

Food for Indigenous Communities in Times of Global Crisis: Reflection from the Experiences of Orang Rimba Community (Jambi Province, Indonesia) and Ifugao Community (Ifugao Province, the Philippines)

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Abstrak

Kertas kerja ini membahas ketahanan pangan bagi komunitas etnik, atau sering disebut sebagai indigenous people, yang hidup di pedalaman Provinsi Jambi (Indonesia) dan di Provinsi Ifugao (Filipina), yang sering disebut sebagai Orang Rimba dan Ifugao. Titik berat perhatian kertas kerja ini adalah ketahanan pangan di tingkat rumah tangga bagi Orang Rimba dan Ifugao. Sementara itu pertanyaan penelitian yang diajukan dalam penelitian ini adalah "apa saja tantangan yang dihadapi oleh komunitas etnik di Indonesia dan Filipina dalam memenuhi ketahanan pangan mereka di tengah gaya hidup dan budaya yang mereka miliki?" Kertas kerja ini berdasarkan seri penelitian yang telah dilakukan sejak tahun 2006-2009. Pada tahun 2006-2007, penulis berkesempatan untuk melakukan penelitian di Provinsi Jambi (Sumatera). Komunitas Orang Rimba yang diteliti adalah Kelompok Orang Rimba Dalam dan Orang Rimba Luar yang hidup menetap di Bukit Dua Belas dan di sebelah selatan Provinsi Jambi atau tepatnya Orang Rimba yang hidup di sepanjang jalan Lintas Sumatera, yaitu di Desa Pematang Kancil, Kecamatan Pamenang, Kabupaten Merangin. Sementara itu, pada tahun 2008-2009, penulis mendapat kesempatan untuk melakukan penelitian di Provinsi Ifuga, sebelah utara Pulau Luzon di Filipina. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian-penelitian tersebut adalah metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnografis.

Kata kunci : Ketahanan Pangan, Orang Rimba, Ifugao, Etnografi

Background

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the estimated number of people facing hunger in the world hovers around 105 million in 2009, and around 1.02 billion face malnutrition. This fact implies that almost one sixth of all people who live in this planet are suffering from hunger. Such condition seems to have a contradiction of the targets of Millennium Development Goals (MGDs), one of which is to reduce

by a half the percentage of people facing hunger by mid 2015. If we take a look at the target and the reality in the world, that target seems to be very optimistic to achieve.

In recent days, the global crisis has made a nightmare for many people around the world, especially to those who are still living in poverty. The attention of the crisis in our media today is overwhelmingly tailored to urban inhabitants, especially to those who are suffering from the impact of the global crisis in the industrial sector. The majority of the poor, who make out a living from small scale farming, are all but forgotten. From this point on, it is also better we should put our intention where our mouths are: almost 70 percent people who live in rural areas are classified as the poorest of the poor. There is also need to pay attention to “unseen community”, the indigenous communities inhabiting remote areas. This is because food is not only a basic human need and because current global financial crisis hit the world ferociously, Southeast Asia Countries inclusive. It makes the issue of food (in) security for indigenous people a very urgent problem that demands urgent solution.

Indeed, indigenous communities face high vulnerability to food insecurity. Their life is extremely marginalized because they have limited access to all manner of public resources, pervasive poverty in their midst, and environmental degradation, which has left much of their habitation inhabitable. My previous research on food security for indigenous people in Indonesia and the Philippines lend more weight to this statement. While in the past, indigenous communities used to produce their own food, making use of their subsistence farming, the mode of farming is not appropriate to fulfill their daily food need these days. Thanks to the progress of development and globalization, indigenous societies now depend on modern markets for their access to food with attendant consequences. When food prices rise up dramatically in 2006-2008, many indigenous societies felt the brunt more than any other section of humanity. This evidence is equally true for Orang Rimba (Jambi, Sumatera) as it is for Ifugaos (Ifugao, in the Philippines).

