

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Marginalization emerges when the state fails to include people and puts negative labeling on an ethnic minority and perceives them as an obstacle to the development process as Tania Li (1999) and Tsing (1993) argue. The state has marginalized ethnic communities through development projects and policy practices, thus ethnic minorities have been placed at and forced to the edge. Since the colonial period, many ethnic communities in Indonesia have experienced marginalization, especially those who reside in the remote areas which are far from the center of development, such as the Dayak people in Borneo, Asmat and Danni tribes in Papua, as well as other ethnic communities in other provinces including the Baduy community who reside in Banten province on Java island. Other ethnic groups such as the Javanese and Chinese enjoy privileges both from the colonial administration and Indonesian state, hence they are more familiar in trading. The Javanese have been regarded for their strong domination, due to the wide influence and territory of its kingdom in the past, such as *Majapahit* Kingdom, while the Chinese have benefited from controlling the economy.

The colonial administration classified and regarded ethnic communities in Indonesia (archipelago) as uncivilized, inefficient, uneducated and backward societies. After the colonial period ended, the Indonesian government inherited colonial labeling and is still using the classification of backward society to term and label ethnic communities. Moreover, as Barnes, Gray, and Kingsbury (1995) stated the Indonesian government defined the ethnic minorities as isolated and alien people who have limited capacity to interact and communicate with more

advanced groups, which results in being left behind in the economic, political, socio-cultural, religious and ideological development processes.

Indonesia consists of more than 13,000 islands, with 5 major islands of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya (Papua), with more than 140 ethnic groups. Most ethnic groups in Indonesia live in the hilly and mountainous areas far from the center of the development. Most of them practice subsistence economy through shifting cultivation, hunting and gathering forest products from the surrounding areas. Indonesia is diverse in culture and the state unifies the nation members (including ethnic communities) through a national ideology of unity in diversity, national language of *Bahasa Indonesia*, as well as the national education system. However, in practice the Javanese group has been placed in the more advantageous position in politics, economics (together with Chinese) and culture and Javanese is regarded superior to the others, thus the term of Javanization has emerged in Indonesia as Mulder (2005) stated. In the development process in Indonesia, most ethnic communities do not have an equal chance to be included at the local level where strategic position such as head of province, chief of provincial military headquarters or regency are held by the Javanese people not to mention the national level.

Development in Indonesia in general emphasized economic growth and it has become the major goal to pursue through the policy of rapid industrialization. Moreover, Indonesia is also rich with natural and mineral resources such as oil, gas, charcoal, timber, forest as well as natural landscape, which attract investors both national and international to extract these natural resources in the name of state development, which aims to generate wealth of the nation. Ethnic minorities, who reside in a particular place where the natural resources lie, are often in a tense situation. They are often perceived as backward and uncivilized and do not have a chance to gain access to the resources for their own benefit. The state resettles them to a new location or tries to “develop” the community to be more advanced by providing infrastructure such as market, school, health clinics, and roads.

Resettlement and eviction of the ethnic minorities are often heard of hence they reject the development projects in their area, especially if their area is rich with natural resources, where it requires a large area to establish a mining factory like in Papua (Irian Jaya) where the state gives mining concessions to international corporations. As a result, clashes between ethnic groups and state forces (army) are inevitable. Ethnic communities are in a weak position for they do not have any power to deal with the state. State policy on resettlement or in Indonesian terms *transmigrasi* (transmigration) is also a tool to marginalize ethnic minorities, whether the resettlement is concerning the ethnic community or for those who are from the rural and dense area such as Java. Most of the resettlement projects are for opening new areas for plantations, where it requires labor to work in the cash crop farms such as palm trees and rubber trees.

In Indonesia, development is divided into three major plans/strategies, long term, medium term, and short term strategies, where in most of the strategies the emphasis is the importance of infrastructure to support the goals of national development. Furthermore, state development projects are not limited in terms of infrastructure, but also include policies designed to generate income for the state by exploiting the natural resources including natural landscape, local cultures and traditions. Thus, tourism has become a new industry for developing countries and has been regarded as one of the national incomes since tourists are interested in natural landscape and authenticity of local cultures. The government promotes tourism to generate income and revenue, the process of which puts the ethnic community on the edge of cultural degradation, since contacts with tourists also generates negative influence on the local people, especially the young generation who are now more adapted to the advanced situation where they can possess modern goods like radios, televisions, and mobile phones and they care less for their own cultures and tradition.

