Fisheries Service

Almost 55% of land use is in the form of uncultivated forest, namely 456,301, while the remaining 15% is used for housing, 3,096, the remaining 30% is for productive land, in the form of gardens, fields and dry rice fields. This indicates that the Mentawai Islands still have great potential in land revitalization, even though the forest area has been protected into the customary protected forest area. Barn for food security, is a huge potential. Mentawai Islands is potential for agricultural acrivity. The data from the Regency Government in 2019, sago production was 1,033 tons, taro 6,699 tons and bananas 19,506 tons. In agriculture, production is obtained through a process that is quite long and full of risks. The length of time needed varies depending on the type of commodity cultivated, because agriculture in Mentawai has specific characteristics, namely: 1) The resources controlled by farmers are very limited, such as land, capital, technology, education, markets and the ability to utilize markets; 2) Institutionalization of a dualistic economic structure, namely farming by small farmers and large commercial farming, which is not supported in the form of mutually beneficial and just cooperation/partnership; 3) Small scale farmers are concentrated on harvesting raw material commodities; 4). agricultural fertility in the Mentawai is more controlled as a function of Tinungglu, whose pattern of management is highly dependent on the political will of Si Bakkat lagai, not from cultivators.

Tinungglu land as private goods, for common resources. In the food security



system defined by FAO (2016) explains that food security behavior is aimed to reduce food sources poverty and nutritional poverty. Thus bring up the core system of behavior, which is related to the structure of society and also natural resources. In the core system dimension, there is a set of food processing actions, namely access to land, cultivators, availability of seeds, knowledge, availability of funds, and maintenance of various treatments. While the farming process, consists of the stages of production, preparation, land management, harvesting, distribution and consumption. Meanwhile, the dimensions of social structure include policies, organizations, agricultural infrastructure, and socio-cultural norms. This is to harmonize with the health of water quality, climate, soil, climate, genetic ecosystem, as natural elements that support food security.

Based on Straino (2011) and FAO, a thread of Mentawai locus of knowledge regarding community governance in food management can be identified. Mentawai area is an archipelago, but the Mentawai people are not a maritime society. The Mentawai people live in valleys which are watersheds and upstream of rivers, far inland. The land area is the main source of livelihood. The land is overgrown with various types of plants that function to fulfill the necessities of life such as sago, bananas, taro as staple food and the garden is planted with manau, patchouli, coconut, durian and others.

In an effort to respond to disasters, including the Covid-19 pandemic, the Mentawai Islands regency government has socialized that people continue to plant local food crops on the sidelines of their gardens such as between coconut, areca nut or cacao trees to meet food needs, with an intercropping pattern. The Tinungglu development is for people's food sources, the important thing is that the results must be able to supply nutrients to the community, but it is still lack in protein sources. In order to increase protein sources, intercrops such as pulses and legumes must be intercropped among other crops in Tinungglu. This also can be utilized for conservation, it have short lifespan and are easy to plant. However, in practice, people actually plant overlapping crops, when all crops are forced to be planted without a soil zoning plan in the planting area, which will make pests and weeds being difficult to control.

The agriculture office also provides support for horticultural seeds for the community such as palawija seeds to be planted. Furthermore, by requiring government assistance, such as plant seeds, no longer sacrifice local plants, such as eliminating sago gardens and replacing them with other plants. Some of the vegetables that are the Mentawai Islands comodities, namely beans, eggplant, cucumber, large chilies, bird's eye chilies, tomatoes, spinach. Meanwhile, fruit trees grown in the Mentawai are durian, avocado, mango, rambutan, duku, orange, guava, guava, papaya, banana, mangosteen, jackfruit, melinjo, petai, cassava, jengkol, pineapple and sapodilla trees. The Mentawai Islands Regency Government is also continuing to look for technological developments for better processing of sago, taro and bananas to return these local plants as the main food in the Mentawai Islands.

Mentawai soil fertility, can be observed from non-timber forest products (HHBK) from forest areas that have enormous potential and have a significant role in increasing people's household incomes, improving the local economy, and preserving the forest itself. Non-timber forest products will be able to become one of the main-stream of forest



utilization in Indonesia. In addition, it will certainly encourage an increase in people's welfare if properly managed. The following is data on non-timber forest products in the Mentawai Regency until 2020 with potential types of plants to be developed, namely cocoa and sago.

