CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study focuses on negotiation from the marginalization and marginality situation of the ethnic community, as the process of social transformation from the state and traditionalization from the center of the community, by understanding the cultures and practices of the Baduy ethnic group. Hence the state has labeled the ethnic minorities as backward society and uncivilized community in the past, thus the ethnic minority has been place in the marginalized situation. Moreover, the state through policy practices has put ethnic minorities, in this case the Baduy community, in the edge of social, economic and political relationships, where the state has established the policy of (eco)-tourism and community land entitlement. As the unintended consequences from the state policies on community land entitlement and ecotourism, the Baduy could acquire more recognition from the majority of the people as well as from the state through their practices, especially the ritual practice of tribute ceremony. Therefore, the main goal of my research was to investigate the explanation of the way Baduy people maintain their traditions and livelihood as well as the way they negotiate and perceive the development process that occurs both in the areas surrounding their domain as well as the development projects toward them by the state through state policy practices.

This chapter consists of four sections. The fist section is the main findings of the research. It shows some of the problems that the Baduy community deals with as well as the hidden problems. The second section of this chapter discusses what has been found in the context of the Baduy community in Banten province, Indonesia. The third section attempts to suggest some implications for policy and development projects. The last section of this chapter is about the limitations of the study that I have conducted.

7.1 MAJOR FINDING OF THE STUDY

From the experience learned in the Baduy community, this research has produced a number of key findings as follows:

First, the state policies on development toward the Baduy community have put the Baduy ethnic community in a marginalized situation, through the policy of resettlement, eco-tourism and community land rights entitlement toward the Baduy community, which limited and perceived the Baduy people as the object to be developed. However, the state policies have also created unintended consequences. With the policy of resettlement, the government tried to remove the Baduy community from the domain where they reside and upgrade them to be more developed, however it has turned out that the Baduy people tried to "expand" their territory and use the resettlement area as a buffer zone, even though not all of the area is being used. In regard to the policy of eco-tourism, where the state promotes the Baduy community, this makes the Baduy gain more recognition from the majority of the people as well as from the state view, especially from the tourism authority, which means the state should carefully conserve the Baduy community in a concrete way if they do not want to lose their income. The policy of communal land entitlement towards the Baduy community has given them rights to maintain and practice their traditions and determined where the Baduy have employed ethno-space strategies as the basis of counter argument and negotiation with the state policies and practices. Thus, it has given the Baduy community rights to ignore and reject the development process that does not agree with their traditions and customary law. Otherwise it would create inconsistency with the communal land rights entitlement.

A second finding is how the Baduy employed ethno-space strategies such as dividing their community into two major groups, the inner Baduy and outer Baduy. This internal differentiation is created in order to protect the inner Baduy who are considered the purest stock of the Baduy community, from any infiltration that could interfere with their tradition and culture. Furthermore, since the regulations in the outer Baduy area are less strict than for the inner Baduy community, the outer Baduy have faced some adaptation. However, most of the adaptation for the outer Baduy is

in terms of economy where they are able to pursue more capital, whether from planting cash crops in their farm outside of their domain, or from trading and working as laborers. The cultural changes that occur among the Baduy community are still in an early stage such as language and clothing. The language changes are mostly in the form of adopting Indonesian language, where the outer Baduy who often trade with or visit nearby cities for their purposes, speak with the Indonesian which is then adopted in their daily life with some friends who also do the same. Indonesian language is also in the villages that are often visited by tourists/visitors, such as Kaduketug and Gajeboh, where the Baduy also employed an ethno-spatial strategy by setting these two villages (Kaduketug and Gajeboh) as the main entrance for visitors and for the tourist commuting areas. Visitors/tourists, as well as Baduy traders, also bring clothing influence. Similar to language changes, the modern clothes also occur in the Baduy area that is often visited by tourists as I mentioned above.

A third finding is that the place/domain where the Baduy community resides is considered as the core of their identity with its religion and traditions of the Baduy community. The traditions, cultures and livelihood are stimulated from the idea to protect their ethno-space as a place of living which they share among the rest of the community members, from outside influence that could interfere with their existence, including their cultural and traditional livelihood as an ethnic community. The identity of Baduy is protected by the traditional law which is based on taboo and ancestral conjunctions, where it is still held tightly by the Baduy community members as the principles of the life. However, the outer Baduy as the ones who are a buffer to protect the inner community, are in the more flexible situation, where they adapt to the development process and this is tolerated by the traditional customs in the sense that it does not breach the core of the Baduy rules and identity. Therefore, the space of the Baduy can be considered as Baduy ethno-space, with their own institutional organization to administer the members of the community a traditional practices, covering both daily practices and ritual practices of the Baduy community.

