

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT AND MARGINALIZATION PROCESS IN INDONESIA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss the general history of Indonesia beginning with the European colonial administration in the archipelago and continuing to the establishment of the Indonesian nation state and then to the development of Indonesia. The arrival of European merchants in the region was initiated from the “global trade” of spices, hence the Southeast Asia region is rich with its forest products especially spices, herbs and timber which is valuable for the European countries. Their first arrival was for trade, however, Europeans such as the Portuguese and the Dutch considered it would be better for their economy if they could monopolize the trade from the region, which in turn took them to colonizing the region and controlling it from local kingdoms.

The colonial era administration marginalized the local people by taking part in a bigger share of trade and administrative matters. After the establishment of the Indonesian state, the local people, particularly non Javanese people and ethnic minorities, still suffered from marginalization by the state technology of power and the culture of Javanese people, especially from those who were in control and close to the bureaucratic leader, since the negative labeling was still “attached” to the ethnic communities and minority groups. The ethnic communities were ignored and not included in the process of development. They became the victims from the state development policy such when the state opened up new industrial or mining areas, ethnic communities were forced to resettle in new places designed by the state. However, in recent times, the ethnic minority has gained some attention since tourism has become one of the major sectors to boost the national income. However, the

ethnic minorities are still in the position of objects rather than the actors of development.

3.2 HISTORICAL VIEW ON THE INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN THE COLONIAL TIME

Before Indonesia emerged as an independent nation in 1945 the history of the country is full of conflicts between kingdoms, which came and went. On Java Island itself more than 50 kingdoms ruled their own territories and often interlinked to other more powerful kingdoms as the protectors/guardians. Tributes were sent by lesser kingdoms to show their loyalty to guardian kingdoms as observed by Harrison (1968) and Wolters (1999). However, if the amount of tributes were considered too much for the smaller kingdoms, they would make contact with rivals of the protector to help them to escape from the ruling kingdoms. Thus, it led to war between them and sometimes including other kingdoms under the same protectors that were in the similar conditions. Moreover, conflict among kingdoms also emerged on disputes of resource control, trade routes and manpower, until the colonial administration era came.

The archipelago (Indonesia) is rich with natural resources such as spices and forest products. The main spices from the region were nutmeg, pepper, and clove. Thus, it attracted international merchants from all over the world, like India, Persia, and China as well as European countries such as Portugal, Britain and Holland, as well as Japan. Later on, some of them took over the control from the local kingdoms in the region in order to control the trade of valuable items which the ruling administration benefited from as illustrated by Harrison (1968).

The first European colonial administration was the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch and British, and finally the Japanese who ruled the regions during the 2nd World War. The Portuguese armada arrived in the archipelago around the 15th century, after a successful journey by Vasco da Gama to the southern part of Africa and India in 1497. The Portuguese trade armada established their headquarters at India, and then they began their journey to Southeast Asia in 1511 to find the sources

of the valuable goods for the European market which had been dominated by the Indian and Persian merchants. The Portuguese armada was led by Albuquerque and arrived in *Malacca* the capital of Sriwijaya/Srivijaya Kingdom (Harrison 1968). Long disputes ensued between the Portuguese and the Sriwijaya sultan, who was supported by merchants from Gujarat, Persia, and India as well as from China who were afraid of losing trade domination in the region. However, the Malacca kingdom fell under the Portuguese administration not long after their arrival in Malacca. In the same year, the Portuguese armadas set out to reach the Spice Islands of Mollucas (Amboin) and after convincing the local kingdom in Mollucas and in Ternate which were part of the Celebes mainland, the Portuguese administration started monopolizing the trade of spices to European markets via Malacca as their main port in the region. The information on location of spices shows they were spread at the port of Lisbon in Portugal, where merchants from European countries like Holland, England, and Spain exchanged their valuable goods as well as valuable information.

The first arrival of the Dutch merchants was in the port of Bantam (Banten) where they were welcomed by the local authority as well as by the Portuguese merchants. According to Harrison (1968) the Dutch merchants came to the archipelago in the late 15th century (1595). Their trade was mainly in the eastern part of the archipelago such as Seram Island and Amboin Island and was made up of valuable goods such as clove, nutmeg, pepper and mace including forest products with local merchants. However, the Dutch came to the region for war as well as trade, and soon enough they built up systems for local alliances by offering protection and toleration of Islam in return for trading concessions and co-operation against the Portuguese (Harrison 1968). The Dutch trade armada was supported by the United East India Company known as *Verenigde Oostindische Companie* (VOC).

