

CHAPTER IV

THE BADUY COMMUNITY OF BANTEN PROVINCE, INDONESIA

In the past, many of the ethnic minorities were labeled and perceived as backward and uncivilized society by the government, thus most of them were socially economically and politically marginalized, and they did not have an equal chance to access economy, information, and education. However, after years of being in a marginalized position, ethnic minorities now are gaining recognition from the government and a majority of the people. In this chapter, I will discuss who the Baduy ethnic group is.

4.1 HISTORICAL VIEW OF BADUY COMMUNITY AND THEIR COSMOLOGY

There is no accurate information about the history of the Baduy people, either because the Baduy community does not have a written language or because there is no record on the history of the Baduy community itself. Some Indonesian scholars, e.g., Garna (1987) and Koentjaraningrat (1993) believe and suggest that the Baduy community is a remnant of the Pajajaran kingdom, the last Hindu kingdom in West Java.

The Pajajaran Kingdom in its time was considered to be the largest Hinduist Kingdom in the West Java area. Some historians also believe that what now is known as Banten province was once part of Pajajaran territory. After King Hassanudin extended his power to this area, he forced and intimidated the people in the Banten area to convert them to Islam. He then gave them protection from the center of the state of Pajajaran by establishing a new kingdom known as “Kasultanan Banten”. This strategy disintegrated Pajajaran. The Banten area was one of Pajajaran’s largest seaports, besides Batavia or Jakarta, which is located to the north of the Pajajaran

capital city known as Bogor. The history of kingdoms in Indonesia and Java are full of clashes. The disputes between kingdoms in Java were not only about resource conflicts but also about faith or religion being spread out by the new-comers, such as the Cirebon Kingdom and Kasultanan Banten, which believed in Islamism. Both Kacirebonan and Kasultanan Banten became an Islam follower after the Persian, Middle East and Chinese merchants came to do trade in Java in the 14th century. Besides trading, they also influenced the local people to convert their faith to Islam. Thus the Kacirebonan and Banten Kingdom extended their religious beliefs to other areas and also used this strategy as part of their territorial control. Being pushed from both sides, from the east by the Kacirebonan Kingdom and the west by Kasultanan Banten, the Pajajaran kingdom collapsed in 1579 (Suyono 2003) after several years of conflicts with Kasultanan Banten, leaving their people under the protection of Islamic kingdoms. Several important members of the aristocracy including the king himself fled to different areas. Some of them sought refuge in the southeastern part of West Java, while the others went to the southwestern part of the region. Thus, many historians believe that after the Pajajaran Kingdom fell to Kasultanan Banten, many people converted to Islam and those who were not converted were killed or fled to the hills and mountains spreading along southwest and southeast of West Java.

The history of Pajajaran ended at that period and no other information regarding the remnants of the royal family of the Pajajaran Kingdom has been revealed either by historians or by government agencies to the present day. Therefore, historians tried to link the Pajajaran Kingdoms and the Baduy society which they believe is the remnant of this kingdom because the customs and traditions of the Baduy people are similar to the other Sundanese fellows in the neighboring region.

In the past, even before the Dutch came to Indonesia, the local kingdom of Banten led by the Sultan already acknowledged the Baduy community and demarcated a territory for them (Garna 1987). The border of the Baduy's village at those times went from the Cisimeut River until the Southern part of Kendeng Mountain. When the Dutch administration came to the area, the territory of the Baduy community shrunk because the Dutch expanded the rubber plantation in the area.

However, the Dutch government also acknowledged the Baduy community as a local people who resided in the Kanekes village led by the Puun, their traditional leaders, and *Jaro Pamarentah* who at that time was called *Jaro Gubernurmen* as the sub-district leader.

According to my informants, the Baduy community during the colonial times was not entirely occupied by the Dutch or the Japanese. This is because they were given false information about the population residing inside their territory. The *Jaro Pamarentah* of Baduy gave number of 40 households in the inner domain to the Dutch who also believed. Thus, the Dutch colonial government only occupied the outer area from the Baduy territory and developed their rubber plantation. Up until now, many Indonesian people still believe that the Baduy have only 40 households in the inner domain.

Although there are some suggestions from Indonesian scholars like Garna (1987) and Koentjaranigrat (1993) that the Baduy community is a remnant of the Pajajaran kingdom in West Java, this idea cannot be accepted right away. The Baduy people themselves reject this idea, even though they do not explicitly argue and usually just remain silent and give no further comment. According to my interviews with the elders and some Baduy people, the Baduy do not believe that they are a remnant of any kingdom in Java, either Pajajaran Kingdom or Kasultanan Banten. They said it is up to people to believe which idea suits their interest.