The definition of food security itself remains contentious among experts and organizations, as are the best approaches in attaining it. Indonesia’s definition of food security as articulated in Law 7/1996, regards food security ‘as a condition whereby food needs of a household, as reflected by sufficient availability of food in terms of amount and quality, safety, prevalence and accessibility, are met’ (Wardani, 2009). In accordance with the definition, food security embodies four elements which are: food availability, accessibility, vulnerability, and sustainability. Unlike Indonesia, which has developed the concept of food security and formalized it into law, the Philippines does not have a concept of food security and has just recently adopted that conceived by FAO. The definition is based on four criteria, namely availability, accessibility, stability, and cultural acceptability of food supply (Wardani, 2010). If we take

a look at the history of food policy in both countries, it is apparent that both countries have similarities in implementing food security programs. This is manifested in the role of food policy that has been played as a political tool, in Indonesia and the Philippines. It is not difficult to see that governments in both countries adopt food policy on the basis of conception of modern life and mainstream communities without giving sufficient consideration to interests and preferences of minority groups such as Orang Rimba and Ifugaos.

Profile of Indigenous Communities Studies and Livelihood

1. Overview of Orang Rimba Community (Jambi Province, Indonesia)

At a glance, Jambi is located in the middle of Sumatera Island where Bukit Barisan becomes its corridor in the west and Malaka Strait in the east. Geographically, the province lies between 0°45¹ North latitude and 2°45¹ South latitude and between 101°10¹ and 104°55¹ East longitude. The province has a total area of 53,435 Km², and shares boundaries with Riau Province in the North, Berhala Strait in the east and West Sumatra Province in the west. The province has a population of 3,092,265 persons in 2010. The government transmigration program has significantly impacted population dynamics in Jambi province. The number of transmigrants in Jambi province in 2010 was put as 350,975 people (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010).

Orang Rimba community is one of the ethnicities living in the depth of forests in Jambi Province. Orang Rimba groups live on undulating land that lies between Batang Hari River and the foothills of Bukit Barisan hills. In general, Orang Rimba can be divided into three groups, for descriptive proposes: those who live in the north of Jambi province (around Taman Nasional Bukit Tigapuluh), another group who lives in Taman Nasional Bukit Duabelas, while the third group lives in the south of Jambi province (along Trans Sumatra highway). In general, areas where Orang Rimba live are circumscribed by Melayu communities, who often live along the banks of Batang Hari River. The population of Orang Rimba living in the three areas above is about 1,600 people basing on KKI WARSI sources, a local NGO. The population is spread as follows: 1,202 persons live in Duabelas national park (consisting of 1,093 living in Makekal Area and 109 persons eking a livelihood in Air Hitam Area); 97 households live along the Trans Sumatra Highway (consisting of 37 households living in area traversed by Kejumat River, 31 households in Kukus River Area, and 29 households in Rasau area). Meanwhile, the total population of Orang Rimba in north of Jambi Province was estimated to be 171 households, which consist of 65 households in Kilis River Area, 48 households in Endelang Area, and 58 in Ngayau Area. Natural forests separate Batang Hari and Bukit Tigapuluh areas, which have suffered from severe degradation and deforestation caused by protracted legal and illegal logging practices. The southern tip of the forest, which borders Batang

Hari River, has also been opened up for oil palm plantation. One stretch of territory which is the central part belongs to PT. IFA, and has been razed to the ground for timber. Orang Rimba who, live in this area continue to make a living by gathering forest produce.

Orang Rimba prefer to being referred as “Orang Rimba”, which literary means people of the jungle, because living in the jungle symbolizes and signifies pride to lead an ideal way life characterized by harmonious existence between mankind and the natural environment. It is in such conditions enable them to preserve their culture in its entirety with all attendant traditions, customs, taboos, and environmental conservation. Meanwhile, Orang Kubu, are a shunned lot often associated with dirt, stink, paganism, mysticism and primitive. It is such perception held by other communities about Orang Rimba, led to the implementation of policies which have been detrimental to various aspects of their lives, including source of livelihood. Economic and social development as perceived by the mainstream society, entailed changing the way of life Orang Rimba lived, by among other ways, stop the wandering livelihood by resettling them in designated areas where they were expected to occupy permanent houses, change eating habits to be in line with mainstream society, cultivate plots of land, and have better access to public services. Other endeavors included providing them with source of supplementary incomes by giving those livestock. Such measures had one theme which was to develop areas inhabited by Orang Rimba to become modern, civilize them to be in line with other communities.