Tabel 2
 Cocoa dan Sago Production

Kecamatan Subdistrict	Kakao Cocoa (ha)		Sagu Sago (ha)	
	2019	2020	2019	2020
(1)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Pagai Selatan	393,0	336,5	38,0	36,0
2. Sikakap	217,0	211,0	15,0	15,0
3. Pagai Utara	191,0	128,0	33,0	31,0
4. Sipora Selatan	380,0	378,0	83,0	79,0
5. Sipora Utara	287,0	252,0	20,0	16,0
6. Siberut Selatan	134,0	194,0	158,0	158,0
7. Siberut Barat Daya	209,0	132,0	289,0	291,0
8. Siberut Tengah	252,0	408,0	510,0	510,0
9. Siberut Utara	442,0	238,0	30,0	41,0
10. Siberut Barat	195,0	155,0	285,0	295,0
Kepulauan Mentawai	2 700,0	2 432,5	1 461,0	1 472,0

Sumber : BPS Kabupaten Mentawai 2021

Based on the results of a field survey, processed products made from sago originating from the Mentawai Regency have a different taste which tends to be smoother and not harsh. Proper postharvest handling will greatly help to increase yields both in quality and quantity. Sago is one of the staple foods of people in Indonesia, and has good nutrition for the body. This is because the nutritional content in sago is relatively complete. Sago contains a lot of carbohydrates. In addition, Sago also has protein, vitamins and minerals, although the amount is small. Moreover, sago is also used to delay fatigue when doing physical activity. A study even revealed that the combination of sago and soy protein is useful for strengthening the body's stamina when doing physical activity. As animal feed, sago is an ingredient that is easy to obtain, inexpensive, and has good nutritional content for livestock. Not only in the livestock sector, sago is also widely used in the food industry.

The non-rice food security zone, sago, should be maintained in the Mentawai Islands, namely sago as an endemic plant. It has been proven that the Mentawai people have been able to get through difficult times and have no good access to meet their needs for carbohydrate sources. Sago is one of the staple foods for people in eastern Indonesia, especially in Papua and Maluku, as well as Mentawai. This food ingredient is obtained from the processing of tropical palm tree species or *Metroxylon sago rottb*. The agricultural potential of the Mentawai Islands is large. The data from the Mentawai Islands Regency Government in 2019, sago production was 1,033 tons, taro 6,699 tons and bananas 19,506 tons. Fruits such as durian amounted to 20,702 tons, mango 879 tons, oranges 526 tons, duku 6007 tons. The production of other plantations, such as coconut, was 15,591 tons and cloves, according to the latest data for 2017, was 700 tons.



Land is essential in Mentawai culture.

The following note is a quote from Adri Febrianto, Erda Fitriani (2012)², regarding the position of land for the Mentawai people. Traditionally the Mentawai people live in *Uma*. *Uma* consists of 5-10 nuclear families (30-60 individuals). *Uma* is not only a place to live but also a social unit.

In Modobag and Butui, there are several *Uma*, and the rest are *Lalep* or houses occupied by the main family. Building an *Uma* requires a high cost, because *Uma* is usually large and wide. After *Uma* is finished, the tribe that owns the *Uma* must also held a ceremony, called *Punen*. In hosting the *punen*, a large fee is also needed. The houses owned by families in Madobag and Butui are generally wooden buildings, consisting of 2 or 3 rooms, and a kitchen at the back. Usually there is a veranda in front of the house which is used to sit or receive guest. The land or land belongs to the talent of *Lagai*, but its function is used communally, belonging to a tribe or belonging to an *uma*.

Knowledge of land ownership is obtained from parents (*teteu*) or from the oral stories of their ancestors. The land owned is not only in or near the village, but also in other places, in distant villages and even small islands in Mentawai. Ownership of land in an *uma* rests with the male parent. If the father or *Si Bajak* has died, the land is under the control of the plow's eldest brother if the son is not yet an adult. Therefore, usually *Si Bajak* will take his son to locations of land/land and plants so that the child knows what belongs to him.