Later on, after the Dutch merchants succeeded in persuading local authorities in several regions like Banten, Amboin and Ternate to form alliances, they started to kick out the Portuguese administration from the region and established their trade monopoly. However, the Dutch trading company considered it was much better for their economic benefits if they colonized the region. The Dutch colonial

administration was the longest one that controlled the archipelago. After several years of trade and settlement in the Mollucas region, the VOC moved up their base to Java Island, first in the Banten area where they persuaded the Sultan to sign a treaty allowing the VOC to do trade and they became the major business company in the region. After several years of settling in Banten region, the VOC headquarters moved to Batavia. In Banten they had trade conflicts with the local residents and authority as well as with the British merchants who arrived in the Banten region in 1579 for the larger share of trade in that region (Suyono 2003).

During the Dutch era, the local people had to pay heavy tax and suffered under the rules of the colonial administration. The Dutch controlled the people, including trade and farming activities for the benefits of the Dutch Administration. People were forced to work harder than they used to, since the Dutch wanted to maximize their income from trade and man power. Those who refused were punished and cast from their own land. Moreover, the Dutch administration also controlled the use of the land from the people. The villagers had to grow cash crops the Dutch administration determined, because of the growing European market demands for the agricultural product from the region. Some crops like nutmeg, clove, and pepper were also introduced to the local people in Java and the Sumatran Islands.

Thus the villagers hardly could fill their basic needs. Even though the Dutch gave them compensation for planting the cash crops, it was not enough for them. Many fled to the upland areas and settled in hilly and rural regions. At those times, the colonial ruler only paid attention to production of spices and other marketable crops like teak wood, tea and coffee. The Dutch colonial administration built infrastructure facilities in order to transport the products from the urban areas to the ports in Batavia (Jakarta) and then shipped them to the destination seaport in Holland as well as to the other European countries such as England, besides doing trades in the port of Batavia with other merchants from Persia, India and China.

Furthermore, the Dutch administration also established plantations of crops in many regions of their Indonesia territory. Herb and spice plantations were located in the eastern part of Indonesia while sugar cane, tobacco, tea and teak plantations

were in Java. Later, rubber and pepper plantations were established on Sumatrans Island. Labor workers besides taken from the local region were also “imported” mainly from Java Island, since Java was abundant with working forces.

However, remote and rural areas in many regions in the archipelago, especially in Java, became the centers of resistance and rebellions against the colonial powers. People planned and resisted the Dutch administration with guerilla strategy by striking both the military and general supply convoys for the Dutch. For instance in the Kingdom of Yogyakarta between 1825 and 1830 the Dutch administration got strong resistance from the local people led by Diponegoro, a prince of the Yogyakarta Kingdom.

In the eastern region, *Maluku* (Ambon) resistance from local people was led by Thomas Matulesia also known as Pattimura in 1817. After several years of being attacked with guerilla tactics, the Dutch forces were weakened in several regions, including in Java. Moreover, the Second World War (WW II) brought the Japanese armed forces to the archipelago and forced the Dutch to hand over the territory to the Japanese administration.

The Japanese brought some changes in the political and social relationships among the local people in Indonesia. Local people were allowed to join the Japanese in the administration and the newly set up armed groups were able to maintain the resistance against the Dutch and British forces. However, in the following period (1942-1945), what the Japanese forces did became worse than the Dutch colonial power. *Romusha* (forced labor) was employed by the Japanese forces to build the infrastructure such as roads, railroads, and bunkers in order to defend the region during the war with the Allied Forces. However, the Japanese occupation in the region was not for long, and they surrendered to the Allies after two of their towns (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) were destroyed by the first nuclear bombs on August 12, 1945.

3.3 GENERAL VIEW ON INDONESIA DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AFTER COLONIAL TIME

After more than three centuries under the colonial power of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese administrations, Indonesians declared their national independence on August 17, 1945 several days after the Japanese forces surrendered to the Allied forces led by the United States. However, it took some time to build and establish a new nation. Hence Indonesia had to wage war against the Dutch who came along with the British forces to take over and regain their power in the newly established nation of Indonesia.