Orang Rimba classify into two groups, namely Orang Rimba Dalam (Inner Orang Rimba) and Orang Rimba Luar (Outer Orang Rimba). There are yet no specific terminologies used for Orang Rimba Dalam (still eking living entirely by living inside forests), and Orang Rimba Luar (make a living outside forests). Hence, the terms are used here in their literary sense. The two locations Bukit Duabelas national park and Bukit Tigapuluh national park which are now inhabited by Orang Rimba were granted by national government. In Bukit Duabelas area, Orang Rimba Dalam is allowed to occupy the national park forest estate which stretches for more than 60,000 hectares¹. The designation of the area provided a solid legal foundation for Orang Rimba living in Bukit Dua Belas, due to the fact that Bukit Dua Belas National Park (TNBD or Taman Nasional Bukit Duabelas) is the only national park that is reserved for the exclusive use of native/traditional communities.

Meanwhile, Orang Rimba Luar include those living in Pematang Kancil village, in the community settlements C and D. The land used by Orang Rimba

1 The establishment of Jambi national park was implemented in the Ministry of Forestry decision statement No. 258/Kpts-II/2000. The measure was followed by the issuing of the policy statement that set up the national park, the government, represented by the Ministry of Forestry also issued a policy on managing the park in the form of a management plan for Bukit Dua Belas National Park (RPTNBD).

Luar community for settlements and farming activities, was donated to them by the Merangin district government, through the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1998. Community settlement C is home to 12 settlements. Meanwhile, community settlement D hosts 8 settlements, which were donated by one Jakarta-based Church institution offering counseling services to Orang Rimba. In 2007, all counseling services in settlements C and D had ceased. Although, many Orang Rimba living in community settlements C and D have received housing assistance, just a few of them have access or own land on which to carry out farming activities. Based on my field findings, only 14.55 percent Orang Rimba in this area has their own land for farming, and another 85.45 percent obtained housing.

Orang Rimba (both of orang Rimba Dalam and Luar) lead what to some may seem a unique lifestyle owing much to the values and traditions they espouse, which can be traced back many centuries ago. It is lifestyle that is in stark contrast with those espoused by other local communities. The uniqueness in value systems they hold is reflected in their values, traditions, food they eat, shelters they use to serve as housing, and methods they employ in cultivation. They, for instance eke a living by gathering forest products and hunting animal life from natural forests, some of which they sell off to local markets to earn money they need to buy an array of basic necessities. The range of basic necessities has been rising over time in line with more interaction with other communities. However, it is worth noting that many aspects of life that seem normal to communities outside Orang Rimba, more often than not, constitutes taboos to be avoided as much as possible. For example, for Orang Rimba follows the tradition and the way of living that is expressed in the following poem:

*“Beratap cikai, bedinding bener, bertikar gambut, berayam kuo,
berkambang kijang, berkerbau pada Tuno”.*

It means that Orang Rimba live under a roof made of *cikai* leaves which are available in the forest, walls constructed from roots and tree barks, pillowed by mud, decorated by peacocks, keeping deer instead of goats, tapir instead of buffalo, all of which are given by the forest.

This sets off the background for acrimony-plagued inter-ethnic relations between the Orang Rimba community on one hand and other communities, on the other. What is most outstanding in their livelihood is their attachments to forests, which is the provider of everything to sustain their lives. To them life follows the cycle of nature, mutually beneficial to all elements, humankind, animate and inanimate alike. The nomadic way of life they live, has wide ranging implications for their access to economic resources which ideally go as far as the reaches of the natural forests. This has meant that with the advent of new communities their amidst, which in the main lead sedentary livelihoods,

has forced them to alter their livelihoods as pressure. It has intensified upon them with land for wandering lifestyles ever shrinking with time. Thus, the influx of transmigrants coupled with logging activities legal and illegal like, by worsening forest degradation and decimation of biodiversity, has reduced Orang Rimba availability of and access to economic resources. To supplement decreasing economic resources as the forests decreased, Orang Rimba have to make often culturally costly adjustments and adaptation. This has included among other ways by attempting to lead sedentary livelihoods (cultivating rice, and rubber crops, engaging in selling and buying with other communities through intermediaries).