Land and land become increasingly important when it comes into contact with modern life. There are numerous needs that must be met, such as children's education or simply to buy a motorbike. It is important to convey knowledge of the location of land, land and its boundaries to the children of the Menawai tribe, especially boys. If it is not clear when it will become a source of conflict, if it is taken by another person or tribe.

Tribal or *uma* land is marked with a boundary (*songnia*) in the form of *sura'* and *irip* plants. This plant was chosen as a border, because it is easy to grow and strong. *Song* marks apart from plants are also fractures or scratches on tree trunks. So in the past, when their ancestors went to an island and saw a mark on a tree, this meant that someone had come to that island first and that the land already had an owner. Land boundaries can also be natural boundaries such as creeks or ridges.

The structure of society in Mentawai culture can be divided into three, namely *sibakkat laggai*, *Si toi* and *Si oi-akek*. All three are explained in relation to land ownership. The term of *Si bakkat laggai* consists of two word elements, namely *si bakkat* and *laggai*. *Si bakkat* means he has it, while *laggai* means village. *Si bakkat laggai* can be interpreted as a person who owns land in the village. *Si bakkat laggai* can also be interpreted as the descendants of people who own land in the village. Because as the owner of the land in the village, if someone comes and wants to live or farm, they must get permission from *Si bakkat laggai*. *Si bakkat Laggai* is known to some people as a person with lots of wealth, lots of money, and pigs. *Si bakkat laggai* in a village may consist of one person or several elders from that tribe.

² Adri Febrianto, Erda Fitriani, 2012, *Kepemilikan dan Penguasaan Lahan Pada Orang Mentawai: Studi Etnografi Pada Masyarakat Dusun Madobag Kecamatan Siberut Selatan Kabupaten Mentawai*., Laporan Penelitian Dosen Madya, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Padang,



The previous village was in the form of an egalitarian government centered on the *uma*. Each *uma* has an *sikebukat uma* or an elder in the *uma*. However, since becoming a village, the community must elect a village head. The function of the *sikebukat uma* in an *uma* still exists in the extended family, especially to resolve conflicts, ask questions, and lead the *punen*. The land of *Si bakkat laggai* may be used by the community for residence, but not for sale. The community only has the right to use but not the right to sell. *Si bakkat laggai* were willing to give up their land at that time because they wanted society to change because the government had built houses, schools and health facilities. *Si bakkat laggai* are not much different from other residents, their houses, food and daily life are the same as other residents. Slight difference *Si bakkat laggai* tattooed and wearing a *kabit* (loincloth). In *Madobag* and *Buttui* you can find older men and women who wear tattoos (*titi*) and *kabit* for men.

Newcomers who want to build a house must ask permission from *Si bakkat laggai*. Likewise, if they are going to open *mone*, they meet *Si bakkat laggai* to obtain permission for that purpose. The village/hamlet government also asked for permission from *Si bakkat laggai* when building village facilities and infrastructure such as churches, schools, mosques, sports venues, and land for cemeteries.

Si Oiakek in the Mentawai language means migrants, other people or tribes who come and settle after *Si bakkat laggai*. Mentawai people who moved from Matotonan, Rogdog, Sakuddei or Ugai are called *si oi akek*. *Si Oiakek* owns land but not in *Madobag*. They settled in *Madobag* village after being allowed by *Si bakkat laggai*. *Si oi akek* has *mone* like Mentawai people in general.

There is another term for migrants which is also often used in Mentawai society, namely *sasareu*. *Areu* means far, meaning people who come from far away. People who come from far away are often called people on the edge. Edge is intended for those who come from outside the Mentawai islands, such as from Minangkabau, Batak, Java or Nias. *Si toi* in the Mentawai language means people who do not own land. The term *Si toi* is given to landless migrants.

Land and fields are the main thing for the Mentawai people. Therefore, *Si Toi* tries to get *mone* to support their life. Likewise for migrants who come from the edge or *sasareu*, they need land to live in and clear land for *mone*. In *Madobag*, migrants who come from the edge work as traders. The efforts made by *Si toi* to obtain fields were buying land or asking permission from the land owner to use the land for cultivation. In ancient times, *Si toi* could obtain a land by asking *Si bakkat laggai*. *Si bakkat laggai* will voluntarily gave his piece of land (*sangamata*).

