The Documentality of "SMONG" as Social Control for Disaster Risk Reduction in Simeulue Island

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I. Introduction

Listen to this story
One day in the past
A village was sinking
That's what has been told
Starting with earthquakes
Followed by a giant wave
The whole country was sinking
Immediately
If a strong earthquake is
Followed by the lowering of seawater
Please find in a hurry
A higher place
It is called Smong
A story of our ancestors.
Please always remember
This message and instruction
Smong is your bath
Earthquake is your swing bed
A thunderstorm is your music
Thunderlight is your lamp
　　　　　　—Nandong Smong

Since humans live nomadically and inhabit caves to settle in crowded urban apartments, people constantly haunt anxiety about natural disasters that always come suddenly, and the communities are always unprepared. The most famous story of human experience and tragedy in human history is the great flood in Noah's time, which enshrined in religious texts, and archaeological evidence strengthens the event (Dynes, 2003). As a country surrounded by the pacific ring of fire, one of the disasters often occurs in Indonesia is an earthquake. An earthquake measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale that occurred in the Indian Ocean on January 4, 1907, destroyed the island of Simeulue and caused the death of 70% of the total population on this island (McAdoo et al., 2006; Syafwina, 2014). The survivors recorded their experiences in oral stories about *smong* and passed them on to future generations. This oral tradition was proven to save thousands of lives on this island when an earthquake of 9.3 SR (other versions 9.1 and 8.9 SR) occurred in the Indian Ocean and caused a tsunami reaching 30 meters hit on December 26, 2004. The death toll reached 200,000 people in Aceh Province. In contrast, the victims on Simeulue Island were only seven who hit the earthquake debris from the total population on the island of 78,128 people (UNIMS, 2005, as cited in McAdoo et al., 2006; Syafwina, 2014). When the disaster occurred, the community immediately responded by shouting "*smong, smong*," and everyone scattered up the hill (Arif, 2014 & Widianto, 2018).

Today we know that disasters have a repeating cycle every ten or hundreds of years. Forming shared knowledge is essential for disaster preparedness and mitigation in the future. Documents, which currently play a central role in human life, perpetuate collective memory. It is a conceptualization of how people relate to each other to acquire, remember and produce knowledge known as transactive memory (Wegner, 1987) that can bridge social epistemology and epistemic collaboration.

The oral tradition of *smong* in the Simeulue island community is a more powerful disaster mitigation tool, even when compared to high-tech warning systems (McAdoo et al., 2006). The preliminary research conducted by Syafwina (2014) also confirmed that the *smong* case is a success story of preserving Indigenous Knowledge that can reduce disaster risk and improve human security in the future. Many studies on s*mong* with various approaches were published, but no one has discussed it using the document theory approach. In part one review the relevant literature on the local concept of tsunami known as *smong*. Followed by a review of the oral document and documentality developed by Turner and Frohman, the second part discusses the method developed in this study. This paper discusses *smong* as an oral document and documentality *smong* as an example of how *smong* can forcefully influence people without coercive methods as local knowledge for mitigation and evacuation in the event of a tsunami disaster. The closing section of this article ends with a conclusion.

II. Literature Review

Smong: Nandong and Lullabies

Smong means tsunami. However, for the Simeulue people, smong has more meaning than the word tsunami itself. Smong summarizes all tsunami phenomena, including generative earthquakes, receding seas, and powerful waves. The definition of smong tends to be more personal. People may have a different understanding of smong. They are proud of smong and were able to survive the tsunami of 2004 because of smong (Sutton et al., 2021).

Smong formed in nandong and lullaby. First, to transmit smong stories is through nandong. Etymologically, nandong means humming. Smong is the most popular oral tradition and an icon for the people of Simeulue. Usually, smong performs to the accompaniment of other instruments (most often the drum and the violin). Nandong tends to dwell on sad stories of suffering, loss, and regret. Of course, there is no more extraordinary loss story than that related to the tsunami's impact in 1907. Therefore, nandong smong is prominent in oral traditions that help the Simeulue people maintain their unique sense of identity (Sutton et al., 2021).