Specifically, the effects of transmigration and forest degradation have had adverse effects on the livelihood of Orang Rimba in Bukit Buabelas Area due to their dependence on natural forests in the past. Orang Rimba who live in the national park eke a living by gathering forest products and hunting animal life in the forests. There is need to stress the fact that since the 1970s Orang Rimba have experienced fundamental and drastic changes which have by and large forced to some groups to change their livelihoods in order to survive. The most important source of change came about after the construction of the TransSumatra Highway, which turned the region into a one of the destinations for transmigrants and virgin forests started to be carved into large scale plantation. Transmigration, manifested in Kubang Ujo and Pamenang transmigration projects, has had serious effects on all areas inhabited by Orang Rimba. Forests, which were still virgin during the 1980s, had by 1990s succumbed to oil palm and rubber plantations. Initially, Orang Rimba created a rim around the place where they lived to protect forests for their future use. However, with in a very short time, Orang Rimba realized that they had lost almost all of their traditional economic resources, in terms of natural forests or secondary vegetation which served as area for growing fruits. No compensation was made for such loss. Today, most of Orang Rimba live by cultivating small plots of land on which they used to grow rubber plants.

However, in spite of government endeavors to transform Orang Rimba into 'civilized' human beings, to this day many groups of Orang Rimba still adhere to their traditions and in general lead wandering lifestyle. Their wandering lifestyle often induces them to leave one area for good to another, once in several years. Such movement is attributed to among other factors, leaving an area when the group suffers a tragedy (*melangun*²), for example the death of a relative, afflicts them; social-political factors for instance tension

2 *Melangun* itself is a ritual of mourning the deceased not just by indulging in sorrow but by making efforts to forget the misfortune of bad memories. The ritual involves leaving the location that used to be the dwelling place to a far away location as well as engaging in an activity aimed at erasing memories of the deceased. The ritual continues to this day for Orang Rimba communities living in the forest as well as those living outside forests.

within the group that leads to the splitting of one group to form several groups which cannot live in the same area; leaving areas where resources have become scarce for new areas where forest resources are still abundant; and conflicts over natural resources. Nonetheless, such changes have left them worse off as pertains to the status food security.

2. Overview of Ifugao Community (Ifugao Province, the Philippines)

The term Ifugao refers to an ethno-linguistic group, a province, and a language. Dulawan (1980) states that the term comes from the word *ipugo*, it means “people of the earth, mortals, or human beings.” *Ipugo* is derived from the word “pugo” which means “hill”, while the word “i” means “from.” Spanish conquistadores and missionaries simply referred to the Ipugo as Ygolote, Igotot, or Igorotte in their writings about the mountain peoples of the Cordillera Region. Most of the latter accepted the label, but not the Ifugaos, who insisted on being called Ifugaos (Sumeg-ang 2003).

The Spaniards tried to occupy Ifugao from 1752 to 1898, but failed to establish effective control as the Ifugao warriors launched a series of counter-attacks against them. In 1898, the American military replaced the Spaniards and won over the hearts and minds of the Ifugaos within a relatively short time. The military order was gradually replaced by a civilian government in 1902, and lasted until 1935.

The Ifugaos were officially put under the province of Nueva Vizcaya from 1902 to 1905, but in 1906, Ifugao became a sub-province of the Mountain Province. During the Japanese occupation, the region was designated a sub-province by the deputy military governor. Finally, on 18 June 1966, Republic Act No. 4695 created the “Division Law of the Mountain Province”. And Ifugao was granted the status of province.

The Ifugaos live in a landlocked province in the heart of the Cordillera Region, between 120°40' and 121°35' longitude, and between 16°35' and 17°5' latitude. The province consists of rugged mountains, forest, rivers, and beautiful rice terraces. Its highest point is about 1,000-1,500 meters above sea level and measures about 1,942.5 square kilometers. In the east, the Ifugao province borders Siffu and Magat Rivers. To its south is Nueva Viscaya Province, to its west, Benguet Province, and to its north, the Mountain Province.

Lagawe is the capital town of Ifugao. Based on the 2007 population census, the total number of Ifugaos is about 180,711 persons. The Alonso Vista Municipality has the largest population at 25,323, which constitutes about 14.01 percent of the total population; while the Municipality of Hungduan has the lowest population at 9,601, making up 5.31 percent of the total population of Ifugao. Lagawe, the capital city of the province is home to 9.61 percent of the total population of Ifugao. It has a population of 17,373.

