

NGURUP CIMPLUNG: FOOD SECURITY STRATEGY IN BANJARNEGARA HOUSEHOLD

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Abstract

This study aims to look at the lives of farmers from a survival strategy perspective. An ethnographic approach is used with participant observation and interviews. The results of the study show that despite changes due to modernization of agriculture, local traditions and knowledge are still carried out. There are at least two strategies in overcoming food security in their households, namely the short-term strategy, done by “ngurup cimplung”, utilizing surrounding plants that can be used for daily needs. Whereas the long-term strategy is done by carrying out various rituals, namely “gethekan”, “ujungan ritual”, as well as istisqa prayers, all of which are to wish the Divine pleasure to keep nature-friendly with them. The strategy of performing this ritual also has a large function in food security both at the community and household level and even at the individual level. Each special event usually serves local food. For them, the efforts made are as an exchange effort, as “ngurup cimplung” is an economic exchange effort. Performing rituals by presenting a variety of foods are believed to get an equivalent fortune even more abundant than that given. Although rice is a staple food in every activity, the people of Gumelem, Banjarnegara can still use it wisely as a food security effort.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat kehidupan petani dari perspektif survival strategy. Pendekatan etnografi digunakan dengan teknik observasi partisipan dan wawancara. Hasil studi menunjukkan meskipun terjadi perubahan akibat modernisasi pertanian, tetapi tradisi dan pengetahuan lokal tetap dilakukan.

Ada dua strategi yang dilakukan petani yaitu strategi jangka pendek yaitu dengan “ngurup cimplung”, mengambil tanaman di sekitar yang bisa dimanfaatkan untuk kebutuhan sehari-hari. Sedangkan strategi jangka panjang dilakukan dengan melakukan berbagai ritual, yaitu “gethekan”, ritual adat “ujungan”, maupun sholat istisqa yang semuanya mengharap ridha Ilahi agar alam tetap bersahabat dengan mereka. Dengan melakukan ritual ini juga memiliki fungsi besar dalam ketahanan pangan baik di level komunitas maupun rumah tangga bahkan individu. Setiap kegiatan khusus biasanya menyuguhkan pangan lokal. Bagi mereka, upaya yang dilakukan adalah sebagai upaya pertukaran, sebagaimana “ngurup cimplung” merupakan upaya pertukaran ekonomi. Sedangkan melakukan ritual dengan menyuguhkan berbagai makanan dipercaya akan mendapatkan rejeki yang setara bahkan lebih berlimpah dari yang diberikan. Meskipun beras menjadi makanan pokok di setiap aktivitas, masyarakat Gumelem, Banjarnegara tetap bisa menggunakan dengan bijak sebagai upaya ketahanan pangan.

Keywords: household food security; survival strategies.

Background

The issue of food security has become the focus of attention since the economic crisis in Indonesia, in international, national, regional, household, and even individual level (Widodo, 2003). Referring to the World Summit in the 1996 food security has been defined as existing “when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Russell et al., 2011). Thus, food insecurity exists when people do not have sufficient physical, social or economic access to food. This widely accepted definition highlights four elements of food security: availability, access, utilization, and stability. Various policies have been formulated in this direction.

The finding of Limenta and Chandra (2017) shows that the government pays more attention to import quotas, non-automatic import licensing, reference prices, domestic support, export subsidies. While at the household level, Pearson correlation analysis showed that income, knowledge of organic farming, organic rice productivity, and landholding had a significant effect on household food security (Suhardianto et al., 2007). The study employed cross-sectional design shows the difference between urban agriculture coping strategy scores i.e. <14 and fisheries> 14 which means government programs to improve food security should be more focused on households in urban

farming fisheries groups (Suhardianto et al., 2007). On the other hand, household resilience is influenced by the number of household members, per capita income, and the urban area of residence. Besides, it is affected by the education, occupation, age, and gender of household heads, as well as *raskin*'s reception (rice for the poor). Households that receive *raskin* have a greater probability of food security than households that do not receive *raskin* for all household characteristics. The greatest probability of food insecurity is in households headed by women, living in rural areas, having a basic education, and working in agriculture (Sundari & Nachrowi, 2016). From the literature study above, there have been efforts to see how strong food security is owned at the household level along with its influence factors. However, on the other hand, descriptive explanations are very brief without looking at other factors that might affect, such as social and cultural factors that are owned by the community. Therefore this study focuses on the difficulties they feel at the household level and the strategies taken to overcome the challenges to survive.

