

## CHAPTER VI

### BADUY ETHNO-SPACE AND RITUAL CEREMONIES AS BADUY NEGOTIATION STRATEGY

#### INTRODUCTION

Baduy domain has been set up by the state as a tourist destination area. However, the Baduy have their own idea and strategy in negotiating state policy practices of tourism. The Baduy regard their area as ancestral land which must be protected from any negative influences that can destroyed their traditional norms and cultures, as one of ethnic groups, which they believes are the direct descendants of Adam the first human being created by god. The Baduy as an ethnic community cannot be separated from their domain, since it was part of their identity which constructs their community. Burque (1997) mentioned that traditional community cannot be separated from their land, since land construct their social existence of community, which is developed, contested and negotiated from time to time by different actors. The Baduy community, as one ethnic community, occupies particular areas as their domain, where they developed structure, identity and practices which they share among their members. Spatial and ritual practices have become their significant tools in negotiating infiltration from the outside world, including from the state as larger governing administration.

#### 6.1 KANEKES VILLAGE AS BADUY ETHNO SPACE

Baduy is Kanekes and Kanekes is Baduy, and these terms can be used interchangeably for referring to the Baduy community/people or to the Baduy domain, since the Baduy are tightly connected with their land, where they have generated traditional a way of life since the beginning with their own institutional framework and governing system. Even though there has been some adjustment in the process of interaction with the Indonesian state rules, the Baduy have also employed an

Indonesian governing system with Jaro Pamarentah as the leader for the formal administrative system.

Ethno-Space can be considered as localism of one culture that is dominant and rules its members by unifying them and linking them with the land as the important principle of their community. The members of the Baduy community employ the traditional cultural practices and even though some practices are performed in the areas outside of their domain, the meaning of the culture and practice is referred to their place of living which is different from one place to another. For instance during the planting of paddy rice, the Baduy community referred to the rituals of their religious beliefs of their community, even though some of the Baduy members (outer Baduy) performed shifting agricultural practices in the surrounding villages out of their territory.

Among the Baduy community, place gives significant meaning to their cultures, belief and their traditional practices, both in ritual practices and daily practices of the Baduy community. This can be seen from the division of their land into two major groups, inner Baduy who inhabit the sacred domain and outer Baduy who live in *Panamping* or the buffer zone, but still rely on the framework of Baduy community with Puun as the spiritual and traditional leaders

The cultures of Baduy for some historians or anthropologists are similar to the Sundanese tribes. However, the major differences between the Baduy and the rest of the ethnic groups is when they abandoned their cultural practices and life out of the Baduy domain, they cannot be considered as Baduy any more, where for the Sundanese or Javanese this is not relevant. Once they are born and learn the mother cultures whether they practice the culture or not, or whether they live in the tribe domain or not they still retain their ethnic identity. For Baduy people, especially for the inner Baduy, earning a living outside of their domain is considered as taboo, since the outer areas of their domain are considered as the contaminated areas and designated for sinners.

The outer Baduy, although able to earn a living from areas outside of their domain, still have to obey the general rules of the tradition by residing inside the Baduy territory and employing their traditional practices. Baduy tradition and practices are a must for Baduy members, and misconduct, avoidance or dishonesty can result in punishment from elders or cast them away from their domain. The Baduy norm and life principle are always connected with land as the important ideology of life, where they believe that the land has given them life and provided them with things that they need to survive, but the most important things is the cosmology that their land is the center of the universe.

Baduy practices cannot be separated from the land where they lived; this can be seen from the traditional practices both in daily practices or ritual practices, where they always connect their practices with Mother Nature as the living place. Baduy people earn their living not only from farming but they also utilize some of the forest products in the secondary forest areas, which helped them to provide food and others things that they can earn for their survival from generation to generation.

## **6.2 BADUY DOMAIN AS SPACE OF BADUY COMMUNITY AND THE TOURISTS**

The Baduy domain has been a “tourist” destination for a long time, long before the local government established the policy of eco-tourism. Most visitors eagerly come to know the Baduy community since they were well known for their myths and reputation of their magical power. Indonesian people came to ask for charms or blessing from the elders of the Baduy. After the decentralization process took place in the year 2000, the Baduy domain was promoted as one of the main destinations for tourism in Banten province. Hence the tourists, both local and international, are interested in the authenticity of the traditions and cultures of local people, like the Baduy.