Indonesian independence was declared and led by Sukarno and Hatta, who became the first President and Vice President of Indonesia. During Sukarno's era (1945-1966) known later as Orde Lama (Old Order), the development plan was based on the socialist ideology. However, at the same time, Indonesia faced the dualistic economic system; the subsistence economy and market economy. Furthermore, after a couple of years in the subsistence economy system, the state economic condition worsened, and international aid had fallen into the hands of the bureaucratic leaders, both civilians and military officers. Thus the national economy during 1965-1966 suffered immensely after the financial crisis where the prices of basic goods increased sharply to 400 percent. Rice prices in the market fluctuated due to the lack of supplies, and there was wide-spread corruption and uncertain political conditions, due to contestation between the military and the communists.

In 1966 capitalizing on the 30th September 1965 coup, Suharto took power from Sukarno and changed Indonesia from the guided democracy and crushed the power of the Communist Party. People who supported the Communist Party or were connected to the previous power regime became political prisoners, and some took refuge in Russia, Germany and Holland. Under the new regime of Orde Baru from 1966-1998 (New Order or also known as ORBA), Indonesia's development plan followed Rostow's five stages of economic growth with the goals of high mass consumption at the end. During the ORBA period, the governments set the development process with time guidelines of the long-term development, middle-term

development and short-term development. The long-term period was known as the Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (PJP), the middle-term was known as Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Pelita) and the short-term was named the Pembangunan Tahunan (PT). The first long-term development plan was for 25 years and it was broken down into 5 phases, where each phase became a Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA), and the implementation of the plan was called Five Year Development (PELITA), divided into yearly programs.

The 1st PELITA (1969–1974), goal was to fulfill the basic needs and infrastructure by emphasizing agriculture as the leading sector. During that time, Indonesia lacked food supplies even though most of the Indonesian people were working in the agricultural sector. In this development phase, Indonesia started the foundation of its development strategies and began preparing for the next step of the programs by building infrastructure which would provide easy access for transporting goods and agricultural products from sub-urban regions to the city. It also happened vice versa where the prices of supplementary items such as clothes are relatively cheap and affordable for the people in the rural areas due to promotion of textile industries. However, to fill the basic needs for highly populated regions like Java, the government set up new areas to increase the agricultural production mainly on other big islands like Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), and Sulawesi where the population density was still low, however in these new places there was a lack of labor to run the new agricultural reforms.

Thus in the 2nd PELITA (1974 – 1979), the strategy was to speed up and increase the development in the other islands besides Java, Bali and Madura by implementing transmigration to support the development in other regions. Also due to the development in Java during the 1st phase some villages being demolished and flooded due to dam building to support the irrigation systems for the agricultural sector and to generate electrical power for the new industries. The government used military power to intimidate and force the people; hence people were afraid of being accused of rebellions, or being loyal to the communist party and not supporting the

government. Those who were vocal in resisting the government ideas and development plans often disappeared.

Thus, at that time, many rural families were displaced from their original places with the rewards of certain amounts of money each month, a decent amount of land, housing and basic needs supplies for certain times in the new region of transmigration. Furthermore, many families from Java were resettled in the other islands as was needed to open up new areas. Many strategic positions in the governmental offices throughout the country were held mostly by the Javanese people. This process is called “Javanization” by scholars studying Indonesia, (Peluso, 1992, Tania Li 1999, and Mulder 2005). Thus, the culture of Java has become dominant in Indonesian society, where other ethnic cultures were considered inferior both in, political, social and particularly in economic relationships among the state members. Moreover, most of the people who were closed to the central power would gain benefit from their special relationship, especially the Chinese community who also played an important role in the Indonesian economy.

In the 3rd phase of Five Year Development (3rd Pelita 1979 – 1984), the government focused on industry with intensive labor to support the export income. At that time, the global company started to take part in the industrialization of Indonesia. The multinational companies invested their capital to build factories and hired lots of labor taking advantages of cheap labor and raw materials from Indonesia while the government gained more income from tax and revenue from export to support the development project in multiple sectors such as education, infrastructures, and agriculture for the benefit of the nations.

At that time as the industrialization was developed and supported by the multinational companies, Indonesia experienced rapid economic growth and high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which was followed by high Gross National Income (GNI), due to the sharp increase of oil and gas prices in the international market. The income was doubled as the government has predicted in this phase, and this helped the government to speed up the industrialization process in Indonesia.