Banjarnegara Regency, as one of regencies in Central Java Province, is an area with an agrarian economic pattern. Most Banjarnegara people rely on their livelihood from the agricultural sector. Based on the 2015 Central Java BPS data, 464,000 people who work 50% of them work in the agricultural sector (BPS, 2016). Challenges faced by the farmers are very complex, at least the limitations of land, soil conditions, water availability, weather and climate, population, local knowledge, beliefs, technology, and economy including food prices, fertilizer, and marketing. The conversion of agricultural land into developed land is ranked second highest, covering an area of 570ha (2001-2008) and 874 ha (2008-2015), especially in the Districts of Susukan, Mandiraja, and Banjarnegara (Ramadhan & Sudadi, 2016). Population growth, the inheritance of land ownership, and competition between agricultural and non-agricultural land users are increasingly sharp. Drought and water crises increasingly make it difficult for them to work on rice fields.

Challenges also come because the economic system is not yet partial to peasants so that the price of agricultural commodities cannot be a mainstay of life. Various agricultural systems, including wet rice farming systems, have been determined by many factors, including local ecological, economic and cultural social, and national and international policies (Iskandar & Iskandar, 2011). The success of the green revolution program carried out at the beginning of the New Order led to increased agricultural production and spurred rapid socio-economic change in the Javanese countryside. Rice

production in Indonesia for instance increased by 275% between 1966 and 2000 (Khush, 2003).

The introduction of the green revolution has dramatically changed and even not implemented anymore, because the introduction of the green revolution, inorganic fertilizers, and synthetic pesticides, hullers, and hand tractors. With the introduction of commercial crops, market development can damage food security, if the right balance between food crops and commercial crops is not found. When commercial crops replace food crops, there is a risk of greater dependence on food markets. In many sub-Saharan countries, women are traditionally responsible for food production (Gallina, 2010). Also, the emergence of modern agricultural systems causes high dependence on (1) synthetic fertilizers; (2) synthetic chemicals for controlling pests, diseases and weeds; and (3) superior varieties for monoculture plants. The green revolution program also has disadvantages, especially in the field of employment. Job opportunities in the agricultural sector are rapidly decreasing, so activities involving the population are reduced. This eliminates one of the population's access to their food availability.

In 2019, peasants in Gumelem, Susukan sub-district, Banjarnegara Regency must be more patient. A prolonged dry season causes a lack of water and not a few who fail to harvest rice, which means they did not get rice at all. Directly or indirectly, global warming has an impact on changes in spatial and temporal distribution patterns of water availability and causes the chance of drought in the dry season to increase. This condition disrupts food production systems such as early planting backward, cropping intensity decreases, the intensity of plant-disturbing organisms will increase, and what's worse is crop failure.

Even though food is not only rice, it is still very dominant for the people of Gumelem. In addition to daily necessities, rice is also used for donations (giving donations to neighbors who are on a laurel). For neighbors who hold a marriage ceremony at a minimum, each household gives 2 kg of rice. If you have a desire, you will at least give 5 kg plus instant noodles, tea, sugar, raw vegetables, and so on. In addition, rice is very important for the ritual of "caos" which is a means of requesting a ritual. Rice is also used for the *gethekan* ritual, which is to make a cone containing "uba rampe" (equipment that has been determined). During the month of Sura, rice is a food that is never absent because it is used to make a "takir" that uses a minimum of 3 kg of rice. Even in the month of Sadran, rice became a more important element, namely to

make “tumpeng” (rice-shaped like a cone) and “ambeng” (rice with a variety of offerings). The importance of rice to the Gumelem people’s lives does not mean that they do not consume other types of food. Sometimes, they save rice so that they can keep up with various rituals and replace their daily food with other foods. In addition, some consider that tradition is sacred so they must serve the best food.

The intensity of meeting the peasants who were very high gave rise to a sense of solidarity arising. The fact is that farm laborers have uncertain income, wages they receive are not daily, so they cannot fulfill their needs. Claims of living costs, especially the price of basic commodities that fluctuate will greatly affect their condition. For peasants who are still “kembul” (living together with their children, daughters, and grandchildren), it is not uncommon to gabble deeper to share their grandchildren and children. Various strategies are used for the survival of his family.