These days, after the local government set Baduy domain as a tourism destination more tourists come to the Baduy villages just to spend a night in the fresh air of the forest villages, and only a few of local tourists come to seek charms and medicine. An increasing number of tourists come to the Baduy villages, particularly

the outer villages and Cibeo village of the inner domain. Many of the visitors from nearby cities such as Jakarta, Rangkasbitung or Bogor, often ask Baduy people to stop by at their home if they are visiting their hometown, or some of them might ask some Baduy people to bring items such as hand woven textiles, wild honey bees, or other Baduy souvenirs as well as traditional medicines and magical items such as daggers or swords which have been enchanted by Baduy elders. Thus it has brought a new atmosphere to the Baduy people and created new space of social relationships among them as well as influencing the Baduy people with the market situation.

For most of the Baduy, with or without visitors, life is centered on their livelihood production and their ancestral customs and traditions. The relationship among the Baduy members themselves has not changed in terms of traditions. They are gentle and hospitable to outsiders, but they do not pay special attention to tourists. However, their doors are always open for the occasional visitors.

They designated Gajeboh village in the outer domain for the tourists to stay overnight. The reason this village has been set up as a “hotel” for tourists is because this village is located on the Ciujung river bank. This is a popular place for eco-tourism where one can swim in the river or just wander around the village. Several shop houses were setup which provides visitors with “modern” food and soft drinks. I myself often stop by at one of the shops in Gajeboh villages whenever I go back and forth to the inner domain, just to buy some cigarettes and other stimulants such as mineral or multivitamin drinks to relieve my exhaustion.

Sometimes, I would get into a discussion with the owner of the shop about life in the village or her baby who always seemed to be crying. We also often exchanged information about the tourists/visitors or some people that we knew. The costs of basic daily needs as well as the rising price of gasoline become regular topics of conversation hence gasoline price influences the price of basic needs significantly.

Visitors to the Baduy domain need to stop at Kaduketug Jaro first, where they are required to register before they can continue to another Baduy hamlet. Those who have come for the first time are usually accompanied by their friends or relatives

who already knew about the Baduy community. They can hire a local who is willing to act as a guide.

Visitors who come in groups must obtain a letter of permission first from the Regency Tourist Authority office before they can proceed to the Baduy village. Admission will be decided by Jaro Pamarentah. Usually, if there are several groups that are already booked at the same time, Jaro will ask the next group to postpone or cancel their trip, in consideration of the Baduy who cannot conveniently accommodate so many visitors without disturbing their livelihood.

**Table 6.1 Number of Tourist to Baduy domain in the past 6 years**

Year	Total Visitors
2001	13.374
2002	13.883
2003	14.535
2004	14.972
2005	15.748
2006	7.876 (until early of July 2006)

As the inner domain is closed for large groups of tourists and foreigners, those living there have less contact with the outsiders. However, small groups or individual visitors can come easily to the inner domain if they were allowed by Jaro and could walk through the muddy and slippery trail to the inner domain. The estimated numbers of visitors to the inner domain per day can be up to 10 people during weekdays, but during weekends the number of visitors to the inner domain can increase up to 30 people. Usually, it requires a 3 or 4 hour walk from the Jaro house (Kaduketug village) to reach the inner domain of Cibeo by walking constantly and taking short stops whenever required. There is no shop house in the inner domain, however, there are usually some traders who bring their goods to the inner domain to sell and sometimes they also stay over night in the inner domain, especially in Cibeo, just in case there are visitors who want to buy cigarettes or some snacks.

In several different villages where I frequently stayed, I could see the differences between those that received regular visitors and those that did not. Those who do are more open and warmly interact with visitors. The Baduy people often use Indonesian language combined with their own dialects in the interaction with visitors. Changes that have occurred after their contact with visitors, such as clothing is now being worn by youth and children from the tourist destination villages, mobile phone rings are heard sometimes from several houses as the news from radio is spreading on the latest issues, and popular Indonesian songs entertain those new listeners.

Children in the tourist villages often sing popular songs from the famous bands, play with plastic toys or fly kites if the season is right. No more traditional music, quatrain, is being sang or spoken among the kids, and no more toys that are made from bamboo or banana tree trunk are made or played with anymore. The older generations, however, still practice their more traditional ways. In some villages where the tourists rarely visit such as Cipaler, Cikartawarna and Cikeusik, the people's attitudes are slightly different from those who are more open to the tourists.