The 4th phase of Five Year Development (1984 – 1989) aimed at creating work opportunities and industry to absorb the unemployment and urbanization where lots of people, especially youth were more interested in working in the industrial sector as laborers rather than working in the agricultural sector like their parents and grandparents. At this stage, Indonesia could be seen as successful in implementing development. Thus, Indonesia gained more capital both from international investors and donors who were willing to invest in development in Indonesia as part of bilateral and international cooperation, where it put Indonesia as a development model for other underdeveloped countries especially in the region of Asia.

During this period, Indonesia was able to obtain food security, without importing rice from another country. Also President Suharto gave a speech to the UN General Assembly meeting in New York in 1989, addressing poverty, hunger alleviation programs and development and how Indonesia achieved its goals by working hard and following the blue print of development offered by the advanced countries. This became a good sample/case for developed countries to spread their “technology of development” to other underdeveloped nations.

In the 5th phase of Five Year Development (1989 – 1994), the goal of the development program was to focus on transportation, communication, and education sectors in order to sustain economic growth already achieved by the state from the previous development strategies. Indonesia had become a developing country and was ready to take off to the next stage of rapid development process as was predicted and prepared.

However, there was also a concern due to the environmental degradation caused by the rapid economic growth which was based on the generosity of nature. At this stage, many scholars realized that the economic growth that relied on natural resources would affect the progress of development itself. Environment had been sacrificed to fulfill human needs. Thus concern for natural and environmental sustainability had emerged more significantly than before.

The sixth phase of PELITA started in 1994, where the development process tended to give advantage to the investors and rich people, while corruption and collusion prevailed more than before among the government agencies and employees. Hence there were special relationships between the investors and government officials, the capitals from both foreign and local investments as well as international funds allocated for development being corrupted with less than 50 percent reaching the poor. The rest of the capital investments went to relatives or those people who were close to the central power in Indonesia. This has triggered disappointment and jealousy from the rest of the Indonesian populace both to the state officials and to the Chinese ethnic groups who benefited from economic growth.

In 1997 people's dissatisfaction with the government performance finally reached its peak. Mass demonstrations led by scholars, university students and laborers took place frequently in Jakarta and major cities. Investors began to look for safer countries in the region or held up their investment in their own country. Moreover, currencies exchange, prices of basic needs and other necessary rose highly and unpredictability added to the political uncertainty and national insecurity. In turn, these led to frequent raids and violence committed against ethnic minorities, especially in the capital city and big cities. Students and mass rallies demanding political reform occurred every day and finally took over the parliament house. Thousands of people in different cities gathered and forced the president to step down. Finally in 1998, Suharto's 32 years of political domination was over and Vice President B.J. Habibie replaced him.

Under B.J Habibie's leadership (1998-2000), Indonesia's development plan was not certain. This is because too many political parties were involved so the focus of development often changed. Many policies were often not suited with the current situation and clashed with one another, which in turn pushed B.J. Habibie to hasten the election process for the new government. Under the new presidency of Abdul Rachman Wahid (2000-2001), also known as Gus Dur, both development and political conditions in Indonesia were not improved. Political conflict due to uncertain commitment and statements from the government led to the impeachment of the Gus

Dur who was replaced by the vice president Megawati Soekarno Putri, the Daughter of the first Indonesian president.

Under Megawati's leadership (2001-2004), the situation of security, economy and social life was lifted up, even though the new government could not solve all of the problems that emerged from the 1997 reformation. The main problem of her government was national disunity. Social problems among ethnic groups became much more intensified. Moreover, under the new system, the government leaders could come from various levels since they were elected directly by the people. While on the one hand it was good that democracy could be implemented; on the other hand, the people who were elected to sit in the parliament or those who were elected for strategic positions in the government such as city major, head of Regency and governors did not have sufficient education or knowledge to be the leaders. Many got the positions because of vote-buying even before the elections were held. In the Megawati era, corruption was also high and not only individually but also collectively. A large portion of national assets was sold to the international companies at a cheap price with reasons that it was a ruin to keep them.

In 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who was a former member of the Megawati cabinet, replaced Megawati. He is the first president who is elected directly by the people through the new election process. Up until now Indonesia still relies on capital from economic growth that is based on trade of natural resources such as oil and gas, timber and other resources from mining industries, resulting in further natural and environmental degradation. The latest environmental issue is smoke and haze that is disturbing neighboring countries from forest encroachment by multinational corporations and illegal loggers who in turn blame the farmers and local people for doing swidden farming. Mudslides and flooding in East Java where mining companies work has caused thousands of people to loss their homes and jobs, and these environmental problems have not been solved yet.

