

# Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forests In Baduy Region, Banten, Indonesia



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## GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

Dewi Sri	: The goddess of rice.
Huma	: Their swidden farm.
Jami	: Fallow land; freshly used as huma.
Jaro	: The leader of main hamlets. There are 13 Jaros. One of the Jaro is Governmental Jaro dealing with government and external affairs.
Kawalu	: A ceremony done in the fifth month of the Baduy calendar, also called Kawalu. It is celebrated in the end of harvesting huma. There are three Kawalus: Kawalu Mitembeyan, Kawalu panengah and Kawalu Tutug.
Leuit	: Barn
Pikukuh Sapuluh	: Ten principles of the lives of Baduy people; the unwritten principles inherited from their ancestors. It is also the main of their rules and guidelines.
Puun	: The leader of the tribe, the leader in the religious, cultural and social life of the tribe. There are three Puuns living in three hamlets of the inner Baduy: Cibeo, Cikeusik and Cikertawana. Every Puun has different responsibility.
Reuma	: Fallow land; previously huma dense bush; it sometimes grows into secondary forest.
Sang Hyang Tunggal/Batara Tunggal	: The God in Sunda Wiwitan, believed as the creator of earth and control the life of living creatures on earth
Sasaka/Arca Domas	: The most sacred structure located in deep of forbidden forest. It is a terraced hill with a statue in its center in the form of human doing meditation.
Sunda Wiwitan	: The religion of the Baduy people; it is animism with lots of influence from Hindu and Islam. It is believed in Batara Tunggal and ancestral spirits
Ziarah	: Pilgrimage to Sasaka Domas, it is done during Kawalu season.



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## SUMMARY

This report is based on research carried out in the Baduy region, Banten, Indonesia. The Baduy tribe is known for its harmonious relationship with the environment, including the region's forests. Forests play an important part in their lives; in fact, the forests have colored their lifestyle for generations. Reclusively living in a 5.121 ha region, the tribe has survived both external and internal factors influencing change. Yet they claim that their traditional lifestyle is relatively undisturbed, notably in the inner Baduy area where the people firmly maintain their traditional culture.

The aim of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the cultural and spiritual values of forests in the Baduy tribe, as well as insight into how these values are changing and the factors influencing change. The study was carried out in both the inner and outer Baduy areas. Household and group interviews were conducted in three hamlets; in addition, the non-Baduy people who live surrounding the tribe and local experts were consulted. The study focused primarily on the first objective, while the other objectives were addressed in a more general manner.

To operationalise the abstract concepts of cultural and spiritual values of forests, values were categorized into six classes: historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic, material and spiritual values. Historical values relate to a special relationship with the past, either in the form of story or historical artifacts; social values relate to places or objects in the forest that tend to form connections between people and to reinforce a sense of unity and identity; symbolic values relate to repositories of meaning of the forests; aesthetic values relate to the arts stemming from the forests and the scenic beauty of the areas; material values relate to the use of plants/forests as supporting material in cultural practices; and spiritual values relate to religion, myth and personal spiritual experiences. In exploring the dynamic aspects of these values, factors influencing change were categorized as demographic, economic, socio-political, scientific and technological, or cultural and religious.

The study describes the nature of different types of cultural and spiritual forest values found in the region. It also shows that there are differences with respect to these values between the inner and outer Baduy. Regarding material values, the forests are an important resource, providing material for cultural events, products to meet daily needs such as food and medicine, and material for construction and housewares. Respondents from the inner Baduy could name approximately 55 species; likewise 53 and 52 species were identified by the respondents from two outer Baduy hamlets. Historical values of the forests are linked to the existence of the Sasaka Domas, the most sacred and historical structure in the region. However, the story behind the existence of the Sasaka Domas remains unclear. Social values of forests in the region are related to all social activities linked to forests; some respondents stated that all the cultural activities of the tribe are social and linked with their forests, while others stated that either only the ziarah ceremony or the ziarah and kawalu ceremonies are social activities linked with forests. Defining symbolic values was a bit difficult for the Baduy people: either they did not





understand what the values are or they do not recognize the values. However, some respondents indicated that their forests have two main symbolic meanings, namely as the house of the ancestors and the center of the world. Aesthetic values of the forests relate to the scenic beauty and the arts embraced from the forests. No Baduy people described this beauty; however, this does not mean the region does not have scenic beauty. Rather, this beauty can be assumed from the increasing number of visitors to the region. The forests also strongly influence the arts of the tribe, especially pantun (poetry). Forests are also important for their religious activities, and can embrace personal spiritual experience, not only for the Baduy but also for the non-Baduy people. Though the differences concerning these values could easily be identified between the inner and outer Baduy, differences in relation to age and gender could not be established due to the variations in personal character of the people.

Within the area people recognize four types of forests, i.e. old forest/forbidden forest, new forest, reuma and jami. Although the forest values are often related to all forests, upon detailed study it appeared that most values primarily relate to the forbidden forest and that the values attributed to other forest types are less intensive.

Although the respondents in general could relate to the various analytical categories of values identified for this study, in some cases their answers indicated that these categories were not unequivocal. Values are often understood holistically by the people, and so analytical categorization of the values may make them appear more distinct than they really are. For instance, the existence of the Sasaka Domas can be considered to represent either historical or spiritual values. However, for the purpose of this study, the analytical categories are useful in identifying and understanding the various values that exist in the tribe.

The tribe claimed that the values have remained the same over time; however, it could be observed that in reality they are dynamic and that some values are gradually eroding. The dynamics are influenced by both internal and external factors. The internal factors are mainly related to the increasing population and the lack of available land, while the most influential external factors are economic factors. These economic aspects concern the development of the surrounding market and tourism. These two activities are responsible for making the region busier and increasing the contact of the tribe with outsiders, new technologies and new lifestyles.

As they try to maintain their culture, the tribe is facing many problems due to these internal and external factors. Their taboos and their religion are two important elements that have shaped their culture. Those who do not want to follow the Baduy's lifestyle will be offered an option to become non-Baduy people; and those who break their customary laws will be expelled to outer Baduy hamlets or even to outside of their village. These taboos and religious influences have thus far restricted change to manageable levels. Conservation of the environment is regarded as a side-effect of the implementation of these taboos and religion.