To illustrate I will use the case of the Baduy ethnic group in Banten Province, Indonesia. The Baduy have lived for years in one particular area that they claim as ancestral land (*tanah luluhur*). This area differentiates them from the other ethnic groups in Indonesia in terms of space of living and through their customary

practices, where the ethnic group connects their culture and tradition to the specific place where they lived. This also distinguishes the development process being introduced to their area by the state in that the state has defined the Baduy area/territory as an eco-tourism destination.

I argue that marginalization through state practices and discourses (as Tsing and Tania Li mention) are ambiguous since the state has tried to include the Baduy people by merging them with development. However, Baduy customary practices forebode them to follow the state development policy completely. In other words, they partly accepted state development practices but they partly refused state development policy by using customary practices as a justification and argument.

As an ethnic community, the Baduy people are considered as one of the ethnic groups who still strongly hold onto their traditional lifestyle. The Baduy ethnic community consists of more than 10,000 people who live on 5,138 hectares of hilly forested area and are divided into two major groups, Baduy *Dalam* (inner Baduy) and Baduy *Luar* (outer Baduy). The center of villages in which they live are considered a Mandala (Permana, 2000), derived from the Hindu/Buddhist concept but referring to the Indonesian context to places where religion is the central aspect of life.

Historically, according to Garna (1987) the Baduy people are the descendants of the aristocracy of the Sunda Hindu Kingdom of Pajajaran which flourished in the area near Batutulis in the hills around Bogor. Their domestic architectural style follows most closely the traditional Sundanese architecture. *Pakuwan* known also known as *Sunda Kelapa*, the capital of Pajajaran was destroyed by invasion of *Falatehan*¹ Muslims in 1579 (Suyono 2003). However, the Baduy today are increasingly losing touch with their Hindu culture and increasingly getting closer to nature both in their own religion and their daily life activities. While another opinion suggests that the Baduy people came from the northern Banten areas and fled to hills and mountains in the southern part of the region which now became their domain

¹ Falatehan is a Moslem priest, who married with the princess of Demak Kingdom, later he used Demak power to invade Pajajaran Kingdom.

because of the spreading of Islam in this region and as well as in other regions of Indonesia during the 14th - 16th century.

Unlike other ethnic groups, the Baduy were respected and consulted by the Javanese Sultans of East Java in olden times and are now by the regimes of Indonesia, such as Suharto (1966-1998) and Megawati Sukarno Putri (2000-2004). At the beginning, Suharto threatened to do away with the Baduy way of life entirely, the government both reduced Baduy land and set up schools for the Baduy children. The Baduy sent their representatives to Suharto, who was known for his interest in Javanese mysticism. Suharto then interceded, and even gave the Baduy 500 poles to mark their boundaries as their own territory.

The inner Baduy domain consists of more than 250 families, who live in the three villages of Cibeo, Cikartawarna, and Cikeusik. These are "*Tanah Larangan*" (Forbidden/Sacred Land) where no stranger is permitted to spend a night. They are probably the purest Baduy stock. The inner Baduy follow the rigid *Buyut* (elderly) taboo system very strictly, and thus they have made very few contacts with the outside world as they are considered as "People of the sacred inner circle". The inner Baduy are the only one of these two Baduy groups that has the *Puun*, the spiritual and traditional leader of the Baduy community.

