



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Good to produce, good to share: Food, hunger, and social values in a contemporary Mentawaiian community, Indonesia

Darmanto, D.

Citation

Darmanto, D. (2020, November 26). *Good to produce, good to share: Food, hunger, and social values in a contemporary Mentawaiian community, Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/138409>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/138409>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/138409> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Darmanto

Title: Good to produce, good to share: Food, hunger, and social values in a contemporary Mentawaiian community, Indonesia

Issue date: 2020-11-26

Notes

- 1 I deliberately make frequent use the term of community, rather than society or settlement, for Muntei and its residents. I am fully aware of the problematic usage and critical debates surrounding the term in anthropological research. However, this term is more appropriate for describing Muntei and its residents than other available terms (village, society, hamlets). As will become clear to the reader of this dissertation, I do not narrate the story of Muntei as a homogenous and harmonious community.
- 2 I do believe that *uma-factions* are a post-multi-clan settlement phenomenon. In the distant past, when unoccupied territory was available, a separated group would move to unoccupied land and declare a new uma with a different name. The availability of space is a critical constraint to the establishment of a new uma after the separation (Hammons 2010, 12, 78).
- 3 This is the basic justification for using the family (*lalep*) as the basis for the data analysis of food intake data in Chapter 4.
- 4 I understand that this section may attract critiques as I present a kind of 'ethnographic present' (Fabian 1983; Sanjek 2014). Yet, my intention for using this particular narrative technique is not to essentialize a temporal moment of Muntei settlement and employing merely synchronic pretense anthropology (Harstrup 1990; Crapanzano 1986; 51). My main aim is to give an impressionistic account about what people do in their every day lives during a particular time period (the year 2014 when I was doing a fieldwork). In this section the reader would be easily noticing both basic Mentawaiian activities (gardening, cooking, organizing rituals) but also new development and non-traditional activities (attending church, watching television, going to school, working for government projects, etc.).
- 5 All tables and maps in this chapter detail only general claims. The actual ownership is an empirical question. While a leleu as a whole is usually claimed by an uma, part of it might have been cultivated by different individuals and groups, and objects on it (individual tree, river, or stream) might have been claimed and owned by another individual. The story of leleu is always complicated and often muddied, involving the history of the separation of uma, migration, conflict, and complicated ritualised and non-ritualised social relationships (See Tulius 2002; Darmanto 2016). Von Benda-Beckmann and Tale (1996, 11) call this type of tenure arrangement 'horizontal division of resources', a phenomenon where the ownership and rights to land and objects on it are different subjects. In Siberut, this tenurial system is applied to other zones (fruit gardens, sago gardens, home gardens, etc.).
- 6 I follow the *emic* distinction of food. This helps to describe the availability and access to the community's food supply, the way they consume it, as well as the type of *labour* necessary to obtain it. Imported food, either from the market or from state development projects, supplements local food and all types of imported food follow the *kat* and *iba* categories. The list of domesticated and non-domesticated *kat* is presented in Appendix 2.
- 7 \$US 0.13.
- 8 \$US 2.
- 9 Puailiggoubat put this event in a two-paragraph column in its 14-30 September edition stating that cacao growers were angry at the pig owners because they didn't keep their animals securely penned
- 10 The methodological justification for using the household as the unit of analysis is explained in Chapter 1. Detailed methods of data collection among selected households are described in Appendix 1.

11 The timing of data collection certainly affects the data as rura season happens only once in three years, the consumption of fruit in this period is likely to be higher than the year before and after. See Appendix 1.

12 Laurens Bakker (1999), working with Sagulu and Sakaliou clans around Silakoinan, records the story in detail. His collection was told to him by an elder of Sakaliou clan. In Muntei, there are several stories that have a *sasareu-Mentawaians* theme. The stories I collected share a theme with the Bakker collection but many have a different emphasis or details. To distinguish a clear identification of pig lovers and haters, I rely on Bakker's work and confirmed it with members of the *uma* Sakaliou living in Muntei. The story told to me by Aman Boroioigok, who is also the main interlocutor in Chris Hammond's dissertation, is rather similar to Bakker's collection.

13 Schefold (1973; 1991, 92; 2017, 117) and other (Loeb 1928; 1929a; Spina 1982) writes that *sikaoinan* is the spirit that punish the community by attacking or drowning people in the water. However, my informants insist that *sikameinan* is the spirit in the water that punish anti-social behavior. The spirit of the aunty (*sikameinan*) stays in the water is one of *sikaoinan* who specifically punishing community of not sharing food.

