

**Indigenous Community which is No Longer “Genuine”:
The Strategy of Baduy People in the Crush of Tourism**

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Introduction

Tourism in its development today does not only place natural potential as the only tourist attraction, but there are also other types of new attractions such as agrotourism, edutourism, religious tourism to cultural tourism. Tourism has become an important industry in the economic development of a country, including Indonesia. The strategic geographic conditions of Indonesia lets travelers enjoy the natural charm of the mountains, forests to the sea. Not only that, many new tourist attractions are neatly packaged to meet the needs of tourists and of course, the government. Cultural diversity of Indonesia is one of the many tourist attractions favored by both domestic and foreign tourists.

Tourism in all its aspects has incorporated elements of modernization in its activities. Sociologically, tourism is related to social change and its impact for the perpetrators of tourism. Pitana (2005) asserted that tourism is not simply linked to the economic aspects but also social, cultural, political, community and beyond. In recent decades, tourism has become the driving source of community dynamics and become one of the prime movers in the socio-cultural changes. In this context, the tourism community receives positive and negative effects of the dynamics of the tourism sector.

Cultural tourism become a new trend among the stakeholders in tourism, both tourists and businessmen who see this opportunity. Diversity of Indonesian society with its exotic culture has become a cultural attraction that arouse the curiosity of the tourists. They want to know the life of tribal or indigenous communities that are different from modern paced life. In the end, the original

community culture comes into a commodity for businesses, services, and entertainment. It can be seen from the emergence of travel agent offering package of cultural tourism in Indonesia, for example, to the Dani tribe in Papua, the Dayak tribe in Kalimantan or Baduy in Banten. Travelers willing to pay more to travel agents to feel the sensation of life of indigenous communities, ranging from clothing, food, shelter, traditions, life and other activities. Watching some programs on private television station, we will also witness the lives of indigenous communities in various parts of Indonesia. The creative team in those television program brings celebrities who takes modernity to explore life in the tribe. In fact, the program is very popular among television viewers.

From the description above, it is clear that tourism industry bring positive and negative effects for the community. The positive effect is on the aspect of education or knowledge of the public about other people's culture. Thus, there is no need to worry about tourism activities because according to Suhardi (2010) Indonesian do not take into granted whatever comes, but it is interpreted first before integrated into the existing cultural elements. Whereas the negative side is that tourism brings with it the threat of change for the next generation of the tribal or indigenous communities. The interaction between the tourists with the local community will take effect for the life of the community in all aspects. Tourists with modern symbol get in touch directly with the indigenous culture that has lasted since their ancestors by the simplicity and wisdom they have.

"Tourism is, everywhere, the enemy of authenticity and cultural identity" (Louis Turner and John Ash, 1976, in Pitana: 2005) has warned us that tourism is the enemy of authenticity and cultural identity. Cultural tourism "sell" cultural authenticity and a life interest of a particular community. Authenticity is a very fragile thing actually when constantly confronted with globalization. Nothing stays the same or original when the aspect of globalization has entered a region, and this is also true for the indigenous communities in Indonesia. Many hands are

played in the development of cultural tourism, ranging from governments, employers and even perhaps the original community members who wish to take advantage of the opportunities of cultural tourism.

One of cultural tourism destinations in Indonesia is indigenous Baduy community residing in the village Kanekes, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak regency, Banten Province. The uniqueness of the local Baduy as a community lies on their determination to maintain the customs and traditions against modernization. Erwinantu (2012) illustrates that there are three things to describe the Baduy way of life, they are simplicity, friendliness to nature and the spirit of independence. Those three things are integrated in the social, economic, and authority of traditional institutions which they apply to themselves and to outsiders who come to the Baduy.

Baduy Cultural Tourism (*Saba Budaya Baduy*) arises curiosity as well as astonishment of tourists about an area where people can live without electricity, the house was not walled, no paved roads, lack of vehicles and even electronic devices. Moreover, the location of the Baduy is not too far from the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, which is \pm 150 Km or a few hours only. This condition portrays two contradictive view of indigenosity and modernity. Baduy consists of two communities, they are The Inner Baduy (*The Inner Baduy*) and The Outer Baduy (*The Outer Baduy*) which is the majority. The difference between the two lies in the commitment to the original customs they have believed for hundreds of years. This happens because of the opening of the isolation which gives opportunities to get contact with foreign cultures. Some Baduy residents absorb elements of foreign cultures in their lives and be a the Outer Baduy who are the majority in the total indigenous Baduy community. A small percentage who still adhere to the original indigenous ancestors seem more enclosed. However, both co-exist and complement each other (Erwinantu, 2012).

The existence of the Outer Baduy already indicates that the influence of modernization is so strong that they chose to adapt although to certain extent. Today, the Baduy have become potential tourist area because it provides an exciting experience for visitors. If we come to the village Kanekes, the territory of the Outer Baduy which is in the border area, the sign of change is very obvious. At the "gate" of the Outer Baduy, almost every house becomes a storefront souvenir shop that sells fabric weaving, honey, bags, shirts and things typical to Baduy. Locals guide services are also available to deliver tourists to the Inner Baduy. The condition clearly showed that cultural tourism inevitably affect the dynamics of cultural tourism in Baduy society in Banten.

