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CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT POLICY AND CHANGING COMMUNAL HABITUS TOWARD LOCAL FOOD MARGINALIZATION

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ABSTRACT
The national food security policy attained through food self-sufficiency is artificial because it does not reflect the actual situation. This policy cannot consolidate various local food resources to serve as the foundation of inclusive national and regional food security. Instead, it tends to rely on exclusive and uniform food security, specifically rice. This contrasts with the geographical reality of Indonesia, which is ecologically endowed with abundant local food resources. This study seeks to explain why local food is neglected in national and regional food security policy frameworks and strategies, although it is acknowledged at the level of ideas and regulations but difficult to implement at the level of practice. This case study was conducted through a series of observations and in-depth interviews with regional policymakers and agricultural communities based on generational differences between those aged 60 and older and those aged 60 and younger. Using the Habitus-Bourdieu analysis, this study discovered that the green revolution policy led to the formation of a collective habitus at the state level, which was then institutionalized in various structural policies of the central and local government, resulting in the formation of an individual habitus at the community level. This habitus that transforms cultivation and food consumption patterns to prioritize rice and marginalizes local foods has created food insecurity, particularly in Savanna ecological regions like Sumba.

KEY WORDS
Local foods, rice, habitus, green revolution, food security, savanna ecology.

Numerous studies on local food have examined the significance of the position and function of local food in meeting consumption needs at community and national levels. At the community level, these studies position local food as a source of food security for various subsistence-living communities (Arif, 2021; Martinez et al., 2010; Mundita, 2013; Tjoe et al., 2019). In addition, local foods have religious significance and are used in ceremonies of local belief traditions (Christianto, 2020; Fowler, 2005; Tjoe et al., 2019), and it even contributes to the growth of social capital within this group (Glowacki-dudka et al., 2013). At the national level, these studies identify local food as food that potentially contributes to local economic and social development (Christensen & Phillips, 2016; Deller et al., 2017; Derkatch & Spoel, 2017; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Martinez et al., 2010; O'Hara & Pirog, 2010; Rahmanto et al., 2020). For instance, from the health standpoint, local food is perceived as beneficial for public health because it is produced with fewer chemical inputs and consequently is more environmentally friendly than industrial food (Bellante, 2017; Carfora et al., 2022; S. C. Deller et al., 2017; Derkatch & Spoel, 2017; Harmayani et al., 2017; Martinez et al., 2010), and promotes the growth of gastronomic tourism (Aaltojärvi et al., 2017; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Kovalenko et al., 2023).

Local food contributes to food security at the community and national levels in Indonesia (Arif, 2021; Harmayani et al., 2017; Mundita, 2013; Tjoe et al., 2019), but its existence within the national food security policy framework and strategy has received little consideration. Although the Food Act recognizes the existence of local food, it is difficult to

implement in practice. National food security policy frameworks and strategies favor mainstream foods, specifically rice, which is determined centrally and uniformly.

Mainstreaming rice as the basis for food security in Indonesia's food security policies was a top priority under the New Order government. This policy was successful when the New Order government adopted a green revolution (GR) approach through institutions such as Mass Guidance (*Bimas – Bimbingan Massal*), which worked vertically and uniformly to develop national food self-sufficiency despite diverse geographical areas. On the one hand, the GR policy could generate 'national food security euphoria' through rice production to the point of self-sufficiency, although it was not sustainable because it lasted for only a few years and then was discontinued (Firdaus et al., 2008; Simatupang & Timmer, 2008; Thorburn, 2015; Vel et al., 2016). On the other hand, these policies are not always adaptable to the local context in many instances. In West Papua, this policy encourages a shift from sago-based local foods to rice as a staple diet (Nurhasan et al., 2022).