14 In Mentawaiian cultural repertoire, the accusation of witchcraft is almost always levelled against those who excel above others. As has been noted by earlier anthropologists (Loeb 1928; 1929a; Schefold 1991; Hammons 2010), a person who is successful in something, is liable to be suspected of sorcery.

15 There is a famous story of a maverick and violent ancestor of a clan namely *panajojo* who once lived around Muntei. He was very brash and malicious. His name literally means the shooter of dogs and indicates that he could kill others and harass any woman as easily as he could kill and harass dogs. He had plenty of land, pigs, and gardens but all of them were gradually given to compensate his victims. His wealth had made him dangerous since, nobody could prevent him from committing malicious acts that could lead to the disintegration of the community. Tulijs (2012) has documented this story in his PhD dissertation.

16 This act is consistently reported in the accounts of Loeb (1928), Kruyt (1979), Hammons (2010).

17 I am fully aware of the problem with the term 'kinship' discussed brilliantly in Janet Carsten (1995; 2000). As I will show in the proceeding paragraph, I believe that kinship is a process, consisting elements of natural actions (having sexual relations), transacting substances (blood, sperm), and transforming social substances (food) and social actions (sharing, feeding, nurturing).

18 It is perhaps more correct to say that the term *sinanalep* is derived from the words *kina* (the guardian, "thou who possesses a soul of" ...) and *lalep* (house/family) than *si* (a prefix to refer a person) and *lalep*.

19 Cambridge Dictionary (2019).

20 Anthropologists have different opinions on these terms. Working in the southern islands, Loeb (1929b) distinguishes *punen* and *pulaijat*, according to the scale, the reason, and the place of the ritual. *Punen* is held at a community level (*uma* and village), while the *pulaijat* is organised at the family level. Anthropologists working in Siberut rarely employ *punen* but commonly use *lia* or *pulaijat* (Schefold 1972; 1985; 1991; Reeves 2001; Hammons 2010). Those anthropologists also have different views on the ultimate purpose of *punen* and *pulaijat*. It is not my aim to jump into all the discussions and debates of the term.

21 Most anthropologist use the term *rimata* to refer the leader of ceremony (Loeb 1928; Schefold 1973; Reeves 2001; Hammons 2010). Reeves (2001) uses the term 'master of the ceremony' when he refers to *rimata*. During my research, I did not hear people mention this term. Instead, they use term 'sikebukat *uma*'. The *sikebukat *uma** is perhaps the *rimata* but he is not always a shaman (*kerei*) and can simply be the most respected person in the clan who has mastered ritual skills.

22 The local term to refer a plot of garden is *mata* (growing area). See Chapter 3.

23 It refers to the myth of Maliggai, a well-known myth telling the origin of shaman, the longhouse, pigs, and chicken.

Bibliography

Agarwal, B. 2014. Food sovereignty, food security and democratic choice: Critical contradictions, difficult conciliations. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41 (6): 1247–68.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1981. Gastro-politics in Hindu South Asia. *American Ethnologist*, 8(3): 494-511

Asnan, Gusti. 2007. *Dunia Maritim Pantai Barat Sumatra*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.

Ave, W. and S. Sunito. 1990. *Medicinal plants of Siberut*. Gland: WWF.

Bakker, Laurens. 1999. "Tiele! Turis! The social and ethnic impact of tourism in Siberut, Mentawai." Leiden: Leiden University. Master Thesis.

Battaglia, Debora. 2017. Aeroponic Gardens and Their Magic: Plants/Persons/Ethics in Suspension. *History and Anthropology* 28: 1–30.

Benda-Beckmann, von Franz, and Tanja Taale. 1996. Land, trees, and houses: Changing (un)certainties in property relationship on Ambon." In *Remaking Maluku: Social Transformation in Eastern Indonesia*, edited by D. Mearns and C. Healey, 39–62. Darwin: Northern University Monograph

Boomgaard, P. 2003. In the shadow of rice: roots and tubers in Indonesian history, 1500–1950. *Agricultural History*, 77 (4): 582–610.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. (trans. R. Nice.) Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

BPS Mentawai. 2014. Mentawai Dalam Angka. Tuapeijat: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai.

———. 2015. Mentawai Dalam Angka. Tuapeijat: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai.

———. 2008. Mentawai Dalam Angka. Tuapeijat: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai.