Now generally *Si toi* in *Madobag* earn *mone* by buying, dowry (*alak toga*) or customary fines (*tulou*). *Si bakkat laggai* is a status characterized by being closed which is owned by a family and descendants who own the village. As village landowners, they generally own large areas of land near the village. *Si bakkat laggai* is respected and held in high esteem and respected because he owns the village land. Migrants must obtain their permission to settle down.

Communal or tribal land is the main source of life in the community. Tribal land can be found in many places, even in places far outside the village. Therefore when they



go to distant fields, it takes a long time (one or two days' journey) and spends the night in the fields for several days. The area of tribal land that is owned is often very large, but they cannot say for sure how large it is. One tribe can own hundreds of hectares of land located in many places. The difficulty in determining land area is due to the absence of land measurements based on common measurements such as meters or hectares. The Mentawai people have their own measurement system called *sangamata* or one field. One *sangamata* contains 10 to 12 sago palms. Tribe-owned land is cultivated by the main family. In one tribe, there can be 20 to 40 families. Land is distinguished on land, and plants. A piece of land may be owned by one tribe, but the plants in it may be owned by several tribes. This can happen because of fines (*tulou*) and dowries (*alak toga*).

Ways to acquire or own land by someone can be through gift, purchase, inheritance and *toulo*. Through giving, occurs when the tribe that owns the land or *Si bakkat laggai* gives land to newcomers (*Si toi* and *Si oi akek*) for *mone*. A close friend (*sipirok*), as a user but does not become personal property. Thus, one day the land may be reclaimed by *Si bakkat laggai* or the land owner because of certain problems, such as conflict with *Si bakkat laggai*.

The buying and selling of land has been around for a long time. *Si toi* buys land from the land owner or *Si bakkat laggai*. Purchase of land is done by barter system. Even though Mentawai already recognizes money as a medium of exchange, until now the Mentawai people still accept barter system payments, with items such as machetes, cauldrons, cloth, axes, and livestock (*siumak*) such as pigs (*sakokok*) and chickens. Payments in cash are currently preferred, because with the money they can buy necessities and use it to pay for their children's education. If the land has been purchased from the land owner or *Si bakkat laggai*, then the buyer must also know who is the owner of the plants on the purchased land. If the plants are cut down, then they have to pay the price of the plants to the tribe that owns the plants. The sale of land occurs because of the need for school fees, to buy expensive items such as motorbikes, and because the location of the land is far away, making it difficult to manage it.

Buying or selling plants has certain rules. Purchases of sago, for example, are determined on the basis of purchases of stalks, or base purchases. The purchase price of sago stems is more expensive than purchasing sago stems. The base price of sago is estimated at Rp. 60,000,-70,000,- while the price of one sago stick is sold for Rp.50,000,-. Thus, if you only buy land because it is already considered sago stems, the sago stalks will one day grow and will not become the right of the buyer. Plant sales are determined by the size of one field (*sangamata*), in one *sangamata* there are 10-12 plant stems. In Madobag, a lot of land for the Sabulau tribe has been sold, this happened because many of the male descendants of the Sabulau tribe have died. Furthermore, acquisition through inheritance occurs when inheritance or joint property is inherited from ancestors and personal property, or property is collected or purchased by each sipauma (people who live in the same *uma*).

Moreover, *mone* is one of the inherited assets besides other assets such as cattle and objects in *uma*, such as gongs and cauldrons. *Mone* refers to uncultivated land, cultivated land and fields with high value trees such as durian, sago, duku and coconut.



Inheritance of property from male parents to their biological sons, then later this property will be passed down again to their sons. Daughters are not entitled to receive inheritance, but brothers have an obligation to involve their sisters when enjoying the produce of the fields. With blood relations or siblings being the main measure.