There are two main conclusions of this study. First, the cultural and spiritual values of forests in the Baduy region are related to their beliefs and mythology. The values are centered in the forbidden forest; however, the role of other types of forest in their cultural



lives should not be neglected. There are some differences in cultural and spiritual values between the inner and outer Baduy people. Secondly, the values are dynamic. Some cultural values have changed, influenced by both internal and external factors.



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Background

Forest values are relatively enduring conceptions of what is good and desirable about forests and forest ecosystems (Bengston and Xu 1995). Many kinds of values can be found in forests. Many of forest values are tangible and measurable, however there are also values that are less tangible, but are valuable and contribute to the human well-being. One category of these values concerns the cultural and spiritual values. This value is embedded in traditional knowledge and reflected in bio-cultural diversity (Laird, 1999).

Although many kinds of forest values exist in professional forest management mostly timber values were considered (Bengston, 1994). This emphasis reflects the traditional notion that only values that can be empirically measured can be counted as "real". The paradox is that those social values for which our ability to define and measure is poorest, are the very ones that appear to be of increasing importance in our society (FEMAT, 1993). Cultural and spiritual values can be considered as the values that are poorly defined and measured. Furthermore, these values are also hard-to-define, poorly understood, elusive, ethereal and intangible (Schroeder, 1999). Harmon (2004) described these values as intangible values whose benefits are difficult or impossible to quantify, but which lie at the heart of the protective impulse that drives the modern conservation movement.

Indigenous people in tropical forests often have their own specific cultural and spiritual values concerning forests (Laird, 1999). Cultural and spiritual values are essential features that influence the behavior of people. Understanding these values can be perceived as an effort of increasing the available knowledge about the broad range of values associated with forests that provides decision makers with useful information for making choices among alternate uses of forest and land that meet the needs of the various groups involved (FEMAT, 1983). As Bengston (1994) said a better understanding of public values for forests can benefit in several ways: establishing appropriate goals for ecosystem management by shedding light on normative and ethical questions, predicting how people will react to proposed forest practices, and dealing with inevitable conflicts over public forest management.

## 1.2. Problem Statements

An example of an indigenous tribe with a set of specific cultural and spiritual values regarding the natural environment is the Baduy living in western part of Java Island, Indonesia. The Baduy is a reclusive tribal group which still strongly firm on their relatively undisturbed traditional lifestyles. These lifestyles include practices and knowledge that are grounded in a series of ethical, spiritual and cultural values that indigenous societies give to nature and that are used by them in their decision making process. (Herrmann, 2005).



At present, the tribe is facing a conflict regarding the forest in their region due to illegal logging. The Baduy was given custom rights to manage their area (5.130,36 Ha), however this area was invaded by non-Baduy people either by making agriculture field or by doing illegal logging within this area. By 2003, more than 500 Ha of Baduy territory was encroached (<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0306/30/daerah/401072.htm>). Forest in this region played important roles on protecting spring, supplying water to downstream area, fresh air and other intangible benefits. This beneficial supports will only be available when the forest is managed well as the tribe have done so far. The good forest system of the Baduy is officially recognized as demonstrated by the Kehati, Indonesian Biodiversity Foundation, which awarded the Baduy "Prakarsa Lestari Kehati", an award for people or groups who have done remarkable efforts in conservation of biodiversity (<http://www.kehati.or.id/news/view.php?q=230&qLang=1&categ=Pengumuman>). However, the encroachment activity can lead to the destruction of the forest in the Baduy region, invite natural disaster, and can vanish both the tangible and the intangible values of the forest.

In order to overcome such problems, outside assistance might be given to the Baduy. Several times the tribe has been offered development projects such as street development project, school, health center, electricity, etc, but they refused them. The main reason of these refusals is that the projects were against their cultural belief (<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0409/22/otonomi/1279433.htm>). Moreover, these refusals showed the efforts of the Baduy to be consistent with their belief. However, the planting of albazia (*Paraseriantes falcataria*) mixed with swidden rice proved that this tribal is not refusing externally induced change (Iskandar and Ellen, 2000), provided that these can be incorporated in their cultural systems. This indicates that the Baduy cultural system is open to adaptation.

Baduy tribe has cultural and spiritual values that have colored their lifestyle for generations. Understanding these values can be the best way to understand the behaviors of the tribal group. Moreover, the values will also be important for those who deal with these tribal people such as local government, local people and other decision makers. So far, all decisions regarding the tribe were made without involvement of the Baduy. As Ayatrohaedi recalled the Baduys have never been asked what they want ([http://www.arkeologi.net/index1.php?id=view\\_news&ct\\_news=570](http://www.arkeologi.net/index1.php?id=view_news&ct_news=570)).

### 1.3. Objectives

Based on the problems above, it is important to understand cultural and spiritual values of the forest in the Baduy region. The objectives of the study are:

1. To gain in-depth understanding about present cultural and spiritual values in the Baduy tribe;
2. To get more insight to the changes of the cultural and spiritual values of forest to the Baduy.
3. To assess what factors that can initiate these changes.



#### **1.4. Research Question**

1. What are the present cultural and spiritual values of forest to the Baduy tribe?
2. How did these values change over time?
3. Which factors did contribute to these changes?



## 2. CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

### 2.1. The Baduy Tribe

The Baduy is a group of ethnic Sundanese who lives in a relatively isolated area around Kendeng Mountain. They live in several hamlets within the village (desa) of Kanekes, sub-district (kecamatan) of Leuwidamar, district (kabupaten) of Lebak, Banten Province. This village is around 50 kilometers in distance to Rangkasbitung, a small city which is also the capital of Lebak District. In terms of the watershed area, Kanekes is located in the upstream of Ciujung River, while the downstream of the river mainly irrigates the sawah of non-Baduy Sundanese living on northern Banten plain (Iskandar & Ellen, 2000).