The fourth finding is that the traditional governing system and practices of the Baduy community plays important roles in protecting their culture and tradition,

since the Baduy used their traditional rituals and practices to accommodate their idea in negotiating the government strategies on development, in order to preserve their traditions from degradation. Furthermore, the tribute ceremony plays an important role in negotiation as during the ceremony the Baduy report the situation, conditions and aspirations from their community to the government in general, especially if they have an idea on important matters that need urgent responses from the state officials in the near future. Furthermore, by having two governing systems, where in the state governing system the Baduy is led by Jaro Pamarentah who is also a Baduy member, they can immediately gain information on state policy and plans that will affect them. This allows them to prepare their strategies to negotiate with the state if they consider the government plan would influence and interfere with their traditional way of life and their space as well.

Fifth, ritual practices that the Baduy community performs can be seen as their appreciation to their god and their ancestors as well as the way they respect the state authority. While they also use their ritual practices as a means of negotiation with the state/government regarding the development situation in their surrounding area, they consider that some state development practice could interfere with their traditions and livelihood as Baduy. It is not they are against and not agrees 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 aspirations. 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 with 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 Seba ceremony, where they used that ceremony to negotiate with the state authority/government besides reporting their way of life and their acknowledgements to the state authority as the larger administrative system. The Seba ceremony is a significant tool for the Baduy community negotiation since during the ceremony the Baduy representatives meet

with the government officers who are in charge of policy making. Additionally they employ daily practices as daily tactics to negotiate with the current conditions of livelihood at their domain.

7.2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this section, I attempt to discuss some perspectives of the findings that could vary from the current theoretical perspectives regarding development and marginalization, space, practices and negotiation of ethnic communities, particularly in the Indonesian context.

First, development policy as state tools of developing the traditional community can be seen as efforts, in the sense that the state tries to include the minorities such as ethnic groups in the process of development, not as Anna Tsing (1993) mentioned that development toward ethnic minorities in Indonesia is intolerable. However, the implementation of the state development policies in the field sometimes overlaps and is not clearly understood by the state official and policy makers hence there is miscommunication, misconduct behavior or knowledge bias regarding the development policies among the state officials as well as the real situation in the field which in turn creates marginalization toward the ethnic groups.

Thus, development strategies and policies should also hear the voice from the local people who understand the problem and situation at the local level, which will help the state to establish the necessary and suitable policies toward ethnic minorities in Indonesia. Hence, development is not only from the center of the state, but can also emerge from the center of the community itself, and be suited with the situation of the local people. Thus, this study shared similar ideas with Garna (cited in Barnes, Gray and Kingsbury 1993) who stated that "given the chance, the Baduy would prefer to be left alone to decide their own future". In addition I also share the similar thought with Colchester (1993) that in the implementation of development policies toward ethnic minorities one also faces some problems and opposition, especially from those who gain benefits from the development implementation at the local level.

Second, traditional societies, particularly ethnic groups who reside and maintain their livelihood practices in remote and hilly mountainous areas, would generate ideology in order to protect their space from exploitation either from the community itself or from outsiders including the government. Thus I agree with Kahn (2000) who pointed out the relationship between the local people of Tahiti and their land. She stated that the Tahitian perceived land as a nurturing mother of humans and that personal identity and social relationships of the Tahiti people are defined by the genealogical ties to land as their social space. For the Tahitian people their ancestral past and their current life are grounded in the relationship between the people and the land. Moreover as Breman (1997) stated, the village is a mini republic with its own governing system. This shows that an ethnic community like the Baduy people, has their own structure which could be different from the one that the state has, however the traditional governing structures at the local level are not to compete with or resist the government power on national sovereignty. It is more to accommodate the idea and social relationship among the members of the community, hence people are different from one another, and it is more easy and efficient if they have a governing system that is known and managed by the local people where it could help them to solve problems and accommodate ideas in order to keep people from conflicts.

