

ABSTRACT**BRIDGING MYTH AND POLICY
FOR ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY:
A Case Study in Kampung Adat Cireundeu, Jawa Barat**Hartanto Rosojati¹hartantorosojati@populicenter.org¹Populi Center, Jakarta, Indonesia¹

Abstract. Data on the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the third quarter of 2020 experienced a minus contraction of up to 3.49 percent. This figure is dominated by the contribution of 5 (five) sectors, which include the manufacturing industry, trade, construction, mining, as well as agriculture. Of the five sectors, only the agricultural sector experienced positive growth in the third quarter of 2020 with 2.15 percent year on year. At the same time, the workforce due to the COVID-19 pandemic has actually given rise to the phenomenon of urban people returning to their villages and mostly choosing farmers. In the midst of the condition that many workers experience layoffs, and the changing work system, in the end it will greatly affect the workers who have minimal skills and then many experience ruralization. However, in fact the phenomenon of returning home is an alternative way of survival where the village as a crisis agent is able to guarantee a better life from the agricultural sector. Therefore, this study takes place on how the survival shown by the village can be said to be an agent of crisis. This research tries to find out how the adaptive life patterns are shown by the people in the Kampung Adat Cireundeu, Kota Cimahi, Jawa Barat. The results of the study indicate that the belief system/myth and values attached to the foundation of the local community's life do not affect people's lives with the crisis that hit. In addition, the myths/beliefs that are practiced in the life of the local community can open new job alternatives, provided that the government is able to provide protection through the right policies. This study is also useful to provide input to the government to support the creation of environmental sustainability.

Keywords: Indigenous People, Myth, Environmental Sustainability, Land, Policy

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic, as many views have highlighted it, has had an unexpected impact on the fabric of people's lives. In the midst of a country's struggle to suppress the spread of the virus, people are also required to be more introspective and also adaptive in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic.

When it has become a global issue, what is the government's breakthrough in handling the COVID-19 pandemic is certainly a debate. For example, the implementation of PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions), which in principle suppresses community mobility in outdoor activities, is a policy that does not escape the pros and cons. Nevertheless, public debate on policies carried out by the government is a natural thing, and even very normal because the public is also faced with policies in other parts of the country because COVID-19 has become a global epidemic. There are those who support the PSBB or there are those who are against it because it is better to do a total lockdown.

Apart from the public debate regarding the PSBB policy, for example, the reality of people's lives has shown that many people have lost their jobs in line with these restrictions. When all things are restricted, including the company's production, one of the effects is the limited space for workers to move. As a result, the income of the workers also decreased. Furthermore, the phenomenon of Laid Off (PHK) became unavoidable as the COVID-19 pandemic hit. Even more than that, many parties also consider that the COVID-19 pandemic has become a momentum for some companies to terminate their employment without severance pay.

However, the next article does not want to discuss how industrial relations should be implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, but what is interesting to review is where do these workers then leave, and what policies can the government take?

If the initial question is where the laid off workers are trying to determine their fate, then one explanation that is sufficient to answer the question is the story of Maulana Arif Budi Satrio or can be called Rio. As quoted from *kompas.com* (19/05/20), Rio was forced to walk a distance of approximately 440 km just to realize his determination to return home because he was one of the workers in Jakarta who was laid off. He traveled the distance from Cibubur, East Jakarta, to Gringsing in Batang District, then the next trip to his hometown at Solo he was delivered by the Indonesian Tourism Driver Community (Peparindo).

It should be noted that Rio has been a tourist bus driver since 2017. The COVID-19 pandemic which resulted in restrictions on people's mobility clearly had an impact on the decline in company income, and had an impact on Rio having to leave the capital city. His decision to walk to his hometown was not without reason. When all vehicle access is closed, walking is the only way for Rio to immediately get to his hometown to acquire his life hope.

The fate of Rio, who experienced layoffs, may be the same as most of the workers who also lost their jobs. Data compiled by the Ministry of Manpower (Kemnaker) shows that 2,175,928 workers were affected by the pandemic during the period from April to August 2020. Of these, 386,877 were laid off, 1,155,630 workers were cut off, and 633,421 workers or entrepreneurs went bankrupt or lost their business (Satudata Ministry of Manpower, April-August 2020).