However, what is consistent during this new governmental era is a focus on education and environmental concerns. The government has given more serious attention to these two sectors. Education in government schools, especially from

primary school through the senior high school are now free of charge and have more educational materials than before. By this method, the government has invested the capital for the benefits of the nations, where the consideration is that the future generation will have the ability and knowledge to maintain development which is suitable with the nation's needs as well as to develop new technologies without depending on the aid and help from outside, especially from the donors who act like doctors, but in reality are extracting the benefits.

Furthermore, during this period (2004-2006) many illegal loggers were arrested and investigated for environmental damage as well as for tax evasion. Multinational companies' contracts on mining and natural resources are being rescheduled or re-evaluated in order to minimize the negative impact on environment and local people livelihoods. Local people are the victims from the presence of multinational companies like what has occurred in Papua where the mining companies pressure the government to relocate the local people and give the land for the mining concessions to multinational companies.

3.4 MARGINALIZATION ON DEVELOPMENT

Development and globalization spread well all over the world with unclear definitions. Globalization itself can be seen as a new phenomena of late capitalism that connects with development process. Some scholars define globalization as a process of interconnected relations of peoples in the world with at least three attractions; futurism, conflations and circulation. According to Anna Tsing (2002), development and globalization are inevitable for everyone, somehow and people are connected to development and the globalization process whether introduced by government, international agencies or by people around them. It makes people negotiate their interactions with development and globalization, with different acts and strategies that will benefit them more. Everyday life and traditional practice can be seen as negotiation for some people (especially for those who have been marginalized and excluded), as their strategies to gain recognition and access to development and globalization.

In Indonesia, the condition of development is not much different from the rest of developing countries that adapt the strategies and blueprints from the west on catching up with the development that is based on industrialization. Economic growth is being touted as the important goal, thus industrialization based on utilization of natural resources is inevitable for the nation to gain more income and capital to fund the development process, which causes environmental degradation. Moreover, the development process also marginalizes many of the local people in different ways especially by power of the state technology where the government sets policy such as opening up new locations which favor industries and mining companies both from local and international investors and cast aside the local people in decision making both at the local level or national level of the development policies set for their areas which are labeled or perceive local people/community as a barrier to the development process.

As in the case of Indonesia, marginalization from development has impacted ethnic minority groups and local people mainly in the social, cultural and political relationship among them, where tradition of one group is superior to the others, in this case the Javanese traditions. As Mulder (2005) states “What is being created is a Javanese-Indonesian culture that, in certain of its aspects is, heavily Javanized”. However, in Java itself, many local people are sacrificed for the “common benefits” from development projects. Negative labeling and exclusion of the ethnic minorities in Java, especially those who are living in the remote areas often takes place particularly in social relationships of daily life, with negative labeling such as uneducated, traditional, poor or unproductive, since most of the local community livelihood is based on a subsistence economic system, where they consume what they produced or gather non timber and timber forest products from the surrounding areas where they live.

Marginalization can be seen as the social suffering from state and global power domination, which is afflicting those whose social existence has been excluded, discounted, dehumanized and displaced (like ethnic communities and low social classes). The social construction of marginalization involves a process through

which particular spaces (both perceived and physical) become subject to descriptions which are simplified, stereotyped and contrastive, and also rated according to the criteria defined at the “center” of development.

Many scholars have mentioned that marginalization is also a means to control people to be in order/ruled by the central government. Thus, developments through the governmental projects have also marginalized some of their own members in order to justify the action of the government in the name of development and modernization. Furthermore, marginalization can appear in many forms, whether culture, economy, language or traditions from which one group is excluded from taking its part in the whole picture of development program that has been set up from the center of the power and by the majority people.

Marginalization also emerges in different ways such as unequal development: access to information, education, resources and many more where the victims of the marginalization are the members/stakeholders of the Indonesian nation. Development in Java is more rapid than in other regions and education in Java is more advanced than in the rest of Indonesia. Thus it is not surprising that there are still tribal wars in Papua, ethnic conflicts in Borneo between the local people of Dayak and the new comers like the Maduran and the Javanese. The culture of Javanization is still deeply manipulating the social relationship in Indonesia.