This policy inadvertently jeopardizes national and community food security, which has previously relied on local food security that is adaptive to the ecology in which local food is grown. In the meantime, regional policies that aim to develop local food-based food security are disregarded by both central and regional policies. Why is local food as a source of food security that is adaptive to the ecology of a region marginalized by centralized, uniform food security policies? Doesn't the existence of local food adapted to the ecology in which it is grown by local communities represent an abundance of strategies and capacities for national food security, necessitating its incorporation into the framework and strategy for national and regional food security? Existing literature has sufficiently addressed the position, function, and purpose of local food at various levels (Aaltojärvi et al., 2017; Arif, 2021; Bellante, 2017; Carfora et al., 2022; Christensen & Phillips, 2016; Christianto, 2020; Deller et al., 2017; Derkatch & Spoel, 2017; Fowler, 2005; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Glowacki-dudka et al., 2013; Harmayani et al., 2017; Kovalenko et al., 2023; Martinez et al., 2010; Mundita, 2013; Nurhasan et al., 2022; O'Hara & Pirog, 2010; Rahmanto et al., 2020; Tjoe et al., 2019). Meanwhile, studies on the structural issues marginalizing local food as the foundation for regional and national food security are scarce. Referring to Rijanta, (2020) and Nurhasan et al. (2022), Ickowitz et al. (2021) identify several structural problems, including unconducive national policies because they prioritize rice imports over the development of local food and changes in the landscape of local food cultivation land. These findings and previous studies identify the causal factors but do not explain the underlying causes of local food marginalization from national and regional food security frameworks and strategies. The absence of literature explaining this is the primary reason for conducting this investigation.

This study analyzes the GR policies implemented by the central government under the New Order regime using Bourdieu's (1990) framework of habitus. This structural policy encouraged the formation of collective habitus at the state level through GR policies, then institutionalized it in various structural policies of the central to regional governments, and ultimately encouraged the formation of individual habitus at the community level. Habitus formation occurs via an institutional strategy known as *BIMAS*

(Mariyono, 2015; Thorburn, 2015), an institution that regulated the management of food production. When the government regime shifted to the reform era, this policy was continued by the Megawati government with a different approach, no longer using an institutional approach like in the New Order era but instead focusing directly on the selection of certain food commodities, namely: Rice, Soybeans, and Corn, abbreviated as *PALAGUNG* (*Padi, Kedelai,* and *Jagung*) (Simatupang, 2007; Suryana Achmad, 2007). During the Jokowi administration, this policy was replicated under a different acronym, PAJALE, but with the same food commodity as PALAGUNG.

On the one hand, the aforementioned structural policies successfully promoted rice self-sufficiency, but on the other, they created a collective habitus at the state and local levels. This habitus transformed the cultivation and food consumption pattern at the community and individual levels so that rice became the norm. Local foods have been neglected by national and regional food security frameworks and strategies due to the mainstreaming of rice through various institutional forms of GR derivatives.

MATERIALS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

This research was conducted in East Sumba Regency, which is located on Sumba Island, East Nusa Tenggara Province. This region falls within the climate category of tropical savanna according to the Koppen-Geiger's climate classification map (Peel, et al., 2007). This study focuses on innovations in local government policies pertaining to food security since 2009. A strategy for ensuring regional food security capitalizes on the potential of local agricultural resources and a policy breakthrough not limited to food production but rather a strategy for food production rooted in indigenous traditions and wisdom and adapted to the Savanna ecosystem. In practice, however, this policy was not incorporated into the regional and national food security strategies.

This policy breakthrough was designed by a regent regulation (*Perbup – Peraturan Bupati*) of *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* (*Hilu Li Wanya* Gate). *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* is an acronym made up of local food names, specifically: *Gerbang* stands for *Gerakan Pengembangan*, while *Hilu Li Wanya* is an acronym comprised of the names of several local food varieties that were the ancestors' staple food in the past, namely *Hili* or taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), *Luwa* or sweet potato (*Dioscorea alata*), *Luwa ai* or cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), *Litang* or lesser yam (*Dioscorea esculenta*), *uwi* or Indian three-leaved yam (*Dioscorea hispida*), and *ganyung* or arrowroot (*Canna edulis*). *Hilu Li Wanya,* in the local language (Sumba Kambera), philosophically means 'the act of returning along the same path that our ancestors had traveled in the past' or 'traveling home' in Indonesian. In addition to being a retracing movement, *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* is also a re-habitualization movement based on the ancestors' past practices in cultivating and consuming local food as food that is adapted to the Savanna ecology.