They are relatively more indifferent to visitors, even though they are willing to interact with them and not refuse if we ask to talk with them. They seem to use more cautious answers or not answer the questions at all. Sometimes they remain silent. They will not agree or disagree with the outsider's opinion like mine; they are just silent and wait for me to continue talking about different issues. But as I came and stayed there more often, they became more open to talk and express their ideas or sometimes raise questions about the outside world with me, especially about Thailand where I was studying. They wondered what Thai people look like and what kind of food they eat and what the forests are like.

During my stays in the Baduy domain, I also interviewed some Baduy people about what they thought of tourism. For some of them, they did not like to see their villages being opened as tourist destinations by the government. They said "We are not to be watched like animals in the zoo.. We are human too. The difference is we keep with our traditional system, because it is our right and we believe we should do so. If people want entertainment they can go to the zoo, mall or movie theatre, not to

our villages and watch us like we are some sort of attraction. However, they are welcomed to visit and stay in our village and meet with the elders for spiritual and medical reasons."

### **6.2.1 CICAKAL GIRANG; THE MOSLEM SETTLEMENT IN THE BADUY TERRITORY**

Within the Baduy territory, there is also a Moslem settlement called the Cicakal Girang villages. The Cicakal Girang area consists of three villages, with a total population of 324 people. The people who reside in these villages are different from the Baduy community, since they are newcomers in the area and they have faith and believe in the Islam religion, not in Old Sunda Wiwitan religion like the Baduy. Even though they are different from the Baduy people in terms of religious practice, in daily activities they are very similar. The main difference is that the farm that Cicakal Girang people maintain is an irrigated paddy field located outside of the Baduy territory and they use buffalos for plowing.

The rice that Cicakal people produce can be sold to the market in the border or at Cibengkung, hence the Baduy customary regulation not to sell rice does not restrict the people in this village and in terms of housing, daily life activities and belongings they are also not restricted by Baduy community regulation. The housing in this village is more advanced than the Baduy houses, motorcycles are allowed to be used in this village and children are able to get an education. Even though there were differences in some aspects, the villagers in Cicakal also follow the Baduy's rules in general; they are not allowed to use or destroy the conserved forest of the Baduy community, nor to plant cash crops in the domain of Baduy territory or to cut the community forest without permission from the Baduy elders.

The Moslem villagers of Cicakal work as farmers and some of them, mostly women, work in the city as laborers for both short and long-term periods. They work in factories or in the service sectors, either in the nearby city of Rangkasbitung, Tangerang or in other cities in nearby provinces such as Bekasi, Bogor or in the Indonesian capital city, Jakarta.

According to my informants, the village of Cicakal was established in order to respect and acknowledge the authority of Kasultanan Banten, whose kingdom had faith in Islam. The Kasultanan Banten authority set up this village to represent their state in this area in order to formalize and justify the marriage of the Baduy people by ordering them to verbalize their vows according to the Islamic law by declaring an oath of *syahadat*. By declaring the vows in Islamic rule, the Baduy are considered as subdued to the Banten sultan.

However, due to the difference in religion and language, the Baduy are allowed to say their oath in their own language, not in the Arabic like the Moslem fellows in this region. The establishment of this village has constructed agreement not only from the Baduy community to the authority of Banten kingdom, but vice versa. Thus the existence of this village is also important for the Baduy people because it gives them representation within the larger state system.

According to my informant, in the past, the Baduy elders often searched for modern goods in all Baduy villages including in Cicakal Girang villages, since they considered these modern items taboo and a breach of the Baduy ancestral law. However, in the following times Baduy elders realized that the people in Cicakal Girang area have different beliefs. Thus Baduy elders do not search for modern goods anymore in Cicakal area, and they only do it in the Baduy villages.

Daily interaction between Baduy people and Cicakal people went in a good way as they acknowledge and respect other customs and beliefs. As one of my assistants showed, when he needs to call me or his friends in the city, he does not hesitate to borrow his friend's mobile phone in Cicakal, since his village is near to Cicakal Girang. He also often informed people from Cicakal who were looking for jobs in the nearby city, since he has lots of contacts and friends in the city who need servants or laborers.