Brookfield, Harold and Doreen Hart 1971. *Melanesia: a Geographical Interpretation of an Island World*. London: Methuen.

Buuren, J. van. 1932. *Memorie van overgave Mentawaei eilanden, Muara Siberut*. Unpublish.

Cairns, M. (ed.). 2015. Shifting cultivation and environmental change: Indigenous people, agriculture, and forest conservation. London: Earthscan.

Cambridge Dictionary. 2019. Cambridge essential English Dictionary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carsten, Janet. 1995. The substance of kinship and the heat of the hearth: Feeding, person-hood and relatedness among Malays of Pulau Langkawi. *American Ethnologist* 22 (2): 223–41.

———. (ed.) 2000. *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chao, S. 2019a. Is hunger culturally bound? www.somatosphere.net. Accessed on 12 Januari 2020.

———. 2019b. Food, hunger, and Culture. *Sophie Magazine*, 8: 12-15

Conklin, H.C. 1957. *Hanunoo Agriculture: A Report on an Integral System of Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines*. Rome: FAO.

Coronese, Stefano. 1986. *Kebudayaan Suku Mentawai*. Jakarta. Grafidian Jaya.

Counihan, Carole M. and Penny Van Esterik (eds). 1997. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1986. Hermes dilemma: The masking of subversion in ethnographic description. In *Writing Culture*, edited by James Clifford and George Marcus, 51-76. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Darmanto. 2006. Studi ekologi perlادangan hutan tradisional masyarakat Mentawai (*pumonean*) di pulau Siberut, Sumatra Barat. In *Kearifan Tradisional Dan Cagar Biosfer di Indonesia, Prosiding Piagam MAB 2005 Untuk Peneliti Muda dan Praktisi Lingkungan di Indonesia* edited by H. Soedjito, 57-118. Bogor: Komite Nasional MAB Indonesia and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

—. 2016. Maintaining Fluidity, Demanding Clarity: The Dynamics of Customary Land Relations among Indigenous People of Siberut Island, West Sumatra. Murdoch: Department of Asian Studies, Murdoch University. Master Thesis.

Darmanto and Gerard Persoon. Forthcoming. Without fire: Turning forest into an agroforest in Siberut. In *Farmers Innovation and Best Practices By Shifting Cultivators in Asia Pacific*, edited by M. Cairns. London: CABI.

Darmanto and Setyowati, Abidah. B. 2012. *Berebut Hutan Siberut: Orang Mentawai, Kekuasaan Dan Politik Ekologi*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Delfi. Maskota. 2011. Black Sago or White Rice? [www.InsideIndonesia.org](http://www.insideindonesia.org) <http://www.insideindonesia.org/edition-106-oct-dec-2011/white-rice-or-black-sago-28101484>

—. 2012. Sipuislam dalam selimut *Arat Sabulungan*: penganut islam di Siberut. *Jurnal Al- Ulum*, 12 (1):1-34.

Departmen Sosial. 1987. *Laporan Hasil Pendataan Proyek PKMT Lokasi Sarausan, Kecamatan Siberut Selatan, Kabupaten Padang Pariaman, Propinsi Sumatra Barat*. Jakarta: Departemen Sosial.

—. 1998. *Data dan Informasi Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*. Jakarta: Departemen Sosial.

DKP (Dewan Ketahanan Pangan). 2014. *Food Security and Vulnerability Atlas of Indonesia 2015*. Ministry of Agriculture and World Food Programme (WFP).

—. 2015. *Food Security and Vulnerability Atlas of Indonesia 2015*. Ministry of Agriculture and World Food Programme (WFP)

Douglas, Mary. 1972. Deciphering a meal. *Daedalus*, 101(1): 61-81.

—. 1984. Standard social uses of food: Introduction. In *Food in the Social Order, Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, edited by M. Douglas, 1-39. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

—. 2001. *Implicit Meanings: Selected essays in Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

Durkheim, Emile. 1972. The Conception of religion. In Emile Durkheim: Selected Writings, edited by A. Giddens, 219-222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edelman, M. 2014. Food sovereignty: Forgotten genealogies and future regulatory challenges. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(6): 959-78

Eindhoven, Myrna. 2007. "New colonizers? Identity, representation, and government in the Post-New Order Mentawai Archipelago." In *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, edited by H. Schulte Nordholt and G. Arend van Klinken, 40-69. Leiden: KITLV Press-Brill.

—. 2019. Products and Producers of Social and Political Change: Elite Activism and Politicking in the Mentawai Archipelago, Indonesia. Leiden: PhD Dissertation.