Research Problem

Baduy with its uniqueness became a magnet in the tourism industry, local government designated it a cultural tourist destination. This opportunity is exploited by a stout party to earn additional income as the services of a guide, porter services, selling souvenirs and so forth. The development of Baduy community as a popular tourism spot arouses the writer's interest to study further aspects of tourism. The first problem statement is how is the development of cultural tourism in the Baduy?

For the Baduy themselves, Baduy tourism place them as object of spectacle for tourists, it is certainly uncomfortable. Tourist arrivals made the indigenous Baduy get in touch with modern lifestyle which will slowly undermine the authenticity of the indigenous Baduy. Baduy residents tranquility was disturbed by the presence of tourists, both individuals and large groups. Tourist behavior which are negative or do not conform to the rules of customary Baduy finally just left a negative impact on Baduy citizens. What is the impact of cultural tourism on the lives of Baduys?

Baduy has been existed around hundreds of years ago, until now Baduy still survive although its simplicity and authenticity are squeezed by strong modernization and globalization under the trend of cultural tourism. How does Baduy maintain their cultural identity in the midst of the strike of tourism?

This paper tried to explain aspects of tourism in the indigenous Baduy, in terms of the development, impacts and the strategies of baduy in maintaining its cultural identity amid the crush of modernization. Data collection started from fieldwork on May 2102, to get an overview of Baduy cultural tourism through observation and interview, followed by a study of literature through analyzing research and books about the Baduy. Methods of interpretive analysis is conducted to gain a comprehensive overview on the aspects of tourism in the Indigenous Baduy community.

Discussion

No society without undergoing a change, even in remote communities located far from the central government. Changes occur in all communities in a different rhythm and shape according to the characteristics of the community. Baduy indigenous communities was known for their steadfastness in upholding traditional Baduy ancestral traditions especially the Inner Baduy, but that does not mean they did not change. The revolution of the indigenous Baduy brought by the growing tourism activities in cultural tourism (*Saba Budaya Baduy*).

If we go to the Baduy village of Kanekes, District Leuwidamar, Lebak regency, Banten province, then we will glimpse into a different world from the world of daily life. Indigenous Baduy community consists of the Outer Baduy which is directly adjacent to the outside area and the the Inner Baduy who are deep into the woods on the edge. The land area of indigenous Baduy is 5136, 58 ha with 57 villages of the Outer Baduy and the other 3 villages of the Inner Baduy. Towards Baduy is not difficult, any vehicle shall stop at the terminal Ciboleger. Ciboleger

is authorized to enter the main gate of the indigenous Baduy. In the middle of the terminal, there are Baduy family monument with statues greet visitors or tourists (Erwinantu, 2012). This is the real sign that the Baduy is a popular tourist destination. Walking distance, we will come to the village Kaduketug, as the outer villages of the regions of the Outer Baduy. Tourist village atmosphere is very obvious because every house terrace serves as a "window" of craft products of the Outer Baduy citizens. In general, Baduy people are farmers who are also involved in tourism sector, such as artisans, merchants, local guides and renting their home as a home stay. Baduy handicrafts that are sold include: Suat songket (woven fabric), jarog and Koja (bags of bark), a typical Baduy clothing, batik cloth headband, honey, t-shirts, and weapons. On the front porch of each house, there is a loom, in addition to seeing the process of weaving, tourists may also try to use it and take a picture of it.

Foreign Baduy citizens are well aware that what they have is something attractive for outsiders so that they are familiar with the visit of tourists, both individuals and groups. A 30 years resident of the Outer Baduy said that she had 5 years ago sold the typical Baduy souvenir, such as t-shirts and key chains for the visitors / tourists. He took the shirt from Bandung with text and images that characterizes about Baduy. Not only that, the Outer Baduy people are able to use tourism opportunities by selling handicrafts which gives them adequate money for their needs. They sell a piece of cloth weaving between Rp. 30000-75000, honey syrup bottle sizes of Rp. 50,000, shirts around Rp. 25000-50000. If the visitors are in group, sale and purchase transactions in the Kaduketug village is very apparent. It seems that the Baduy tourist attraction is not different from other tourist destinations which are alive because of the typical souvenir center.

Pitana stated that tourism is a force of change in a society, even Loius Turner & John Ash warned that tourism is the enemy of cultural identity. This indicates that tourism brings with it both positive and negative impacts that can not be avoided.

Cultural tourism sell an indigenous cultural authenticity, ironically, it is undeniable that this type of activities would potentially alter the authenticity of the culture itself. Nevertheless, tourism can not be said to be the sole cause of the changes in society, because there are a lot of aspects in a change in which each component in the community is related one another.