Nandong smong poems that contain knowledge about smong are usually sung during traditional weddings, circumcisions, or other events by the people of Simeulue Island, Aceh. The songs categorized as folklore have been around

for centuries. Following the title, nandong means hum, while smong means seawater rising to the mainland or tsunami (Widianto, 2018 & Rahman et al., 2018). One of the stanzas of Nandong Smong's poetry that are often heard in Simeulue and then passed down to children and grandchildren as local wisdom in disaster mitigation is *Anga linon ne mali, uwek suruik sahuli, Maheya mihawali fano me lion tenggi, Edesmong kahanne* (If the strong earthquake hit followed by heavy water. Recede, immediately look for a higher place that is the name smong) (Rahman et al., 2018).

Second, the transmission of smong stories spreads through lullabies. Usually, mothers or grandmothers sing to soothe their little ones. Their stories and lullabies include stories about smong. These bedtime stories and songs build emotional channels for children to learn about the world, including natural disasters such as smong (Sutton et al., 2021).

Nandong and Lullabies about smong can be indigenous knowledge for the community's early warning system in the past against the threat of tsunamis. Now the government relies more on technology in reducing disaster risk or mitigation, including putting in place early warning system tools. However, natural disasters that occur are challenging to predict. Smong in Simeulue had become a collective memory for the local community so that, when signs of a tsunami preceded by an earthquake occur, the community will respond by running to higher ground.

Oral Document

Research in information behavior shows that verbally available information is essential. Some scientists have also found that people prefer to talk to obtain information, especially new information (Turner, 2012). Through a review of social construction, information behavior, and documentation studies, Turner (2012) defines an oral document as follows: "An oral document is an artifact conveying evidence or information that is about specific content, and is embedded in the action(s) of furnishing that content through orality." The definition emphasizes that an oral document is an artifact that refers to its physical form and its function as evidence about certain content or information it is included in actions to complete the content orally. This definition reflects that an oral document conveys evidence or information in two ways: the meaning of the words spoken and the meaning behind the actions taken in saying the words.

Documentality

Frohmann (2012a) created the documentality concepts as a form of contribution to thinking about documentation. According to Frohmann, documentality has four features, functionality, historicity, social complexity, autonomous agency. The first feature is functionality; Frohmann explains that documents perform specific social functions, such as forming marriages or uniting companies under

a brand identity. Next, historicity examines how documentary practices are changed and adapted to ensure that a document continues to hold weight over time (Frohmann, 2004). According to Frohmann (2012b), customs and rules can appear, disappear, and change over in a historical process and, therefore, dynamic and not eternal. If a document is valued from its historicity, the document can be seen from the power relations that surround it, whether it can have a real impact in its time or not. This condition depends on the political, economic, social, and cultural context. In addition, it depends on the dominant discourse and the voice of the marginalized because it depends on their historicity.

To explain the historicity aspect involved in documentation, Frohmann (2012a) relates it to the problem of scientific research conducted in the 17th century. In philosophical knowledge based on Aristotelian, where universal experience is valuable as evidence, a study becomes valid if the study is documented by scientists, resulting in scientific literature. Frohmann gave the example of Galileo made notes on his observations using a telescope.

The third feature is social complexity. Frohmann calls social complexity a document that involves heterogeneous arrangements of technology, people, and information (Gorichanaz, 2016). In addition, social complexity connects to the documents needed for training, teaching, and learning that can be created and carried out. Frohmann (2012a) adds that documentation shows different levels of complexity, which to understand, one needs to follow a complex arrangement of heterogeneous elements, processes, how, time, place, people, technology, groups, institutions, and conceptual elements which function and affect the intensity.

The last feature is autonomous agency. An *autonomous agency* is a document that affects a person's emotions, both in terms of thoughts, feelings, and actions (Gorichanaz, 2016). Documents affect a person emotionally (for example, a person may be *"moved"* by the book), and they also limit actions to other parties (for example, a No Parking sign). The agency here is a force that has a strong influence on a person's emotions. The agency is the least intuitive feature and most likely to attract disapproval because we are not used to thinking of documents as agents (Frohmann, 2012a). Smong is a document that influences the people of the island of Simeulue. Smong is an autonomous agent.

III. Methods

This research method uses qualitative methods with the type of case study research. The case study was chosen because of the tsunami in Aceh in 2004 that claimed many victims, but the situation is different on the small island of Simeulue Aceh, not many victims because the local community has had personal knowledge since childhood through Nandong Smong poetry. Gorman and Clayton (2005) also state that this type of case study research can be interpreted as an in-depth investigation of hidden entities in a single setting,

subject, collection, or event condition with the assumption that they can gain knowledge from the case investigation.