This study utilized the habitus theory (Bourdieu, 1990) to analyze the implementation of three patterns of national and regional food security structural policies: structure, structured, and structuring. Two phases of data collection were carried out to support this analysis. First, field observations were conducted in 2009-2017. Observation activities were carried out first concurrently with the publication of the *Gerbang Li Wanya Hilu* Gate Regent Regulation. Full observation techniques (Bungin, 2017; Creswell, 2018) simplify us to be present on multiple occasions related to local food issue agendas without negatively impacting the object being temporarily observed like attending invitations from local governments, attending forums concerning local food issues, and then conducting field visits to areas where demonstrations of local food crops were held. We also monitored the news in local print and online media regarding the organization of forums concerning local food issues, such as local food competitions. Second, from 2017 to 2020, we conducted in-depth interviews and analyzed regulatory documents.

We employed a case study methodology to gain an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of this topic (Bandur, 2019; Creswell, 2013; Simons, 2009). In this respect, we conducted in-depth interviews with purposefully selected and divided into three groups of critical informants (Alwasilah, 2002; Bungin, 2017; Maxwell, 2013): a group of crucial informants from the 1960s and earlier, a group of important informants who were born in the 1960s and later, and a group of key informants comprised of leaders and staff of the Community Guidance and Food Security Agency at the regency level, as well as the Head of the Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Extension Center (BP3K) from the subdistrict. We differentiated the first and second categories of informants to obtain information regarding the differences in their farming experiences, namely before and after exposure to the green revolution policies. The interview and document study data were transcribed, coded, and then categorized according to the topics analyzed using the habitus theory (Bourdieu, 1990; Creswell, 2010).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The pattern of food crop cultivation among agricultural communities in East Sumba is currently shifting from polyculture to monoculture. This transformation is estimated to have

begun approximately five to six decades ago or during the 1970s and 1980s. Before that era, the pattern of food crop cultivation was still dominated by polyculture farming employing an intercropping pattern that included approximately 13 categories of local food plants, including rice, corn, sweet potatoes, and beans. This food diversity exemplified a pattern of food security that not only provided various food options in the face of food insecurity or starvation but also extended the harvest period because each food crop type has a distinct harvest season. In a study in one of the central regions of Sumba Island, Vel (2010) demonstrates that polyculture agricultural products can provide food throughout the year, with only two harvestless months, in October and November. Diverse types of food crops that can be harvested over an extended period can provide greater and more stable yields, supporting domestic and national food security (Renard & Tilman, 2021).

It is suggested that the transformation of food crop cultivation patterns has begun to change gradually since the central government's introduction and adoption of the GR approach through an intensive farming system, i.e., the agricultural system that uses high-yielding varieties. In practice, rice plants are increasingly synonymous with superior varieties (Pingali, 2023). This shift is observed in food crop cultivation patterns based on generational distinctions. The gardens of the farming communities of those in their 60s and younger typically contain a single type of food crop or, if there are more, a combination of two types, typically rice and corn or corn, and cassava. However, the diversity of plants has decreased to a combination of only two or three types of food crops, namely corn, rice, and tubers, as the dominant crops in the agricultural community aged 60 and older, despite their continued use of the polyculture farming system. They continue cultivating local food with a polycultural pattern due to continuing ancestral traditions and a survival strategy involving food substitution when rice or maize food supplies are depleted or exhausted. In addition, they contend that these food crops can still produce despite poor rainfall because they are more ecologically adaptable than rice or corn. Past legacy, the position, function, and role of local food are experiences that instill confidence in those in their 60s and older to make local food the foundation of domestic food security (Arif, 2021; Martinez et al., 2010; Mundita, 2013; Tjoe et al., 2019). This food security practice demonstrates the adaptive capacity to respond to ecological vulnerability (Smit & Wandel, 2006). Nonetheless, there are distinctions in the current generation's care pattern for food crops. They pay greater attention to rice plants when they suffer damage by pests and promptly report them to agricultural extension employees. In contrast, they tend to ignore local food plants when they are affected by pests.