According to customary provisions, if the father (*bajak*) dies, the property will be managed by the father's brother (uncle, also called *bajak*). Uncle will manage the property until the child grows up. When they are grown adult, child joins *bajak* in managing the shared property. Thus the property is still shared property and may not be divided. If all the uncles (*bajak*) die, then the property is distributed among all the sons and nephews who are there. Property is divided equally among brothers including fields (*basirugeijat mone*). Under this customary stipulation, *si bajak* (father's brother) has full power and ownership of the land until he dies.

In general, the Mentawai people in one extended family or *uma* have a grandfather (*teteu*), thus the oldest male in the *uma*, namely *teteu*, controls and owns the land. Married sons and nephews manage the land in common land (*uma*'s). Usually they manage one or two plots of land (*sangamata*) depending on their ability to cultivate the land to meet the needs of their main family.

With a dowry or *alak toga*, the ownership of the plants will move to the woman's side. However, land ownership remains the property of the male party. In the past there were those who asked for land as an *alak toga*, but now there is no more, because not all tribes are willing to give land, because the number of family members is increasing.

Next through a fine (*tulou*). *Tulou* is a dispute resolution process, a crime with reference to the social order of the Mentawai people. As a social institution, *tulou* is a rule that functions as social control in society. Behaviors that are considered to violate customary rules in society, such as murder or killing other people, bother other people's wives, cheating on people, raping girls, impregnating girls, stealing and slandering. *Tulou* is a fine that must be given to those who feel aggrieved. *Tulou* is still being implemented despite national laws relating to civil and criminal cases. If it is not implemented, the two warring parties will never make peace, it will even create new problems, which may be even more serious.

Tulou as social rules and social punishment use objects and agricultural produce as a substitute tool for victims. Thus the ownership of land and plants will be transferred to other families or tribes. For example, fines for those who murder or kill other people are, (1) one gong; (2) one big boar; (3) one tirekat, namely a durian that has a picture of the feet and hands of a family member who has died, which is of high value.

Meanwhile, *tulou* for perpetrators who impregnate a girl and do not want to be responsible or marry the girl must pay *tuolo* in the form of: (1) durian tirekat; (2) 3 male pigs (male, mother and piglets); (3) one area of sago (10-20 sago groves); (4) one area of durian; (5) one coconut trunk; (6) one large cauldron number 30. If the perpetrator wants to take responsibility and marry the girl, he must still pay *tuolo*, namely: (1) one field of durian; (2) one pig; (3) and one large cauldron, which is size 30.

Soil and land belong to the tribe and are controlled by the *sibajak* or the oldest male member of the *uma*. Land can be controlled due to inheritance, purchase, and land use



rights. Boys get inheritance from their parents, while girls get usufructuary rights from their parents. Girls may participate in cultivating the land or taking produce from the land belonging to their parents. Land purchased by a person belongs to the individual and may be passed on to children. Thus this land has become private property. Land and land can become *alak toga* or *tulou* for families who have purchased land. In general, land is a usufructuary right, meaning that the land they cultivate is not on family or tribal land, so they only get the right to use or cultivate the land.

The main family (of *uma*), whose processes communal land every day to become a place to fulfill their daily needs, still wants to have land, not only verbally but also legally documented. In that fields, sago thrives. Apart from sago, there are also banana, taro and fruit. The family collect sago, bananas and fruits weekly. Once in three months several sago trees will be cut down and processed into sago flour. The wet sago flour from the sago starch will be stored in *tapri*, the baskets made of tightly woven sago leaves, then the rows of *tapri* will be immersed in the mud on the riverbank so that it lasts for a supply of sago flour for the next few months.

Tinungglu's crops are not only for self-consumption, but also to be sold if the harvest of bananas, taro and sweet potatoes is plentiful, and the sales are used to buy fish or side dishes. However, if the farm yields are small, fish and shrimp are obtained from the river. "*Tinggal paliggagra*," *Paliggagra* is usually performed by women, namely catching shrimp or fish in the river using the typical Mentawai *tangguk*. Moreover, to buy other necessities such as sugar, coffee, tea or pay for their children who are currently at school,

The Mentawai people admit that they only occasionally buy rice and other necessities. This is because their nature has provided abundant food stocks, so that sometimes the harvest is redundant, because of that they also sell the harvest to Muara Siberut,