The data collected in this study used secondary data obtained from literature sources, journal documents, or previous research related to nandong smong. Through document sources, researchers can get information from various sources written in cultural heritage, works of art, and works of thought (Satori and Komariah, 2009). The data in this study analyze with document analysis. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which interpreting documents to assess the theme of the assessment (Bowen, 2009). This study use two types of documents. The first is the lyrics of the nandong. The second is primary and secondary literature that describes news in the mass media (Arif, 2009 & Widianto, 2018) and the results of some research (Rahman, et. al, 2018; Sutton, et al, 2021; Syafwina, 2014).

IV. Results and Discussions

Nandong Smong as An Oral Document

The people of Simeulue do not have a cultural heritage in visual form, so the oral tradition has become a strong tradition among the people. Nandong Smong is a form of oral tradition in the Simeulue community. Nandong smong consists of three pillars, namely words, stories, and songs. Nandong smong's verse tells a sad story of suffering, loss, and regret. For the Simeulue people, there is no story of a more significant loss than that related to the tsunami in 1907. Therefore, nandong smong as an oral tradition has become a prominent tradition for the people of Simeulue in maintaining their sense of identity. Nandong smong is not information that comes from the government or institutions. Smong emerged and developed from the social situation that occurred in the Simeulue community. In the study of information behavior, it is explained that people prefer to interact with informal information that arises from social situations rather than formal information that gives from institutions (Case, 2007, p. 33 in Turner, 2012).

According to Turner (2012), an oral tradition is a form of oral document. Nandong smong is a form of oral tradition, so nandong smong can also become an oral document. If people refer to the meaning, oral documents are artifacts that convey evidence or information about the content delivered orally. The Nandong Smong poem provides information regarding natural phenomena when a tsunami drowns a village and how to evacuate if this happens. This information is conveyed orally through nandong and lullabies from generation to generation.

The smong story is also stored in the form of nafi-nafi, one of the speech cultures of the Simelue people. Nafi-nafi is one of the speech cultures of the Simeulue community in the form of storytelling which tells about past events. This story contains life advice and advice to be conveyed to the community, especially children. The stories contained in the nafi-nafi are very varied and

one of them is the story of the Smong. One example of the story of Smong in nafi-nafi in Devayan language that translated in English language.

Table 1. An example of the *Smong* story of tsunami risk from *Nafi-nafi*
Source: Rahman et al., 2018

Devayan Language	English Language
Nga sao nafi nafi, Inang maso nang ere, waktu iye taon tuju. Ra angkume singa marasokan, rasesewan mek dia mai, fani manjadi pengalaman orep. Maso iye falal rima'at ngahae termasok melafek ae. Sahuli fesang linon, mek mek lii ne ata ado raik sia ra aidek. Sefelne ata ere la o da me kota, sebayang rima'at alek balanjo. Fesang sa a Linon sebel. Unen unen mali Linon, saa ra enak owek asen ngang suruik, sagalo nae ngang mafete fete etak angkal angkal iyee. Daram nae iya sebagian ata ere me tot ra aleko. Araya saa ado ran tek iye meram bakat sebel toro i teden asen, menandan menan alefo. Sagalo tu a tu a hampong ranao u maong, Smong! Smong! Smong! Minau humodong mek delok! Minau humodong mek delok! Sakajap Fesang Smong sebel, sao saone hampong ranap. Sefelne ata ere ado sempat sia manyalamatkan diri, fahae pengalaman. *Matuai smongia, ranau tot bebalek mek hampong, da asek asek uluda, nga singa singa umenggek, maraong simahawali anak, si mahawali lafe, simahawali tu a tu a da. Anga ata ngang be gelimpangan ek iye mowi. Te en sol ata tapi marek hebao matae,manok matae. Ngang ulagu kiamat iya anga singa maninggal afel mowi lebi satenga satiok hampong iya fa eng ata. Smongia taekne nida 10-15 meter. Mek mek tae ne smongia afel ata, hebao atot tasangkuik ek detak ayo ayo. Sahek nga singa nilewan mek delok.* *Jadi, singa harus teher mi redem, anga alek Linon sebel, mi aheya mi enak owek asen, anga suruik, minau lanjar humodong mek delok atao omae fanon singa ataek. Aifak ame malibu mangabek falon foraek, gulo, asila, enen, sulot, fisok. Nue nue so ere miredeman teher, mi sesewan mek anakme mobome, atang railla.*	This is the story of our ancestors' experience that happened a long time ago, around year seven. They passed this story to us for remembering what had happened in the past as a reflection of our life. On Friday morning, when most of the people were preparing to go to the mosque and some to the market, suddenly, a strong earthquake occurred, and people cannot stand upright. People found the seawater was receding, and fish were floundering on the beach. Unfortunately, many villagers ran to the beach to collect the fish. The big wave came from the sea and reached the land. The older person started shouting Smong repeatedly. But, many people did not have much time to run up to the hill. After the Smong had calmed, people tried to go back to the village and found many people had died. More than half of population from each of the villages was killed. The estimation of the Smong's water level was about 10–15 meters; we discovered that many people, buffaloes, and chickens died, and some were stuck on the top of a tree, and some stranded on the hill, which was the height of 10–15 meters. When the big earthquake occurs, immediately observe the changing of seawater level at the beach or the river; if you find the water receding, please be in a hurry to run away from the beach or flee to the higher places. Please bring rice, sugar, light, knife, matches, and clothes. Please remember this story and pass it to the next generations.