### 6.3 THE (RE)-CONSTRUCTION OF THE BADUY IDENTITY

The Baduy community is residing in the hilly mountainous area of Kanekes village. Moreover, the cosmology of the Baduy community is well expressed as the guardians of the universe and the Kanekes village where they reside is at the center of the earth. Thus this ideology is embedded in the daily life of Baduy people, where they always consider the customary law before they do things, because breaching the rules can cause displacement from their original place in the Baduy domain.

The Baduy community obtains their identity through several principles, such as being born and residing in Kanekes villages, practices such as the Sunda Wiwitan religion, obedience to the rules from the three Puun on traditional matters, the practice of shifting farming, and wearing of traditional clothing as their makers, as well as sharing a common language of old Sundanese with the rest of their community.

However, in general there are at least two principles that the person can use to claim Baduy identity. The first principle is that the person must be born and reside in the village in the domain of the Baduy community. The main reason is the location of what we call “fixed spaces” that differentiate the practice and traditions of the Baduy community with the rest of the Indonesian ethnic communities/groups. Moreover the Baduy domain is considered as a sacred place that needs to be guarded by all of the Baduy people together, both inner and outer Baduy, with different tasks for each of the major groups. The second principle is that the Baduy people should have faith and believe in *Sunda Wiwitan* (earliest Sundanese/Old Sundanese religion) and perform their duties and traditional practices as they have been taught by their ancestors through their parents and village elders. In practicing their religion, the Baduy acknowledge one god as the creator of the universe, similar to the rest of religions, which accepts god(s) as the powerful one. Puun only acts like the religious leader for the Baduy community, while they are considered to be direct descendants from their ancestors.

Furthermore, from these religious practices, there are several themes that should be performed as part of the identity of the Baduy. The first one is shifting

farming, where it has become the center of the Baduy identity, aside from being born and residing in the Kanekes village. Hence, by practicing shifting farming (subsistence farming) they can continue with the rest of the traditional rituals and ceremonies. Most of the ceremonies are related to the agricultural production from the subsistence farming practices. Ceremonies like Kawalu (fasting) were done after the harvesting season is finished and followed by the tribute ceremony (Seba) to the local and provincial governments. The circumcision and marriage ceremony are performed after the Seba ceremony is conducted.

In daily life the Baduy employ their identity in several ways. The Baduy communicate with the rest of their community using similar language of old Sundanese as part of their shared cultures. However, in terms of language use, the Baduy community has a similarity with the local people who reside near their domain, though the language of the Baduy has more originality than the languages of the local people nearby the Kanekes village. Only in several villages, will people use the common Indonesian language of *Bahasa* to communicate with others, especially the Baduy who reside in the tourist destination area or those who make contact with non-Baduy people.

In practicing the Old Sundanese religion (Wiwitan), the Baduy use traditional rituals, like in Kawalu, Seba, and other rituals and daily practices that are important in preserving their tradition as Baduy. Farming is not merely planting and growing rice, but it is performing marriage between the goddess of Paddy (Dewi Sri) and the land as the couple.

Moreover, on conducting their traditional rituals and practices, the Baduy must obey and follow the rules from the Puun as their religious leader. Thus, the identity of the Baduy community cannot be separated from one and the others. Hence, it is the unified code of principles which are related to the principles of cultures and traditions of the Baduy community.

In term of clothing identity, most of the Baduy people exert these principles in their daily life. Almost similar with the use of language that have been influenced

by *Bahasa* or other languages at some villages, clothing use in some of the villages has been influenced by the common style/model. Where some of the youth and the Baduy people who are often in contact with outsiders or often go to the city will use common and modern clothing styles as well as modern items such as mobile phones and radios.

#### 6.4 BADUY SPATIAL STRATEGIES OF NEGOTIATING STATE POLICIES

As I have explained in the previous chapter on the separation of Baduy community into two major groups of inner and outer Baduy, in this section I would like to elaborate on the spatial tactics of the Baduy community in divining their territory into several areas where they used this strategy to situate the current condition occurring in their areas. The Baduy domain besides being divided into two settlement domains of inner Baduy and outer Baduy, also has areas designated for visitor/tourist which is open to outsiders. This is their strategy in the face of government policy on eco-tourism, which has set their villages as destination areas.