The Mentawai people have been around for a long time, an usually have Tinungglu, during the Covid-19 pandemic, Saliguma residents continued to perform their usual activities such as farming, and other activities such as fishing which is usually done by the husbands for side dishes for home. If residents in the upstream area look for fish and shrimp to meet their protein needs, residents of Sua Hamlet, Saliguma Village, Central Siberut District, which is on the coast, usually go to sea. Having Tinungglu has become a Mentawai people's farming tradition. In general, no people in the area who do not have Tinungglu because they generally have large areas of land. Having their own food source also makes the Mentawai people who have Tinungglu less dependent on government assistance whenever a disaster occurs.

Tinungglu is a "mixed" garden where all food needs are collected. All food necessities such as sago, taro, bananas, vegetables, secondary crops, bamboo and fruits such as pineapple, jackfruit, mangosteen, durian, mango, rambutan and duku can be found at Tinungglu. Plantation crops such as cloves, areca nut, cacao, coconut and manau are also grown for sale. Once in three months several sago trees will be cut down and processed into sago flour. The wet sago flour from the sago starch deposits will be stored in *tapri*, baskets made of tightly woven sago leaves, then the rows of *tapri* will be immersed in the mud on the riverbank so that it lasts for a supply of sago flour for the next few months.



Moreover, for daily needs, people only brought sago in a sack which enough to fulfill their needs daily, so that the sago flour consumed is fresh. From the felled sago trees, the youngest pieces are used to make *batra* or sago caterpillars which can be harvested 7-12 weeks later. As a staple food, sago trees never fail to harvest. Sago trees are also used as dowry for marriage. Therefore, even though they already have many sago trees, each family still has to replant them for their children and grandchildren.

Land clearing for Tinungglu begins with determining the location by looking for fertile soil, near by water sources and not too steep. After getting the location, then clearing the grove. The shrubs are not burned, but left on the ground until they self-decay or decomposed. Land burning is not done, so that plants that are still useful, such as medicinal plants, still alive. After that, young plants for food needs are immediately planted, such as bananas, sweet potatoes, taro, taro, secondary crops, vegetables, chilies and ginger. After the roots grow, then the big trees begin to cut down. But the trees needed to make houses and canoes such as the *kruing*, *meranti* and *katuka* trees are still allowed to grow.

For everyday life, people only take from the fields. However, *Tinungglu* in Siberut and on three other islands in Mentawai have started to decrease. Based on field observations, Tinungglu's presence in Siberut Tinungglu still persists in the hinterlands. Meanwhile, many people who live in the eastern coastal area of Siberut have abandoned the Tinungglu method of clearing fields. There are also many people on the east coast, from Muara Siberut to North Siberut, who no longer have Tinungglu. This condition causes them food insecurity like people inland. If a ship stops coming from Padang, they have difficulty getting food needs such as rice, vegetables and other necessities of life.

Field source person said that the cause of Tinungglu's reduction was due to several reasons. One of them was the displacement of people through the Resettlement of Isolated Communities (PKMT) program during the "New Order" government which caused the community to leave Tinungglu and longer able to cultivate their fields because of their remote location. In addition, Tinungglu has also decreased due to the government's rice field forming policy (Azhari, Rafnel, et al, (2017)). Forming paddy fields which began in the 1925s, was continued by the New Order government and then by the Mentawai Islands District government in 2013-2018. As a result, Tinungglu's land was reduced because it was used to make new rice fields, for example in Saibi, Central Siberut, 50 hectares of new rice fields were formed, for this, as much as 25 hectares of sago fields were destroyed, the same case also occurred in Rogdok, South Siberut,

The policy of shifting staple food from sago to rice in Mailepet, South Siberut began around the 1980s. At that time, the government of Padang Pariaman Regency was promoting a rice planting program, when the Mentawai Islands were still part of Padang Pariaman Regency. However, since 1990 their rainfed rice fields have not been planted anymore. Now their fields are planted with cacao and areca nut, and still grow local foods such as sweet potatoes, taro and bananas. Residents of Rogdok said that the staple foods of the east coast of Siberut community, such as in Mailepet, are rice and sago. Rice was bought because they no longer had rice fields, while sago was bought for practical reasons.