Third, practices of subsistence farming are embedded in the daily life of traditional communities, where the production from particularly shifting farming is to fill the basic needs and not for commercial purposes. However, due to the current changes in the agricultural sector, there is some adaptation in terms of farming from the traditional/ethnic community, where some of the outer Baduy people grow cash crops such as clove, pepper, and coffee as well as valuable trees. Moreover, in this case some of the other outer Baduy open shops in their homes to get additional income to support their economic condition. This can be seen as rational choices in order to adapt with the current economic situation. Hence, people are dynamic and heterogeneous even in one community. As Berkes (1989) stated, rational choices ignore cultural and traditional diversity.

Fourth, ritual practices/religious belief from the traditional or ethnic community can be seen as the basis of their ideology and identity to connect and tighten the community members together as well as to link them with their place/domain as ethno-space by performing rituals which connects them to their ancestral order as a way to prevent the community from conflicts and overwhelming circumstances. Thus I agree with the idea from Strang (2000), where she uses the case of the Aboriginal people in Australia. She states that their lives are bound up with the land, their economic sustainability was reliant upon intimate knowledge of the landscape and their entire social and spiritual existence was mediated by the land and the ancestral beings embedded in it, whose lives they were spiritually directed to follow.

Fifth, Negotiation can be articulated through practices both in everyday practices or ritual practices of the local community. Moreover, negotiation of an ethnic community can be acquired by using different tools, whether in daily life or special ritual practices which show their ability to maintain natural resources such as forest, rivers, and watershed in order to gain recognition both from the state and the majority people as well. Thus I agree with Lund (2002) who states that negotiation comprises all sorts of tactical and strategic maneuvers that affect the outcome in terms of changing, transforming or solidifying a claim. Negotiation may take place as formalized and ritualized in court or a village hearing, negotiation is also something else and more. I also agreed with Moore (1993) who stated that negotiation can be formulated in everyday practice of the local people such as in trade, story telling, myth and rituals. In the way to show their uniqueness and capability of maintaining their livelihood in a particular area as well as to gain access to valuable resources as well as to rationalize their action in their "contested" land, similar to other strategies that they necessarily applied to negotiate with the current situation of their living environment. In addition villagers who are excluded have to adopt different strategies to negotiate with the state. Thus, I also share similar ideas with Scott (1985) that villagers also have their own power and weapon to resist marginalization, where they can use collective strategies or individual tactics. The change in their livelihood,

talking about the government official, ignorance of state development program and policies are the ways they express their response to the state power.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Ethnic minorities and upland people in Indonesia have their own and unique culture and traditions which are different from one to another. They have their own cosmology which defines their opinion of land, forest, rivers, and nature. Thus, any kind of interventions from the outside world particularly from the government as the policy maker toward ethnic group/community regarding their domain should also consider the local context and culture of the local community. Thus, this study of the Baduy community in Banten province Indonesia is a base for the recommendation that follows:

First, development programs and policies that have been used and implemented in the Baduy community in Banten province and most of the ethnic communities in Indonesia generally are imposed by the government both at the central level as well as at the local level in every province. The policies are planned based on views and ideas, which are different from the people at the local level. Thus, most of the policies do not succeed, are ignored or are opposed by the local people. People's livelihood has not improved even though various policies have been implemented by the state, ranging from transmigration and resettlement, agricultural reform, community land entitlement, and eco-tourism. As a consequence, traditional culture of the local people has been threatened and degraded. Thus it is important for development programs to be concerned with and focus more attention on local culture and people. Moreover, local knowledge should also be respected and taken as input, where local knowledge represents the accumulated experiences and wisdom which can be a benefit for the development program in the future.

Second, government officials both in central and in local offices who work directly with the local people should have the understanding and respect for the culture of the local people to improve their quality and capacity to organize the development projects in the area. What I saw during my study was that the

government officials both in regency and provincial offices did not understand the culture and traditions of the Baduy people, hence the local ethnic group is labeled as backward and uneducated. Thus, knowledge empowerment on local culture and customs is necessary for the state official in the development process and not only toward the ethnic group.