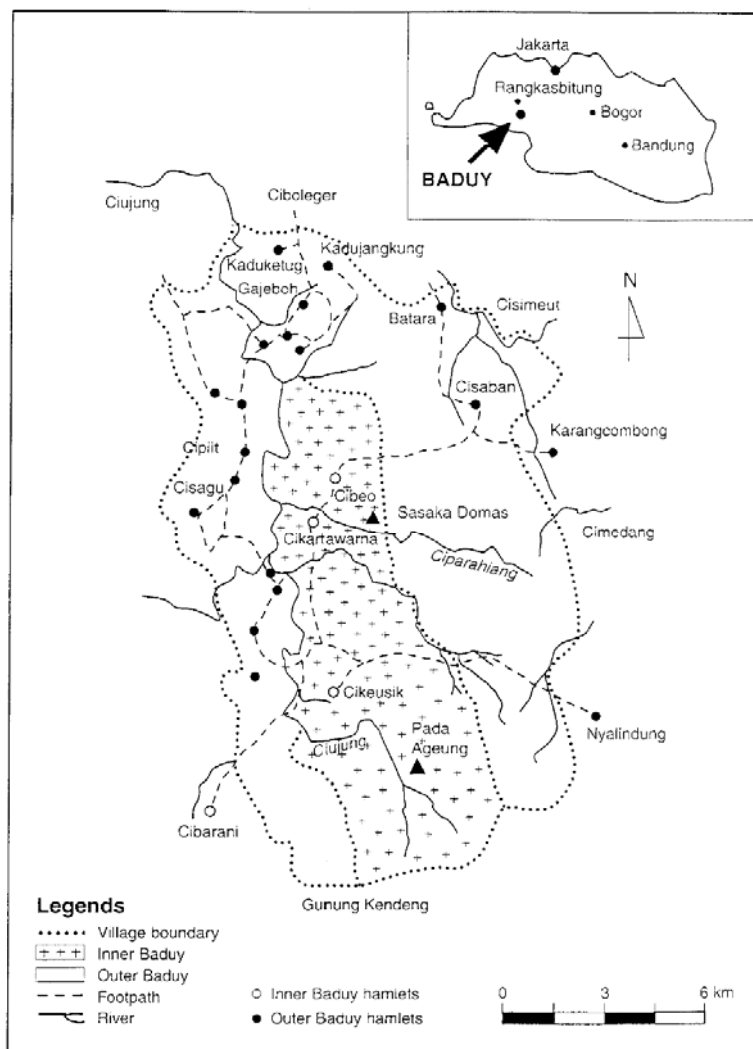


Figure 1. The Baduy Area in Banten Province

Source: Iskandar & Ellen, 2000



Although the Baduy belongs to the Sundanese ethnic group, their cultural and religious practices significantly differ from the main stream Sundanese identity. For instance, in contrast to the commonly adhered to Islam religion, the Baduy adheres to a more traditional religion called Sunda Wiwitan. By practicing this religion, the Baduy believes in Sang Hyang Tunggal as the creator and as their way of life. They also firmly hold rules or guidelines called Pikuhkuh Sapuluh (dasa sila/ ten rules). Some rules of the Pikuhkuh Sapuluh said: *gunung teu meunang dilebur; lebak teu meunang dirusak; lojor teu meunang dipotong; pendek teu menang disambung* (mountains are not to be destroyed; valleys are not to be destructed, long is not to be cut, short is not to be joined).

Iskandar & Ellen (2000) described the three different theories concerning the origin of the tribe. The first is that they are descendants of people who managed to escape from the Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran, near present-day Bogor, before Islamic forces from the Sultanate of Banten destroyed it in AD 1579. The second is that they are descendants of Hindu people who originally lived in Banten (Pulosari Mountain) but who fled from Islamic forces in the Sultanate of Banten to present-day Kanekes. The third theory, based on old Sundanese texts, is that the Baduy are descendants of an ascetic group living in sacred parts of the forest in pre-Islamic times.

## **2.2. The Inner and the Outer Baduy**

The Baduy can be divided into two groups: The Inner Baduy and The Outer Baduy. This division is mainly based on their consistency to firmly hold their culture. It is said that the Inner Baduy is more persistence in maintaining their culture than the Outer Baduy. It means that the Inner Baduy runs their life exactly based on the culture that is inherited by their ancestors. Meanwhile, the Outer Baduy is less persistence. Their way of life is not purely like their ancestors but also has been influenced by non-Baduy people. Between those two groups, there are differences in responsibilities and in hamlets in which they live.

### **2.2.1. The Inner Baduy**

The Inner Baduy is also called *Baduy Dalam* or *Baduy Kajeroan*. This group lives in three hamlets: Cikeusik, Cikertawana and Cibeo. Based on this territorial inhabitance, they are sometimes called *Urang Tangtu tilu* (people of three hamlets) since they live in three hamlets, or *Urang Girang* (upstream people) or *Urang Rawayan* since these hamlets are lied in upstream of Cirawayan River. Geographically, those hamlets are far from one to the others; however distance is not problematic in maintaining commitment and togetherness among them. Behaviors of the members of each hamlet are similar. These similarities in behaviors are maintained for generations, they are living in the way that has little changes and little new innovations. In the daylight, these hamlets will be very quiet, since all members of these hamlets go to huma (swidden farm) or collect sap from Aren (*Arenga pinnata*) (Suhada, 2003).

Every hamlet of the inner Baduy is headed by a *Puun*. The Puun of every hamlet has different responsibilities in respect to not only the inner Baduy, but also the outer Baduy. Puun is a cultural and religious leader. Some of their responsibilities are in deciding the time to celebrate/organize cultural events, and the punishment for a Baduy who breaks



their laws. Main responsables of this group are to be ascetic and maintain their group's religious life, Sunda Wiwitan (Suhada, 2003).

As mentioned before, the Inner Baduy lives more reclusive. They were known as a tribal group who refuses the changes from outside. They are more consistent with their culture and more loyal to so called Pikukuh Sapuluh (dasa sila – ten principles) which is ten unwritten principles in their life and is inherited for generations.

### **2.2.2. The Outer Baduy**

The Outer Baduy is also called *Baduy Luar*; *Urang Kaluaran*; or *Baduy Panamping*. They live in 27 hamlets (Sam et. Al. 1986) while Iskandar & Ellen claimed this group inhabits about 44 hamlets located in a 270-degree arc around the Inner Baduy area. The number of hamlets is growing along with the increase of their population.