The survival strategy expressed by Wijayanti is by a corner, which is a social gathering system with a centralized collector, after being drawn, the money will be given to the lucky ones (Wijayanti et al., 2016). Whereas in Gumelem, peasants must cultivate other people’s land in the form of profit-sharing (maro). Referring to the description above, there are many livelihood assets, namely natural resources, human resources, social engagement, customs, and so on. The diversity of resources is a valuable asset for realizing food security. Diversification of agriculture, as well as regulating food expenditure wisely (Manesa et al., 2008). The “mamaselaras” (dinner other than rice) movement replaces the staple food (Irianto, & Anam, 2015). Although Banjarnegara ranks 226th out of 375 districts across Indonesia with a Food Security Index Score of 72.35% and occupies a moderate level, that does not mean that Banjarnegara people are free from food insecurity (Pertanian, 2018).

Research Question

Complex challenges and the burden of fulfilling family needs do not discourage peasants from working. Studies of agricultural sector activity show that the agricultural sector has contributed to the household economy. The phenomenon of farmworkers whose conditions are labeled as “simplicity, accept what is, be diligent, tenacious” under the vortex of the present era is interesting to study, because of the growing needs. Based on this, the research question is on how the survival mechanism is carried out in peasant households.

Methods

Empirical studies are conducted on peasants' communities by exploring the survival mechanism they are doing in maintaining the socio-economic life of the household. The study was conducted in Gumelem Village, Susukan Subdistrict, Banjarnegara Regency, where households became the unit of analysis because even though work activities were carried out by individual family members, the management was within one household unit. Thus, the pattern of division of labor built by household members, including the role of women and children in helping the family economy.

This research was conducted with a qualitative design on eight farm labor households. The eight households were chosen because they considered demographic factors, such as age (young-old), type of work, low- economy and ownership (assets). It also explored the factors helping to determine the survival mechanism. Data collection is done through in-depth interviews to the eight farming families who have a background of being peasants for 10-20 years, have low economic conditions with various limitations, and aged more than 50 years but are still actively becoming peasants. In addition, the researcher also stayed with them for approximately four months to conduct direct observation in the peasant's household and in the rice fields where they work to find out what they are doing and what the underlying values are. The researcher also participated in gethekan rituals and customary rituals.

Farming at Gumelem Village

Gumelem located in the Susukan sub-district, Banjarnegara district has a rice field typology. Gumelem consists of two villages namely, Gumelem Wetan and Gumelem Kulon. When entering this village in the rainy season, you will be presented with a wide green carpet surrounded by rows of North Kendeng mountains. Coconut trees along the road to the settlement seemed to welcome the arrival of anyone who passed by. The green expanse is none other than rice fields 168,5000 ha, fields 211,0000 ha, yards 137,0000 ha, plantations 42,0000 ha, village treasury 29,0000, forests 5,1020 with the remainder for settlements, and public facilities. With the superior commodity of paddy rice production which has an average value of Rp. 4,710,185,000.00 per year, clove plantations which occupy the second place and third place are occupied by fisheries production commodities in the form of pomfret, the livelihood of the majority population as peasants with a total of 1,070 men

and 686 (Wetan, 2017, 2019). Not much different, Gumelem Kulon also has almost the same area, with the same characteristics.

Farming habits in addition to being the main sector driving the economy of the population is also a heritage of their ancestors. The teachings about farming they have gotten from childhood. Even though they declared themselves to be peasants when viewed the average land ownership was very low. According to the results of interviews with peasants and community leaders, in the past (the Kademangan period) before there was a village administration, this village was a private land (tax-free land) so that the peasants only had rights to cultivate land owned by kuncen (the person who guarded the tomb of Ki Ageng Giring). The relationship between the tendency of small peasants is a patronage relationship. After the village changes from Kademangan to a village, in the transition period, the law applies to who planted it who will own the land (the results of interviews with peasants and community leaders on April 15, 2019). Unlike today, where land ownership has been regulated by the government. The ownership of the land affected the position of the peasants whether they were owners, cultivators or laborers.