Ellen, Roy. 2012. Studies of swidden agriculture in Southeast Asia since 1960: An overview and commentary on recent research and syntheses. *Asia Pac. World*, 3: 18-38.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fajans, Jane. 1983. Shame, social action and the person. *Ethos* 11(3): 166-80.

—. 1988. The transformative value of food: A review essay. *Food and Foodways*, 3: 143-166.

—. 1993a. Exchanging products, producing exchange. In *Exchanging Products: Producing Exchange*, edited by J. Fajans, 1-14. Oceania Monographs, University of Sydney.

———. 1993b. The alimentary structures of kinship: Food and exchange among the Baining of Papua New Guinea." In *Exchanging products: Producing exchange*, edited by J. Fajans, 59-75. Oceania Monographs, University of Sydney.

———. 1997. *They Make Themselves: Work and Play among the Baining of Papua New Guinea*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2006. Autonomy and relatedness: Emotions and the tension between individuality and sociality, *Critique of Anthropology*, 26(1) 103-119. DOI:10.1177/0308275X06061486

Falk, Pasi. 1991. Homo culinarius: Towards an historical anthropology of taste. *Social Science Information*, 4: 757 - 790.

FAO. 1998. *Poverty Alleviation and Food Security in Asia: Lessons and challenges*. Bangkok: FAO.

FAO. 1996. *Food security: A domestic approach*. Rome: FAO.

Ferro-Luzzi, A. 1982. Meaning and constraints of energy intake studies in free-living populations. In *Energy and Effort*, edited by G.A. Harrison. London: Taylor and Francis, 115-137.

Flach, M. 1985. Kemungkinan untuk menambah hasil pohon sagu. In *Pulau Siberut: Pembangunan Sosio-ekonomi, Kebudayaan Tradisional dan Lingkungan Hidup*, edited by G. Persoon & R. Schefold, Jakarta: Penerbit Bhratara Karya Aksara.

Friedmann, Harriet, and McMichael, Philip. 1989. Agriculture and the state system: the rise and fall of national agricultures, 1870 to the present". *Sociologia Ruralis*. 29 (2): 93-117.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gibson, T. 1985. The sharing of substance versus the sharing of activity among the Buid. *Man*, 20: 391-411.

Goeltenboth, F., and Timotius, K.H. 1996. Impact of rainforest destruction: the Siberut Island case, Sumatra, Indonesia. *Monographiae Biologicae*, 74: 425-437.

Goody, Jack. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graeber, David. 2001. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.

———. 2005. Value: Anthropological theories of value. In *Handbook of economic anthropology*, edited by J. Carrier, 439-54. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

———. 2007. Value, politics, and democracy in the United States." *Current Sociology*, 59 (2): 186-199.

———. 2013. It is value that brings universes into being. *HAU:journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 3(2): 219-43.

———. Reflections on reflections. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(2): 5-9.

Hall, Derek. 2004. Smallholder and the spread of capitalism in rural Southeast Asia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 45 (3): 401-414

Hammons, Christian S. 2010. *Sakaliou: Reciprocity, Mimesis and the Cultural Economy of Tradition*. California: University of Southern California.

Hanks, Lucien. 1972. *Rice and Men: Agricultural Ecology in Southeast Asia*. Arlington Heights: A.H.M Publishing

Harner, Michael. 1977. The ecological basis for Aztec sacrifice. *American Ethnologist*, 4: 117-35.

Harris, Marvin. 1979. *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture*. New York: Vintage

———. 1985. *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

———. 1987. Comment on Vayda's review of "Good to eat": riddles of food and culture. *Human Ecology* 15 (4): 511-17.

Harris, M. and Ross, E.B. (eds.). 1987. *Food and Evolution: Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hastrup, K. 1990. The ethnographic present: A reinvention. *Cultural Anthropology*, 5(1):45-61.

———. 1993. Hunger and the hardness of facts. *Man*, 28 (4). 727-739.

Hastorf, Christine A. 2017. *The Social Archaeology of Food: Thinking about Eating from Prehistory to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Henry, J. and Macbeth, H. 2004. Studying food intake frequency: A macrosurvey technique for anthropologists. In *Researching Food Habits: Methods and Problems*, edited by H. Macbeth and J. MacClancy, 135-148. New York: Berghan Book.

Holtzman, Jon D. 2009. *Uncertain Tastes, Memory, Ambivalence, and the Politics of Eating in Samburu, Northern Kenya*: Berkeley: University of California Press.