Gajeboh hamlet has been set up by the Baduy elders as a tourist area. This can be seen as a Baduy spatial tactic in avoiding advance infiltration both from the state through policy practices and from the visitors to the inner domain, where the inner domain is considered as sacred ground where the purest stock of Baduy people settled in. This is also to prevent a broader influence brought by tourists to the Kanekes villages and to the Baduy community by concentrating visitors in groups at Gajeboh hamlet. Later on the elders can minimize the negative influences by enforcing the Baduy laws and regulations as strictly as in the other Baduy areas, during certain times of the year to purify the Baduy people's souls and minds from what they called *kahirupan urang kota* (common people way of life).

Besides setting up Gajeboh villages as tourist destination areas, the Baduy regulations also control the utilization of land, where they consider that as the most important identity of Baduy. The land utilization is divided into three major uses. First is for forestry, where the Baduy put high respect on nature such as mountains, forest, rivers, etc. The forest provides Baduy people with forest product such as wild fruits,

palm trees, timber (in designated forest area only), and other non-timber forest products such as wild animals, mushrooms and herbs, which are important for Baduy medication. The forest also helps the Baduy people in getting fresh and clean water for daily use. Secondly, the Baduy allocated the land for farming practices, where they can get crops to sell or consume by themselves. Paddy rice is the most important for Baduy community, since they consider paddy as the *Sang Hyang Asri* who gives life to people. Besides planting dry paddies with shifting farming practices, the Baduy also plant other crops for additional food or to be sold at the nearby market. The last zoning area is designated for housing, where Baduy people build their house in the area allowed by the elders. At first, before the area became a hamlet, there were only a few houses and the area was called *babakan baru* (new area). Then after the number of Baduy houses increased the area became a new hamlet. The population growth could become a big problem for the Baduy people in the future, since the amount of land they posses will remain the same. Therefore, the Baduy people also use land outside of their domain for shifting farming practices to prevent them from food depletion as well as to protect their areas from encroachment by outsiders.

## 6.5 BADUY RITUAL PRACTICES

In maintaining their community and tradition, the Baduy people organize certain rituals and ceremonies, which have objectives to pay respect to their ancestors, to purify the center of the earth including the earth in general, planting paddy rice which they consider as sacred as it symbolizes the marriage of the paddy goddess and the land/soil and to strengthen and preserve the ancestral law and traditions. The mantra and spells being cast during the ceremonies are to ask for blessings and permission from their gods and their ancestors, in order to become prosperous and avoid threats for all the Baduy community members and also for all of humankind on the earth. Some ritual ceremonies that are performed by the Baduy people are planting paddy rice in the communal land (*Ngaseuk Serang*, see chapter V), pilgrimage (*Muja*), fasting (*Kawalu*), population census (*Ngalaksa*) and tribute ceremony (*Seba*).

### 6.5.1 PILGRIMAGE (MUJA) TO THE ARCA DOMAS

According to my informant, another important ritual for the Baduy community is *Muja* or the pilgrimage to the sacred temple of Sasaka Domas/Arca Domas. This ritual is conducted by some of the Baduy people in the month of *Kalima* for three days in a row and it is led by a *Puun* from Cikeusik. Only Baduy male members are allowed to join for this ritual. Before they leave for *Sasaka Domas/Arca Domas* (temple), they gather at the Cikeusik village of the inner domain. Usually there are representatives from each village who come along with the *Puun* to the Baduy temple. The Sasaka Domas is located in the upper stream of Ciujung river considered to be the holy ground of the Baduy people. This place is believed to be the center of the universe and the place where god created the first human being. The location of Arca Domas is difficult to reach even for the Baduy people themselves, hence no one is familiar with the path/track to the location except the *Puun* and also because it is located far from the Baduy villages. The area of the Arca Domas is forbidden for all other people except the Baduy people with the permission from the *Puun* of Cikeusik.

The Arca Domas is essential in the Baduy religious beliefs and they consider that their ancestral spirits and people, who have passed away, gather at this place as they return to the god as the creator of human beings. In their opinion the Baduy ancestral spirits (*karuhun*) are able to transform and appear as themselves and find the way back to the villages through the forest. The pilgrimage ritual of Baduy people to this place is to clean up the area from dirt, dried leaves or other objects that will make the place look dirty. This is also the way they respect their ancestral spirits, traditions and beliefs, where the task as Baduy is to take care of the center of the universe and the sacred land.