Limited access to agricultural land compared to the needs, causing not only men to be involved in agriculture. Farming experience is more beneficial for them than the maximum education taken in junior high school. Capitalizing on their energy and health conditions, they can immediately work. Being a laborer is a job hunted by residents aged around 45 years and above in the village of Gumelem and there is no limit to retirement. Farm work is chosen because the workplace is close to home. Also, the location of the village far from the city is only passed by transportation which only passes twice with erratic hours, making activities limited.

Each peasant household in Gumelem village cultivated the wet rice field annually mainly based on the local knowledge and beliefs. According to the Gumelem people, the cultivation of wet rice farming has been adapted with local weather and climate. The annual season (*mangsa*) can be divided into three main seasons, namely dry season (*usum gadu*), wet season (*usum rendeng*), and transition season (*usum pancaroba*) from the dry season to wet season and vice versa. In the following sub-sections, we are preparing for rice seedling, land preparation, planting, maintaining, harvesting, and cultivation. post-harvesting of rice-based on gender.

Preparation of rice at home

In the past, local rice seeds were obtained from the previous harvest. Traditionally, during harvesting rice, various planting seasons were chosen. The rice seeds and theirs were chosen which contain full and uniform grains. A few days before rice seeds were spread in the nursery in the rice fields, the rice seeds were soaked in a large basin to select good quality seeds. The good quality seeds were usually sunk, while poor seeds were floating in the water. On the chosen day as a good day, rice weeds are brought to and then spread in the nursery on the chosen day considered as a good day. Female peasants mostly undertake the preparation of rice seeds.

Nowadays, after adopting the Green Revolution, the local rice varieties or High Yielding Rice Varieties (HYVs) is chosen. Today, rice is mostly bought from the shops. As a result, rural peasants have to buy rice from shops. One of the negative impacts of the Green Revolution program was the mass extinction of local rice varieties (Iskandar et al., 2018).

Land preparation for rice seedling

The next phase is the land preparation at the rice field. Firstly, the rice fields located nearby by are selected to make the rice seedling. Secondly, the selected rice field plot was hoisted, flattened, and provided with water from special water flow channel. The male peasant undertook land preparation. The rice seeds were spread by the female peasant. Each rice seed stalk is a bit pressured to avoid drifting away from the water flow. The water control in the rice seedling nursery was initiated by opening and closing the water channel that enters the rice field plot. Male and female peasants traditionally undertook water control. The rice seedling nursery is approximately between 20 and 25 days. The land preparation, the soil is hoed and flattened. After finishing the land preparation, rice seeds are spread. The rice harvested from the previous harvest. These are the seedling places for approximately 15 days.

Planting

A few time-use surveys have data by activity and these show that general weeding and harvesting were done by female (FAO, 2011). Women farmworkers began planting rice at 05.00 a.m. until 11:30 p.m. Someone took rice seeds that had been sown to be distributed, after which she plunged into the rice fields to plant with her friends. The atmosphere was still dark, only the moon was

lighting up. One by one they plunged into the land that had been immersed in water. Some women seem to smear the cooking oil that has been mixed with salt, and some men pick the residue leaves which are then rubbed on their feet until the smell comes off (*langu*). Or they can also use mosquito repellent lotion. All three are powerful weapons for peasants to prevent their feet from getting itchy. Peasants already understand the contours and characteristics of the soil in Gumelem, there is soil that does cause itching, there is also soil containing mud with a depth of 90 cm. Women are usually *nandur* (planting) slowly toward the back (backward), while men line using rakes. One person gets a salary of Rp. 25,000.00 with a half *bahu* (approximately 7.096 m²) (KBBI, 2016) calculation is done by twelve people or six people for a quarter of the “*bahu*”. If only working a quarter of a *bahu*, the farmworker will finish at 09.00 a.m. However, if six people work half a *bahu* then the wages received will be double.

For the fasting month, there is a slightly different count, which is half the *bahu* calculated at Rp. 380,000.00 for twelve people, on average per person get Rp. 31,600.00. For men with a line assignment, they are paid Rp. 50,000 for 1 *bahu*. The planting time for the fasting month is the same as the usual month, which is at 05.00 a.m, but finishes earlier, at 11.00 a.m. If possible, women farming workers around 1:00 p.m. will return to plant until 17:00 a.m. Or it can be done during the day starting at 11:00 a.m. until 15:00 a.m. Mrs. Partimah and Mrs. Suparni once decided not to fast while planting rice and told the owner. Then the owner will provide food for those who are not fasting *medot* (stopping in the middle of fasting). When the fasting month in addition to getting wages in exchange for food provided, the owner will provide 1 kg of rice and two eggs and two instant noodles. But someone can add money, all depends on the owner. Planting paddy in Gumelem Wetan Village roughly takes around four or five months from the beginning of land clearing until harvest from planting.