This group is responsible for protecting the people who are being ascetic (the inner Baduy people) from outside disturbances as well as helping maintain their culture. These responsibilities affect this group's life, especially their behaviours. Socially, they interact with non-Baduy people more intensely than inner Baduy and they are more open to outside situation or changes. Nevertheless, in order to protect and to maintain the way of life their ancestors inherited, the Baduy (the inner and the outer) periodically organize meeting with members of community in every hamlets. The meeting is also made to give opportunity to their members to choose either continuing become a Baduy or quitting it (Suhada, 2003).

### **2.3. Livelihood and Forest Use**

For their livelihood, Baduy people depend their life mainly on dry land farming using a shifting cultivation system. According to Jaro Sami, the Baduy has its own farming system which allows only once a year harvest and they believe they can yield high quality rice that can be restored in Leuit (Lumbung/barn) for 100 years (<http://www.kompas.com/kompas%2Dcetak/0409/22/otonomi/1279433.htm>). They also make canes like making brown sugar, Koja's bag, knitting cloth, short sword, collecting forest honey and also planting banana, durian and cassava. For these products, they sometimes sell the products to other villages or regions.

For the Baduy, disturbing the stability and sustainability of their forests is regarded more sinful and in higher level than killing people. Protecting the nature is a duty and a mast of their religion. The Forest role in their life is more in religious, while their social role is perceived as side effect. The forests is part of their religion and one of the media in doing their duties and in organizing ritual ceremony such as in Kawalu and in Ngalaksa (<http://www.sundanet.com/artikel.php?id=28>).

Iskandar (1992 in Adimihardja 2000) divided the Baduy regions into three zones. The first zone (I) is in down hill and used for housing; second zone (II) is dedicated for farming or huma; and third zone (III) is the old forest and lied in the top of the hill.

The Baduy people believe that their responsibility is to protect forest and upstream of Ciujung River. They are assigned to manage watershed area of Ciujung, which is important for transportation and agriculture, and to manage forest as well as the spring





which they called *Sirah Cai* (Adimihardja, 2000). To maintain the stability of ecosystem of forest and watershed, the Baduy people forbid farming with irrigated system, making paddy pond, hoeing or planting commercial trees. After harvesting, the huma will be fallowed and grow into bush or into new forest (Nugraheni & Winata, 2005).

Based on the culture of the Baduy, forests are classified based on its role and function as: Old Forest (*hutan tua/leuweung kolot*); New Forest (*hutan muda/leuweung ngora*); previously huma dense bush (*leuweung reuma*), dan bush (*jami*). The Old forest is located in Inner Baduy area and far away from houses, while the others are around and close to hamlets (Garna, 1993). The old forest is culturally regarded as sacred and It is forbidden to exploit this forest. The forest is under control of Puun (religious leader)<sup>1</sup>.

Due to existence of culturally-protected old forests, forests in Baduy region are occupying 5.046 Ha of 5.121 Ha of Village of Kanekes in total, and are rich in species including endangered and distinct species. Some of the trees have more than 100 m in height and 5 m in diameter such as Kibangkong (*Palaquium* spp.). The other big trees are from species such as Kapinago, Kitamiang (*Celtis timorensis*), Kisigeung (*Pentace* spp.), Cangcaratan (*Neonauclea* sp.), Ki Beusi (*Memecylon costatum*) and Kokosan Monyet (*Dysoxylum nutans*). All together these forests help create the environmental balance (<http://www.sundanet.com/artikel.php?id=28>).

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<sup>1</sup> Studies on the cultural significance of forests from Baduy have been made by Persoon and Iskandar. Unfortunately their PhD dissertations could not be accessed during this study.



## 3. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

### 3.1. Forest Values Classification

The term of values is often used in social sciences with different although not completely unrelated meaning (Hofstede,2001). Based on Oxford dictionary, a value is defined as a principle, standard or quality that is considered worthwhile or desirable (Thompson, 1993). A Value described as a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others (Hofstede, 2001). According to Hofstede, this definition is a simplified version of the more precise anthropological definition by Kluckhohn (1951/1967) who defined value as a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of actions. Hofstede also referred to Rokeach (1972) who defined a value as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence”.

In forestry, the term forest values is often used to denote that forests are valueable to people. Bengston and Xu (1995) defined forest values as relatively enduring conceptions of "the good" related to forests and forest ecosystems. A forest value is sometimes also referred as an ideal or a held value about forests and forest ecosystems.

The forest values, professional foresters used to focus on, was mainly economic and monetary values. It changed after World War II when people started to focus on multiple-use forestry. This idea broadened forestry's traditional focus on timber production and included the other commodities such as recreation, wildlife and other non timber forest products (Bengston, 1994). Likewise FEMAT - Forest Ecosystem Management Assessment Team (1993) acknowledged that commodity values (timber, range) have dominated management attention. However, other values nowadays became more important as the public concerns on these values are growing.

A number of different classification systems for defining forest values have been developed over time (Brown and Reed, 2000). Thus, there are several classifications of forest values such as those presented by FEMAT (1993), Gregersen, et. al (1995), Bengston and Xu (1995), IUCN (1998), Putney (2003), and Ambrose-Oji et al (2002).

FEMAT (1993) classified a typology to help frame and segment the various forms of social values that forests provide:

1. Commodity values - timber, range, minerals.
2. Amenity values - life style, scenery, wildlife.
3. Environmental quality values - air and water quality.
4. Ecological values - habitat conservation, biodiversity, threatened and endangered species.
5. Public use values - gathering, subsistence, recreation, tourism.
6. Spiritual values - sacred places.



7. Health - medicines.
8. Security - sense of social continuity and heritage.

By referring to Hughes et al (1998) and Kellert (1993), Ambrose-Oji et al (2002) for the purpose of their project classified biodiversity values into several categories:

- Utilitarian or material values - obtained directly for livelihood and economic well being, or realised through the insurance functions of biodiversity;
- Ecological values - maintaining planetary and local life-support systems;
- Evolutionary values - maintaining processes that reduce vulnerability and develop new potential resources;
- Pleasure/aesthetic values - which themselves reflect the diversity of human cultural and social systems;
- Moral/ethical values - or a belief that biodiversity has an intrinsic value;
- Symbolic values - use for metaphysical expression, language, expressive thought;
- Humanistic values - strong affection or emotional attachment.