### 6.5.2 SEBA, TRIBUTE OF CEREMONY OF NEGOTIATION WITH STATE

Another important ritual practice for the Baduy community is *Seba* (tribute ceremony), where the Baduy community is represented by the inner and outer Baduy in this ritual. There are two kinds of tribute ceremony, a big tribute ceremony (*Seba*

*Gede*) and a small tribute ceremony (*Seba Leutik*). There are no essential differences between these two tribute ceremonies, except that the number of tributes being given to the authorities is different. On the big tribute ceremony, the amount of agricultural production and the tributes being given to the state authority are larger than in the small tribute ceremony. The Baduy will hold the small tribute ceremony and big tribute ceremony in turn for each year. The number of Baduy people who attend this ceremony also depends on which tribute ceremony is to be held. The *Seba* ceremony is held after the harvesting season finishes in all shifting farms both in the inner and outer domains of the Baduy territory as well as the population census process.

The Baduy community prepares the tribute ceremony (*Seba*) after they finish cultivating individual farms. They select their best agricultural products and forest products such as banana, palm sugar, wild honey, yam/black radish, and also rice from the communal land as their tributes to the authorities in the district office, regency office and provincial offices. Each representatives of the Baduy community bring the agricultural products from their own farm fields. Then Jaro Pamarentah, as the community leader for governmental matters, will collect and divide it in the same numbers as governmental offices that they will visit. However, the amount of tribute that will be given is different based on the structural administration level.

The first place that the Baduy people stop is at the district office of Leuwidamar, but only Jaro Pamarentah, some elders and some Baduy members (including my self and my two assistants Pulung, the outer Baduy and Rafi (outsider) as we traveled together them) stop at this office, to give their tributes to the head of the district office. The rest of the Baduy members who come for the tribute ceremony go directly to the regent office and await Jaro and the elders there. The tribute ceremony at the governmental office is usually at night. Hence the inner Baduy who came along for the ceremony should walk barefoot from their village to the destination of the tribute ceremony.

However, during my first time attending the tribute ceremony in 2005, it was held during daytime, shortly after the inner Baduy representatives arrived at the regent office. The reason was because the head of the regency had to go to the Jakarta for

some reason. Then, the second time I went along with the Baduy people to the tribute ceremony in 2006 it was held at night, which contributes to the ritual impression and sacredness of the tribute ceremony since there were less local people watching the ceremony.

The ceremony starts with the enchantment and speech from *Tangungan*, and the report to the head of the regency that this ceremony is a mandate from their ancestors and their spiritual leaders (Puun), and also from all of the Baduy community members who all respect and obey the government rules and power. Then the ceremony continued by handing over the tribute symbolically, where *Tangungan* gave paddy rice and white incense (*kemenyan*) wrapped in dried banana leaves to the head of the regency, witnessed by all of the audience in the hall. In return, the head of regency also gave an offering to the Baduy community through *Tangungan*; the gift handed over usually being salted fish, cigarettes, snacks and some amount of money. This means that the government is also concerned and pays attention to the Baduy community existence. The Baduy are citizens in the territory of the region.

The gift exchange, was followed by a discussion about the general situation of the Baduy people's economy, health and issues regarding security, conflict or environment conditions. The Baduy community, represented by Jaro Pamarentah, reported the situation and condition of the Baduy community to the head of the regency. Also, he made some requests for government action for protection and problem solving regarding land and forest encroachment by the neighboring villagers and the issues surrounding accusations of Baduy black magic (*santet*) made by neighboring villagers.

The issue of land and forest encroachment raised by the Jaro shows that the Baduy people were concerned with the water and watershed condition. They argued that if the watershed area is being encroached upon, then the rest of the regency and some parts of the other regency will not have enough clean water for their needs. The issue of black magic brought up by Jaro shows his concern for the safety of the Baduy community members. People who did not know about the Baduy might agree with the wrong perception and link black magic/curse with the Baduy community, hence there

is also a strong myth of the Baduy that they still hold onto their old Sundanese religion tightly and put spiritual matters at high consideration. Thus, the head of the regency, ordered all the regency staff who attended the ceremony and the regency police chief along with the regency army chief, to investigate those issues that have been brought up by the Jaro Pamarentah.