Janowski, Monica, 1995. The hearth-group, the conjugal couple and the symbolism of the rice meal among the Kelabit of Sarawak. In *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones, 84-104. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2007a. Being 'big', being 'good': Feeding, kinship, potency and status among the Kelabit of Sarawak. In *Food and Kinship in South-east Asia*, edited by M. Janowski and F. Kerlogue, 93-120. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

———. 2007b. Introduction. In *Food and Kinship in South-east Asia*, edited by M. Janowski and F. Kerlogue, 1-23. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Janowski, Monica and Kerlogue, F. (eds). 2007. *Food and Kinship in South-east Asia*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Jansen, Willy. 1997. Gender identity and the rituals of food in a Jordanian community, *Food and Foodways*, 7 (2): 87-117.

Kaartinen, T. 2007. Nurturing memories: The cycle of mortuary meals in an East Indonesian village. In *Food and Kinship in Southeast Asia*, edited by M. Janowski and F. Kerlogue, 150-169. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Kahn, M. 1984. Taro irrigation: A descriptive account from Wamira, Papua New Guinea. *Oceania*, 54: 204-23

———. 1986. *Always Hungry, Never Greedy. Food and the Expression of Gender in a Melanesian Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1988. Men are taro, they cannot be rice: political aspects of food choices in Wamira, PNH. *Food & Foodways* 3 (1): 41-58.

Kerlogue, Fiona. 2007. Food and the family: Assimilation in a Malay village. In *Food and Kinship in South-east Asia*, edited by M. Janowski and F. Kerlogue, 54-70. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Kruyt, A. C. 1979. *Suatu Kunjungan ke Kepulauan Mentawai*. Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu.

Lambek, Michael. 2004. Value and virtue. *Anthropological Theory*, 8(2): 133-157. DOI: 10.1177/1463499608090788

———. 2013. The value of (performative) acts. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 3(2): 141-60.

Lappé, F. M and J. Collins. 1997. Beyond the myths of hunger: What can we do? In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, C. Counihan and P. Van Esterik (eds.), pp. 402 - 411. Routledge: London

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. The culinary triangle, *Partisan Review* 33: 586 – 595.

———. 1970. *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of mythology*, translated from the French by John and Doreen Weightman. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.

———. 1978. *The Origin of Table Manners: Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, translated from the French by John and Doreen Weightman. London: Cape Ltd.\

———. 1987. *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Li, Tania Murray. 1999. Introduction. In *Transforming the Indonesia Uplands: Marginality, Power, Production*, edited by T. M. Li, xiii – xxiv. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

———. 2002. Local histories, global markets: Cacao and class in upland Sulawesi. *Development and Change* 33 (3): 415–37. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00261.

———. 2014. *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

———. 2015. Can there be food sovereignty here? *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 42 (1): 205-211.

Loeb, Edwin Meyer. 1928. Mentawai social organization. *American Anthropologist*. *American Anthropologist* 30: 408–33.

———. 1929a. Mentawai myths. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, 85: 66-244.

———. 1929b. Mentawai religious cult. *University of California Publications in American Anthropology* 25(2): 185-247.

———. 1929c. Shaman and seer. *American Anthropologist* 31: 60-84.

Macbeth, Hellen. 2006. *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Macbeth, Hellen and Fiona Mowatt. 2004. Researching food preferences: Methods and problems for anthropologists. In *Researching Food Habits: Methods and Problems*, edited by H. Macbeth and J. MacClancy, 101-118. New York: Berghahn Books.

Malinowski, Borislaw. 1935. *Coral Gardens and their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands*. London: Allen and Unwin.

McClancy, J. and Helen Macbeth. 2004. How to do anthropologies of food. In *Researching Food Habits: Methods and Problems*, edited by H. Macbeth and J. MacClancy, 1-15. New York: Berghahn Books.

McMichael, Philip. 2009. A food regime genealogy. *Journal of Peasant Studies*. 36 (1): 139–169. doi:10.1080/03066150902820354

Macpherson, C. B. 1973. *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Marcus, G.E. 1986. Afterword: Ethnographic writing and anthropological careers. In *Writing Culture: The Poetic and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus, 262-267. Berkeley: University of California Press

Massard, Josiane. 1991. Kinship and exchange practices in a Malay village. In *Cognition and Social Organization in Southeast Asia*, edited by F. Hüsken and J. Kemp, 137-147. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Mauss, Marcel. 1973. Techniques of the body, *Economy and Society*, 2:70-88.