Furthermore, this project team also stated that the values are understood differently amongst individuals and stakeholder groups and the values themselves are dynamic - evolving over time with developmental, technological and fashions.

The cultural and spiritual values normally are considered as *intangible values* (also referred to as *nonmaterial values*). The Intangible values based on World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) included eleven major values (adapted from Putney, 2003):

1. Recreational values.
2. Therapeutic values
3. Spiritual values
4. Cultural values
5. Identity values
6. Existence values
7. Artistic values
8. Aesthetic values
9. Educational values
10. Scientific research and monitoring values
11. Peace values

These three classifications are the examples of how various the values of forest can be. However, we can not look at a forest and compute values separately as though they were independent of each other. Many goods and services from forests affect each other. The various uses of those goods and services interact both in space and over time. For the purpose of this study, I only focused on Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forest. These can be equated with the amenity values, public use values, spiritual values, health and security values of FEMAT (1993) and the pleasure/aesthetic, moral/ethical, symbolic and humanistic values of Ambrose –Oji et. al. (2002). Cultural and spiritual values are also mentioned by Putney (2003), however in this study, these values can cover several other values mentioned in this classification, such as aesthetic and identity values.



### 3.1.1. Cultural Values

Culture, in anthropology, is defined as the integrated system of socially acquired values, beliefs, and rules of conduct which delimit the range of accepted behaviors in any given society. Cultural differences distinguish societies from one another (<http://www.answers.com/topic/culture#copyright>). Another definition is given by Chambers (1999), Culture is defined as shared knowledge, values and norms that are transmitted (usually with some modifications) from one generation to the next through processes of socialization. Holden (2004) stated that cultural values have been characterized in different ways by different writers; however these writers often include Historical value; Social value; Symbolic value; Aesthetic value; and Spiritual value.

### 3.1.2. Spiritual Values

Spiritual values can be difficult to define, but in general these values may be related to “ultimate meaning and transcendent power” (Chidester 1987). People obtain spiritual values in different ways. First Nations attribute this value to special places in the wilderness that can provoke visions and provide guidance for the days or years to come. Other people find a special sense of well being when among large trees, beside a particular stream or waterfall, or being alone, far from other humans and civilization. Thus, spiritual values are subjective in nature where levels of spirituality will vary between people (<http://www.rpf-bc.org/agm48spiritual.html>). Putney (2003) limited this value to the value that inspires humans to relate with reverence to the sacredness of nature.

### 3.1.3. Cultural and Spiritual Values

As indicated by the above discussion, the term cultural and spiritual are sometimes differently understood and sometimes used more or less synonymous. For many people, the term spiritual is included in the term cultural, thus these two terms are represented only by the term cultural. Renkema (2003) divided cultural values into three values, namely: spiritual, social and material values. However, other people perceived the word cultural does not adequately represent the transcendent spiritual aspects of existence. As it is defined by WCPA through The Task Force on the Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas, the phrase *Cultural and Spiritual Values* is intended to encompass the complete range of supportive values and significance that people find in, and bring to, nature in general and protected areas in particular.

(<http://www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/theme/values/values.html#publications>).

Reunala (1999) in describing cultural and spiritual forest values in Scandinavia used three level classifications:

1. Archetypal forest values: values that are common to all humanity;
2. Cultural forest values: values that are specific to a certain culture;
3. Psychological values: individual forest values.

For the purpose of this study I explored cultural and spiritual values of forest in Baduy region by focusing specifically on the Reunala categories of cultural values that are specific to a certain culture. On the basis of further sub divisions as made by Putney (2003), Renkema (2003), and Holden (2004), they are further specified into several values, namely historical values, social values, symbolic values, aesthetic values, material values and spiritual values. For operational definitions of these see table 1.



**Tabel 1. Operationalised Cultural and Spiritual Values**

Classification	Explanation	Indicator
Material values	The use of plant/forest as supporting material in cultural practices.	Plants or plant products used for cultural events Perception of material values of forest
Historical values	Places or things that have a special relationship with the past; a concept resting on particular viewpoints of history;	Location representing Cultural heritage, such as artifacts, stones, etc Perception of historical values of forest
Social values	Places or things that tend to make connections between people and to reinforce a sense of unity and identity; value that relates to life in groups and society.	Location for Social action/activities: festival, kinship, etc. Perception of social values of forest
Symbolic values	Places or things that have repositories of meaning	Symbolic landscape features Perception of symbolic values of forest
Aesthetic values	Places or things that have scenic beauty and/or able to embrace artistic feeling.	Aesthetic landscapes. Recreational features Perception of aesthetic values of forest
Spiritual values	Aspects of the religious, the numinous and the sublime; those that inspire humans to relate with reverence to the sacredness of nature.	Sacred sites and features Location for Ritual/religious activities/ceremony Perception of spiritual values of forest

### 3.2. Dynamic of Forest Values

Values about the environment are not static, but dynamic. Not only have value changes occurred in the industrialized nations of the west, but also around the world. This phenomenon may be contributed by increased scientific knowledge concerning the ecological consequences of human activities, worldwide communication networks, and the growth of the mass media all contribute to this phenomenon (Holden, 2004). Other factors of change include changes in religion (Fowler, 2003), increase of economic values due to extension of economic market, and changes in land use practices (Persoon, 1991)

The changes in ecosystem and ecosystem services, including the cultural and spiritual services, are initiated by direct and indirect drivers. A “driver” is any factor that changes a value judgment. A direct driver unequivocally influences values and can therefore be identified and measured to differing degrees of accuracy. An indirect driver operates more diffusely, often by altering one or more direct drivers, and its influence is established by understanding its effect on a direct driver. The indirect drivers of change are primarily: demographic, economic, sociopolitical, scientific and technological, and cultural and religious (De Groot, et al, 2002).