What Rio experienced, may be a sign that the village is an alternative to continue his life. This condition also shows a social phenomenon that is quite interesting to look at more deeply. While in general someone is urbanizing with the intention of improving their standard of living, the COVID-19 pandemic has actually given rise to the phenomenon of ruralization in which the village provides an alternative life expectancy compared to the city.

The phenomenon of urban people returning to their villages was also highlighted by Masyita Cristallin, Expert Staff for Fiscal and Macroeconomic Policy Formulation at the Ministry of Finance. According to her, people who return home due to termination of employment choose to become farmers in the village. This actually resulted in positive growth in the agricultural sector with 2.15 percent year on year in the second quarter of 2020. Thus, when the contribution from the other side of the business sector experienced a minus, agriculture was actually able to grow positively. It is known that the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the second quarter recorded a minus contraction of up to 3.39 percent. This figure is dominated by five sectors, namely agriculture, processing industry, trade, construction, and mining. The processing industry experienced minus 4.31 percent, then the trade sector experienced minus 5.03 percent, construction experienced minus 4.52 percent, and mining experienced minus 4.28 percent (*sindonews.com*, 24/11/20).

With these data, it can be seen that in times of crisis, the agricultural sector becomes the sector of financial crisis. This is in line with the statement of Suahasil Nazara, Deputy Minister of Finance who stated that the crisis phenomenon that occurred in 1998 and 2008 made the agricultural sector experience growth (*detik.com*, 18/06/20).

Even though the agricultural sector has high resilience in dealing with crises, this condition in the end also places villages or agriculture in surplus labour. Kecuk Suhariyanto, Head of the Central Bureau of Statistic Republic of Indonesia, stated that the workload in the village has increased as a result of workers being laid off in the city. In the agricultural sector, there was an increase in the number of workers from 29.79 percent in 2020 from the previously recorded 27.53 percent in 2019. Despite experiencing positive construction in GDP, the contribution of agriculture to GDP is only around 13 percent, which according to Kecuk, This is not proportional to the burden on the agricultural sector which will have an impact on declining agricultural productivity (bisnis.com, 17/02/21).

With the prospect that the burden faced by the agricultural sector is considered a safety net against the crisis, what is needed now is to identify agricultural problems as a whole. To identify this, this paper is based on a case study in the Cireundeu Traditional Village, Cimahi City, West Java. Cireundeu Traditional Village based on some literature has shown that its ability to be self-sufficient in food deserves to be appreciated. As with Jabbaril (2018) which shows the food security of the Cireundeu indigenous people, as well as Tramantone (2017) which shows that 75.83 percent of the Cireundeu Traditional Village community still preserves their customs, including the concept of food management.

However, in the midst of the assumption that the ability of a village to have resilience in maintaining the existence of their food, it is necessary to see what problems are faced so that it can be the basis for the formation of bottom-up policies, namely policies based on empirical reality.

RESEARCH METHOD

The data used in this paper is based on qualitative research conducted in the period February 2022. This paper is also supported by secondary data through a literature study conducted. The other important thing in this paper is the high attention paid to observing the symbols attached to the living habits of the local community. This step is to help show the extent to which the relationship between the local community and the environment is formed as an expression of the concept of environmental sustainability.

THE STORY BEHIND CASSAVA, AN DATA

1. The History and Beliefs of The Cireundeu Indigenous People

Before explaining some of the problematic issues regarding the relationship between policy and environmental sustainability, I will first explain the condition of the indigenous people of Cireundeu as a case that needs to be understood in its background. By looking at the perspective of the Cireundeu indigenous people, a policy is certainly not just a partial rule, but can be seen as a simultaneous policy because a policy will have an impact on other facts in the community.

When we talk about the people in the Cireundeu Traditional Village, the thing that is most often discussed is the habit of people not eating rice, but eating cassava as their staple food. The question is, since when and what is the reason people in Cireundeu Traditional Village do not eat rice from rice is a common question asked among Indonesian people who usually eat rice as their staple food. The reason is, the Cireundeu Traditional Village is also known to produce rice, but in their daily life they choose not to consume it.