Furthermore, the Jaro Pamarentah also asked the government to decrease the amount of retribution from tourism, where the Kanekes sub-district had to contribute around 8 million Rupiah to the regency government from the income from tourism. Then, the head of the regency said that he would re-evaluate the policy of retribution from tourism in Kanekes. Jaro also brought up the topic of development. He agreed that the government should put forth new development in the region, but he emphasized that development programs should be suited to the local people's needs not merely from the government thoughts which he said only make people more dependent and in worse condition. He mentioned that in the nearby area of their villages the government has already built a basic school, which is now in awful condition, hence there is only a small number of students from the neighboring villages of Baduy who attend the schools. He mentioned that the Baduy people did not need school to be good people. They worried that if people get a high education and become smart, they would use their knowledge to trick other people just like what happened in the Indonesian state, where most of the highly educated people lead the country, but most of them also trick their own people with corruption and policy which is only beneficial for some people close to them, not the entire population. Then all of the audience clapped their hand for Jaro, including the Head of the regency.

The ceremony then closed after the head of the regency promised to the Baduy community that he would try to help and make the development in the surrounding areas more useful for all of the people and he also promised that the government would not interfere with the Baduy customary traditions, including not to make development policy which will put the Baduy in a hard situation. After the tribute ceremony and discussion session finished the head of the regency welcomed

all of the audience to have dinner which had been prepared. More than 900 Baduy people and 50 people from the regency staff then took part in the dinner.

After the dinner session finished and all the government officers had left, some Baduy people took a rest and tried to sleep in the hall, while others, including me and my assistant, continued walking around and hanging out with other Baduy people both from the inner and outer domain. Baduy people from the inner domain are rarely involved, although sometimes they laugh and reply to the jokes pointed out to them by their friends. After a while we walked to the city park, which is located right in front of the regent office, and bought some cigarettes and more snacks and water. Around 11pm we went back to the meeting hall where most of Baduy people were already laying down covered with their sarongs and using their bag to rest their heads and ready to sleep in the meeting hall. We continued talking and sometimes made jokes about the way teh head of the regency talks, where he used the word ya (yes) a lot of times during discussion. Sometimes others replied to what we were talking about or how we were mimicking the head of the regency's words. Later on we moved to find a place with more space to sleep, but we ended up sleeping in the car.

The next day, after staying over night in the regency hall, the Baduy people continued on to the provincial office where the governor received them in the meeting hall. The outer Baduy are allowed to use trucks as transportation to the governor's office, which has been prepared by the head of the regency, however the inner Baduy should strictly adhere to their ancestral rules and walk barefoot wherever they go. It took half a day to reach the governor's office which is located around 50 KM away from the regent office for the inner Baduy, while only less than one hour for those who went by truck.

We (Pulung, Rafi and I) decided to go earlier than those who used a truck. After eating breakfast at a food stall we stopped at the local public transport station and took a bus to the Provincial capital city. In the afternoon around 1pm we reached the governor's office, after we stopped at the local tourist guide association office, where Pulung and Rafi know some of the people who they introduced me to. We took

a rest and ate more food since we felt hungry again. When we went to the governor's office, some of the Baduy people were taking a rest and sitting in the park, while others were walking around and buying some food from the food stall in front of the governor's office. Some were lying down and taking a rest under the tent that has been set up by the governor's staff. The reception in the governor's office was better prepared than in the regent's office. The Baduy people were well served by the provincial administration, from lunch to snacks, oranges, and coffee or mineral water. The Baduy people became a show for most of the governor office staff. Many of them were staring at the Baduy people, while some of them try to talk to the Baduy people and ask if they brought some items such as daggers, traditional herbs, textiles, wild honey, handicrafts, souvenirs or lucky charms that they could buy. Some outer Baduy people, who have thought about this opportunity before they came, happily show the items, while others are just ignoring the question from governor office staff or referring them to their friends who are prepared.

Around 7 pm, the Jaro were informed by one of the governor secretary that the governor will be late for the Seba ceremony, since she must attend a scheduled task in another district. Then, Jaro reply that they just want to report, and it is not his concern who will receive them for the ceremony from the government side, whether security staff, junior staff or someone from the governor office. However, he said they are willing to wait if the governor wants them to wait and receive them by herself to conduct the Seba ceremony. After waiting for a long time, the governor showed up around midnight and apologized to the Baduy elders and people, and then the Seba ceremony was conducted.