Moreover, Indonesian national ideology has pushed and placed ethnic minorities in the inferior part of a national diagram on social and political relations. Thus social relations among people in one country are influenced by cultures, tradition and in some cases, by the political power. For Indonesia Tsing (1993) mentioned “Javanese culture has been considered and put in a higher social rank than others Indonesian fellows. This action has led to unequal social and political relations between the Javanese people and others who live in outer islands, especially those who are far away from Jakarta as the center state”.

As an impact of the development process, economic indicators such as minimum income, have marginalized those who have less income than required by

the indicators. Especially people who live in the rural and uplands area, such as in this case the Baduy community where they have been subjected to be poor and backward since they earn less than the minimum economic income requirement and because they use the traditional ways of agricultural and depend on subsistence living. Moreover, their tradition that still strongly holds onto the rigid taboo and ancestral conjunctions puts them in the marginalized situation. Regarding education, the Baduy community does not allow their members to participate in formal schooling, while the government builds the basic schools in the area nearby Baduy territory.

At the same time, as the development process in Indonesia expands rapidly, the numbers of new industries, such as mining, processing and manufacturing industries also grow significantly following the development strategy. Many youth and people who work formerly in the agricultural sector are attracted and shifted to work in the industrial sector. They abandon their cultures and traditional system of working in the agricultural sector. This condition is exactly what the government wants to boost the industrial sector, but still rely on the input from the “new” agricultural sector as the basis to strengthen the industrialization in Indonesia.

In the Baduy area (Kanekes Village), marginalization can be seen both from state policies and practices of development and how the state perceived them as a backward and traditional society. Development policies in this area before decentralization of state power from the central government to the local provincial and district government, was always set by the National Development Planning Bureau (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/BAPENAS) through their regional offices (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah/BAPPEDA). The state did not consider the ideas from Baduy people when the set policy such as tourism policy in the Baduy territory to increase the district income. Thus, the Baduy community has become a victim of state development policy where they must give contributions from tourist retributions. After the decentralization took place, the state still perceived the Baduy community and their areas as objects of the development. The state planned to open and build roads and run electrical lines through the areas, however, since the political condition has changed after the reformation, state ideas on this matter can not

be implemented right away since people have more power to show and raise their voices against government. State marginalization is not stopped at this stage, and through a policy of nine (9) years of education, the state tries to pursue the Baduy community and elders to allow their children to gain formal education where the state has built basic/primary school in the border of Kanekes Village. Since the state still considers and perceives the Baduy community as an uneducated and backward society, the Baduy still reject these educational reforms (Look at Chapter VI on Baduy Seba ceremony).

3.5 BADUY LIVELIHOOD“ADAPTATION” TO DEVELOPMENT

At the time the government opened up a new plantation area to support development projects to increase the supplies for industrial sector by bringing in the labor force from the rural, urban and also from the dense area by what the Indonesian termed *transmigrasi* project, which is identical to resettlement. Resettlement of the minority groups to new areas has brought problems for the people who are displaced from their original place. The Baduy people also experienced this kind of marginalization from the state, where the government set a new area for the Baduy resettlement in the Gunung Tunggal in early 1990 to open up new cash crop plantations, mostly rubber, coffee and cloves, which all required labor forces to run.

Forcing the community to move by threatening them with eviction, the Baduy community elders then allowed some of their members (outer Baduy people) to follow and join the government program on resettlement to Gunung Tunggal areas, which are relatively close to their domain, and considered as part of their domain in the past. The government supported those who participated in the resettlement program by giving them land, a new variety of paddy rice to grow, fertilizers and other necessary tools and equipment for farming including daily basic needs as an addition to salary for some period of time.

Some Baduy people who settled there have adapted to wet rice and cash crop cultivation. The government also built infrastructure to open access to the area. Markets and basic schools were also constructed by the government to support the

development programs, which aimed to upgrade the traditional society so that they could adapt to the new situation of market economy besides strengthening the agricultural and industrial sectors.

However, after a couple of years in the resettlement area, some of them went back to their village and re-settled again in their original villages or moved to another village which was not too dense. The Baduy who came back from the resettlement area said that it was difficult to be in the new place and they were afraid of breaking the rules of their ancestors and committing sins by working on the irrigated land, using chemical fertilizer and other matters that they consider taboo. While some others stay in the new settlement area because they are already well-adapted to the new area so they leave their identity as Baduy.