In a discussion with Jajat, one of the local traditional leaders, the idea of not eating rice began in 1918. The figure who came up with this idea was a woman named Mamah Ali. The idea of not eating rice was originally a form of resistance to the Dutch colonial occupation of the Baros area. With the Dutch position, many men became slaves to infrastructure development, as well as having an impact on full control of the rice resources in Cireundeu and its surroundings. However, behind these reasons, the idea is also based on the desire for inner and outer independence, which in another sense is not dependent on rice resources as a staple food.

The idea of not eating rice was then realized through a series of adaptations to the source of basic ingredients for daily needs. Starting from corn to various other types of carbohydrate-producing plants were tried to be consumed, but in 1924, a woman named Omah Asnamah introduced ways to

process cassava into ready-to-eat ingredients. As a follow-up to his predecessor, Omah Asnamah also instilled the principle of "*Lamun urang bisa nunda 'kersa nyai', tanda-tanda kemerdekaan tereh deuket*". The message can be interpreted as "if we are able to delay the desire to consume rice, then the signs of independence are near". This of course implies that gaining food independence for the Cireundeu people is a symbol of the struggle for independence.

The result of Omah Asnamah's struggle is also reflected in the appreciation given by the Kota Cimahi government to Omah Asnamah as a "Pahlawan Pangan". Until now, the values that the local community continues to build are "*Teu Boga Sawah Asal Boga Pare, Teu Boga Pare Asal Boga Beas, Teu Boga Beas Asal Bisa Nyangu, Teu Nyangu Asal Dahar, Teu Dahar Asal Kuat*". In principle, the philosophy is meant that even if there is no rice, or anything to eat, it remains a source of strength. If we take it further, the value built by the local community is by not depending on one thing in meeting food needs.

In addition to the value in the issue of food self-sufficiency, another interesting thing can be seen from how the local community behaves towards nature as a source of livelihood for the local community. An example is related to the relationship between the indigenous peoples in the Cireundeu Traditional Village and the TPA (landfill) Leuwigajah. If we look back, the phenomenon that cannot be avoided by indigenous peoples in the Cireundeu Traditional Village is the landslide of the TPA Leuwigajah in 2005. In this case, the analysis that develops is about the capacity of the waste that is no longer adequate, to the management of bad landfill management. In the study of Nandi (2005), for example, with the open dumping method, the TPA Leuwigajah which allows piles of garbage to pile up on open land will result in an imbalance in the carrying capacity of the surrounding environment. So do not be surprised by the topography that is on a slope, the Leuwigajah landfill is in a condition that is prone to landslides.

However, what policy observers almost missed was the response of the local community to the existence of the TPA Leuwigajah until the landslide occurred. If you trace the origin of the landfill, according to Jajat, there has never been a clear blueprint for the existence of the TPA Leuwigajah. Initially, in 1982 a truck entered the area carrying vegetable waste on the pretext that it would be used as compost. Seeing the plan, the indigenous people also support the processing of vegetable waste into compost because the community still lacks knowledge. When the community gave their trust to the plan, gradually, garbage trucks not only carried vegetable waste, but also brought waste that could not be processed into compost.

As a result, garbage began to pile up on one of the lands in the hills, until the garbage began to slide onto people's lands, and then compensation was made for the land affected by the landslide from the accumulated garbage. The incident continued to repeat itself until in 2005, a landslide occurred.

During the process of collecting waste, local residents ultimately have no power over the actions taken by irresponsible parties. The problem is, the ownership status of the land used for garbage collection does not belong to local residents. In addition, the local community's principles of life have made the TPA construction project run smoothly. For the community, what is understood is that if they pile up garbage in the area, it will have a bad impact on the local community. While the TPA Leuwigajah was operating, local residents were disturbed by the smell and smoke from the burning that was being carried out. Furthermore, the flies that are scattered disturb the activities and comfort of the residents, but once again the people are only in a state of resignation and sincerity to face such reality.