The Baduy people believe that they were the first group of people in the earth, and this idea were generated from their religious beliefs and legends. According to some elders, the earth was created by their god (Batara Tunggal) in the size of a nutmeg fruit and became bigger and larger and their village (Kanekes) is the center of the universe. The first human being created and sent to the earth is Adam, and one of the descendants of Adam became the first Puun who resided in Cikeusik. After Cikeusik became too large, some members of their community moved to Cikartawarna led by another Puun who was also a descendant from the first Puun in Cikeusik. So did at Cibeo village, after Cikartawarna large enough they make a new village and were led by another Puun. But the inner domain of the Baduy was

confined into three villages only. The Baduy symbolize the three inner villages as the purest and most direct descendant from three *Batara* (supernatural being), son of Adam. -*Batara Tilu, Batara Lima, and Batara Tujuh.*-

According to their religious beliefs, the Baduy must obey and follow rules that have already been given by their ancestors; they live as guardian of the sacred land and the universe, including the mountains, watershed, trees, rivers, animals and people. Those who consider breaking ancestral rules will be sent to an outer place, depending on the sin that they commit. If the committed sin is not forgiven, they will be ostracized from the Kanekes village, but those who are considered as forgiven can reside in the surrounding area of the three inner villages as Panamping (outer Baduy), after they receive their punishments, such as work in the communal farm and being supervised by elders.

During my study in the Baduy area, there was one “misdeed” committed by a member of inner Baduy. He murdered a family of his neighboring villager in their farm where he works as a laborer. According to the information, he was possessed by the spirits since he worked out of the inner territory, and at the same time, he had to work to prepare the communal land but his employer did not allow him to skip his duty since he already borrowed money from him. Apparently he was being possessed and saw his boss and his family as a pack of tigers that were ready to bite him, thus he took out his long sword/dagger and killed them in the farm.

After he recovered from his trance he admitted his fault and was brought to the sub-district police station. After a one year trial in the regency court he was released due to adequate evidence and lack of a witness, and also due to the law where people who are not conscious that they committed crime or are under pressure from someone else, can not be punished for the crime. However, due to the regulation in the Baduy community, he was punished and cast away to the outer Baduy in Dangka Cibengkung. He passed away two weeks later during his punishment in Cibengkung Village due to physiological stress.

4.2 THE BADUY COMMUNITY

The term Baduy refers to the ethnic community that resides in the Kanekes village in the southern part of Banten province. At the beginning the Baduy people called/referred to themselves with terms such as *Urang* (orang/people) *Tangtu* or *Urang Cibeo*, *Urang Cikeusik* for the inner Baduy, and for the outer Baduy they call themselves *Urang Kanekes*, *Urang Gajeboh*, *Urang Cipaler* etc, according to the place where they live. The term Baduy emerged during the colonial time, when the Dutch administration referred this name to the community who lived near the Baduy Mountain. People in the region and Rangkasbitung regency called them *Kolot* (older people). However, in the following period the term Baduy was used to label the community of people in the Kanekes sub-district who still lived according to traditional customs, and this term was used in negative connotation by the majority people. this idea is not rejected by the Baduy people hence it could linked them with the place of living in the surrounding area of mount Baduy as their territory as well as part of their identity that connected them to the place of living.

As I already mentioned in the previous part, the Baduy community is divided into two major social groups, inner (dalam/Tangtu) Baduy and outer (luar/Panamping) Baduy, where each of them has their own role and function in the Baduy community. The Baduy livelihood is based primarily on agriculture. They grow dry paddy rice, vegetables and fruits as the source of living. However, they do not sell their rice to the market; rice is kept for their own consumption and for traditional ritual ceremony purposes.

Geographically, the Kanekes sub-district where the Baduy live is located in the position of $6^{\circ} 35'43''$ - $6^{\circ} 41'43''$ south latitude and $106^{\circ}12'49''$ - $106^{\circ} 16'1''$ east longitudes. The Regency regulation No. 32 year 2001 concerning the communal rights and conservation of the Baduy community mentions the boundaries of the Kanekes sub-district. In the Northern areas the community borders Bojong Menteng sub-district of Leuwidamar district, Cisimeut sub-district of Leuwidamar district, and Nayagati sub-district of Leuwidamar district. The Western areas are limited by Parakan Beusi sub-district of Bojong Manik district, Kebon Cau sub-district of

Bojong Manik district and Karang Nunggal sub-district of Bojong Manik district. The Southern borders are limited by Cikate sub-district of Cijaku district, and in the Eastern areas were enclosed by Karang Combong sub-district of Muncang district, and Cilebang sub-district of Muncang district.