Home to the rice terraces that were declared a World Heritage site by the UNESCO, Ifugao's main economy relies on agriculture, a micro industry (handicrafts), and tourism, which serves as the backbone of the household economy. Tourists, who mostly come from Europe, visit the villages and go trekking and hiking. They also view the rice terraces, observe and appreciate the traditional Ifugao lifestyle. Unfortunately, the rapid growth of Ifugao has seriously strained its resources. Tourism has declined over the past few years, with the replacement of traditional houses with modern ones, thereby diminishing the attraction Ifugao holds for tourists.

The increase in the size of households has meant that native houses are no longer large enough to take on more new members of the next generation. The Ifugaos are therefore left with no other option but to build modern houses to accommodate their increasingly larger families. The larger number of modern houses built, but, the smaller number of tourists come, because they have fewer and less appreciation to traditional architecture. This has translated to a further diminution in the Ifugaos' household incomes and food security.

Infrastructure also plays an important role in the lives of the Ifugaos. Their landlocked location requires good transportation to facilitate economic activities. The state of infrastructure, however, has deteriorated over the years, because of the increasing frequency of landslides during the rainy season. The increase in the cost of transportation has also aggravated matters.

Some experts have expressed concern about the fate of the rice terraces. Landslides arising from earthquakes, rains, and worm infestation have endangered the existence of the beautifully manmade rice paddies. In fact, the earthquake jolted the region in 1990 caused the collapse of some of the rice terraces. Unfortunately, the government has done very little to restore them to their original condition. Farmers, in turn, have been hampered by their day-to-day efforts to earn a living, especially since the rice terraces take time to be reconstructed.

In terms of the transformation of their social life, the Ifugaos have made some major adjustments to adapt to modern religions. During the Spanish colonial era, the Spaniards tried all they could to subdue and convert the Ifugaos to Catholicism. However, the Ifugaos resisted their overtures and continued to struggle to preserve the social and spiritual independence of their community. Still, the Spanish were unrelenting in their efforts to build churches and used other channels such as the government to assimilate and convert the Ifugaos. Thereafter, slowly, but surely, many Ifugaos converted to Catholicism, although a small number have retained their traditional beliefs and practices, and carry them out simultaneously with their Catholic beliefs and practices.

Food Security for Indigenous People

1. Indigenous People's Perspective on Food Security

The indigenous communities' studies have the difference perspective to define or perceive food security from the viewpoint held by the mainstream majority. For Orang Rimba, they have several definitions of food security. The first version is that food security is the condition whereby the household has sufficient foodstuffs to last them at least three days. This, to them, reduces the fears that foodstuffs may soon run out. The second perspective of food security among Orang Rimba is inextricably intertwined with the compliance with cultural norms. The rapid pace of development occurred around them over the years, largely created negative effects on their lives. Despite of slight improvements in their lives, the rapid development has left them with little terrain to roam and hunt for food crops and wild life. The encroachment on their habit by modernization and development has resulted into scarce animals for them to hunt, which becomes more pronounced during prolonged dry seasons. Their forays into modern farming, given the high cost of living, have not produced substantial gains in form of yields to reduce their peril. The decimation of rain forests, which is largely done by outside parties, is to them an affront on their lives in general, and their level of food security in particular. Their expectation is that other communities should uphold or help uphold their culture and traditions, by protecting rain forests, which is the cornerstone of their existence in general, and food security in particular.

When asked about food security, an Ifugao's first answer was "I don't really understand what food security is all about." For the people of the province, the concept simply means the ability to provide enough food for the family, day after day, without worrying about where to get it the next day. They also understand it to mean having a farming system that can support their daily food needs. Some examples of their reactions during the interviews are as follows:

"I know nothing about food security but it's natural that we just cook our food and we are happy to have food for today and tomorrow; then we go to find food again for the next day. God will provide for the other days. But the ideal situation is when we have enough rice fields and a good home; then we are satisfied".