From the problems that occurred at the TPA Leuwigajah, the thing that should be learned is how the community puts the value of life which, although far from healthy, they never demand, because people believe that living life sincerely with not many demands is the main thing, especially demands on sources. natural forces that have given them a living. Even though they live in unsanitary conditions, in the end, people still apply the principles of life that make them independent in terms of food and daily needs. This can be seen from the strategy to maintain the food needs of local communities by dividing forest management into three parts, namely Hutan Baladahan, Hutan Tutupan, and Hutan Larangan. Hutan Baladahan is a forest area that can be used for agricultural activities and community plantations. The location of Hutan Baladahan is not too far from residential areas. In addition to Baladahan, the local community is also familiar with the term Hutan Tutupan which can be interpreted as a forest that can be used for its produce, but there is an obligation to replace what has been taken from the forest. Then the last is the Hutan Larangan which refers to an area that is considered sacred, so it is not worth visiting or even taking its resources.

From these conditions, even the Hutan Larangan and the Hutan Tutupan are a means of maintaining environmental conditions and quality. There is a value that is considered by the local community that the harmonization of humans with nature must still be maintained, because this is also reflected in the landslide phenomenon of the TPA Leuwigajah in 2005. The landslide condition of the TPA is interpreted by residents as a result of humans who do not respect nature as a source of livelihood.

Even so, the community is still not angry from the disaster, but the Cireundeu indigenous peoples articulate that the TPA Leuwigajah landslide is a form of natural conditions that are recovering themselves. This is believed to be due to changes in environmental conditions in the Cireundeu Traditional Village which are getting better. The most extreme problem that has changed is the loss of pollutants that have been shadowing the activities of daily life. During the operation of the TPA Leuwigajah TPA, the residents compared the clothes they put out to dry in the morning, in the afternoon the clothes came back dirty. However, this phenomenon is no longer experienced by local residents.

In general, the people in the Cireundeu Traditional Village adhere to Sunda Wiwitan as their belief. The belief of those who strongly believe that the harmonization of humans and nature is one of the keys to maintaining the existence of the environment. For example, someone who wants to enter the forest area in Cireundeu, is required to take off his shoes, actually barefoot. For some people, this may actually have an impact on the risk of injury because the feet don't wear protectors. However, different values are believed by the people in the Cireundeu Traditional Village. The local community considers that humans and nature should not be separated, especially for nature which has given people a livelihood. Residents believe that their footprints in the forest are accompanied by sincerity, it will be recorded by nature by giving them an abundance of grace.

2. Threat of Land Use Change

From the behavior shown by the local community in behaving towards the environment, it should not be a concern about how the local community must adapt in crisis conditions. However, the life of the local people is not without threats. The landslide of the TPA Leuwigajah has provided an example of threats that can disrupt the existence of the local community. Previously, the TPA Leuwigajah had taken some of the land of the surrounding community, and this condition was also a concern about the forest they had been protecting for the life of the local community.

As a traditional community that has inhabited an area for generations, the Cireundeu people have adhered to the value system as the basis for their practice of life. However, these conditions are sometimes not in accordance with the reality of the life of the nation and state. The problem lies in their status which has not been fully recognized by the state. As a society that adheres to the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan, many people in the Cireundeu Traditional Village do not have an Identity Card (KTP). This of course has an impact on the limited access to public. As a hereditary inheritance, the land that residents manage is not land that is certified as the government's version of land ownership provisions. Meanwhile, to take care of the certification, an Identity Card is needed as one of the requirements.

Jajat also briefly explained that many developers or individuals have built in several areas adjacent to the Hutan Larangan which are considered sacred by the local community. This problem leads to the dynamics of the lack of strict protection of customary territory areas.

In the Regional Regulation (Perda) of Kota Cimahi Spatial Planning No. 4/2013 concerning the Kota Cimahi Spatial Plan for 2012-2032, the forest area in Cireundeu is included in the City Sub Region (SWK) D and E. In SWK D, the regional development strategy consists of maintaining and protecting water catchment areas, developing supporting activities for the development of the telematics-based creative industry at PPK Baros, and developing Green Open Space (RTH). While in SWK E, the regional development strategy implemented is to control housing developments, organize environmental-based tourism areas, organize military areas into urban heritage areas, and develop green open space. Through this regulation, the guarantee of green open space is one aspect that can encourage the existence of forests managed by indigenous peoples in Cireundeu. However, the problem is that the local community does not have the guarantee of rights and obligations related to forest management. So it would be very reasonable if the threat of land conversion is felt by the local community.