Furthermore, those who returned to the Baduy domain actually do not entirely abandon their possessions from the government programs. Due to the state regulations and policy on land of resettlement the Baduy people who are involved in the resettlement project can own the land. Thus, after several years some Baduy people using that particular land which was given to them by the state with land use rights changed to permanent entitlement or certificate, and consequently that particular land can be sold to another person or used as they wish. Moreover, the customary rules of the Baduy do not forbid the outer Baduy from working or owning land or farming out of their domain. Thus, this can be seen as a strategy to deal with the state policy regarding the resettlement program for the Baduy community. This also can be seen as a strategy to protect their border and forest areas from encroachment by their neighboring villagers, since the area of resettlement is located in the border or Baduy domain.

The farming knowledge on cash crops that they learned from the resettlement program has enriched their knowledge and is being shared with other Baduy fellows who own farming land in the outside domain. Thus, planting cash crops has become important for some of the outer Baduy and as a result it has affected their economic condition. These days after the resettlement program ended more and more outer Baduy people who obtain land outside of their domain plant cash crops

such as coffee, cacao and cloves to pursue more capital, besides maintaining their practice of shifting cultivations. As an addition, during my research time the logging industry has also influenced and infiltrated the Baduy domain, in terms of pursuing people to grow more wood on their farm land to be sold to the furniture factory or construction depot. Since the wood trees are also native species of the region, many of the Baduy people can easily grow valuable trees such as *Albazia*, *mahogany* and *Jeungjing* to pursue more capital.

After the regency district passed the communal land entitlement for the Baduy community in 2001 followed by the ecotourism policy in 2002 which set the Baduy villages as one of the tourism destinations, there were some changes in terms of economy of the Baduy people. Since the number of visitors increased every year (look at table 7, in chapter V). Some of the Baduy people, particularly those who lived in the destination villages, opened up shops at their houses, selling snacks and other kinds of common food and drinks such as breads, candy, mineral water, soft drinks, tea, and coffee as well as cigarettes, to generate income besides selling agricultural products to the market or through the middle man.

However, it does not influence their activities as farmers. Hence they are aware of their duty and task to guard and maintain the traditional activities as has been regulated. Moreover, as the result of development where daily prices of items increased, it has influenced the Baduy to adapt with the situation. Thus, many of the outer Baduy people now also work as laborers during “free” time, to obtain more income to buy their daily needs and supplies. In addition, some of them also work as traders and sell honey bees, *sarung aqua* (mineral water bag), sarongs, bracelets made from tree bark, hand phone bags as well as other items and textile materials that they are able to produce.

The cultural change in the Baduy domain can be noticed especially in the outer Baduy community. Hence the regulations and traditional rules are more flexible for the outer Baduy and also because the outer Baduy are more often in contact with outsiders, where the outer Baduy play roles as a buffer for the inner domain. The cultural adaptation can be seen in terms of clothing, where many of the outer Baduy in

the tourist villages more often wear modern clothes such as t-shirts and jeans compared to those who live in the villages with less tourist and visitor contact. Language changes can also be used as one of the signs to the cultural adaptation. Now, more Baduy people often travel to the outer region and cities and use Indonesian language as the communication means. It is also adopted in their daily life and is being used as a tool of communication among them, besides their own language.

Besides clothing and language, another sign of cultural adaptation is the use of jewelry and toys by women and children in the outer Baduy domain, where women wore bracelets, necklaces and earrings made from gold. In the past, jewelry used from gold was taboo for all Baduy people, but these days, it seems to be accepted and acknowledged by the elders. The Baduy kids more often use plastic trucks and dolls as toys also flying kites to play with their friends. Where usually they played using banana trees and leaves, and trunks or coconut tree leaves to imitate the cars, dolls or other kinds of toys kids play with.

3.6 ECO-TOURISM IN INDONESIA

In recent years there are some changes in perceiving ethnic minority groups from the government. Before, the ethnic groups tended to be perceived as an obstacle by the government in the development process, but now they are perceived as the source to earn income by promoting eco-tourism, cultural and traditional heritage. This was especially true after the decentralization took place in 1999-2000, where new provinces were being established and local people were given priority to control and lead the regional government. Local people also get more privileges and are more involved in development in their areas, even though some ethnic groups are still in the marginalized position; hence they become the object for the benefits of others.

As the new paradigm, ecotourism is used as new development strategy to gain revenue. The tourism sector is promising for the newly established provinces and the nation in general. As a result, many new provinces through the tourism offices promote their local culture and environments which in some new provinces are still in

good shape since it is located in the remote area and far from the central power. Eco-tourism becomes a new slogan for the tourism sector in order to attract both local and international tourists.