Maintenance of Rice

The weeding of aquatic weeds is one of the main activities in the field of aquatic weeds. The weeding was three times in a growing season. The first weeding was between fifteen and twenty days after planting the rice. The second weeding was carried out about one month after planting. Treatments are carried out such as *nggaram* (fertilizing), spraying pests, and *watun* (weeding), which is done twice for half a month and after two months. If it has been three

months, it is already *meteng* (containing) rice which should not be touched so it is not allowed to weed the grass. The third weeding was only done if we did grow again in the rice field. The weeding was taught by female peasants. The water control is intended to provide water supply in the rice field plots. If the rice field experiences water shortage, the irrigation is provided from the water channel. Conversely, if too much water is available in the rice field, some of the water was removed from the rice field plots. Male peasants undertook water control. After the rice shows the characteristics of the yellowing color, the more it bends and the time is sufficient, then the rice is ready for harvest.

But during the dry season, maintaining rice is very difficult. Because of the lack of water, rice does not develop. Peasants usually know or have an instinct that rice that grows small but is rather dry and tends to wither, will not be able to live later. It's useless if they will "nggaram" (fertilizing). Costs for maintenance in the dry season are not half-hearted can spend. When a peasant decides to rent a pump overnight, he must rent it for at Rp. 600,000.00 (results of an interview with Mrs. Kuat, May 24, 2019). In addition, there is also a tariff of 75,000 per day (27 September 2019). The cost does not include aspirated water. The water that is aspirated to water the rice usually comes from the nearest river. However, if the river water is not available, renting a pump is deemed useless too, after all the water to be sucked does not exist. Peasants can only surrender by letting their fields languish. Like the harvest in 2019. Most people said that the second harvest this year many failed. This can be proven by seeing the stretch of paddy fields that have lots of soil with few rice plants that still survive, and eventually, they will die.

Harvesting Rice

Usually, the owner of the rice field will contact one of the farmworkers and give money and determine the day. Even women who are given money laborers go to other friends to be asked for their willingness and at the same time make an agreement when and where they will go together. The harvest season for them is a long agenda because it can spend one month sometimes more. Orders for harvesting are sometimes sequential for one month, they also have to work with other *grumbul* (hamlet) workers because of the extent of the fields they are working on.

The sense of togetherness and unity between peasants and nature at that time was still very thick. A peasant has the belief that working on a rice field is not solely an economic activity, but also a religious activity. They have the

belief that the universe is a unity under the control of the Almighty, therefore humans and nature must unite, maintain, and respect each other. In working on a rice field a peasant not only strives to respect and appreciate the realm of things such as earth, water but also strives to respect and appreciate invisible, the ancestors who have died or the inhabitants of a place. Therefore, every time they will do agricultural activities they always try to establish good relations with other creatures, both visible and invisible.

Although the majority are already Muslim, after the death of Sunan Giring in Gumelem, some cultures before Islam are still practiced. Because previously Gumelem had been occupied by a Hindu-Buddhist figure named Singakerti. Until now, the two cultures are acculturated and go hand in hand. However, beliefs about this life are not only humans but there are other creatures who also share life on earth.

On one side of the rice crop that will be harvested, precisely near the shaded rice fields because of the shadow of rice, there are offerings which are lined with banana leaves containing two cigarettes and some whole roses, beside them there is a piece of *tepes* (coconut skin) containing incense that has been burned. The tradition of harvesting is usually accompanied by offerings, some use offerings and incense that are not burned. Some still use “kenduri” or “keprungan” ceremonies where they invite close neighbors to eat together. “Kenduri” is one of the local wisdom having values generally followed and believed by the community. The values contained in festivity include the presence of togetherness. It also contains religious values, which were preceded by reading prayers given to the ancestors. It also has a positive value in order to maintain food security, because in the event festivity or other rituals always present various traditional menus that are rarely found in everyday life.