-Virginia, Bangaan Village-

"What we mean by food security here is having food everyday and a farm to support our daily food needs, so that we can manage to have enough food for our whole family. And during a difficult season, we consume rice that we buy from the market at an affordable price. I always hope and pray that the next day we will still have enough food and will be blessed. I pray too for the next month, the next year. As long as we still have food

and are alive, as long as our children are healthy and we have enough for our needs every day, I am okay”.

-Concita, Bangaan Village-

“We have no other source of income aside from our rice terraces, unless we get a job; then, that’s another opportunity. But if we have no job, we can depend on our rice terraces. That’s why it is very important to maintain our rice terraces and tradition, so we can survive”.

-Laurance, Banaue-

Based on the above answers, we can conclude that food security for the Ifugaos relates to three aspects, which are the household has sufficient food within a certain time frame, close compliance with cultural norms and a harmonious relationship with the environment are maintained, and food security is very much related to the capacity of the household to extricate itself from poverty as it gives household members access to nutritious and healthy foodstuffs within a certain time frame.

2. Availability

In the case of Orang Rimba, they still depend heavily on nature and farming with the degree varying from over dependence of Orang Rimba Dalam on the former, while Orang Rimba Luar exhibit over depend on the latter. As regards food supply, Orang Rimba depend on cultivating small plots of land and nature. In general, Orang Rimba are traditionally eaters of *sago*, wheat, *gadung*³, and cassava, all of which came from the forest without being cultivated. For Orang Rimba Dalam, tubers are supplemented by fruits, honey and food material they gather from rivers, land, and other places, constitute a food surplus period, which automatically secures their food needs, albeit temporary. It is during the transition period which follows the food surplus period, when they have to resort to their fields. During this period, farming fields are very important as they provide vital additional food supply to hunting small animals. To anticipate famine, Orang Rimba manage food distribution by prioritizing those who are in dire need, such as children and expecting women. Orang Rimba Luar do not have access to food from the forests, hence rely on cassava, rice cultivation, which are supplemented by rubber production, rubber seed collection, and animal hunting to meet their food needs. This underlies their relatively more intensive interaction with the newcomers (transmigrants) than Orang Rimba Dalam. They use the income which they obtain from selling rubber to buy rice, sugar, and other daily

3 Gadung or *dioscorea hispida daenst*, is a tuber which is rich in carbohydrates but requires cautious processing to remove toxic substances that cause headaches, vomiting if eaten.

requirements, with additional food material from animal hunting. Those Orang Rimba groups related to middlemen who are responsible for collecting hunting outcomes and obtain substantial additional food material to maintain their food needs.

Without any doubt, changes in the living environment of Orang Rimba have induced various changes among Orang Rimba. In the context of food security, the most distinct change among Orang Rimba is their diet pattern and the choice of main diet. When the interaction with outside society happens, rice slowly replaces *sago*, wheat and *gadung*. Instant food and snacks for children is also something new for them and is now hard to be separated from their daily food pattern. This change in consumption automatically increases their expenditure.

Meanwhile, the availability of food of Ifugao Community depends on the available agricultural mechanisms, methods of farming, the reliability of food supply, and the habits of production and consumption ingrained in the community. When it comes to agricultural mechanisms, the Ifugaos use their traditional knowledge, which they learned from their ancestors. They divide farming into four stages: land preparation from October to November; seedbed preparation in December; planting in January and February; and harvesting from June to July.

Rice is the main staple food of the Ifugao. It is supplemented by root crops like potatoes, sweet potatoes (yam or kamote), and the occasional meat and vegetables. In a rice farming year, the Ifugao only harvest once, in the belief that the land needs time to recuperate and must not be overexploited. In the recent past, however, the Ifugao have become increasingly dependent on food supplies from outside the country, consuming rice imported from Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, and other countries, as these are now widely available in the market. In short, food availability among the Ifugaos has become a combination of that provided by nature and traditional farming, and that available in the market. The Ifugaos have adapted to the market system.

3. Access

It has been an established fact that food availability is not sufficient for a community to attain food security. The access to the availability of food is important. In a traditional setting, food access is not very distinct from food supply. This is evident in the case of Orang Rimba Dalam, who still depends much on food availability as they rely almost entirely on what the forests can provide for them. They have access to food by gathering it, hunting for it, or sharing it from relatives when they fall short of food supplies. They also employ rudimentary tools to cultivate cassava which is their main food crop. Rubber plants have also become one of the favorite crops for Orang Rimba. Rubber is unlike traditional crops they grow; it can be sold to outside their community.