Development that is only concerned with economic growth has caused great environmental degradation and marginalization. Therefore, the state has put attention on this case and more concern on environmental conditions. Furthermore, development is not a one stop action that can reach the destination as it experiences the boom and gains more capital. Development needs new programs that suit the global concern on the environment. In Indonesia apart from economic growth it is to promote tourism as part of development process in order to gain more income from the beauty of its landscape and the exotic traditional cultures of ethnic groups. Most ecotourism programs take place especially in the remote areas where traditional cultures are still strongly held and practiced by ethnic groups.

Generally, ecotourism always includes travel to destinations where the flora, fauna, and cultural heritage/traditions are the primary attractions. It is believed that ecotourism includes programs that minimize the adverse effects of traditional tourism on the natural environment, and enhance the cultural integrity of local people. Tourism in Indonesia has to contribute to the national income from the beginning of 1980 where Indonesia promoted places like Bali, Yogyakarta, Borneo and Sulawesi as the tourist destination places. A wide range of temptations in the destination places starts from traditional dance like in Bali which is more famous to foreigners and to domestic tourists as well. Local cultures also emerge as one of the main attractions for tourists, besides the landscape that benefits the region and the Indonesian state.

Local knowledge, custom/traditions and practices of particular ethnic groups has been promoted worldwide by the government both from the central and from local offices. Moreover, the government set Indonesian Miniature Park in Jakarta as one of the tourist spots, where it featured major ethnic groups for their housing models, traditional dances and other traditional objects from each of the regions.

Even though the idea of conserving the environment emerged a long time ago, due to the persistent focus on economic growth, it was left behind and has been picked up with the ecotourism concepts as a model in the tourist sectors to earn income for development. A new model of tourism, which is ecotourism, is being adopted in Indonesia starting from the late 1980's where most tourist programs include the cultural heritage in other regions besides Bali as the tourist cultural destinations. Since Bali has been well-known by the foreigners especially from the western countries as well as from Japan, region like Borneo with the Dayak community, Papua with the Dani and Asmat tribes, and Baduy society in Banten province have to be advertised by the government both in local, national and international levels, in order to attract tourists from everywhere to visit the "eco-places" generating more income both for local and national government.

3.7 SUMMARY

Development after the 2nd World War in under-developed and developing countries mostly followed the design from the advanced countries, such as the United States, whose national income came from the industrial sector. However, development did not just happen recently. In many countries which were under colonialism in the past, development had already started, but the goals at that time were for the economic benefit of the ruler, not for the people of the country.

As in what is known as Indonesia, the development has begun since the past Hinduism kingdoms era under different Kingdoms and continued when the colonial rulers took control of the archipelago. During the colonial eras the development that occurred was in terms of production of agricultural sectors such as spices and herbs for the ruling administrative government and their international trade. However, the colonial rulers also built infrastructure and gave benefits for the local people in smaller numbers.

After suffering from colonialism, and gaining independence, Indonesia as the new born nation is in a dilemma regarding its economic condition. On one hand it is dependent on the subsistence market hence there is no experience and little access

to the global market economy yet. On the other hand there is a pressure and requirement to adjust with the new global situation on market economy that was derived from the western countries where industrialization is the main machine of the economic growth to gain capital.

Furthermore, some of the Indonesian people, mainly the ethnic groups and people who are living in the remote areas are also suffering from the state development strategies which focus on economic growth, where people are being relocated, dehumanized and intimidated to support the development projects and resettled in new places as the government flooded their house and village for the new Dam or new mining company. As additions many of them are still in marginalized position on social relationship, hence there is domination from one culture toward another. As a result, ethnic minorities/traditional communities adjust their economy system from subsistence economy to market economy as a form of adaptation, and this is also used by the minority group as a way of negotiation to gain recognition where they use the market economy to gain both capital as well as recognition from the outside world by becoming actively involved in the market system. By using this dualistic system the ethnic community also gains recognition from actors who are interested with traditionalism and cultural heritage since the Baduy community also produces traditional and cultural items such as bags, sarongs, handicrafts, etc.

Development that only relies on natural resources is being blamed for environmental degradation, thus many countries including Indonesia change the perspectives on development and put more attention on environmental conservation, cultural traditions and local livelihoods of ethnic minorities as one of the approaches of development, and one that is being chosen is to promote eco-tourism as another source of gaining national income.