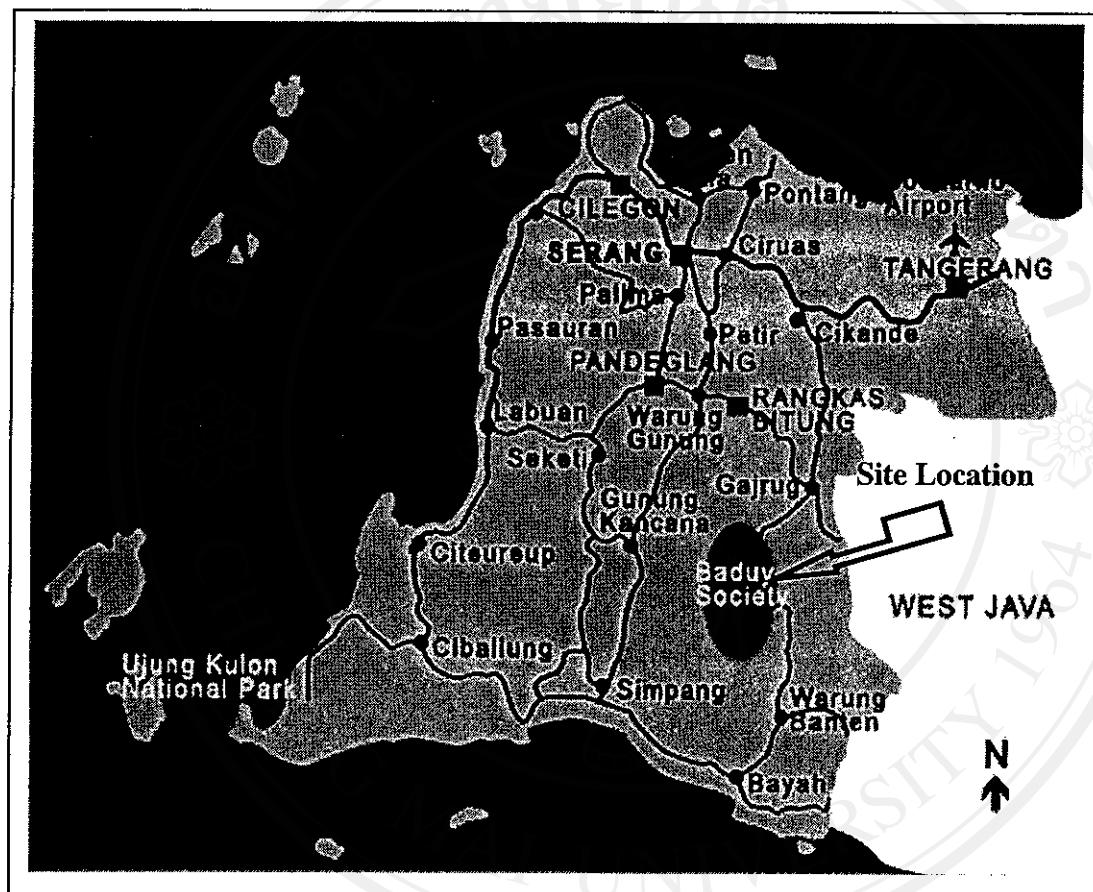


Figure 4.1 Map of Banten Province

Scale, 1: 4,000,000

The natural boundaries which separate the Kanekes sub-district from the surrounding area are the Ciujung River in the north, the Cidikit River in the south, the Cibarani in the west and the Cisimeut River in the east. Kanekes sub-district is the largest village in the Leuwi Damar district, and consists of more than 5000 hectares of hilly and mountainous areas.

4.2.1 INNER BADUY

Inner Baduy (Urang Tangtu/Baduy dalam) is located in the inner domain of Kanekes sub-district. Many names are used to call Inner Baduy, such as Urang Girang (person from the upstream), Urang Jero (person from inside), and Urang Tangtu (person from the Ancestral village, who maintain rules). Also names are according to the name of the inner villages where they came from, such as Urang Cibeo, Urang Cikeusik and Urang Cikartawarna.

Unlike other ethnic groups in Indonesia the inner Baduy uniquely dress in white (shirt, sarong and headdress), and sometimes they also used black sarong and combine with white shirt and headdress. The inner Baduy can be divided into three inner villages of Cikeusik (Tangtu Pada Ageung), Cikartawarna (Tangtu Kadu Kujang), and Cibeo (Tangtu Parahiang). It is taboo and against the ancestral law to form a new village in the inner domain. Each of three inner villages is led by spiritual leaders called Puun. The three Puun have their own task and duty regarding the whole community of Baduy and act as a trinity. However, as for the daily task regarding the community in the inner domain, the three Puun have delegated their role to Jaro Tangtu, who is the head of the traditional governing system in the inner villages in the matter of social relationships among the inner Baduy. He is subordinate to Puun(s) who are considered the highest leaders in the Baduy community.

Even though the Puun are the highest leaders in the Baduy community, in daily activities they also work in their *Huma/ladang* (swidden farm) assisted by their family members and relatives. Puun(s) also spend most of their time in the *Saung Huma* (farm hut) to take care of their farms. So is true for other Baduy elders like Girang Seurat, *Baresan Salapan*, *Jaro Tangtu*, and other elders who also work in their own farm. On the other hand, the activities of a Puun are limited since he is not allowed to go out from Kanekes village boundaries or even spend a single night out of the inner domain. In a rare occasion, some inner Baduy people will walk to the nearest market to buy some items, such as salt, salted fish, chicken, beetle nut, chalk and daily necessities.

The inner Baduy appear to be more closed to outsiders. They are worried about the influence from the outside world which may ruin their traditional way of life and breach the rules of their ancestors which is considered taboo for the Baduy people. The role of inner Baduy is to meditate in terms of preserving their tradition and ancestors' way of life by practicing as their ancestors did and also to guard the universe by making pilgrimages to the Sasaka Domas (holy shrine) which is located in the inner domain surrounded by dense forest. The role of the outer Baduy is to protect the inner Baduy people, especially the elders and also to follow and obey the rules, traditions and practices that they have been told.