In the heart of the Baduy area, enclosed by dense forest, lays a megalithic sanctuary, *Sasaka Domas*, or stones (R. Cecep 2000). No one is allowed to come near it, except the *Puun* (spiritual leaders who inherit leadership through the patrilineal system) and a few Baduy members who are given permission and allowed by the *Puun*. Based on a system of taboos, the Baduy religion believes in spiritual matters. They believe spirits inhabit the rocks, trees, streams, and other inanimate objects. The *Puun* is not allowed to leave the territory or to pass the night outside their village or to communicate in general with outsiders. Their code of life, handed down through the centuries, is strict and well articulated. "*The mountains may not be destroyed, the valleys may not be damaged ... what is long may not be cut short, what is short may not be lengthened...the ancestral injunction may not be changed.*" (Author's translation)

There are two known governing systems in Baduy society, which are the national political administration system and the traditional system (*adat*). In the national political administration system, Baduy people are regarded as citizen of the Kanekes village of Leuwidamar sub-district, Lebak regency in Banten province, and just like other regions in Indonesia, every village consists of several “*Kampung*” (hamlet). The head of Kanekes village is called “*Jaro Pamarentah*”, just like any other head of village in Indonesia; they are subordinate from the sub-district. On “*adat*” (traditional) matters, Baduy people are sub-ordinate to Puun as the head of traditional government. Unlike elected heads of village in other areas, in the Baduy community “Puun” from three inner Baduy villages choose the head of the kanekes village. Then the three Puun, through the current head of the village (*Jaro Pamarentah*) will propose to the head of the regency via the head of the sub-district, to announce the selection of the new *Jaro Pamarentah* from their own member as the head of their village.

From the traditional “governing system”, Baduy people can be seen as an ethnic group who live in a territorial unit, which is called “*Kapuunan*” (religion political administration) since Puun are the highest leaders in their society. The Puun in the Baduy area from three inner villages act as “*tritunggal*” (tri-unity), because besides ruling in each territory, they also hold and rule Baduy society together. Even though the Puun(s) from their inner villages enforce and rule the Baduy communities together, each of them also have their own unique tasks regarding the Baduy community.

Inner Baduy people are not permitted to wear any modern clothes, but only the white and simple cloth that they weave themselves. They cannot cultivate cash crops, use fertilizer and eat any four-legged domesticated animals. They also can not domesticate any livestock besides chickens or use medicine besides their own herbal preparations. However, animal meats are eaten in some of the outer villages, where dogs are trained for hunting. The Baduy also have a formidable reputation for their knowledge on herbal and traditional medicine. Their herbal preparations are popular among country and city residents.

Most Baduy people are farmers, but they also make handicrafts, palm sugar, and textile some of which are sold to market or to the visitors who come to their villages. A few outer Baduy people are merchants. The Baduy people's agricultural practices are limited to huma ladang or shifting cultivation. This relies on the natural fertility of newly cleared ground that is seldom productive for more than two seasons. Irrigation is forbidden because it interferes with river.

Outsiders who are not acquainted with Baduy people are not allowed to enter the inner domain, which is inhabited only by the inner Baduy people, who dress mostly in white. When one of the Baduy people has broken the rules, that person will be excluded from the inner or outer Baduy community and displaced to the outer area as outer Baduy or expelled from the community domain and may not return to become inner Baduy or outer Baduy.

From what is discussed above, we can consider the Baduy community as a "closed and open" community. The "closed and open" strategy used by the Baduy is obviously seen in the structure of their community, which is divided into two groups; the inner and the outer Baduy. The inner Baduy limit their interaction with the outside world as a means to protect their purity and maintain their identity hence they are regarded as the "sacred" people, allowing the outer Baduy to be in the open community, which they can interact with outsiders. This strategy was employed by the Baduy people in order to maintain the genuineness of Baduy tradition in the face of the degradation caused by state development and interactions with outsiders. From the historical perspectives we can consider this as a way to protect their community from the spreading of Islamic religion in Banten province (Reid 1993, Suyono 2003).

The Baduy people express their ethnic marker as Baduy in their daily life activities, such as when working in the *Ladang* (dry farming field), or even when they go out from their place to the city. The inner Baduy will walk barefoot and wear white clothes, (as usual, no matter how long and how far they are going). The outer Baduy are less strict on customary rules, so they can use available public transport. The Baduy people will wear their marker in the ritual or traditional practices, which requires them to show their characters as Baduy.

In April or May, the Baduy community is closed to outsiders, as during this time they commemorate certain ceremonies, such as *Kawalu* the fasting day and *Seba*, the offering/tribute of part of their agricultural products to the Head of the Province, the head of Regent, and the head sub-district. During *Seba* ceremony, the Puun of Baduy sends out a group of representatives of inner Baduy and outer Baduy to act as the community's spokesmen. While performing this ceremony, the inner Baduy use their traditional white clothes and headdress while the outer Baduy use black color as their mark.