The transformation of the food cultivation pattern from polyculture to rice-oriented monoculture due to the central government's GR implementation policy presents two paradoxes. On the one hand, this policy increased national accomplishments. Indonesia could attain rice self-sufficiency for several years, albeit unsustainable (Firdaus et al., 2008; Mariyono, 2015; Simatupang & Timmer, 2008; Thorburn, 2015; Vel et al., 2016). However, these national accomplishments were not always beneficial for regions such as East Sumba, as regions or villages always faced food insecurity and even starvation (Dinas Pertanian and Pangan, 2010 - 2021). Each year, no less than 30 – 40 percent of rice must be imported to meet consumption demands. In certain years, it could even reach 50 percent (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010 - 2019). The accomplishment of these national goals only could generate a fleeting "*national food security euphoria*." On the other hand, the implementation of the GR policy has had negative effects, including the eradication of local foods derived from biodiversity that harms farmers (Ajl & Sharma, 2022; Altieiri, 2009; Holt-Giménez & Altieri, 2013; Kerr, 2012; Mundita, 2013; Patel, 2013; Pingali, 2012; Röling & van de Fliert, 1994; Shiva, 1993; Simatupang & Timmer, 2008; Thorburn, 2015; Vel et al., 2016). In fact, native Sumba rice seeds cultivated for generations have been eradicated due to the policy's introduction of superior rice (Christianto, 2020). The FAO report indicates that monoculture cultivation tends to exacerbate biodiversity extinction as a food source (Commission et al., 2019).

Sumba, particularly East Sumba, are susceptible to threats to food security and ecological systems due to their reliance on monoculture rice cultivation. This cultivation pattern decreases the likelihood of a long food harvest based on the local food diversity

adapted to Savanna's ecology. Meanwhile, rice plants ecologically require an irrigation system and sufficient rainfall. This is in contrast to the ecological conditions of Sumba, where annual rainfall only reaches 800-1,000 mm or lasts 3-4 months, and the rest of the year is dominated by a lengthy dry season from April to October (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2019; Fisher et al., 2006; J. Russel-Smith et al., 2007). Even in recent decades, rainfall may not arrive until November or December. Meanwhile, the available irrigated agricultural land is extremely limited, comprising only 2.9% of the total agricultural area of 568,382 hectares (Dinas Pertanian and Pangan, Sumba Timur, 2022). Therefore, rice-based monoculture cultivation patterns promote chronic annual food insecurity issues because they are not sustained by the availability of suitable and adequate land and are not adaptable to the ecological carrying capacity.

The emergence of the regional autonomy policy, the Food Law, and various subsidiary regulations gave regions ample room (recognition) to establish regional food security based on local resources. The East Sumba local government utilized this opportunity in 2009 to develop a revolutionary regional food security policy through the *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* regulation. Each household must provide 25 acres of land for local food cultivation. The government policy then supported the construction of demonstration plots (*demplots*) in multiple subdistricts as centers of local food nurseries and development. In practice, however, this policy breakthrough faltered. Community-level land expansion and food cultivation activities did not go according to plan. Even though a limited number of people performed it, it occurred on land cultivated long before this policy was created. Limited modality support, such as land cultivation equipment and lack of access to local food seeds, explained the failure. In the meantime, the distribution of government aid in the form of hand tractors was largely administered by the village elite. Similarly, the village government did not resolve the lack of local food seeds by acquiring local food seeds; instead, village budget allocations were used to provide rice seeds. Demonstration plots constructed in multiple subdistricts as demonstration centers and local agricultural nurseries existed for only one fiscal year. The demonstration sites are currently neglected and overgrown with bushes.