Moreover, the existence of regulations to support the existence of customary forest management is still a homework that must be done immediately. In 2012, the Mahkamah Konstitusi granted a judicial review regarding UU No. 41/1999 concerning Forestry. Previously, article 1 point 6 stated that customary forest is a state forest located within the territory of customary law communities, but in the results of a judicial review, the article was changed to customary forest as forest located within the territory of customary law communities.

In the Rancangan Undang-Undang (RUU) about Indigenous Peoples, Customary Territories are defined as one territorial unit in the form of land, forest, waters, along with the natural resources contained therein which are obtained from generation to generation and have certain boundaries, which are used to meet the needs of indigenous peoples. Then in the review related to the Ulayat right, the RUU that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are communal in nature to control, utilize, and preserve their customary territory and natural resources on it in accordance with the prevailing values and customary

law. Meanwhile, customary law is a set of norms or rules, both written and unwritten, that live and apply to regulate the life of indigenous peoples that are passed down from generation to generation, which are always obeyed and respected, and have sanctions.

If it is associated with these regulations, of course the people in the Cireundeu Traditional Village can be classified as one of the indigenous communities that can be given the authority to manage land for community needs. The problem is that customary law communities need legal recognition from the government, while in the context of the Cireundeu indigenous peoples, the form of recognition in these customary regulations has not been facilitated.

MYTH/BELIEF SYSTEM AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY, AN ANALYSIS

When talking about the myths inherent in the life of the indigenous people in Cireundeu which is thick in several language articulations in action, then this is not much different from the *Langue* concept from Saussure which explains that myths are part of a set of conventions, or rules that have no law basis, but accepted by society to allow the use of language to call it (Saussure, 1988:520). Furthermore, related to *langue*, Levi Strauss explains that values in myth form a permanent structure, which at the same time is also related to issues of the past, present, and future (Levi-Strauss, 2005:280). So this will always be contextual to be told using a certain language at any time.

Like the use of "*Lamun urang bisa nunda 'kersa nyai', tanda-tanda kemerdekaan tereh deuket*" which is believed that if you can delay the desire to eat rice, then the sign of independence is near. This condition is one of the language structures that form myths in the Cireundeu indigenous people, especially its relevance to the context of Indonesian independence. The language used is an ancestral product and is accepted by the Cireundeu indigenous people passively which allows the speaker and the recipient to have elements that are understood. However, this common language can also be contextualized with other liberties concerning a prosperous life apart from the context of Indonesian independence.

In addition to *langue*, Saussure also explains related to *parole* which is a past event and cannot be repeated, but becomes a community belief (Paz, 1997:18). Like the TPA Leuwigajah landslide which became a past phenomenon, which articulated that humans and nature must have harmonization, nature will not be angry either.

More generally, a myth can be interpreted as a story that someone tells, and it is done over and over again. However, these are not just stories from primitive societies, but have appreciation (Lessa & Vogt, 1979:101). With this appreciation, myth can be translated into a belief that can provide certain guidelines and directions to a group of people (Van Peursen, 1992:37).

The existence of myths in the Cireundeu indigenous people is ultimately the basis for the formation of culture which is reflected in their daily actions. In addition, within the framework of a belief system, what is believed about the harmonization of humans and nature is the implementation of the Sunda Wiwitan belief as a religious truth (Daeng, 2008:81). Through this concept of thinking, people are able to present God through symbolic languages. Such as "*Teu Boga Sawah Asal Boga Pare, Teu Boga Pare Asal Boga Beas, Teu Boga Beas Asal Bisa Nyangu, Teu Nyangu Asal Dahar, Teu Dahar Asal Kuat*", which is the philosophy of life of the indigenous people of Cireundeu which is showing that there is no concern for the needs food, because whatever they eat is a source of strength, which in other contexts society is holding fast to its belief in nature and its beliefs.

In addition to the use of language, a series of stories from the Cireundeu Indigenous people which in the end actually helped related to the existence of an environmental sustainability policy. For example, the division of forest types (Hutan Baladahan, Hutan Tutupan Forest, and Hutan Larangan) as described earlier shows that the local community has actually applied the concept of environmental sustainability at a practical level. An example is the Hutan Tutupan that can be extracted from its resources, but the community is required to return what has been taken from the forest. This act articulates that humans and nature should be in harmony by helping each other. What we have taken, we must return. In addition, the concept of the Hutan Larangan is also a manifestation of the belief of the local community to place the forest naturally, and should not be disturbed. This is a form of gratitude to nature that has given them a livelihood. Therefore, they allow part of the forest to grow naturally. For the local community, the existence of the forbidden forest is a guardian of the community ecosystem so that they can live in prosperity and abundance of natural resources.