Third, participation of local people is also important in planning and implementing the development in their own area. Therefore, local people's ideas on what kind of development suits them could be accommodated and implemented to improve their livelihood and strengthen the traditional customs in their domain, which can make their community much more successful in facing the dynamic change from the outside without risking their culture and tradition from degradation as one of the well known ethnic minorities in Indonesia, especially in Java.
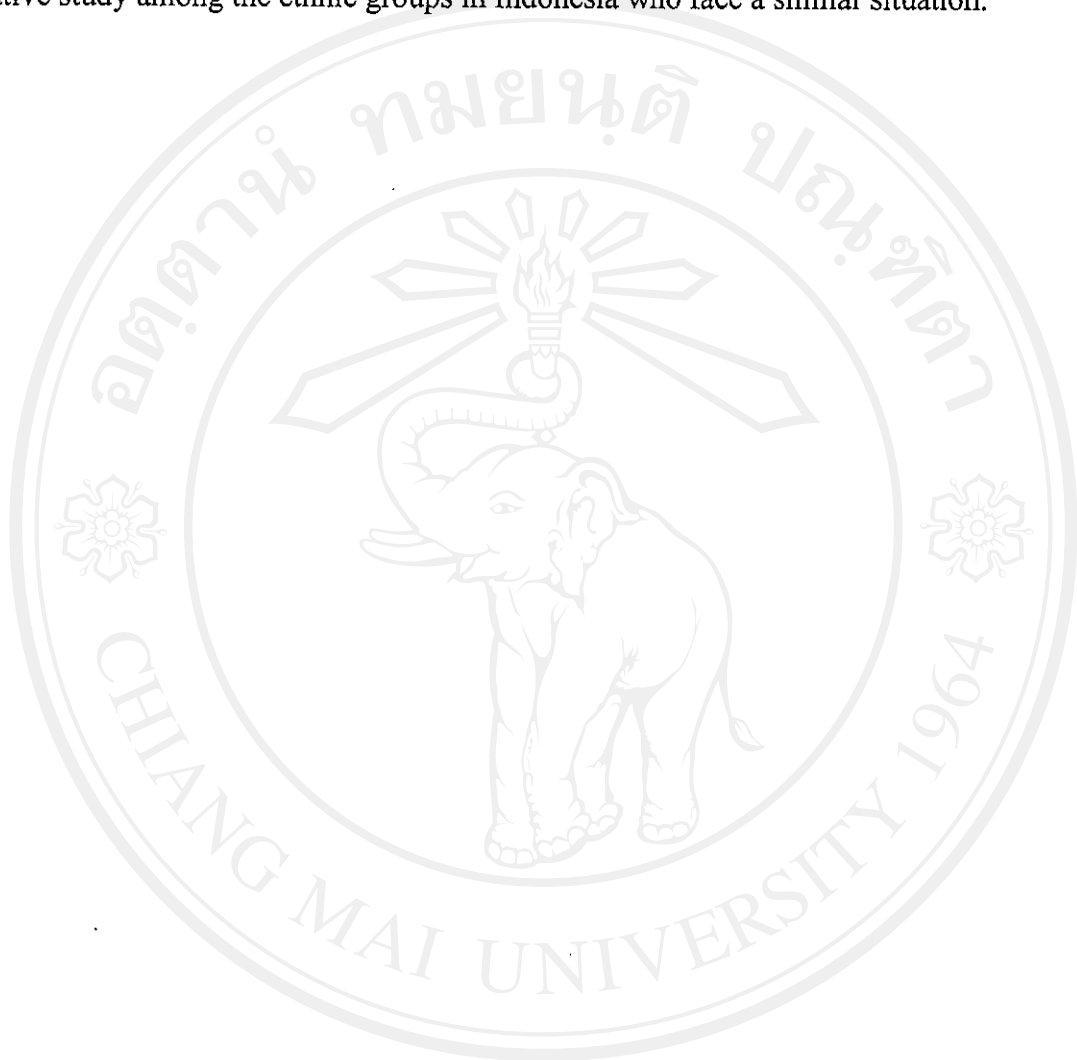
7.4 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Due to time and resource availability, the limitations of this research are as follows:

During field research, multiple methods and tools were selected to collect information based on the topic and the situation in the Baduy community as the study area. However, a traditional society like the Baduy is complex and varies from village to village and over time. Also it was difficult to properly apply these methods and tools to serve the purpose of a real situation. It was also difficult to gather complete information, especially from the state offices to fully understand the community within the limited time and resources.

The research was done after the implementation of resettlement, ecotourism and community land entitlement. The Baduy community already acknowledges those policies, and right now they are facing many new problems. It was not possible to directly observe what happened at the site all the time, hence the situation is very dynamic from time to time.

Therefore, further study on new problems and how the Baduy community perceive and adapt to the current situation in the area would be valuable, particularly a comparative study among the ethnic groups in Indonesia who face a similar situation.