———. 1990. *The Gift: The Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: Routledge.

Maxwell, S. 1996. Measuring food insecurity: the frequency and severity of “coping strategies”, *Food Policy* 21(2): 291-303.

Maxwell, S. & Smith, M. 1992. Household food security; a conceptual review. In *Household Food Security: Concepts, Indicators, Measurements: A Technical Review*, edited by S. Maxwell & T.R. Frankenberger, 1-28. New York and Rome: UNICEF and IFAD.

MentawaiKita. 2017. Raskin Siberut Selatan Tak Layak diKonsumsi. MentawaiKita.com. Accessed 16-11-2017.

———. 2017. Kualitas buruk, warga cuci Raskin dengan Sabun. MentawaiKita.com. Accessed on 17-11-2017.

———. 2019. Terbitkan Izin HTI, Koalisi Pembela HAM Sumbar Laporkan Menteri LHK dan Gubernur. MentawaiKita.com Accessed on 08-10-2019.

Meigs, Anna S. 1984. *Food, Sex, and Pollution: A New Guinea Religion*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

———. 1987. Blood kin and food kin. In *Conformity and Conflict*, edited by J. Spradley and D. McCurdy, 117– 124. Boston: Little Brown.

———. 1988. Food as a cultural construction, *Food & Foodways* 2: 341–357.

Meyers, K.J.M. 2003. “The Changing of Cultural and Ecological Roles of Siberut People in the Management and Conservation of Their Natural Resources.” Antwerp: Department of Visual Arts Royal Antwerp.

Mintz, Sidney. 1994. Eating and being: What food means. In *Food: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited B. Harriss-White and R. Hoffenberg. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mintz, Sidney and Du Bois, Christine. 2002. The anthropology of food and eating. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31 (1): 99-119.

Munn, Nancy. 1973. Symbolism in a ritual context: Aspects of symbolic action. In *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, edited by J. J. Honigmann, 579–612. Chicago: Rand McNally.

———. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers, Fred R. 1986. *Pintubi Country, Pintubi Self: Sentiment, Place and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Nihill, M. 2001. Not Feasting with friends: the meaning of meat in Anganen. *Oceania* 71(4):265-277

Nooy-Palm, Hetty. 1966. The culture of the Pagai Islands and Sipora, Mentawai. *Tropical Man* 1: 152–241.

OPKM (Otorita Proyek Kepulauan Mentawai). 1978. Selintas Mengenal Kepulauan Mentawai. Padang.

———. 1981. Memorandum Tentang Keadaan Umum Kepulauan Mentawai dan Usaha-Usaha Pengembangannya. Padang:OPKM.

Oosterhout van Dianne, 2007. Constructing bodies, constructing identities: Nurture and kinship ties in a Papuan society. In *Food and Kinship in South-east Asia*, edited by M. Janowski and F. Kerlogue, 171-195. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Otto, Ton and Willerslev Rane, 2013. Introduction: “Value as theory”-Comparison, cultural critique, and guerilla ethnographic theory, *HAU Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3(1): 1–20.

Patel, R. 2009. Grassroots voices: Food sovereignty. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36 (3): 663–706.

Peluso, Nancy. 1996. Fruit trees and family trees in an anthropogenic forest: Ethics of access, property zones and environmental change in Indonesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38: 510 – 548.

Persoon, Gerard. 1986. Local leaders on Siberut: a creation not yet completed'. In *Local leadership and programmes implementation in Indonesia*, edited by Ph. Quarles van Ufford, 157-179. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

———. 1987. Views of participating outsiders: two civil servants leaving the Island of Siberut (Mentawi Archipelago, Indonesia). In *The Leiden Tradition in Structural Anthropology: Essays in Honour of P.E. de Josselin de Jong*, edited by R. de Ridder and J. Karremans, 140-160. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

———. 1992. From sago to rice: changes in cultivation in Siberut, Indonesia. In *Bush Base, Forest Farm: Culture, Environment and Development*, edited by E. Croll and D. Parkin, 187-199. London: Routledge.

———. 1994. *Fleeing or changing: Processes of change and development in tribal groups in Indonesia* (Dissertation). Leiden: FSW.

———. 1995. *Special Report Sociology/Anthropology Specialist in Siberut Project Site*. Jakarta: Departemen Kehutanan, ICDP.

———. 2001a. Wild pigs in Southeast Asia, *Asian Wild Pig News* 1(1): 4-5.