In 1992 the local government of Lebak Regency established the Baduy domain as a tourism destination and in 2001, after the decentralization policy which divided West Java province into two provinces, West Java and Banten provinces. Then the Banten government through the regency office allocated the land for the Baduy community by the Regulation No.32/2001, Agustus 2001, which stated that the area that belonged to the Baduy consisted of 5,200 hectares of land, which lay in this sub-district, Banten Province.

As a consequence of this policy, the regency authorities opened the Baduy territory and the Baduy community for eco-tourism use. This was an "effort" from the state to conserve the Baduy community, since tourists are interested in authenticity of local culture and local items such as handicrafts, textiles, etc. This has had influence on some of the Baduy people to sell and use more modern goods and has made some of them more cash-oriented.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND JUSTIFICATION

From the background above, we can see that marginalization in Indonesia by the state occurs when the state fails to involve ethnic communities as well as minority groups and sees them as an obstacle for the development process. While the Baduy ethnic group performs their own traditional practices, the state through its development policies forces them to become marginalized. The Baduy were perceived as backward, poor, and uneducated. However, even though the Baduy are in a marginalized position, they are able to maintain a good relationship with the

government through tribute ceremony and obtain recognition both from the state and majority people as well. This can be seen as the way the Baduy negotiate the state development policy and protect their communities from further conflicts.

On the other hand, the Baduy can use the production and trade of their items as a “weapon of the weak” to negotiate and gain more recognition from the state and other actors as well, to maintain and to let them practice their way of living. So on one hand, the state development policies are marginalize and exploit the Baduy, but on the other hand the Baduy community can maintain to carry on with their traditional way of life. What I have seen during my research study in this site is that the Baduy people have also limited themselves to integrate with development or modernization through their practices and beliefs as the justification. The Baduy people maintain their identity as Baduy in their everyday lives; however since they employ as open and closed community strategy and divided their group into two major groups there are some differences and acceptance, such as when outer Baduy sometimes do not use their traditional clothes in daily life and are more adaptable to uses of the modern goods. Furthermore, the Baduy will employ their identity in the ritual or traditional practices, which require them to shows their Baduy characters.

What I propose is that marginalization does not always appear from the center as state but also from the center as community, where a village community of an ethnic minority group can be considered as a mini nation that can create and re-create meaning of their cultures and traditions of acquiring power. As Breman (1997) states “the village can be a mini republic, an age-old corporation with its own institutional framework, and a considerable degree of self-sufficiency”. Thus, marginalization /marginality is not always a result of development. It is creatively invented to maintain local culture and practices allowing them to deal with exclusionary practices of state development policy. This can be seen as a strategy employed by local people in response to the development process. Therefore, in this case I would like to elaborate on how the Baduy community through their traditional and rituals practices is able to negotiate the state development policies and still maintain their Baduy-ness, culture and traditions.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

From the background above I will investigate and seek answers to the following questions:

1. What policy is being used by the state in order to “develop” the Baduy community and their surrounding areas?
2. What is the consideration from government/state toward Baduy people in establishing the policy to conserve and recognize Baduy by setting up eco-tourism in Baduy areas?
3. How did the Baduy construct their identities that link them with their place of living? And what is the ideology of being Baduy?
4. How did the Baduy people perceive and situate the development policies implemented toward them by the state? And how did the Baduy people negotiate the current conditions through their cultural practices?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Based on the background, information from the field site and questions above, the objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To investigate the state development program and the way it has marginalized the Baduy people (both inner and outer Baduy).
2. To investigate the state/government motivation in perceiving the Baduy people and how the policy being implemented in the area of Baduy people.
3. To understand the construction of identity of Baduy people that links to their land as well as to understand the principles of local livelihood.
4. To study how Baduy people negotiate, accommodate and resist the development imposed from outside, and to understand the meaning of practices of Baduy people.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Upon conducting this research I would like to use a qualitative approach in order to gain the data that are necessary to explain the current condition and situation of the Baduy group. Qualitative approach will help in explaining the socio-cultural condition of Baduy people. This research methodology part is divided into three main parts, site selection, data gathering and data analysis.