4.2.2 OUTER BADUY

Outer Baduy (Panamping/Baduy luar) reside in villages outside the inner domain. There are around 56 outer Baduy villages within the Kanekes boundary. Most of the outer Baduy, traditionally wear black clothes to differentiate themselves from the inner Baduy. The clothes are basically the same as the inner Baduy and consist of shirt, headdress and sarong, but the color is black. These two groups of Baduy people are connected through the roles and tasks that they rely on each other for. The outer Baduy are more open to the outsiders as there are more interactions with the outside world especially visitors or tourists, who come back and forth to the Baduy domain in Kanekes village.

In the present day, the influence from the outside world has penetrated the outer Baduy domain. The influence can be seen from material culture in the outer Baduy such as clothing, language, economy, technology. For instance many of the outer Baduy do not use black sarong any more and they prefer to use black short pants as the substitute. Moreover, in daily interaction, the outer Baduy often use words from outsiders which they learn from their friends or hear from visitors. Some of the outer Baduy now also use hand phones to communicate with friends in the city. More importantly the Baduy villages are an attraction to many tourist from the cities.

Distinct from the inner Baduy, the outer Baduy are able to open farms in the area out of their domain, but still follow shifting cultivation (dry paddy field). Some

of them (outer Baduy) also work as laborers; some make textiles and handy crafts or open a shop in their house to generate income, especially from the tourists who come to their village. However, the outer Baduy also hold on tightly to their ancestral rules in terms of practices and traditions. They do not change their attitude toward their beliefs and traditional practices, hence they do not have the power to change the traditional system and consider this forbidden. During my interview with some of them, they stated that they actually want a life like the majority people, but they have duties to protect and preserve their traditions and also they are afraid to commit sins against their ancestral rules.

4.3 GOVERNING SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE BADUY COMMUNITY

In the Baduy society there are two known governing systems which are the national system and the traditional system (adat). In the national system, Baduy people are registered in the Kanekes village, Leuwidamar sub-district, and Lebak district in Banten provinces. The head of the Kanekes village is called "Jaro Pamarentah", just like any other village head in Indonesia; they are subordinate from the sub-district. Except for "adat" matters, Baduy people are sub-ordinate to Puun as the head of traditional government.

Uniquely in another sub-district people voted for the heads of sub-district through an election process, but in the Baduy community the Puun from three inner Baduy villages choose the head of the sub-district. Then the three Puun, through the present Jaro Pamarentah will propose to the head of the regency via the head of the district to announce the newly selected Jaro Pamarentah as the head of their sub-district. Puun in the Baduy area consists of three people from three different inner villages but they act as a trinity (tritunggal), because besides ruling in each inner territory, they also hold and rule the Baduy society (both inner and outer Baduy) together. However, each of them also has their own unique tasks, regarding the traditional system of the Baduy community.

The authority of “Kapuunan² Cikeusik” deals with religious matters and is chief of the customary matters. Additionally, he decides when their traditional ceremonies like *Seren Tahun* (festivity Ceremony), *Kawalu* (Fasting Ceremony) and *Seba* (tribute ceremony) will take place. He also acts as the judge to decide penalties for those who have broken customary rules. The authority of “Kapuunan Cibeo” serves for matters in their communities and for “guests” who visit the Baduy area, including administering territory, cross-border issues and interactions with outer regions. The authority of “Kapuunan Cikartawarna” is concerned with educating their people, prosperity, security. He also serves as supervisor that directly monitors the field and the social life matters in the Baduy area.

The Puun is regarded as a sacred person in the Baduy community, heir of the Sunda Wiwitan (Oldest Sundanese) religion. Thus all his words must be followed and obeyed by the rest of the Baduy community. Ignorance of and violation against his word is considered a sin and will have an effect on the person with disaster or misfortune as the result. Not many people may talk and meet with him, while his house is also located in a certain area which is a little bit far from the rest of the inner community, although still in the same area. If there is someone who needs to meet with him, the person should inform Jaro Tangtu and wait at his house, then Jaro Tangtu will inform the Puun and invite him to meet with the person at Jaro Tangtu house.

The Puun is the supervisor and guardian of the Baduy people’s souls and spirits. The Puun position is inherited from the same bloodline as the previous Puun. Thus, it can be passed directly to the second son, or third son in his family. However, if no one is capable, then it can be passed to his brother or the nearest male member from his kin. The important thing is that the person, who will be crowned as Puun, should have the bloodline and meet with the suggestion from the other elders such as *tangkesan* (oracle/seer) and all Jaro in the Baduy community. In general, there are six requirements to be a Puun; (1) he should be in the blood line from the previous Puun, whether direct or because of marriage, (2) have great knowledge and understandings of the Adat law, (3) have never broken the customary law in any way, (4) have a wife

from the inner domain and from the same village as him. (5) have good health, physically and mentally and be able to perform his duty and (6) have been predicted by the Baduy Seer (tangkesan), to be a person who has the right and ability to be Puun for the Baduy community.