Similar to the ceremony in the regency office, the tribute ceremony here also opens with the enchantment and speech from *Tangungan*. Then he gives the tribute symbolically to the governor as in the regency office and vice versa, the governor also gave a present to the Baduy people symbolically. Then the ceremony is also followed by discussions from both sides. The governor urged the Baduy people to bring their children to school in order to reduce the inability to read which she said will bring the Baduy people into good education and economic conditions. What is interesting here

is the answer from the Jaro Pamarentah, which was similar to his answer at the regency office but here he added that, “from what they (he) know, there are two kinds of education; formal education and informal education. In the formal education there is a certificate while in non-formal education there is not. Then he added that they do not need a certificate to know what they must do or how to be good people. He said that what they need is trust and an ability to survive by knowing what they must do and not do in life to become a good people. That is why he said that they teach their children to work at the farm, so their children will know how to grow paddy rice and survive.

Then the governor asked the Baduy people why they did not bring their wives to the ceremony at her office as she would like to know the female Baduy as well. Then Jaro replied that their wives should take care of the children and housework. Suddenly one elder from the inner domain spontaneously replied, that he also would like to meet with the governor’s husband. The entire audience in the hall was silent since (most of the Baduy) did not know that the governor did not come with her spouse to the ceremony. Then the governor said that her husband had something important to do so he could not attend the ceremony, which was followed by laughter and claps from the entire audience. Then the elder replied again, that their situation is similar and that their wives have their important tasks and priorities so they could not attend the ceremony and must do what is important, which is agreed by the governor.

The discussion also brought up the water and forestland encroachment where the governor also promised to the Baduy that she would pay more attention to that matter. Some areas in the capital city of the province also lack clean water where most of the upper streams of the rivers in the region are in the Baduy domain. Then the ceremony closed after the discussion and the governor welcomed the Baduy to have dinner together with her and her staff and she also offered them to stay overnight in the meeting hall of her office. The next day the Baduy people returned to their village domain after two days of tribute ceremony to the regency and provincial

authorities by taking the transportation that has been provided by the governor's office and they prepared to continue their traditional livelihood.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

In sum, the Baduy employed their spatial (ethno-space) strategy to negotiate the state development policy especially on eco-tourism. The Baduy set their areas and divided their land into several areas depending on the utilization of the land. The Baduy have divided their land into two domains of inner and outer domain. They have also set up the Gajeboh hamlet for tourism which has prevented tourists from infiltrating further to the inner domain, and this can be seen as a Baduy spatial strategy in situating the tourism condition in their areas where the state has used their domain as a tourist destination.

The Baduy domain is also inhabited by Moslem residents in Cicakal Girang, however, this does not disrupt Baduy livelihood since they have built common understanding between each other. The Baduy respect the Cicakal Girang people and they do the same to the Baduy community. Gajeboh hamlet, even though open for outsiders/tourists, still maintains a traditional way of life in general and practices the Baduy traditions as they have to, while some villagers have also been influenced by visitors in terms of economic activities, but it is not breaching Baduy rules.

Ritual practices that the Baduy community performs can be seen as their appreciation to their god and their ancestors, as well as their respect to the state authority. The Baduy also use their ritual practices as the means of negotiation with the government regarding the development situation in their surrounding area, where they consider some state development practices could interfere with their traditions and livelihood as Baduy. It is not that they do want and do not agree with state development, but they want the development that is suited to their needs and does not harm their traditions as a traditional community, which emerged from the local needs. Development, in their opinion, is the process that must bring benefits for all people, not only for those in power and some people who are closed to the policy makers.

Baduy ritual practices consist of daily and religious matters where both themes are interlinked with each other, since the ideology of Baduy considers their space as the main core of their ideology and identity. Ritual practices of the Baduy take place both at their domain such as Pilgrimage, Ngaseuk Serang, Kawalu, and Ngalaksa and outside of their domain such as the Seba ceremony, where they used that ceremony to negotiate with the state authority (government) besides reporting their existence and their acknowledgements to the state authority as the larger administrative system. Besides their daily practices as the way they negotiate with the conditions at their domain, The Seba ceremony is a significant tool for Baduy negotiation since during the ceremony the Baduy representatives meet with the government officers who are in charge of policy making.