———. 2001b. The Management of wild and domesticated forest resources on Siberut, West Sumatra, *Antropologi Indonesia* 64: 68–83.

———. 2002 Defining wildness and wilderness: Minangkabau images and actions on Siberut (West Sumatra). In *Tribal Communities in the Malay World: Historical, Cultural and Social Perspectives*, edited by G. Benjamin and C. Chou, 439-456. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

———. 2003a. Conflicts over trees and waves on Siberut Island. *Geografiska Annaler* 85B(4): 253-264.

———. 2003b. Religion and ethnic identity of the Mentawaians on Siberut (West Sumatra). In *Hinduism in Modern Indonesia: A Minority Religion between Local, National, and Global Interests* edited by M. Ramstedt, 144-159. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Persoon, Gerard and Reimar Schefold (eds). 1985. *Pulau Siberut: Pembangunan Sosio-ekonomi, Kebudayaan Tradisional dan Lingkungan Hidup*. Jakarta: Penerbit Bhratara Karya Aksara.

Persoon, Gerard and H. H. de Jongh. 2004. Pigs across ethnic boundaries. In *Wildlife in Asia: Cultural perspectives*, edited by J. Knight, 165-184. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Piaget, Jean. 1970. *Structuralism*. New York: Basic Books.

Pottier, J. 1999. *Anthropology of Food: The Social Dynamic of Food Security*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Powdermaker, Hortense. 1966. Stranger and friend: The way of an anthropologist. Newyork: W. W. Norton and Company.

Puailiggoubat. 2013. Pemekaran Dusun. 7: 11

———. 2013. Kisruh Pembagian RASKIN.. 6: 13

———. 2013. Mentawai Dapat Jatah RASKIN Lagi. 3:4

———. 2014. Seribu Hektar Sawah Siap Diciptakan. 6: 7

———. 2015. Sakuddei Menjadi Dusun: 11: 15

———. 2016. Bupati Janjikan Seribu Kilometer Jalan. 9: 6

———. 2015. Kualitas Raskin Menurun. 13: 5

———. 2016. Visi-Misi Bupati. 7:3-4

———. 2017. Sawit masuk lagi. 4:3

———. 2017. Ramai-ramai Tolak Sawit 5:3

Rappaport, R. 1968. *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reeves, Gleen. 1999. History and “Mentawai”: Colonialism, scholarship and identity in the Rereiket, West Indonesia. *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 10(1): 34-55.

———. 2001a. “The Suku: Profiles and Interrelations.” www.mentawai.org. Accessed on 15 July 2015

———. 2001b. “Narratives of Differentiation: Muntogat, Rakrak, Sirubeiteteu, and the Ideology of Identity.” www.mentawai.org. Accessed on 15 July 2015

Richards, A. 1932. *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A Functional Study of Nutrition Among the Southern Bantu*. London: George Routledge and Son.

———. 1939. *Land, Labour, and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba tribe*. London: Oxford University Press.

Rocheleau, D. 1988. Women, trees and tenure: Implications for agroforestry. In *Whose Trees? Proprietary Dimensions of Forestry*, edited by L. Fortmann and J. Bruce. Boulder: Westview Press.

Rudito, Bambang, 1999. Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan Mentawai. Padang: Laboratorium Antropologi Mentawai. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Andalas

———. 2013. *Bebetei Uma, Kebangkitan Orang Mentawai: Sebuah etnografi*. Yogyakarta: Indonesia Center for Sustainable Development (ICSD) (Yogyakarta).

Sahlins, Marshall. 1972. *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago: Aldine Press.

———. 1976. *Culture and Practical Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sanjek, Roger. *Ethnography in Today's World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Simoons, Frederick J. 1994. *Eat not This Flesh. Food Avoidances from Prehistory to Present*. 2nd Edition. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Schefold, Reimar. 1970. Divination in Mentawai. *Tropical Man* 3: 10-88.

———. 1973. Religious conceptions on Siberut, Mentawai. *Sumatra Research Bulletin* 2(2): 12-24.

———. 1976. Religious involution: Internal change, and its consequences, in the taboo-system of the Mentawaians. *Tropical Man* 5: 46-81.

———. 1980. The sacrifices of the Sakudei (Mentawai Archipelago, Western Indonesia): An attempt at classification. In *Man, Meaning, and History: Essays in Honour of H.G. Schulte Nordholt*, edited by Reimar Schefold et al., 82-108. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1982. The culinary code in the Pulaijat ritual of the Mentawaians. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 138(24): 64-97.