Traditional crops are vital sources of carbohydrates, while 'hard' crops such as rubber provide an 'off-farm' supplement to their livelihood by enabling them meet secondary needs such as, motorbikes, radio sets, clothes, and others. Moreover, food access for Orang Rimba Dalam is also enhanced through collecting *anak para* (rubber seedlings), *pinang*⁴ fruits, and hunting wild pigs. Rubber seedlings and *pinang* fruits are collected from fields belonging to transmigrants living in close proximity to locations where Orang Rimba lives. Rubber seedlings constitute weeds for the rubber plant. Hence, members of the transmigrant community do not object to anyone plucking rubber seedlings off their rubber trees. This is because the activity, in fact, lessens the burden of weeding the rubber field. The case for Orang Rimba Luar on the other hand, is none the better. This is because despite the fact that in addition to engaging in hunting as Orang Rimba Dalam, which they complement by cultivating *gadung*, cassava, plantains, sugarcane, and other traditional staples, and growing of paddy, a practice they learnt from transmigrants, they face even high degree of food insecurity. The dire food security situation Orang Rimba Luar is attributed to among other factors. They no longer have access to forests, which is the source of livelihood they have practiced from ancestry. Additionally, they have experienced acculturation manifested in adopting consumption behavior of mainstream society without the means to lead such lives.

The Ifugao employ various ways to access food. In general, those who are living in rural areas and till the land, cultivate food they eat, while those in the relatively "modern" sector, such as office employees, craftsmen, public servants, entrepreneurs, and professional workers, buy food in markets, supermarkets and restaurants. As such, the modern lifestyle has gradually become a familiar feature in Ifugao households, depending on their capacity to earn money. Household incomes have also become a vital element in their food security and not just in the production process any longer.

Land is important to the Ifugaos. Among them, the same conditions also apply, with some minor adjustments. It is very interesting to note, for example, that the Ifugaos have a land ownership and use structure. Traditionally, the Ifugao customs stipulate that the eldest child has the right to inherit at least half of the household property. The household property usually includes, among others, a house and half of the rice terraces plot (*puyoy*). The implication of this arrangement is that the younger children do not have opportunities as big as the older ones.

From this point, we can gauge the degree of food security at the household level. With an average population of eight to ten people in the household, access to food for the whole year cannot solely depend on the rice terraces.

4 *Pinang* is a form of palm which grows in Asia, Pacific region, and East Africa. The English name is *Betel palm* or *Betel nut tree*, while the biological name is *Areca catechu*.

The Ifugaos have to look for other sources of income such as tourism sector, blue collar and white jobs in the public and private sectors, and even opting to go overseas. However, this search creates problems of its own for Ifugao community.

4. Vulnerability

Food security of Orang Rimba community is vulnerable due to mainly deforestation caused by plantation expansion, transmigration settlements, logging and other forms of forest conversion. It has reduced forestland for Orang Rimba Dalam and lead them to the livelihood of forest products gathering and hunting wildlife. It is no longer possible, due to declining forestland, to undertake forest management in the traditional way by maintaining zone, based on deep rooted values intended to keep ecological balance between mankind and the environment. This undoubtedly affects the extent to which livelihood they have practiced for long. The tradition of moving from one location to another, works well in expansive environment, but may generate food security problems in today's situation whereby forestland is decreasing. Moreover, the ever decreasing forestland, implies that some of the coping strategies Orang Rimba have used for centuries during food shortage periods such as sharing food products from those with excess is undermined, increasing the danger of chronic food insecurity. As pertains to Orang Rimba Luar, vulnerability to food insecurity is caused by among other factors, confinement to settlements, little plots of land to grow rice, rubber and cassava, using rudimentary tools, leading a mixed livelihood (continuing with some of the traditional practices of Orang Rimba). The practices are not entirely applicable in a confined environment, while at the same time adapting to sedentary livelihood of the majority, without ample knowledge to cultivate and engage in trade on fair terms. In any case, they are still not entirely accepted as equal members of societies where they live, which have led to tensions between them and the mainstream society. Additionally, income generating activities such as growing cash crops, picking fallen fruits for transmigrants for money, selling labor, are not enough to offset the loss they suffer by being confined in designated zones rather than leading a livelihood of gathering forest products from vast expanses of forests, which are no longer available to them. In any case, efforts to reduce vulnerability made by external forces seem to be aimed at de-rooting Orang Rimba from traditions, hence livelihood they have known and practiced for ages.