The story of the nafi-nafi above tells of the tsunami that occurred in Simeulue which claimed many lives, an action should be taken when the tsunami occured and suggestions to transmit it to the next generation.

Since 1907, the people of Simeulue Island have used the nandong verse "smong" to share their experiences of passing them on to future generations. The people of Simeulue use smong to warn the community to run to higher and safer places when they show natural symptoms of a tsunami. This case shows that it is able can influence and encourage the people of Simeulue Island. According to Frohmann, it has documentality.

Smong documentary is an example of how oral documents can influence people forcibly without coercion but is cultivated through more subtle forms such as smong poetry performances, lullabies before bed, and soon. Smong documentation here can be seen as a form of biopower which is the intersection between the biological dimension and the power dimension that is useful for controlling society, such as the ratio of births, deaths, welfare of a population. Foucault describes bio-power as follows:

> By this I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the 18th century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. This is what I have called bio-power (Foucault, 2007, p. 16)

The Documentality of Smong

In 1907 there was an earthquake with an estimated strength of 7.5 - 8.0 SR. The earthquake epicenter was near the island of Simeulue, off the coast of Sumatra. This year's earthquake triggered a tsunami that caused the death of 2,188 people (Martin et al., 2019). The people of Simeulue did not know how to evacuate when there was a big earthquake, and the seawater receded. People panicked but did not attempt to stay away from the sea. They drew near to the shore and picked up the floundering fish. So when the water rises, they are not saved.

The story of this great disaster was then told and spread to the children. The people of Simeulue create poetry that tells about the tsunami disaster, the great tsunami that has hit them, and provides advice on what rescue efforts should be made when the disaster occurs again. These poems are called smong. So when the tsunami occurred in 2004, only six people from the Simeulue community were victims. At the same time, more than 2,000 houses were destroyed by the tsunami waves.

Nandong smong has formal lyrics and a consistent structure, with a sad wailing tone that implies great sadness as an expression of remembering the tsunami that occurred in 1907. Nandong smong is usually used as a complement to entertainment at Simeulue community weddings. For people outside Simeulue, this may be considered strange because it sings a sad song about loss

and grief at wedding celebrations. This overall performance of nandong smong was essential to sustaining the smong narrative for nearly 100 years.

From the description above, it shows that Nandong Smong has historicity features. Nandong smong still has a significant role for the people of Simeulue to this day. The people of Simeulue adapt it as lullabies or as performances in various celebrations. Even nandong smong is also sung at informal times such as leisure time in the yard with extended family. This is different from traditional songs in various regions in Indonesia. Some of the traditional songs that used to be sung in everyday life and various celebrations began to be eroded by the times. Many regions in Indonesia also document their traditions in the form of monuments. Although the monument is still there, the lessons from this tradition have been forgotten by the community. Meanwhile, the oral tradition of the Simeulue community continues today.

"Smong" in Simeulue society has a different role from the oral tradition in other areas. The Acehnese (the prominent tribe living in the coastal areas of Aceh) also have an oral tradition of tsunami messages and stories, which they call Iebeuna. The story of Iebeuna is written only in various traditional songs and oral literature such as saga and poetry. Nevertheless, the people of Aceh do not recognize it as a message from the past. They think Ieu beuna only as a beautiful poem or fairy tale. This shows that smong is a document that carries out certain social functions in society. Frohmann (2012a) mentions that one of the documentality aspects is functionality, where documents carry out certain social functions.