**Tabel 2. Factors influence changes in Forest Values**

Factors	Explanation	Indicator
Demographic	Relates to the dynamic of human population. It can also relate to whole societies or to groups defined by criteria such as education, nationality, religion and ethnicity.	Data of population: size, structure and distribution of populations, and change due to births, deaths, migration and ageing. Data on education, religion, facilities, etc
Economic	Economic condition inside and outside the tribal group, include all activities done for livelihood.	Per capita income, household income, source of livelihood, economic activities.
Socio-political	Relates to socio-political condition inside and outside a group or societies including local government policy, democratization, the roles of women, etc.	Local government policy Political parties Political activities Social activities
Scientific and technological	Relates to the adoption of new technologies, research and development, etc	New technologies Media information
Cultural and religious	Relates to the condition of culture and religious inside and outside a group or societies.	Religious activities House of worship

### 3.3. Conclusion on Conceptual Framework for Study

As still little is known about the variety of cultural and spiritual values of forest among the Baduy, the study will focus on the basic questions of what values are present in the research area now and 10 years ago, and of what factors influenced these changes. The different types of values as identified in Table 1 and the factors of change identified in Table 2 will be used as parameters.



## 4. METHODOLOGY

This study was done in Baduy region, Desa Kanekes, Sub District of Leuwidamar, District of Lebak, Banten Province, Indonesia. This study is a descriptive and explorative case study. Information on cultural and spiritual values of forest has been collected through observation, literature study, expert interviews and Baduys interviews.

### 4.1. Selection of Case Study Area

Within the Baduy area, inner and outer zones are present as indicated in section 2. The outer zones interact much more strongly with the outside world than the inner zones. Consequently, it is expected that the cultural and spiritual values in the outer zones are more dynamic than the inner zone. In order to test this hypothesis and to identify factors impacting on differences, a comparison between hamlets in the inner and outer zone was made.

There are 3 hamlets of inner Baduy and more than 20 hamlets of outer Baduy. In this study, the observation and the interview were held on one hamlets of inner Baduy and two hamlets of outer Baduy. Mainly the selection of hamlets for this study was based on the relevance distance of the hamlets to the forest. The hamlets of the Inner Baduy are located close to forest. In this study, I chose Cikeusik and Cibeo. These hamlets are the closest hamlets to the sacred forest and even Cikeusik is perceived as the most undisturbed hamlets of all. The other two hamlets are the outer Baduy's hamlets. The selection of these hamlets was a hamlet that is the closest to the forest and the hamlet that is in the border with non-Baduy hamlets. This selection was made to make the difference between the inner and the outer and to see the influence of non-Baduy community to the behavior of the Baduy.

### 4.2. Data Collection

Primary and secondary data had been collected in this study. The primary data were collected through household survey, observation and interviews with village groups and key informants. The Baduy, the non-Baduy who live surround the Baduy region and the experts are the sources of this information. Meanwhile, the secondary data were collected from governmental institution and from publications and documents.

#### 4.2.1. Primary Data Collection

These data were collected by Household interview, group interview, direct observation, informal conversation and interviews with key informants. These multi-method approaches enabled triangulation of information.

In this study, household as the research unit was defined as a group of people who lives together in a house in Baduy region in which there is only one decision maker in charge. This household interview was done in the form of unstructured interview. This interview is believed that it can provide a greater breadth of data than other types and able to give its



qualitative nature (Fontana and Fray, 2000). For this study, the unstructured interviews were done by combining open-ended interview with ethnographic interview. According to Spardley (1979), ethnographic research is a useful tool to understand another way of life based on the native point of view. A checklist (see Annex 1) was used to assure systematic data collection. The open-ended question was used to catch the general idea about the values the forest in the Baduy region has, while the ethnographic was used to precise and narrow the information into cultural and spiritual values in detail. This form of unstructured interviewing can provide more data and variety of information than other types of interviewing or observation (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Mostly, this method of data collection will be used to generate answer for the question of present cultural and spiritual values.

Group interviews were done in association with informal meeting such as Pekan Imunisasi Nasional (National Immunization Week), meeting in Jaro Cikeusik's house, conversation after work and in Ciboleger's market. These group interviews were done to overcome the problems in individual depth interview, namely the expensiveness, time-consuming and uneasy to arrange collection and comparative assessment of opinion of multiple people (Oppenheim, 1992). Except for the PIN, many of these group interviews were done incidentally. PIN was the best time for interviewing women and young people. The participants of these group interviews mostly were gathered and given one topic and they responded the topic well. They are usually shy at first, but after one or two responses, the discussion became more active. These group interviews were able to break the awkwardness that always became a problem in individual interviews.

Moreover, the group interview was used to explore the opinion of the groups with intention about cultural and spiritual values, and changes over time. This interview was done to explore the factors that are able to bring the changes in the values based on the Baduy's point of view. Group interview is an essential qualitative data technique that relies upon the systematic questioning of several individuals simultaneously in formal and informal meetings (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Besides the Baduy people, I also managed to roughly interview five domestic tourists.

I also used observation. This technique was useful especially for validation of data collected, also for comparing what the Baduy people said they do and what they really do. Direct observation method is a major measurement technique in environmental psychology (Bell et. al, 2001). By using observational methods, I was able to see their relation with the nature, how they obey the Puun and the Buyut (taboo) and how they were afraid of taboo. Even, I witnessed how modern life invades their life. Through observation, I got the opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of the way the Baduy behave in natural setting. The direct observation was done with low possibility of inference or inconvenient from the Baduy who are under the study, so they would display their behavior as natural as possible.

#### **4.2.2. Secondary Data Collection**

Secondary data are data that has been already collected by somebody else. Prenskey (1997) suggested collecting this secondary data first even though they may not directly answer the research questions but they can be used to help refine the questions and design further research. Furthermore, secondary data can provide the context for





interpretation of the primary data. In this study, the sources of secondary data are publications and documents issued by government.

#### **4.3. Selection of Respondents**

In this study, various groups and household had been interviewed. The selection of the household respondents was done by using Stratified random sampling. Using this stratified random sampling, first (as explained above) three research sites were selected in:

1. Inner Baduy
2. Outer Baduy close to forest
3. Outer Baduy far from forest

Next, respondents from each stratum were selected randomly. In total, I only got 27 respondents. Precisely, 10 respondents in the Inner Baduy hamlets; 10 respondents in the outer Baduy hamlet close to the forest (Batu Belah); and 7 respondents in the outer Baduy hamlet far from the forest (Cisadane).