Tinungglunya's crops are not all for self-consumption (70%). If the harvest in big amount, (around 30%), some comodities sich as sago, bananas, taro and sweet potatoes are



Tacit governing, Tinungglu as the center for food security for the Mentawai tribe, diagrammatically has 4 layers, which include regulation, management, empowerment, facilitation, regulation, service delivery, supervision and control:

1. The core layer is the existential awareness of the Mentawai people in the performance of food security, so that they are free from food-nutrition insecurity, as well as alleviating poverty or limitations.
2. The second layer is tinunglu as a system and sovereignty for the management of food security, consisting of several elements: arat sabulungan as values, norms and systems of life, ways of life, especially the treatment of food, production systems, preparation of land and seeds, money management, distribution and consumption patterns. Apart from that, in Tinungglu, there is governing, consisting of access to plots/land, how to start Tinungglu, workers or cultivators, sources of funds, tacit knowledge about what plants and how cultivation patterns must be preserved, as well as other services related to the internal relations of the Tinungglu system.
3. In the third layer, there is a social system that forms a governing pattern for all actors, namely *laggai/umma*, *sibakkat lagai*, infrastructure and customary norms as the principle of relations between actors in tinunglu, and also *tulou*/customary sanctions.
4. And the outermost layer, is the construction of the *arat sabulungan* macrocosmic norm, related to managing relationships with *Taikamanua* who is in the upper world, controllers of water, air, ecosystem balance and genetics, wind, climate, and *Taika Polak* (God, Ruler of the land).

Furthermore, this governing pattern, as a whole, cannot be intervened by the state because the Mentawai tribe has performed this governance since they inhabited the Mentawai Islands region, approximately 5000-1500 BC. For this reason, each stage of Tinungglu is considered to be directly related to the lives of many people, so that each stage of Tinungglu is always preceded by a ritual by the *Sikerei*. The governing pattern in *Tinungglu* is the distinctive sovereignty of the Mentawai indigenous people in their food security which they have had for a long time, then transmitted through tradition until now. This system has proven to be able to maintain food when all access to their life is cut off, due to the disasters they often faced. The mini natural-granary is a mechanism for the Mentawai people in maintaining food security and food nutrition for the community. The capacity and authority for managing food security in the Mentawai are as follows



Figure 6
 Tinungglu's Governability : *Governing System-System To be Governed-governing interaction*

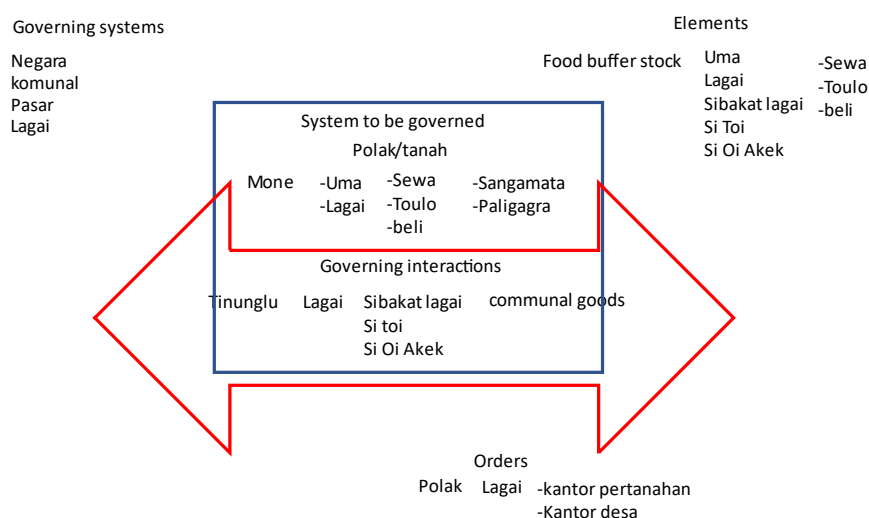


Figure 6 shows the capacity and authority related to food buffer stock. The capacity and authority of the Mentawai people, including *polak/land* as a natural granary, which form the basis of the system to be governed (SG), manages *mone*, *uma*, *lagai*, leasing system, buying and selling and *toulo*, food management (*sangamata*) and *Paligagra* (finding fish). Whereas in the governance system (GS), namely formal capacity and authority, consisting of the state played by the Village Government, market, communal, and *lagai*. Meeting in the realm of governing relations or interactions (GI), in *tinungglu*, *lagai*, *sibakkat lagai*, as well as communal goods, each with their respective authority and capacity limitations.