Smong as an oral document has the power to mobilize people to save themselves from a disaster situation. When the warning siren is not there, they are used to make people evacuate themselves to a safe place. Unlike their brothers in mainland Aceh who have the word leu beuna for tsunami, the people of the island of Simeuleu have the term smong as a term for tsunami and an expression for an evacuation order too. It is passed down through the concept of storytelling that is passed down from generation to generation, whether presented through nandong or bedtime tales.

The social system of the Simeulue community in forming nandong smong is very complex, where the poetry and songs that are formed in the community are not derived from one element but a combination of various conditions that are interconnected with each other. Situngkir (2011) states that the complexity of viewing a system that depends on initial conditions is very sensitive and causes disturbances that result in significant changes. Following this opinion, the document on the nandong smong poem has brought a significant change to the people of Simeulue. By continuing to chant it, the people of Simeulue can still remember the ancient story when the tsunami occurred in Simeulue.

This oral tradition passed down from generation to generation through the nandong smong poetry can also be used as a marker document for the tsunami in Simeulue in 1907. At first glance, it is not clear what benefits are derived from Smong, but the information conveyed to smong can be accepted

and studied by each of them. Each individual is to be alert and ready to face disasters. Sutton et al. (2021) explain that Nandong helps individuals maintain a proportional understanding of the risk of smong from people's experiences and imaginations to make good decisions when experiencing fear.

Smong is also able to build social control for the people of Simeulue. The people of the island of Simeulue can regulate themselves with the principles and values they adhere to and are proven to reduce disaster risk. Janowitz (1975) explains that, in the most basic sense, social control refers to the capacity of people to regulate themselves according to the principles and values they desire. It also follows one aspect of Frohman's documentation, namely social complexity. The document, in this case, the poem "Smong," requires education which is carried out by passing it on to generations through a lullaby called Buai-buai, nandong poetry and the daily conversations of the people there.

The reinforcement of the poems taught every day could form a strong point of view and understanding of the meaning of smong. The understanding that emerges includes knowledge and information on the real world in dealing with the risks of smong hazards. According to Frohmann's (2012a) concept of social complexity, it can be said that documents need to be taught, trained and the learning can be used or implemented. Seeing this in the smong case, it is smong poetry that functions as a document, which is then delivered and communicated every day to shape one's cognition to produce an understanding of the nature of danger and the motivation for action when facing a disaster.

In this section, we will discuss the power of the agent. The agent referred to in this paper is smong, where smong functions as a document that can generate solid meanings and actions of a person. Frohmann (2012a) explains that autonomous agency is a document that affects us emotionally (e.g., someone who is "moved" by the book). That document also limits and allows specific actions on our part (for example, a No Parking sign). From this explanation, the people of Simeulue can be moved to take immediate action with the word Smong.

The people of Simeulue will be affected when a disaster occurs, and when people hear the word "Smong" they will immediately run to the top of the hill. It shows that the word "Smong" can affect the people's emotions of Simeulue Island and move them to run up the hill. This awareness of action is a solid key to the influence of agent power. The intense emotional connection felt by the people of Simeulue from the smong incident in 1907, which resulted in many victims, makes them continue to communicate in the form of lyric text from nandong smong.

Most of the lyrics of smong describe a simple warning when an earthquake occurs, and the seawater recedes, then quickly runs to higher ground. From the meaning of the smong text, the older Simeulue community provides knowledge through the emotions of the next generation. Smong's words are used as signs of nature to give sensitivity to the next generation to understand and interpret their observations through their senses.

The sensitivity that the mothers on Simeulue Island continue to cultivate to tell stories or sing songs about smong before going to bed sometimes continues to foster knowledge of the entire Simeulue community about Smong. Sutton et al. (2021) found that lullabies build emotional channels for learning about the world and social realities, such as natural hazards, where this social reality can begin with physical and emotional bonds between mother and child. Through language that is conveyed emotionally, it finally gives strength and meaning to the words described.

V. Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis of the existing documents, this study concludes that Nandong Smong has an extraordinary power to influence and encourage the people of Simeulue Island and is proven to reduce disaster risk. "Smong" carries out four aspects of documentality: functionality, historicity, social complexity, and autonomous agency. Nandong Smong can become social control for the people of Simeulue Island so that when a disaster occurs, and they hear the word "Smong" they will run away and go to evidence to find a place that is safe from the disaster.

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