1.5.1 SITE SELECTION

I decided to choose the Baduy community in Kanekes village as my study site. The study is conducted in three different locations, Kampung Kaduketug, Kampung Gajeboh, and Kampung Cibeo (inner Baduy), which is part of the Kanekes village, Banten Province Indonesia, where Baduy people have settled and lived for years. The area of Baduy settlement is located around 300 km southwest of the capital city Jakarta. This province is relatively new, established in year 2000 after the decentralization process and it was previously under West Java Provincial territory.

The Baduy villages can be reached only by walking and the nearest sub-terminal is about 200 meters away. No vehicles are allowed in the Baduy territory since it is considered to be taboo and a breach of their customary rules, so there is no road/path for vehicles inside their territory. The geographic condition of this area is mountainous and surrounded by hills with an interior landscape of primary and secondary forest. When I conducted the research I went back and forth to the inner Baduy area from the outer Baduy area, the reason is because the customary rule does not allow outsiders to stay more than three days in the inner domain of Baduy people.

The reason I chose this site is based on two main considerations. First, the Baduy community is considered as an ethnic group who still strongly maintain their traditional culture and practices. The village of the Baduy community is located in a remote area and surrounded by mountains and hills and is rich with natural resources and bio-diversity. This can be an important illustration to describe the way ethnic minorities negotiate marginalization and development that occurs in their areas, whether it is from the state or from the majority people.

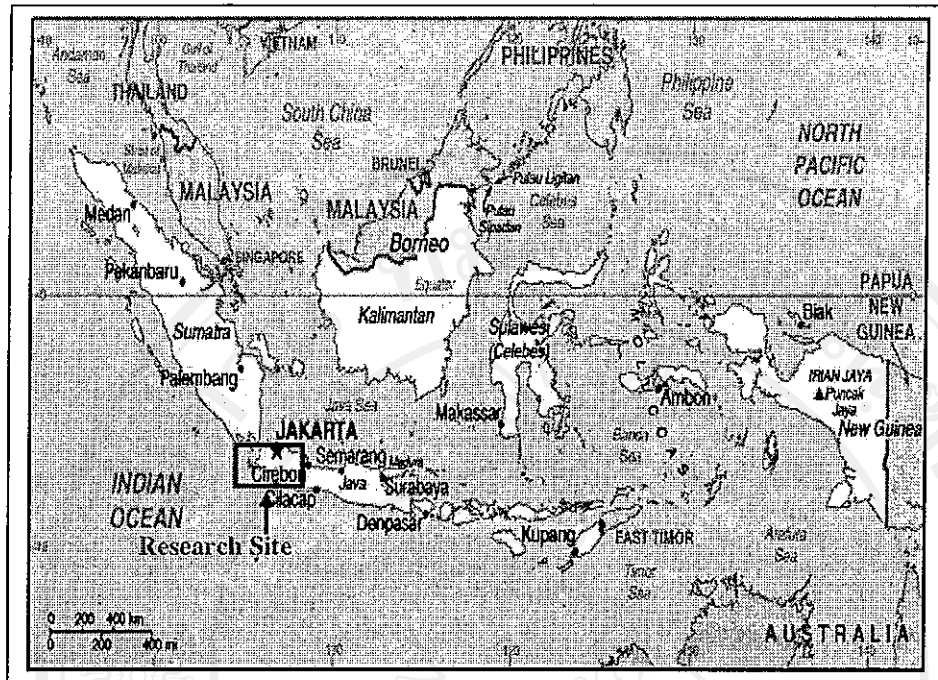


Figure 1.1 Map of Indonesia

Scale. 1: 20.000.000

Another point that I take into consideration is that the local government just established the policy regarding the Baduy community. I see this as a discourse, in which one part the local government wants to include them in the development process so the Baduy can be more advanced, but in the other part, the local government sets policy in conserving the Baduy community and gives them rights to maintain a traditional way of live. Additionally, the local government also sets policy of eco-tourism, where the areas of the Baduy group become the destination for the tourist, in order to increase the local government income.