The process of electing the Puun, takes a long time. The Puun, if planning to resign, must announce his successor three years prior to his resignation. The mechanism starts from the prediction of each Jaro. Then the prediction is revealed and discussed together with the Baduy Seer (tangkesan). Then the Seer/oracle will contact the other two inner Jaro from different villages, where they will have the new Puun. If the Puun to be selected is from Cibeo, then the oracle will contact the inner jaro (jaro Tangtu) from Cikeusik and Cikartawarna and the selected person to be Puun will be taken to the Cibeo Village. From the information above, we can see that the Puun election process as the higher leader in the Baduy community is done by mixing two approaches, the lineage and discussions among the elders of the Baduy community.

Tangkesan is the oracle of the Baduy community, who has a duty to perform divination of destiny and predictions for the Baduy community whether it is related to farming, medication, fortunes and other matters that require his skills. The most important is the prediction of the next Puun when there is a Puun who will resign or pass away.

Girang Seurat is the second most important position after Puun. He acts like a secretary for the Puun, and connects the Puun and the other elders and the outsiders. As he assists the Puun, he is selected and can be dismissed by the Puun with approval, mainly from the Baduy oracle. Besides helping the Puun in maintaining his duty, Girang Seurat also takes care of the farming matters especially the communal farm and leads the ceremony that is related to the farming customs in the inner domain. There are only two Girang Seurat in the Baduy community when I was there and they reside in Cikeusik and Cibeo, and while in Cikartawarna, the role of Girang Seurat is executed by the Jaro Tangtu Cikartawarna.

Another elder that is important in the Baduy society is *Baresan* (member of advisory council for *Puun* on orderly matters), who is also an assistant of the *Puun* and included as a member in the *Puun* meeting and can act for the *Puun* to maintain the relationship with the rest of the community and outsiders as well. The number of people who are included in *Baresan* can be different between inner villages. In Cikeusik there are eleven people, nine in Cibeo and five people in Cikartawarna.

In the Baduy community, there are several *Jaro*. *Jaro* is the person who helps the society to maintain the Baduy community or can be seen as head of smaller group within the society, where they act on behalf of the *Puun* as the highest leader. *Jaro* is responsible for daily issues, which include both traditional customs and governing matters in the Baduy Society. What is called *Jaro* in the Baduy community of Kanekes village is divided into three categories. The first one is *Jaro Tangtu* (leader in the inner villages). There are three *Jaro Tangtu*, who reside in the three inner domains. Their duty is to perform and manage the governing system in the inner Baduy domain. Also together with *Girang Seurat* they assist and accompany the *Puun* to carry out the traditional rituals/ceremony or become the representatives of the *Puun* to maintain the relationship in the outside boundaries.

The second one is *Jaro Dangka*, who has the duty to guard and maintain the communal land that the Baduy community possesses, both within the boundary of Kanekes village and some outside of their boundary. *Jaro Dangka* also has the task to raise the responsiveness and knowledge from the Baduy people who are being sent away to the outer area or being punished for breaching the customs and traditional rules. There are nine people who are in charge as *Jaro Dangka*, seven *Jaro Dangka* for seven *Dangka* villages (*Dangka Cihandam*, *Dangka Panyaweuyan*, *Sindangnyair*, *Cihulu*, *Garehong*, and *Carungeun*). One person is in charge of coordinating the seven *Jaro Dangka*. He is called *Jaro Tujuh* and resides in the *Kamancing* village, also known as *Jaro Dangka Kamancing*. The other one is *Jaro Tanggungan 12*, and his duty is to coordinate all *Jaro Dangka*. *Jaro Tanggungan 12* must be present in all traditional rituals/ceremonies hence he is also serves as a witness in those rituals.