The existence of *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya's* policy breakthrough did not necessarily encourage local governments to register production results from various local foods that were still being developed by a minority of the farming community. Contrary to the intention and spirit of the breakthrough of the *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* policy, there were no records for the products of each local food variety that were still cultivated by a small portion of the farming community. The regional statistics agency has only documented maize, cassava, and sweet potato as local foods. In the meantime, the majority of local food production remains undocumented. For instance, weekly traditional markets in villages continue to sell various local foods, indicating that local foods are in demand, despite being in small quantities.

The issuance of a Minister of Agriculture regulation (*Permentan)* regarding PAJALE Special Efforts (UPSUS) in 2015 further weakened local efforts to develop local food-based food security. This policy prioritized rice as a strategic food commodity for the development of national food security. The *Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya* policy as the regional government's breakthrough in creating local food-based food security was powerless when contending with the UPSUS PAJALE *Permentan.* The central and regional budgets allocated various supporting mechanisms, including high-quality seedlings, fertilizers, irrigation, and the application of technology to support this policy. The implementation of the UPSUS PAJALE Minister of Agriculture policy represents the GR strategy through its derivative institutions such as BIMAS, Mass Intensification (INMAS), and Special Intensification (INSUS) in the New Order era, which was continued in the reform era through PALAGUNG and UPSUS PAJALE (Arif et al., 2020; Hidayatulloh & Koestiono, 2021; Mariyono, 2015; Muh.Kamim, 2019; Simatupang, 2007; Suryana Achmad, 2007; Thorburn, 2015; Vel et al., 2016).

The GR derivative institutions represent structural institutions that function hierarchically from the center to the regions to form a collective habitus at the bureaucratic, community, and individual levels. This habitus affects perspectives, decisions, and actions regarding what to plant, how to manage what is planted, and how to record the outcomes of

what is planted. Bourdieu explains habitus as the result of internalizing structures acquired through time and history (trajectories) to generate individual and collective practices. Individual and collective practices become a form of unconscious obedience to objective structures outside of oneself (Adib, 2012; Bourdieu, 1990; Fashri, 2017; Haryatmoko, 2008; Krisdinanto, 2016; Ritzer & Goodman, 2010). The intended objective structure is manifested through various derivatively institutional forms of rice-oriented GR after undergoing an internalization process in bureaucratic, communal, and individual thought and action.

Approximately five to six decades ago, when GR was first implemented, it was merely a method for increasing food production. This method has been proven and verified throughout history to solve the problem of global food scarcity. Increased food production has been achieved through the use of superior varieties as products of knowledge. This increased food production has decreased global food prices, making them more affordable for the impoverished. The capability of the GR method to reduce the problems of food availability and poverty instills a collective belief or becomes a structure of thought for countries worldwide to implement GR as a method to combat food scarcity and population growth. The GR method can dispel Malthus' concerns about population growth and food shortages (Stone, 2002).

Under President Soeharto's New Order administration, Indonesia adopted the GR approach, which was institutionalized by BIMAS and several derivative institutions. President Soeharto (as an agent) took advantage of the New Order regime (the arena) by utilizing 'unified' political and military instruments from the center to the regions of the government structure. As an arena, the New Order enabled President Soeharto to accumulate economic, social, political, and symbolic capital. The public's confidence in the New Order government increased as the country's economic development accelerated and rice self-sufficiency was accomplished. This achievement produced symbolic capital when Suharto was dubbed the "father of national development," and the New Order was dubbed the "development order" (Heryanto, 2016). The accumulation of the aforementioned capital made it simpler for the New Order regime to structure a new habitus within the BIMAS institution, which encouraged farming communities to switch from polyculture to monoculture agriculture. The BIMAS that was introduced to farmers restructured the farmer's behavior pattern into a new habitus, which was transformed into a doxa, which did not need to be questioned but was sufficiently trusted because the objective was to meet food needs. In the words of Pierre Bourdieu, it was an '*anuniverse of undiscussed*' (Bourdieu, 1990).