The number of respondents does not merely depict the depth of information one can get during data collection. Instead the repetition of information given by potential respondents might be happened, as the result no new information can be obtained. Based on Lincoln and Cuba's theoretical guideline (1985), the data collection phase of a study can be ended when there was the appearance of regularities in data. This situation was also experienced by Lewis and Sheppard (2005) who only interviewed 11 members of the Cheam Community to know their perceptions of landscape and forest management.

#### **4.4. Data Analysis**

The collected data were recorded systematically during the field works. Notes were maintained and updated properly per day during the field works. Several photographs were captured for supporting information. The secondary information was also collected either by printing, copying from original documents or saving into memory disk to use later in data analysis and interpretation.

The collected information was interpreted and analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The information from the household interviews were analyzed by using excel. A comparison was made among the stratum. The information from group and expert interviews was subjected to context analyses. This qualitative information was cross-checked with the qualitative data from household interviews. This study is explorative and descriptive, thus all the findings were constructed to explore and describe the cultural and spiritual values of forest.



## 5. CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES

### 5.1. Different Types of Forests

In the earlier study by Garna (1993), forests in Baduy region were classified into: *Leuweung kolot* (Old forest); *Leuweung ngora* (New forest); *Leuweung reuma* (previously huma dense bush) and *jami* (Bush). This study was referred to this classification also but only in a general description manner. Moreover, not every response fits to it directly. Nevertheless, the characters, role and function of the forest given by the respondents are more or less similar with those provided by Garna. Different terms were sometimes used. For instance, people often used the term Hutan Larangan (forbidden forest) instead of Old Forest, etc. For the summary of the responses of forests, see Tabel 3. In the following, the various types of forests are described in detailed.

**Tabel 3. The Baduy's Responses of Forest**

No	Indicator	Inner Baduy	Outer Baduy (Batu belah)	Outer Baduy (Cisadane)
1.	Access to Forests	All respondents have been to forests	All respondents have been to forests	All respondents have been to forests
2.	Type of Forests	1. Hutan Larangan 2. Hamlet Forest 3. Others: Riverside forest.	1. Hutan Larangan 2. Hamlet Forest 3. Others: Riverside forest, Reuma.	1. Hutan Larangan 2. Hamlet Forest 3. Others: Riverside forest, Reuma.
3.	Access to the Forbidden Forest	40% of respondents have accessed the forest at least once	20% of respondents have been to the forest	14% of respondents have been to the forest
4.	The Forbidden Forest's Cover	50% of respondents replied no change; 50% of respondents said it's gradually declining	100% of respondents said it's gradually declining	14% of respondents replied no change; 86% of respondents said it's gradually declining
5.	Cause of decline	80%: outsider	100%: outsider	71%: outsider

#### 5.1.1. Old Forest

The Old forest mainly has religious functions; it plays an important role in spiritual activities of the tribe and it is culturally regarded as sacred. The sanctity of the forest is because of the existence of Sasaka Domas which is sited in the forest. The forest is a natural forest located in Inner Baduy area and far away from houses. There are no treatments given to the forest for so many activities are forbidden to be done here. Thus, the forest is sometimes called Hutan Larangan (forbidden forest). The prohibition is mainly because the activities will make their god angry and will bring misfortune and disaster to the community; and because of the ancestor's spirits existence. The prohibition is emerged in the form of taboos. In the Baduy regions, the forest is under the responsibility of Puuns (the leaders of the tribe). No one is allowed to access the forest nor do any activities without the permission from the Puuns. From 27 respondents, only 7



respondents (26 %) had been there. All of them were given the opportunity to join the pilgrimage to Sasaka Domas. Furthermore, the restriction to this site has made the forest rich in species and rich in huge dimension trees.

From all respondents who have visited the site, the information they gave regarding this site is not complete. This was probably because they are not so opened and a bit suspicious to the outsider. The suspicion is aroused as the result of encroachment and illegal logging, especially in the location in which the Sasaka Domas is located.

### 5.1.2. New Forest

The New forest is understood as the forest outside the forbidden forest. Sometimes this forest is also called hutan kampung (hamlets forest) since the forest is around the hamlets. This forest usually consists of trees with edible fruit such as durian (*Durio zibethinus*), petai (*Parkia speciosa*), jengkol (*Pithecolobium lobatum*), banana, jackfruits, rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum*), aren (*Arenga pinnata*), et cetera. The forest is also found on the riverside. This riverside forest is sometimes included as Leuweung Rungsi, old forest that is outside the forbidden forest. This Leuweung rungsi does not exist anymore in outer Baduy area except on the riverside.

### 5.1.3. Reuma

Leuweung reuma is previously huma dense bush. It is sometimes regarded as forest. Even the word "leuweung" in sundanese means forest. In converting a land into a huma, the Baduy people seldom cut the tree. They usually prune all the leaves but the trunk of the tree is left untouched. After harvesting the paddy in the huma, the Baduy people usually fallow the land for 5 – 10 years. Reuma is the old fallow land. It grows into a secondary forest. The trunk of the tree enables leaves to grow back and it eventually develops into a complete tree again. However, after 10 years, this reuma will be cultivated again. Reuma has different appearances depending on its fallow duration. Young reuma will appear as open area with bushes and trunks of trees, while old reuma will appear as bushes and re-grown trees. If the fallow duration is carried more than 10 years, the reuma will become a new forest that looks like an undisturbed forest.



Figure 2. Ready to plant - huma. The trunks of the trees were left to re-grow



Figure 3. Old reuma (age at around 5-8 years old). Filled by bushes and trees (*Albazia falcataria*)



The Inner and the Outer Baduy respondents perceived reuma differently. Most respondents of the outer Baduy regarded reuma as forest also. The result of the interviews with the outer Baduy showed that almost all of the respondents included reuma in their answer; 70% in Batu Belah and 71.43% in Cisadane. Meanwhile, the inner is mostly regarded reuma as a reuma (dense bush) not as a forest.