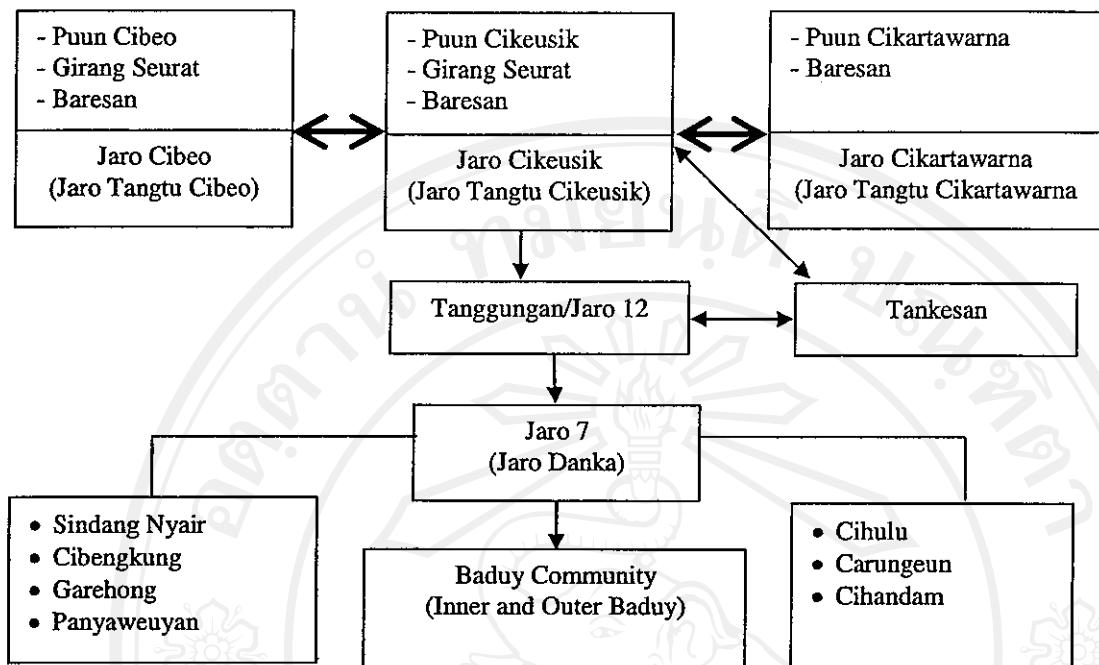


Figure 4.2 Traditional Administrative System of Baduy Community

4.3.1 JARO PAMARENTAH, THE BRIDGE OF TWO WORLDS

The last but not least important position in the governing system in the Baduy community is Jaro Pamarentah. Jaro Pamarentah is the representative of the national government in the Baduy community, as I had mentioned in the previous section on how the *Jaro Pamarentah* being elected. *Jaro Pamarentah*'s role is as the bridge that connects the two governing systems in the Baduy society, between the traditional and governmental system and also between the Baduy community and the governments. Besides being responsible to the head of the district as being the head of the Kanekes sub-district, Jaro Pamarentah is also responsible for and bounded to the traditional value of the Baduy society, which is being instructed by the Puun as the highest leader of the Baduy community.

In maintaining his duty as Jaro Pamarentah, he is assisted by one *Carik* (village secretary) who is usually from the neighboring outer village, because there is a requirement to be able to read and write as the common people, hence his duty is to correspond and maintain the administrative system from the government, since the

customary law of the Baduy community forbids their people to go to school and gain formal education. In addition to maintaining his role in the community, Jaro Pamarentah is also assisted by Panggiwa. There are three people who operate as Panggiwa.

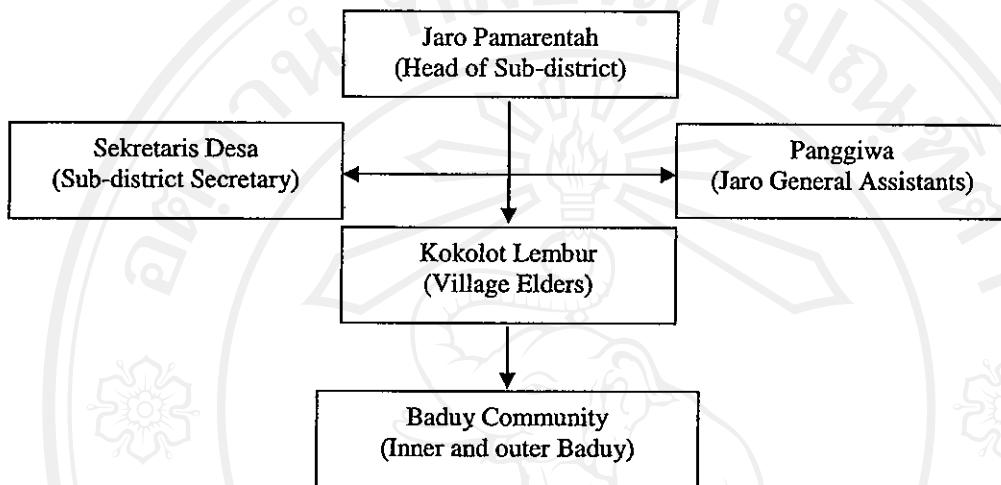


Figure 4.3 States Administrative System of Baduy Community

There is no accurate information regarding the governing system in the Baduy community. All of my informants said that this system has only been in use since *Buyut* (ancestors) times and passed to the next generations without any change in the structures, due to the obedience and respect to the ancestral rules. However, in my opinion the formal governing system was developed since the Banten territory was under the administration of Kasultanan Banten. This idea comes from the tribute (Seba) ceremony where the Baduy offered some part of their agricultural products and non timber forest products to the ruling kingdoms, where Kasultanan Banten also asked the Baduy people to allow the Moslem priest to stay in their territory (Cicakal Girang) as his delegate (I will explain this in the next chapter). Jaro, as the “middle men” for this matter, were appointed by the Puun as the representatives to negotiate the rules, hence Puun were not allowed to stay overnight except in his own territory.

From the two above tables of governing systems, we can see that although living with the traditional culture and traditions, the Baduy have also adapted to the change in the state governing system. There is no certain information about the times

when they started using the governmental system in their community. Another point of view that I could be raised that if I take a look at the other area in general, the village governmental system could be started in colonial times, due to the rules and administrative system brought by the colonial government in order to administer the smaller unit of the society as (Breman, 1997) said.