The institutionalization of the GR approach in central government policies to develop national food security transforms not only the perspectives, decisions, and actions of bureaucrats but also those of agricultural communities. This policy also alters perceptions of the position and status of consumed foods. Local food is referred to as "*pangangu hariwat*" in the local language by those aged 60 and older, indicating its ease of preparation and consumption. Specifically, it is processed by boiling or burning, then ingested while still warm (just removed from the fireplace), performing other tasks, or walking. It also refers to a pattern of eating foods that are still fresh and have not been processed by adding additives (Nurhasan et al., 2022). It can be consumed constantly as long as it is available, during food surpluses, while awaiting the rice harvest, and during food insecurity periods. In sum, it represents a past food security practice that exemplifies the achievement of the food security dimensions of availability, access, and utilization (Clapp et al., 2022; Commission et al., 2019).

Although those born in the 1960s and later still call local food "*pangangu hariwat*" today, the term's meaning has narrowed. This generation interprets it as food ingested by those who cultivate rice while they wait the rice harvest season. While some consider food consumed while waiting for government rice assistance and/or food consumed only in times of food insecurity or emergencies (Rijanta, 2020). This viewpoint and practice are strengthened when food insecurity is not interpreted solely as a lack of consumable food but also as a depleted rice supply.

This generation disagrees over whether it consumes rice alone or rice combined with corn. For instance, individuals who consume local food will respond "no" when asked if they

have eaten, even if they have just consumed corn or sweet potatoes. This indicates that local foods are no longer regarded as staples. Rice is regarded as a "quality food" compared to local cuisine. Local food and its preparations are considered less prestigious than rice consumption (Martianto et al., 2009; Nurhasan et al., 2022). Moreover, rice has become a 'social symbol,' such as in the Sumba community's tradition of serving food to visitors who visit the home. Consequently, every household always reserves rice for serving visitors. Serving local food as the main course to guests is considered an act of degrading the host's dignity, as local food is considered *'pangangu hariwat,'* not a staple diet, and is a symbol of poverty. Inversely, if serving rice is deemed an act of maintaining the host's dignity and respecting the guest, then serving rice is a sign of respect. Rijanto's study of the Javanese community (2020) and Nurhasan et al.'s study of the West Papuan community (2022) find that changes in community-level consumption patterns were induced by structural policies that altered the landscape of food cultivation land. Meanwhile, this study documents that changes in Sumba's consumption patterns were not due to alterations in the local food cultivation landscape but rather to structural policies that altered consumption habits.

Eating sweet potatoes is a secret among the Kodi people, who reside in the western region of Sumba Island, due to a sense of 'shame' towards other people. As a quality food, rice encourages the pursuit of social status to become a bureaucratic apparatus. Being a bureaucratic apparatus allows one to consume rice instead of maize, particularly sweet potatoes (Christianto, 2020). In the Lawonda community, which resides in the central region of Sumba Island, rice is a system component for exchanging high-value products relative to other foods (Vel, 2010). Similar to the rice-prioritizing policies that have been implemented in various forms since the New Order regime until the current government has progressively confirmed that rice is superior to local food, rice policies have been implemented in various forms since the New Order regime. First, deploying state civil servants, military (*TNI*), and police (*POLRI)* in remote villages, where they receive both salaries and rice, is a gateway for village communities to become acquainted with rice. This rice is referred to as 'natural' rice in Sumba. Rice is introduced by this state civil apparatus (Arif, 2021). However, their true function is that of state agents who introduce rice. Second, beginning in the 1970s, the opening of road access from the regency city center to several remote areas such as sub-districts and villages encouraged small ethnic Chinese traders known as *papalele* to transport rice from the cities to remote village markets. Villagers who previously could only purchase rice from ASN, TNI, or POLRI members can now purchase it directly from *papalele* merchants. Third, after the 1998 economic crisis, the central government implemented a social safety net program consisting of rice distribution to all affected households. This rice is known as RASKIN (rice for impoverished households or *beras untuk keluarga miskin*). This program has undergone four name changes since its inception as RASKIN: prosperous rice (RASTRA or *beras sejahtera*) in 2015, non-cash food assistance (BPNT or *Bantuan Pangan Non-Tunai*) in 2017, and *Sembako* (nine essential needs or *sembilan bahan pokok*) in 2020. Despite the name changes, the product remains the same: rice distribution to low-income households. Rice is one of the items that can still be obtained, although the term "groceries" has been renamed to allow each recipient to select according to their preferences.