Peasant women are busy cutting rice with a tool called *ani-ani*. Their activities are called *ngasag*, which is to take the remaining rice that is not cut by men. When harvesting, the task of male peasants is to cut with sickles, there is also the task of collecting pieces of rice carried by carrier (people often refer to the term *sepikul*). While cutting rice, women farmworkers discuss all kinds of things, ranging from children, residents who have rights, and so on. The men of the peasant sometimes joked with women. A happy time for them was when the male peasants deliberately left quite a lot of rice plants. The women then gathered to get a large share. Now and then someone shouted, “let’s fight”. It does not mean the real fight, but precisely for those who are part of joking. They look happy and pleasant. Now and then they *mindho*

(resting) sitting on the embankment and drinking their provisions which they put in the bowl. If the harvest time is only until 9:00 a.m. then they only get snacks, some do not give snacks but are paid Rp. 5,000.00 so if the wages are collected it becomes IDR 30,000.00.

The cut rice is collected on the tarpaulin. It was there that the women pounded the paddy on a board with nails to separate the grain from the stalk. Most rice farming systems in Gumelem Wetan are still traditional, although some have already used modern farming tools, like a rice threshing machine. According to women laborers, the results of paying them more than the manuals. Besides they are not too tired because they have a sack that is held and they automatically get a rice drop. While waiting, they can do *ngasag*. The women farm laborers usually bring grain by using a *tenggok* carried with a scarf. Some get full, some get one sack, or only get half.

Post-harvesting

The grains are not stored immediately, they have to dry so that the grain that will be stored can be durable and not moldy. Dry grain characteristic is when it is bitten it sounds "*cethak*". After drying, the grain that has dried and overheated does not boil immediately. Because if it is directly dipped, it will be destroyed.

After the rice is separated from the stem and collected into one, usually *damen* (rice plants that are already dry) are then burned, and after that, the fields will be soaked in water. It is a good time to look for eels or ece which (shells) which are usually done by adult men and boys which are then cooked and consumed. The harvest season seems to mobilize a large portion of the population because almost all day residents spend time in the fields. For men (husbands) who usually work outside such as Parsidi, a meatball salesman in a town, then chooses to harvest in the fields. Badi, who usually works as a rice grinder worker in Klampok, chooses to harvest in the rice fields.

Gethekan Ritual

After the completion of the harvest period, female farm laborers prepare the "gethekan" ritual. The *bahu* (assistant chief of village) who have coordinated with the caretaker of Gumelem, then announced when *gethekan* will be held. One day before *gethekan*, the women prepared the ingredients to be cooked. In the morning they usually wake up at 2:00 a.m. to cook rice cone containing "wader" (small fish) mixed with yellow seasoned coconut

pulp. Also, they also cook fried noodles, papaya vegetables, dried *tempeh* and oinment and are equipped with crackers or anchovies. The dish is then put in a bowl and held in the back. The women farm laborers walked towards Ki Ageng Gumelem's cemetery. This ritual is a medium of prayer and gratitude requests expressed by women farm laborers because of the successful harvest. The ritual begins with prayer and then eats together, the cone bearer will not eat his food. After they have brought home the food "mberkat" and this is mandatory for those who make the cone or not. "Berkat" is believed to provide blessings, welfare to anyone who eats food. Even some people, believe that the food "berkat" is still remain, then discarded in the rice field or garden then it will be a blessing, abundant harvest.

Gethekan comes from the word *resikan*, which means to cleanse the graves of the ancestors. This ritual is performed twice during the year after harvest. Although the harvest in August-September 2019 failed because of a prolonged dry season, peasants continue to make "cone" for this ritual. Usually "blessings" that are brought home if not eaten, will be discarded on their farm. They have confidence that the rice and side dishes in the "cone" that have been prayed will also give blessings on the farms (Agus and Jerry, interview 3 October 2019). Aside from being a means of "getting closer" and a form of gratitude to God, this ritual is part of a food security strategy. The food served has been determined and has a certain meaning. For example, "tumpeng" as a symbol of gratitude or happiness, the conical shape means the hope for a prosperous life by being close to God. Some people admit that in ancient times, the rituals that were carried out were eagerly awaited because they considered it as "nutrition day". In their daily lives they never eat "fancy food" as during the ritual. In this ritual, at least 3 kg of rice is consumed, plus the side dishes that have been determined.