Jaro Pamarentah roles are not only limited to administer the state governing system, he also involved in daily activities to preserved and maintain traditional and religious matter of Baduy people. He also served the Baduy people with his knowledge and information that he could obtain as government representative in the area. Furthermore, he also helps Baduy people to solve the conflicts of land ownership/encroachment between Baduy people and outsiders live in neighboring villages or disputes among themselves if the disputes can not be solved at the village level by village elders, they will seek and consult with him first before they seek and ask problem-solving from other elders who are considered as the final problem solver. During my stays in the Baduy area, I only found one conflict among the Baduy people on how they should maintain income from tourism in their area. A couple of Baduy members from the inner domain are willing to be in charge of this matter, since they were persuaded by some people from outside who want some share in the income from tourism. However, they could not take this responsibility since Jaro was appointed by the head of the district and Baduy elders, to be the person in charge of this matter.

4.4 DEMOGRAPHY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE BADUY COMMUNITY

While the number of inner Baduy villages is still constant, the number of villages in the outer Baduy area has increased rapidly due to the growth of total population in the Baduy community. This condition has also contributed to the difficulties that the Baduy community currently faces. The development process from the state has put the Baduy people in a marginalized situation because of the stereotypes of being backward, under-developed and poor, which is also added by the policy practices from the state toward them. The Baduy community itself experiences

development in the local area and the “development” here can be seen from the increasing number of villages in the Baduy area as well as rapid population growth.

Table 4.1 Population growth in the Baduy community

No	Years	Number of villages	Male	Female	Households	Total Population
1	1985	30	2247	2227	690	4474
2	1995	49	3339	3144	1532	6483
3	2000	52	3776	3641	1673	7317
4	2004	53	3657	3532	1879	7189
5	2006	59	5086	4988	2665	10074

Moreover, since the main occupation of the Baduy people is farming, there is a need to expand the farming land for the Baduy people in order to maintain and sustain their living. There is also the need for a new source of income that will help them maintain their livelihoods. Nowadays, many of the outer Baduy and some inner people also work as laborers where they can earn income to buy their daily needs. Therefore, they mix the economic system between sufficiency economy and market economy, because they realized that they needed to adapt to the new situation in the surrounding areas. It is also because of the limitation of land that the government allocates for them in communal land entitlement.

Table 4.2 Baduy Populations and Villages In Kaneke Sub-District in Year 2006

No	Name of the Village	House Holds	Gender		Total	Remarks
			M	F		
1	KADUKETUG JARO	43	60	60	120	
2	BABAKAN CIPONDOH	57	106	102	208	
3	KADUKETUG I	117	208	194	402	
4	KADU KASO	9	16	12	28	
5	CIHULU	60	118	116	234	
6	BALINGBING	51	105	82	187	
7	MARENGO	40	69	76	145	
8	GAJEBOH	81	142	150	292	
9	CICAKAL LEUWI BULEUD	77	132	130	262	
10	LEUWI BULEUD TARI KOLOT	5	6	8	14	
11	CIPALER I	97	199	194	393	

12	CIPALER II	38	58	56	114	
13	CIPIIT LEBAK	20	35	46	81	
14	CIPIIT TONGGOH	41	75	69	144	
15	CISAGU TONGGOH	43	64	65	129	
16	CILINGSUH	14	29	28	57	
17	CIJENGKOL	38	83	86	169	
18	CIKADU TARI KOLOT	1	11	8	19	
19	CIKADU TONGGOH	44	93	93	186	
20	CIKADU LEBAK	33	52	53	105	
21	CIJANGKAR	6	17	13	30	
22	CIKERTAWARNA	40	81	77	158	<i>Inner Baduy</i>
23	CIBEO	117	264	243	507	1053
24	CIKEUSIK	100	202	186	388	
25	CIBONGKOK	12	21	24	45	
26	CIKOPENG	45	97	73	170	
27	CIGULA	37	64	69	133	
28	BATARA	50	111	104	215	
29	PANYERANGAN	38	55	45	100	
30	KADU KOHAK	81	175	156	331	
31	CIRANCA KONDANG	8	18	22	40	
32	LEUWI HANDAM	31	76	72	148	
33	BABAKAN CISABAN II	67	120	126	246	
34	CISABAN I	164	283	295	578	
35	KANEUNGAI	10	16	16	32	
36	KADU JANGKUNG	63	122	120	242	
37	KADU GEDE	23	34	63	97	
38	KARAHKAL	81	183	160	343	
39	CIWARINGIN	38	83	83	166	
40	CIBITUNG	11	26	29	55	
41	SOROKOKOD	88	189	190	379	
42	KADUKETER I	63	146	121	267	
43	KADUKETER II	18	48	37	85	
44	CICATANG I	14	37	38	75	
45	CICATANG II	38	63	55	118	
46	CIRANJI	47	93	82	175	
47	CIJANAR	61	116	116	232	
48	CIKULINGSENG	12	23	26	49	
49	BABAKAN EURIH	16	37	34	71	
50	CISAGU LEBAK	22	42	44	86	
51	CICANGKUDU	14	20	19	39	
52	CIBAGELUT	19	37	36	73	
53	CISADANE	53	102	114	216	
54	BATU BEULAH	37	85	74	159	
55	CIBOGO	77	97	129	226	
56	PAMOEAN	47	80	98	178	

57	CICAKAL GIRANG I	49	84	84	168	<i>Moslem Residences</i>
58	CICAKAL GIRANG II	18	35	36	71	324
59	CICAKAL GIRANG III	26	39	46	85	
	TOTAL POPULATION	2665	5086	4988	10074	