Kampung Kaduketug is the entry point for visitors to the Baduy domain. In this Kampung, Jaro Pamarentah runs his office for governmental matters. During my stay here I met with visitors with different purposes. Individual visitors usually came during week days, while group visitors came on the weekend. Moreover, during my stay in this village, I was able to conduct interviews both with key informants like Jaro and have focus groups with some villagers who often gather at Jaro's house to discuss the current situation in the surrounding areas as well as the situation of the Baduy community.

Figure 1.2 Study area

other nearby hamlets and is also located on the Ciujung river bank. In this Kampung, many of the Baduy people open shop houses to generate additional income. Also by staying in this village I learned the difference from the other villages that are rarely visited by tourists/visitors.

The Cibeo village is located in the inner domain of Baduy territory, and one of the Puun also resides here. During my stay in Cibeo, I had only one chance to meet him in his farm hut. Most of the visitors see him for charm luck or to ask for his blessing and advice as well. Most of the local tourists who come individually to this village will try to meet with the Puun or the others elder who they think can help them solve their problems or guide them to collect charm luck.

1.5.2 RESEARCH METHODS

The concern of ethnic minorities is very complex and dynamic. For this study I have used the ethnography method, which includes documentary research, key information interview, focus group interview and participant observation in order to gain empirical data and to understand the local livelihood of the Baduy people as well as the real situation of marginalization and development that has happened at the study site.

1.5.2.1 ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD

Ethnographic fieldwork includes elements of other types of research such as contextual inquiry, observational research and participant observation. Contextual inquiry is a form of ethnography that is specifically focused on asking a question. It is contextual in the sense that asking a question takes place naturally. Ethnography is more of an approach than a defined research method. The overall term and techniques include observation, interview and documentation of what people do in their everyday lives. Therefore, in order to gain an in-depth and clear understanding of Baduy people's history, their way of life, culture, and practices of negotiating the marginalization, and the construction and re-construction of identity as well as the notion of place, I use the ethnography method.

Based on this ethnographic principle, I employed the following methods in my data collection.

1.5.2.2 DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

I used this method for collecting secondary data from official documents on development and state policies, previous research reports, official statistics, land use and forest classification, etc. These data were collected at local administrative offices. This method provides basic socio-economic conditions and state development policy practices in this area. In addition, I used the existing ethnographies about the Baduy people as well as literature pertaining to development in Indonesia, especially Java from the Indonesian scholars. Mainly the documents and literature that I obtained are from the Jaro office (Kanekes village office).

1.5.2.3 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

This method is used for gaining in-depth primary data from persons who are knowledgeable about the Baduy culture, particularly their local history, customary practices and ritual ceremonies, social relationships, conflicts and relationship with the outside world. Both formal and informal discussions are used to get insight from the key informants on the particular topics related to the study. Some of the selected key informants are communal leaders (Puun) and village elders, village leaders (Jaro Pamarentah), head of work group (Jaro Tanggungan), and male elders.

As I stay to conduct my study, I often went back and forth to the inner domain and stopped by several villages to meet with some elders in order to interview them. I met most of the elders, whether during my stay in Baduy villages or during the ceremonies that they conducted and I was allowed to join them, particularly the tribute ceremony, where most of the elders such as Tanggungan, Tangkesan (seer) and also, Jaro Tangtu, Jaro Pamarentah attended. Another elder is Jaro Dangka whom I met unintentionally when I was taking a rest in his hut on the way to the Gajeboh village.

1.5.2.4 FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

Focus group interview involves a group discussion with a selected member of Baduy communities, so as to obtain their views and experiences of a topic (Gibbs, 2004). Focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several

perspectives about the same topic. The benefits of focus group research includes gaining insights on people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which others influence individuals in a group situation. Moreover focus groups can help to explore or generate hypotheses (Powell & Single 1996) and develop questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guidelines (Hoppe et al 1995; Lankshear 1993).

The main purpose of focus grouping in this research is to draw upon Baduy people's attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way in which it would not be feasible using other methods. This was used to compliment the key informant interview. Furthermore, focus groups of this method include the village elders, some social groups, such as the task force group, staff of non-government organizations, etc. These interviews assisted this research in gaining a historical perspective regarding forest management activities, subsistent agricultural production, internal social structure, and customary practices.