The aforementioned structural policies of the central government have made it simpler for the public to consume rice. The distribution system that reaches remote villages has brought rice physically closer to the people than it was in the past when they had to seek or search for it. The convenient access to rice strengthens people's emotional ties to rice as a quality food with social value, as opposed to *pangu hariwat*, the local staple food.

Individual and household food security in the regions has decreased, particularly in terms of food utilization, due to perceptions and practices that position rice as superior (in quality) to local foods. Food security, formerly sustained by various food sources, has been replaced by exclusively rice-derived food security. It even results in losing individual and household sources of local food-derived nutritional security. According to Ickowitz et al. (2021), there is a strong correlation between dietary diversity and stunting. Children who consume various nutrients are immune to stunting. In East Sumba and Sumba in general, the prevalence of stunting cases ranges between 20 and 35 percent, which is significantly

higher than the national prevalence of 12.1 percent (Dashboard for the distribution of stunting in Indonesia in 2019, https://aksi.bangda.kemenagri.go.id/emonev/DashPrev/index/5).

The 2009 habitualization movement to revert to consuming local food failed and was not sustainable due to the *Gerbang Hili Li Wanya* Regency Regulation, although it was a movement that began at the government and school levels to serve as a model for the community. In the first and second years of implementing the policy on local food consumption in offices, the regional people's representative council (DPRD) and schools have been quite active in various government meetings and councils. However, this policy was not practicable in subsequent years, particularly after the issuance of the Minister of Agriculture Regulation of UPSUS PAJALE. Since the implementation of this policy, there is no longer an obligation to serve local food at government events.

Gerbang Hilu Li Wanya, as a local food re-habitualization movement, failed to become a movement capable of altering people's perspectives so that they returned to ecologically-adaptive patterns of cultivation and consumption of food crops. This failure is due to the national food security policy, which implements the GR method and provides ample space for paddy/rice development via various institutions with a hierarchical organizational structure. This policy has inadvertently constrained the development of local food. This space restriction will continue to be reproduced by the next government regime, which is focused on rice and ultimately marginalizes local foods.

The GR policy, originally just a work method to increase agricultural production, evolved into a worldview (belief) through habitualization processes via structural patterns, structured and structuring, as exemplified by various structural institutions from the New Order regime to the current government. The worldview that, although unintentional (Bourdieu, 1990), has formed a collective and individual habitus in a new systemic cultivation and food consumption pattern. The national food security framework and strategy fail to account for local foods due to individual and collective habitus.

CONCLUSION

Since the beginning of the New Order, GR-based national food security policies have exacerbated regional issues. The GR approach implemented by derivative institutions such as BIMAS, INMAS, PALAGUNG, and UPSUS PAJALE has created a collective habitus at the state and local levels. This habitus transforms the cultivation and food consumption pattern at the community and individual levels so that rice becomes the norm. Local foods are neglected in national and regional food security frameworks and strategies due to the mainstreaming of rice, which occurs via various institutional forms of GR derivatives. The omission of local foods from national and regional food security frameworks and strategies creates food insecurity, particularly in the ecological region of the Savanna.

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