As a consequence, many outer Baduy have become laborers or traders in order to earn cash income. Some are more adaptive to the market demands by selling the traditional goods that they can produce, such as bags made from tree bark, souvenirs made from bamboo or wood, hand woven textiles, table mats, clothes, sarongs, blades and daggers. Many of them also sell their agricultural products, such as coconut, cassava, banana, and other valuable fruits such as durians and peteuy. Due to demand of wood, some Baduy people also sell timber like soft wood (jeungjing), Albazia, or other trees that they could grow in their own land. A few Baduy have purchased land outside their village where they grow cash crops, such as coffee, vanilla, cocoa, and clove. More importantly, there are changes in social relations among them. Some people become “boss”, which is how the Baduy refer to another Baduy person who has more capital. Some Baduy women now work in the city as laborers, to pursue more cash which is becoming difficult to get, especially after the financial crisis hit many countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, causing prices of daily goods to increase sharply. This matter has brought gaps of social wealth among the Baduy, where some of them become richer while the others only have “enough”. The table below is some sample of the economic condition and source of income from the household survey during my research.

Table 4.3 Sample of Baduy Household Income and its Sources

Hamlet	Amount of Farm Land			Source of Income			
	1/4 Ha	1/2 Ha	> 1/2 Ha	L	M	H	O
Kaduketug Hamlet	1	3	4	8	5	7	2
Gajeboh Hamlet	1	1	5	3	4	2	2
Cibeo Hamlet (Inner Baduy)	2	2	1	1	0	4	3
Total	4	6	10	12	9	13	7

Remark: L = Laborer, M= Merchant, H= Handicraft, O= Others

In the past, most of the Baduy people interacted with the market through a broker who came to buy and sell items in and from the Baduy area. Some others directly interacted with the market in Cibengkung, which is 5 kilometers away from the border in Ciboleger, after the government set up infrastructure such as roads, a basic school, medical post and market on the border of Kanekes village.

The Baduy people, especially those who live near the border, find it easier to go to the market and are more adapted to the new situation. However, up until now trade via a middle man still goes on in the Baduy area. The middle man buys palm sugar, wild honey, fruits, and agricultural products that can be bought from the Baduy people. In return, the middle man will bring and sell items such as traditional kitchenware –*Boboko*– (rice bowl made from bamboo), metal plates, salt, salted fish, tobacco, and other items that the Baduy use for their daily needs.

A few middle men reside in the neighboring villages while others come from other regions and stay overnight in the house of the Baduy people that they already know and this is due to accessibility to the inner domain. The trails are muddy and steep and there is no transportation in the Baduy territory because it is considered taboo and forbidden. In these days, after the infrastructure and transportation made things easier, some outer Baduy who opened shops in their house often go to the city of Rangkasbitung to purchase items to be sold, where they can get cheaper prices and get more margin from selling those items.

4.5 SUMMARY

In sum, the Baduy community that resides in Kanekes Village is one of the ethnic groups who still strongly maintain their traditional culture. The Baduy community lacks historical records and there is no clear historical information on the Baduy community. However, there are suggestions that the Baduy are the descendants from the last Hinduist kingdoms in West Java. However this idea is being rejected by the Baduy themselves. The Baduy community was divided into two groups and each of them plays their roles based on the benefit for both inner and outer Baduy. However, since the power is regulated from the inner domain by the traditional

spiritual leader, the outer Baduy are in a tense situation, where the outer Baduy play a role as the open community to filter the culture and change being introduced from the outside world to the inner Baduy who are more closed. Moreover, due to frequent contact with the outsiders/visitors to their domain, the outer Baduy are more influenced by modern goods such as radio, mobile phones, modern clothing and also language, where some of them often use words imported from other languages.

By using their cosmology, the Baduy community tries to protect their community from environmental degradation from the rapid development growth in the surrounding areas and also from traditional and cultural deprivation. Moreover the outer Baduy play a role as a buffer to filter negative influences of the outside world to the inner community, hence the inner are considered as sacred people.

In order to adjust to the present governmental system, the Baduy community employs two types of governing systems that play different roles, but in a synchronized way. The traditional system is to maintain the culture and rules of the Baduy society, while the governmental system is to maintain the formal social livelihood on governmental issues.

As there are limited amounts of land, some of the outer Baduy also farm at the land outside of their domain in the neighboring villages by renting or buying land from other people. The Baduy people earn a living by working in the swidden farms, where they grow rice for their own consumption and will not sell their rice to the market, since it is considered as taboo. Besides growing rice, the Baduy also plant vegetables and fruit trees in their farms. As an addition some of the outer Baduy also grow cash crops such as cocoa, cloves, and coffee beans to generate income to fulfill their basic needs.

Besides working in the farm the Baduy people also work as laborers and traders. However, the inner Baduy are not allowed to work outside of their domain, but they are able to sell some of their agricultural products to the market or to the local traders who came to their domain. In earlier times, before state development reached the surrounding area of the Baduy community, the Baduy people interacted

with the market through a broker who came to buy and sell items in and from the Baduy area, but in present days the Baduy easily interact with the markets nearby their villages.



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