During my stay in Kaduketug villages, I often came into meetings with the Baduy people. Since they often discuss the current situation and condition of their community in Jaro's house, I was able to ask questions and interview them for my study purposes, regarding their economy, culture, practices and views on state development projects and policy practices in the are surrounding their domain.

1.5.2.5 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

I also employed participant observation in order to understand the everyday practices of Baduy people, practice of customs such as shifting farming, forest utilization and conservation and other Baduy ceremonies. This method helped in cross-checking data which were collected through key informant and focus group interviews and also the discussions with Baduy people and government officials.

During my stay in Baduy community villages, I frequently went along with my informants as well as other Baduy people that I knew, to their farms and gardens. This was in order to have discussions with them as well as to observe them in order to

get detailed information regarding the Baduy community and their practices in facing the development situation.

1.5.3 DATA ANALYSIS

After collecting data from the research study, I classified the data by reading my fieldwork notes, therefore I was able to contextualize the information that I obtained through figures, tables and context of the thesis. Based on these data classifications, I could read and reflect on the concepts that I use for this study, which were built based on the literature review. Other information and data that are not relevant to this study were not included.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis consists of seven chapters. It starts from the wider context then narrows down to the more specific situation and conditions of the Baduy community livelihood, traditional practices and the way they negotiate development and marginalization from the state. Then the thesis concludes by raising the major findings from the study and its significance. Each chapter will have contents as follows:

In this first Chapter, I presented the introduction of the study, which includes the research background, research questions and objectives, research methodology and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter II presents the literature review and conceptual framework of the study. This chapter consists of four parts. In the first one, I review the major theories used in the study of marginalization under the context of development. For the second one I review the theories that have been used in the study of space, where I took social space as the main context in my study. The third one is the review on the theories of practices, where everyday practices can be used to describe the current situation of local livelihood in my study site. The last part proposes the contextual framework which is based on the literature review and the situation in the study site.

In chapter III, I present the general information regarding the Indonesian state and how the marginalization situation in Indonesia as well as my study site emerged in order to give clear information on the process of development and marginalization of the ethnic community. This chapter is divided into four main parts:

The first part describes the historical and development condition of Indonesia and my study site, and how the outsiders such as scholars perceived the archipelago of Indonesia. The second part deals with the development strategies after the nation state independence, where in some parts they marginalized the ethnic minority as the stake holder of the nation. The third part is the marginalization in the Indonesian development process and in the last part I will elaborate the emerging of eco-tourism in Indonesia.

In Chapter IV I will start to focus on the Baduy community. This chapter is divided into four parts. In the first part of this chapter, I present the historical view regarding the Baduy community. The second part elaborates who the Baduy people/community are. The third part will deal with the governance system in the Baduy community. The last part of this chapter will discuss demography and socio-economic conditions of the Baduy community.

In Chapter V, I will explain the ethno-space and the (re)-construction of Baduy identity. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part elaborates on land use and farm classification in the Baduy community. The second part will discuss contestation of the land from tourism that is introduced by the state. The last part will deal with the reconstruction of Baduy community.

Chapter VI will elaborate on the practices of the Baduy community in negotiating the development and marginalization that occurs in their community. This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I will talk about how the Baduy people perform their shifting farming practice. In the second part I will discuss the traditional and religious practices of the Baduy community. The third part will discuss the changes and livelihood adaptations of the Baduy community.

In Chapter VII, I will offer the conclusions, where it represents my research findings. The discussions of the findings are related to the other research that has been done in this field. The significance of the study will add the thought to the theories and knowledge of similar issues. Another theoretical contribution will be on the emerging conceptual literature from this study.

In the context of Indonesia, perhaps this study can be used to contribute in helping the policy makers to look deeper into understanding the local situation and livelihood of the people that will be affected by the policy, so at the end, their policy will not overlap with another policy that has been issued on a similar topic. Moreover in the current situation of development, there are many ethnic minorities still under marginalization, which need support from the government as the policy makers.