———. 1991. *Mainan Bagi Roh: Kebudayaan Mentawai*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

———. 2002. Visions of the wilderness on Siberut in a comparative Southeast Asia perspective. In *Tribal Community in the Malay World: Historical, Cultural and Social Perspective*, edited by G. Benjamin and C. Chou, 422-439. Singapore: ISEAS.

———. 2013. *Aku dan Sakuddei: Menjaga Jiwa di Rimba Mentawai*. Jakarta: Kompas.

———. 2017. Toys for the souls: Life and arts on the Mentawai Islands. Wallon Brabant: Primedia

Schieffelin, Bambi. 1990. *Theive and Take of Everyday Life: Language Socialization of Kaluli Children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sihombing, Herman. 1979. *Mentawai*. Jakarta: Pradnya Paramita.

Telle, Kari G. 2000. Feeding the dead: Reformulating Sasak mortuary practices. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 156 (4): 771-805.

Tomas, P. 1999. 'No substance, no kinship? Procreation, performativity and Temanambondro parent-child relations'. In *Conceiving Persons. Ethnographies of Fertility, Procreation and Growth* edited by P. Loizos and P. Heady, 19-45. London: Athlone Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1993. *In the Realm of Diamond Queen: Marginality in an out-of-the-Way Place*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tulius, Juniator. 2012. Family Stories: Oral Tradition, Memories of the Past, and Contemporary Conflict Over Land in Mentawai Indonesia. Leiden: Leiden University. <https://linus.ucollege.edu:8443/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=5272379&site=ehost-live>.

———. 2015. "Harta pusaka dan ikatan persaudaraan: Mengenal tabir kekerabatan di Mentawai." *Puailiggoubat* (396): 16-18.

Turner, Terence S. 1979. Kinship, household, and community structure among the Kayapo', In *Dialectical Societies*, edited by David Maybury-Lewis, 179-217. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1995. Social body and embodied subject: The production of bodies, actors and society among the Kayapo', *Cultural Anthropology* 10(2): 143-70.

———. 2004. 'The Transformation of Marx's Concept of Commodity Value to the Value of Social Products in Non-Commodity Producing Societies', paper presented at a conference on 'Marxian Horizons: Critical Social Theory for the 21st Century', Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Ulijaszek, Stanley J. 2004. Dietary intake methods in the anthropology of food and nutrition. In *Researching Food Habits: Methods and Problems*, edited by H. Macbeth and J. MacClancy, 119-134. New York: Berghahn Book.

Vayda, A. P. 1987. Explaining what people eat: A review article. *Human Ecology*, 15 (4): 93-510.

von Poser, Anita. *Foodways and Empathy: Relatedness in a Ramu River Society, Papua New Guinea*. New York: Berghan.

Watson, J. B. 1977. Pigs, fodder, and Jones Effect in post-ipomoean New Guinea, *Ethnology*, 16:57-70.

Weiner, J. F. 1982. Substance, siblingship and exchange: aspects of social structure in New Guinea. *Social Analysis*, 11: 3-34.

Widlok, Thomas. 2004. Sharing by default? Outline of an anthropology of virtue. *Anthropological Theory*, 4 (1): 53-70

———. 2013. Sharing: Allowing others to take what is valued. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 3 (2): 11-31.

Whitten, Tony and Whitten, Jane. 1981. Tanaman sagu dan pengelolaannya di Pulau Siberut in *Pulau Siberut: Pembangunan Sosio-ekonomi, Kebudayaan Tradisional dan Lingkungan Hidup*, edited by G. Persoon and R. Schefold, 30-6. Jakarta: Penerbit Bhratara Karya Aksara.

Woodburn, James. 1998. 'Sharing is not a form of exchange': An analysis of property sharing in immediate-return hunter-gatherer societies." In *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, edited by C. M. Hann, 48-63. New York: Cambridge University Press.

WWF. 1980. *Saving Siberut: A Conservation Master Plan*. Gland and Bogor: WWF International.

Yates-Doerr, Emily. 2015. Intervals of confidence: Uncertain accounts of global hunger. *BioSocieties*, 10: 229-246.

Young, M. 1971. *Fighting with Food: Leadership Values and Social Control in a Massim Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1986. The worst disease: The cultural definition of hunger in Kalauana. In *Shared wealth and symbol: Food, culture and society in Oceania and Southeast Asia*, edited by L. Anderson, 111-126. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.