The impact of tourism is more clearly seen in the the Outer Baduy, particularly in Kampung Kaduketug. Originally, all the Baduy residents are farmers, but later residents of Kampung Kaduketug use tourism opportunities to diversify livelihood by working as local guides for tourists and selling craft in addition to being farmer. They responsively supply the needs of visitors / tourists for souvenirs that will remind them about Baduy. Language also supports tourism activities in the Outer Baduy. Most people in the Outer Baduy can speak Indonesian language although they are not in school. That is because they are interacting with the community outside on the goal of communication with visitors / tourists smoothly. Baduy youth appearance also indicates visible changes, they dressed like outsiders. Young people in the Baduy men adorn themselves with colorful bracelets and necklaces metal accessories. Teenagers and children of Baduy are modernly-dressed. They wear t-shirts and jeans, and wear slippers. The Outer Baduy women wear gold jewelery and ornate. Those are the phenomena which can not be ignored, though it looks simple and small, but that is a process of decaying the authenticity of indigenous Baduy community. Young people are vulnerable to the temptations of the colorful outside world, that is why most of them are familiar to the use of mobile phone as a communication tool. The looseness of traition on the Outer Baduy provides high intensity for the entrance of modern elements through tourism.

Not only for its citizens, the impact of tourism occurred. No less important is the environmental impact as a result of tourism activities. The number of visitors who came to the Baduy certainly not all comply with customs rules. Some of them do

not appreciate, even breaking what had been upheld by the Baduy residents. The problem of waste has disturbed the serenity of the hosts, beside the emergence people who commit criminal acts. The Outer Baduy are more lax in applying the rules. They have the desire to accept the changes that benefit them as long as the change is not related to the vital value which can damage their ideology.

Baduy are open to outsiders who want to visit for sightseeing or doing research. They graciously welcomed the arrival of each visit either in small quantities or group. Nevertheless, the Baduy residents remain vigilant in order to maintain their traditions. Fear of changing customs and traditions of indigenous Baduy community living arrangements are not only felt by the Baduy community themselves but also felt by those concerned with the existence of indigenous communities in Indonesia. Modernization and globalization can enter through any gap in the Baduy, including carried away by the visit of tourists to their area.

Since the first, indigenous Baduy communities, especially the Inner Baduy refused the entry of modernization channels, they resist the flow of electricity, paved roads, and vehicle access. They believe that the electricity and paved road will destroy the indigenous Baduy as electricity and roads is just the beginning of the influx of modern elements to another and then they would leave indigenous traditions they hold so far. The refusal is a strategy of Baduy citizens to preserve their traditions in order not to be pushed by modern foreign cultures.

With regard to tourism, the Baduy residents also realize that the things that they fear is that the changes will lead them to customary negligent. Therefore, there are three things, besides rejection of modernization above, conducted by Baduy citizens as a form of their strategy in maintaining cultural identity.

- Implement a set of custom rules to every visitor and tourist.
For visitors / tourists who want to get into the Baduy there are some rules to be followed, they are: 1) time limit to stay is only one night and no more, 2)

visitors are not allowed to photograph or record any images in the Inner Baduy, 3) visitors are not allowed to bath or wash with soap, shampoo and toothpaste. Guests must obey the rules when it was customary in the Baduy as a form of respect to Baduy citizens.

- Loyalty of indigenous Baduy to the government

The interesting thing to mention is that although the indigenous Baduy uphold tradition, but they still recognize the sovereignty of the state and recognize that they are part of the administrative area. This principle is embodied in the annual event of *Seba Baduy* in which they visit the Regents and the Governor's office. Baduy citizens build good relations with the government through this event, and they give willingly of their harvest. This forum can be useful as media of conveying their sadness and anxiety. With this board, Baduy community confirmed their position as the indigenous communities which have the authority to run his life, including maintaining their indigenous traditions.

- The role of the Outer Baduy as the filter of modern influx of foreign cultures.

Originally, the Outer Baduy and the Inner Baduy are brothers, just a determination to their indigenous ancestors distinguish them. Even so, they are divided into two areas, namely the the Outer Baduy which is directly adjacent to the outside world and the Inner Baduy which is "protected" in the inside area of indigenous Baduy (Erwinantu, 2012). There is no contradiction between the Baduy residents (both the Outer Baduy and the Inner Baduy) regarding their choices in life. Even the more we see, the two communities complement and protect each other. The role of Baduy Luar is more as filter against the entry of foreign cultures which are going massive. Both live in coexistence and harmony to maintain balance.

Conclusion

Visting Baduy, we will get a valuable experience. There are a lot of things about life we can learn from the indigenous Baduy community, such as simplicity,

independence, wisdom, relationship with others, and upholding their indigenous traditions. Baduy exoticism is like a diamond attracting anyone to see and touch. Baduy cultural tourism offers the public to observe directly the life of Baduys who remained steadfast in indigenous traditions amid the crush of modernization. Ironically, tourism is a catalyst for social change in the Baduy. Tourism threat overshadows the gestures of Baduy citizens, penetrates to the Baduy citizens in interaction with visitors / tourists.

The Outer Baduy citizens are well aware of tourism potential they have and participate in this tourism activity. Even so, of course, we hope Baduy in the future remains strong with indigenous traditions. Therefore, for the people outside who visited Baduy, they must respect the Baduy life choice by obeying regulations. Let's keep Baduy by letting them in their dynamics without exploiting the tourism. Coexist in harmony and balance with the other people is the key, because that is the essence of unity in diversity.

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