The performance of each element collaborate in the governing with the governance system simultaneously has formed various degrees of relationship. This happens because several elements of many resources are still not properly defined by laws and or formal regulations related to performance in the intersection space. It then proves that the determination of certainty really depends on external elements (Kooiman and Bavinck (2013)), so the power of governance will increase and decrease substantially depend on stakeholder actors, both the government and *sibakkat lagai*. However, because Tinungglu has become a community system that effectively buffers food stocks, it cannot be simply eliminated. But, the problem is the element of land. *Polak* in Tinungglu actually belongs to the person who first cultivated it, *Sibakkat lagai*.

The other side that also threatens, besides of the movement for uniformity of agricultural crops and fields, such as rice, and cloves (Azhari, Rafnel, et al, (2017)). The second is the Land Law, related to the extent of land ownership approved by the state. The land that is made into Tinungglu, has a land area of up to hectares and this would contrary with the law. Based on Regulation Number 56 of 1960 concerning Determination of Agricultural Land Areas, in Article 1. It is stated that: a person or people who in their



livelihood form a family together are only allowed to control agricultural land, whether owned by themselves or belonging to another person or wholly controlled, may not exceed 20 hectares, both paddy fields, dry land or rice fields and dry land., and Article 9, it is stated that a maximum of only 2 hectares. Then based on Article 3 paragraph (3) of the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency Number 18 of 2016 concerning Control of Agricultural Land Tenure ("Permen ATR/BPN 18/2016") the limits on the area of control and ownership of agricultural land for individuals are as follows:

- a. not dense, with a maximum area of 20 hectares;
- b. less dense, a maximum of 12 hectares;
- c. quite dense, with a maximum area of 9 hectares; or
- d. very dense, with a maximum area of 6 hectares.

Furthermore, based on this, the ownership of Tinungglu is not regulated according to law, but only according to *adat* (ethnic). The forest area that is made into Tinungglu is not a public good which managed by the state, but this tinunglu is privately owned by *Sibakkat Lagai*, which functions for the needs of the community, by the reason of that, special positive legal protection is needed for *Tinungglu* which is private goods but communal goods, not public goods. This is where a special law is needed regarding land in the Mentawai Islands Regency.

CONCLUSION

Tinungglu management provides an understanding regarding space in governability, related to two important matters, namely the limits of formal government management intervention, which regulates public affairs matters equally and evenly, in fact facing cultural governance which also regulates public matters. If you are not careful about finding GIs, there will be coercion of people will who were established before Indonesia was founded. The state system vs the *tacit* system owned by traditional communities, is a condition that cannot be avoided. In order to answer how to manage two different things, the concept of governance can find a governing intersection, namely when the state system pays homage to Tinungglu as local wisdom in *tacit* governance, as a form of empowering intervention.

The government does not need to bother with regulating Tinungglu's core values, but provides legal protection for the status and process of the tinunglu mechanism, by providing knowledge support related to empowering yields, not tinunglu intent on just one type of plant. However, flexibility is given to cultivators in cultivating land with various varieties of plants. However, it is given assistance in post-harvest technology so that people get the maximum surplus of agricultural products, which are beneficial to the market without reducing food stocks for themselves.

All in all, as Kooiman and Bavinck (2013) admit that the relationship between S-tobe-G, and GS, is always inconstant dynamics, this study also recognizes the existence of these dynamics, so that in GI, it is necessary to respect mutual co-existence between GS and S-tobe-G regarding the food buffer stock of the Mentawai people. In other words, GI space is another form of upholding justice for traditional communities in their existence



before the state. Not the other way around, the intersection space is considered a space for intervention or a space for conquest, the state conquers the Tinungglu system with the agrarian law

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