For Ifugaos, food vulnerability cannot be meaningfully understood without taking socio-cultural changes into consideration. They have experienced various changes in many aspects of their lives, including religion, education, customs and practices, economy, and the increasingly important role of the market. All the above changes have had significant impacts on

their lives as these necessities adapting to new horizons and more modern lifestyles. Many circles of (experts in many fields of study, local society, the local and the national governments, and other international organizations) would argue that today's rice terracing in Ifugao is facing serious danger, and if its extinction comes to pass, there is no doubt that Ifugao society will face the full wrath of food vulnerability. In general, the Ifugaos perceive their food security level to be adequate. They neglect to put any consideration on the time dimension of food security. Conceptually, "food security only exists 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" (FAO 1996). This definition presupposes that food security has several dimensions, including time. The meaning of food security should be explained to society in order for it to arrive at an appreciation of its perspectives *vis-à-vis* what true food security is. Although from their own perspective the Ifugaos may feel that their level of food security is sufficient. It is worth reflecting upon the possibility that their increasing dependency on markets to meet their daily food needs may be another indication of food insecurity, making it likely for this to undermine the Ifugaos' food security status.

5. Sustainability

Sustainability of livelihood is discernible from the degree to which the community has access to sufficient quantity and quality of food in the long term. This also means that the magnitude and frequency of food shortages, and the coping strategies, serve as good indicators of the extent to which the community can have sustainable food security status.

At the household level, if household face food shortages due to failure to obtain a catch in their hunting exercise, which is often the case during the dry season, Orang Rimba reduce the quantity/size of food, as well as change the soup, content. The social strategy is often used in sharing proceeds from hunting exercises. Hunting proceeds from a communal hunting exercise are shared collectively. However, hunting proceeds made by single household are also shared with others, including members outside the group is the quantity warrants. Orang Rimba obtain food from other members when they have shortage, which enables them to tide over food crisis situations.

There are times when the Ifugaos face hard times, when life becomes really difficult. Economic hardships become even more severe when the number of tourists paying visits to the region decrease significantly. Under such conditions, the Ifugao are more concerned over the quantity of food than its quality, with children given higher priority, followed by the men, and lastly, the women. Such arrangement is based on the consideration that the men work harder than the women. Some exchanges may also occur under such

conditions to alleviate food shortfall: it is a common practice for households with sufficient food to share this with those households that are in need.

Conclusion Remarks

Using the two experiences in Indonesia and the Philippines as the launching pad, some inferences are in order. Viewed from perspective of the mainstream majority, the relationship between achieving food security and perceiving food security for indigenous community seems to be different and unique. For the latter, food security is integrated into cultural security, and there is synergy between food adequacy and sustainable environmental preservation. It is true that the wave of modernization is unavoidable for indigenous communities all over the world. The role of the modern market is yet another source of influence to the society. It shows that the indigenous communities have the capacity to adjust to any changes in their life, particularly in their environment. Such changes have led to their interaction with other communities; a vivid indicator that they, as a community, can combine modern ways of living with their traditional lifestyles without forsaking their cultural identity.

However, we should remember that food security for indigenous communities still relies heavily on natural resources. In any case, maintaining natural resources by reducing the rate of deforestation is not only to the benefit of indigenous communities in Indonesia and the Philippines, but also more importantly, the entire population in the two countries (water catchments area preservation, herbs, mitigation soil erosion, and global warming). The existence of indigenous communities with their local knowledge may become a threat to sustainable environment or *vice versa*, and that is a potential agent which will contribute to the preservation of nature. On the contrary, any forms of environmental destruction not only worsen food insecurity, but it will also destroy the habitat. In any case, times of crisis or not, indigenous communities always have to struggle to achieve and maintain their food security. ●

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