In principle, environmental sustainability is an effort to ensure the preservation of natural resources and protect ecosystems to support people's welfare in the context of today and in the future. This means that ensuring that the environment remains good for future use is important in environmental sustainability. Sustainability is based on a fundamental truth, namely that the earth has a limited carrying capacity with human activities that threaten that carrying capacity. Therefore, regulating human behavior is quite certain to ensure environmental sustainability (Lin, 2015:65).

In the life of the Cireundeu indigenous people, dividing the forest into several types of use is in order to maintain environmental ecosystems, as well as to control individual behavior towards nature. The belief in the harmonization of humans and nature in the Cireundeu Traditional Village community has become an ecologically complex management system. For example, as previously explained, people who do not use footwear when entering forest areas are a manifestation of the expression function of the myths they understand. Thus, attitudes, social values, form awareness in acting on nature as well as a form of overcoming the shortcomings of conventional law in environmental management (Lin, 2015:1). Because basically the natural environment and the social environment are interconnected, and humans in the context of the social environment are actors and recipients of positive and negative impacts of natural environmental ecosystem processes (Sudikan, 2016:167). When practical legal rules do not exist to regulate these conditions, the myth or belief system of the Cireundeu traditional village community is able to maintain environmental stability.

CONCLUSION

Conceptually, the indigenous peoples in the Cireundeu Traditional Village are people who have high resilience in facing times of crisis. People's behaviour in carrying out daily life activities based on their myths and beliefs has led to an independent society and can be said to have no dependence on anyone. However, that does not mean their existence is also not threatened. In some cases, the existence of indigenous peoples in Cireundeu has also been eroded by the development agenda which has resulted in the threat of forest loss as a medium of trust for the local community as an entity of the indigenous community. In addition, the status of those who have not been fully recognized as citizens becomes a bargaining power in the development agenda, including limited access to public services.

There are several things that can actually help the existence of indigenous peoples, including in Cireundeu, namely by implementing strategic steps through the ratification of the RUU about Indigenous People. In the midst of individual community recognition that has not been facilitated by the state by not having an ID card, at least through the RUU on Indigenous Peoples, it is regulated on the recognition of indigenous communities. Thus the position of the local community gets recognition such as their involvement in determining the planning, development, and sustainable use of their territory in accordance with local wisdom as stated in Article 21 of the RUU about Indigenous People. By involving indigenous peoples in the regional development design mechanism, disaster problems such as what happened at the Leuwigajah landfill can be minimized.

In addition, their lands may not be able to be certified as the legal provisions related to land apply, but with the existence of the RUU Masyarakat Adat/Indigenous People, there is a guarantee that the land will not be converted. This is a strategic step to bridge the gap in rights as citizens as well as to facilitate the needs of the state in relation to environmental conservation.

Through guarantees of land management according to laws and regulations, at least it is also a guarantee that the government fully supports maintaining agricultural land as one aspect of the safety net when a crisis occurs. As in the case of a pandemic, agricultural land becomes an agent of a financial crisis considering that labour absorption increases along with the pandemic, therefore, ensuring the sustainability of agricultural land is a strategic step to bridge between community needs and the challenges of the crisis faced by the state.

Thus, providing certainty in land management is one way to encourage the creation of adequate employment opportunities, so that the threat of surplus labour that occurs during times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic can be minimized.

LIMITATION & SUGGESTION

As the life of indigenous peoples who have occupied an area before the presence of the state, and have implemented customary rules, the rules in each indigenous peoples have their own characteristics, including in terms of land and environmental management. Although in general indigenous peoples have the same characteristics regarding belief systems, namely belief in ancestors, this study only focuses on the Cireundeu indigenous people. Furthermore, this study focuses on myths/beliefs, community behaviour, and their correlation to policy formation in accordance with empirical reality. Thus, it is necessary to multiply studies related to the pictures of local people's lives, so that a policy can be made according to the needs of the community through a bottom-up approach.

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