After harvesting rice, women farm laborers work again to plant water spinach with the seed bought at the store. Some grow corn or long beans. Women farmworkers start *muwur* (planting kale seeds) at 7:00 a.m. and end at 11:00 a.m. For the first stage, starting from preparing the land, male peasants usually hoe the land. After that, the women partially marked in the fields as a place for kale seeds. They use a tool called *panja* (like a stick with a pointed tip) to make a hole. Some other women fill each hole with 4-5 kale seeds. Usually, they get a salary of Rp. 30,000.00 with additional cooked food, rice and, vegetables complete with sweet tea, and snacks, namely wingko and molen. Food usually changes the menu if it is done for more than one day.

For harvesting, the owner is usually harvested without involving farmworkers or if asking for help only requires the help of one person around 3:00 a.m. by using a flashlight which is then taken to Gombong for sale. After harvesting water spinach, rice fields are then soaked in water and processed for rice field preparation.

Ujungan Ritual

Apart from having limited access to agricultural land, peasants in Gumelem also face water scarcity, especially in the dry season. In the dry season, when water reserves in the hilly area are running low, they must be willing to take turns from the source of the flow. Water is distributed among peasants in hamlets, sub-districts and even in districts. The fight ended in a war that made the village unsafe and became a concern for Demang as the village leader. They often do *ujungan* ritual (concern) to get guidance from God in overcoming the problem of a long drought. This ceremony was held on Friday Kliwon because that is the time of the west rain. This tradition is used for “*mujung*” or begging the Almighty God for the village to be given rain so that the dry season ends soon. It is from this *mujung* word that the tradition is finally called the *ujungan* tradition, the procession in salvation and pilgrimage to Ki Ageng Giring and the first Demang. *Ujungan* is a tradition of horizontal conflict among peasants fighting for water in the form of cultural innovations. It teaches humans that in solving lack of water problem, people should not be selfish but to struggle together to get closer to God. It also reminds peasants to be close to nature and others (Hudayana et al., 2012). Now the tradition is still done and preserved to be a tourist village.

In this ritual, it is presented fighting over the mountain of harvest. Although in this ritual two players “resemble fighting” because they both try to “snatch” (hit), it goes on peacefully. Once I saw a participant who turned out to be possessed, almost killed the other participants. The audience immediately cheered and was very angry with the person. Because the earth of Gumelem does not want to be spotted with bad things like that.

Shalat Istisqa

That morning, October 13, 2019, the rice field was filled with worshipers who would perform Istisqa prayers. Not only doing *Ujungan* rituals, Istisqa prayer rituals are also performed by the Gumelem community when asking for rain. Wet agricultural land is needed to revive the wheels of the life of

peasants. Rain-paddy fields have become chunks. Only pray to God the only way to be taken.

Ngurup Cimplung

Women laborers on the other hand as mothers also have duties where they are responsible for managing the household, both regarding health, and regulating family expenses. When these needs are not met, they are the first to feel the impact. Therefore, women farm laborers make a strategy to survive in limitations by developing activities outside the agricultural sector, such as making batik, making carp (peeping rice) which are then sold, selling mortar sellers, garbage collectors, and so on. Because by doing these activities they get additional income. They are very tenacious and persistent to get a job. They are willing to do anything to get income. For male farmworkers, working in the informal sector is another option such as construction workers, salespeople in Perja, working as rice grinders in Klampok by becoming commuters (*penglaju*). Social and cultural reasons are also the cause. Some of them do not want to go to work because if something happens to their family or closest neighbors, then they will come easily compared to if they work in a distant place. But there are also their husbands who are willing to go out of town for days and even months. They go back to the village once a year, especially on Lebaran days. That's when they gather with their relatives.

Besides, they also use food processing strategies to save the rice they have. Among other things, when the cooked rice is not finished, the next morning the remaining rice will be fried and eaten again, otherwise, they will dry the rice and make *rengginang*. They make *meniran* which is food from small rice mixed with coconut pulp and put in banana leaves, then steamed. In almost every house, they have chickens even though there are only two, the function is to give leftovers as well as savings so that when they are going to eat there is no need to buy by slaughtering large chickens and what is left is a small one to grow big again. Usually, the one who takes care of chickens is the mother, from feeding, cleaning the cage, to removing chicken manure.

Also, the strategy is to exchange food, namely *cimplung*, which is how to cook the garden product with *nira* water (from the coconut tree), until soft. Waridah stated that in ancient times, there were not many snacks in Gumelem. Then the women process the garden products which are then boiled with *nira* water. Almost every house boiled *nira* water at that time, because the average population owned coconut trees. Garden products in the form of cassava,

pumpkin, papaya, and coconut are then boiled with *nira* water (interview 6 November 2019).

Previously, “urupan cimplung” sellers sold on the side of the road and brought vegetables from the harvest in their gardens, but now the sales move around to homes and they do not bring vegetables. Currently, the harvested vegetables are sold directly in the vegetable shop. The mechanism of “ngurup cimplung” has changed. In the past, they got cimplung by exchanging it with grain or called exchanging cimplung with an average size of a plate of cimplung exchanged with a paddy grain which is carried out by the process of bargaining. The cimplung seller will usually come after the harvest period is over. They can taste good food at cheap prices without spending money. But now buyers do not have to exchange rice for grain, but can also with money around Rp. 2.000,00 or Rp 5.000.00. The proceeds of the sale are collected to buy rice grain. However, the swap system still applies.

Currently, *cimplung* sellers are increasingly rarely found along with raw materials that have begun to decrease. The aroma of boiling sap is “mbedah” found in the homes of residents. In addition, *cimplung* is no longer popular due to exposure to traveling fast food vendors. Not many young people want to eat *cimplung*. But, for the older generation this is a favourite snack. *Ngurup cimplung* until now has proven to be an effective strategy used in maintaining food vulnerability in farm households. Although, they also have other strategy choices. Aside from being a “savior” for meeting household needs, it is also a solution in household food vulnerability when rice grain deposits have run low. Even for some peasants, cimplung as a substitute for staple food, when they eat cimplung they will not eat rice.

Another strategy is to replace main foods (rice) with “inthil” (made from cassava). Or they replace other foods at low prices such as dage (grout tofu) and so on. If their needs are still urgent, they can also borrow from a mobile vegetable shop. On the other hand, they can also ask for help from relatives or neighbors to just ask for vegetables or rice. In addition, they use yard products such as “the heart” of banana, papaya, etc. as a side dish.

Conclusion

Farming is a job that supports most people in Gumelem. With farming systems ranging from planting to harvesting villagers get jobs, this is a vital source for earning a living for them. By farming, most of them use the crop as food saving. Besides, even if they need money, they prefer to exchange grain

according to the size of their needs such as “ngurup cimlung” rather than selling grain at once. They also increase assets with small businesses, scavenge used goods, borrow money; controlling consumption and expenses such as repairing homes or own household appliances and changing the composition of the family through migration to the city.

In the burden that must be borne, the rice farming system in Gumelem is not just farming but some rituals accompany rice farming activities. This is because there are still strong people holding their local wisdom. The farming tradition as a form of local wisdom that is integrated into the daily life of the community, both as Javanese and as Muslims. Even though they are socially and culturally bound to the rituals performed such as *gethekan*, or social activities that expect arrival in fulfilling the wedding invitation, or other celebration, they are not so worried about the amount of money incurred because in each activity they do not participate in making them still “obliged to bless”.

There are at least two strategies that are carried out by peasants in overcoming food security in their households, namely the short-term strategy that is by “curing cimlung”, taking plants around that can be used for daily needs, borrowing /asking neighbors. Whereas the long-term strategy is carried out by carrying out various rituals, namely “*gethekan*”, the customary rituals of the utterances, as well as *istisqa* prayers, all of which are to wish the Divine pleasure to keep nature-friendly with them. The strategy of performing this ritual also has a large function in food security both at the community and household level and even at the individual level. Because special events usually serve local food, in addition to being introduced also to remain preserved.

They activate relationships with others to exchange, give and receive. Relationship with the owner of the universe is also carried out, even though they fail to harvest they still do alms that happen to be held after harvest. In addition, they also do “*caos*” for *gethekan* rituals. Food that is not consumed and thrown away in the fields will produce fertile and abundant plants. This is not just about how to maintain food rationally more on the attitude they take so that the community continues to run according to its function. People take action according to their rationality. For them, the efforts made are as an exchange effort, as “ngurup cimlung” as an economic exchange effort. While performing rituals by presenting a variety of foods it is believed that getting an equivalent fortune is even more abundant than that given. Although rice is a staple food in every activity, the people of Gumelem can still use it wisely as a food security effort.

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