#### 5.1.4. Jami

Jami is previously also a huma. It is different from reuma in the length of fallow duration. Jami is freshly used as huma, thus it is usually predominated by *Imperata cylindrica*. Other species also grow here such as harendong (*Melastoma malabathricum*), babandotan (*Ageratum conyzoides*), harendong bulu (*Clidemia hirta*) and seedling of Puspa (*Schima walichii*). Most of the trunks of trees have just grown their leaves and have not fully turned them into lush tree yet. Later on, the Jami will grow into reuma, which will finally grow into secondary forest, and change back all the previously huma land into a new forest. The role that Jami is playing is as the land for cultivation, together with new forest and reuma. Later in this chapter, it will be further discussed what the specific cultural and spiritual values of these different types of forests are.

## 5.2. Local Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forests

The cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Baduy region relate mostly on the old forest (forbidden forest); however, in this study, the values of the other forests including Jami and Reuma are not neglected as long as they have contributions to the cultural and spiritual values of the forest for the Baduy. A summary of responses on cultural and spiritual values of forests in the Baduy region is given in Tabel 4. The values will be further detailed in the following paragraphs.

**Tabel 4. Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forest**

No	Values	Inner Baduy	Batu Belah (Outer Baduy 1)	Cisadane (Outer Baduy 2)
1.	Material Values	All respondents know the trees used for ceremonies and where to find them  In total, respondents can name 56 species of plants	All respondents know the trees used for ceremonies and where to find them  In total, respondents can name 53 species of plants	All respondents know the trees used for ceremonies and where to find them  In total, respondents can name 52 species of plants
2.	Historical Values	All respondents know the historical heritage  80% know its history  40% have visited the site for Ziarah and Worship; or only for Ziarah	All respondents know the historical heritage  100% know its history  20% have visited the site for Ziarah and Worship; or only for Ziarah	All respondents know the historical heritage  86% know its history  14% have visited the site only for Ziarah



**Tabel 4. Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forest (continue)**

No	Values	Inner Baduy	Batu Belah (Outer Baduy 1)	Cisadane (Outer Baduy 2)
3.	Social Values	<p>More respondents agreed that all activities are included as social activities linking with forest (50%)</p> <p>90% said special places needed to organize the activities.</p>	<p>Only 30% included all activities</p> <p>100% said special places needed</p>	<p>42% respondents included all activities</p> <p>100% said special places needed</p>
4.	Symbolic Values	<p>Only 60% respondents admitted symbolic values</p> <p>40% of them regarded forest as the center of the earth, 20% as the house of ancestor and 40% gave no specific symbol</p>	<p>70% respondents admitted it</p> <p>50% gave no specific symbol, 10% regarded forest as the center of the earth, and 40% as the house of ancestor</p>	<p>100% respondents admitted it</p> <p>57% gave no specific symbol, 29% regarded forest as the center of the earth, and 14% as the house of ancestor</p>
5.	Aesthetic Values	<p>All respondents answered no place in forest with scenic beauty and admitted that there is a lot of visitors coming to Baduy</p> <p>Reasons of coming: sightseeing (90%); culture (100%); environment (90%) and education (80%)</p>	<p>All respondents answered no place in forest with scenic beauty and admitted that there is a lot of visitors coming to Baduy</p> <p>Reasons of coming: sightseeing (100%); culture (100%); environment (50%) and education (50%)</p>	<p>All respondents answered no place in forest with scenic beauty admitted that there is a lot of visitors coming to Baduy</p> <p>Reasons of coming: sightseeing (100%); culture (100%); environment (29%) and education (14%)</p>
6.	Spiritual Values	<p>All respondents agreed forest is titled as sacred</p> <p>The reasons of sanctity: Ancestors: 50%; Sasaka (40%) and Earth Creation (10%)</p> <p>40% have visited the site for Ziarah (30%) and Worship (40%);</p> <p>Dominant response (60%) for role of forest in religious ceremonies as the place of the Sasaka Domas.</p>	<p>All respondents agreed forest is titled as sacred</p> <p>The reasons of sanctity: Ancestors: 30%; and Earth Creation (70%)</p> <p>20% have visited the site for Ziarah (20%) and Worship (20%);</p> <p>Dominant response (80%) for role of forest in religious ceremonies as the house of the ancestors.</p>	<p>All respondents agreed forest is titled as sacred</p> <p>The reasons of sanctity: Ancestors: 39%; and Earth Creation (71%)</p> <p>14% have visited the site for Ziarah (14%) and Worship (14%);</p> <p>All respondents (100%) agreed the role of forest in religious ceremonies is as the house of the ancestors.</p>

### 5.2.1. Material values

The values refer to the use of plants/animals derived from forests as supporting material in cultural practices. The interviews with respondents from inner and outer Baduy indicated that the forests in the Baduy region possess three types of material values; forest as the source of material in cultural ceremonies, in daily life and in medicine. The two later types of material values are also regarded as cultural practices since they reflect the



cultural identity of the tribe, which makes them different from non-Baduy people. These plants and animals can be derived from either forbidden forest, new forest or even from its surrounding sites. The material values of forest as given by respondents are presented in Tabel 5, 6, and 7.

**Table 5. List of Plants used by the Baduy in their cultural events**

No	Cultural Events	Trees/Animals	Part used	Used for
1.	Seba (Visiting governemental leader ceremonies)	Padi Merah/red grain paddy	Seed	Gift
		Pisang Galek ( <i>Musa megalocarpa</i> )	Fruit	Gift
		Petai ( <i>Parkia speciosa</i> )	Fruit	Gift
		Terong/egg plant	Fruit	Gift
		Aren ( <i>Arenga pinnata</i> )	Sap	Gift : it is firstly made into palm sugar
		Honey bee ( <i>Apis</i> sp.)	Honey	Gift
2.	Perkawinan (marriage ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	wood	Incense/to call for spirits
		Teureup ( <i>Arocarpus elastica</i> )	Bark	Gift : It is firstly made into Koja/bag
		Sirih ( <i>Piper betle</i> )	Leaf	Gift : from bridegroom to bride
		Pinang ( <i>Areca catechu</i> )	Fruit	Gift : from bridegroom to bride
3.	Kematian (Funeral ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	wood	Incense
		Paddy	Hay	Dry hay (merang) is burn to be used as incense
		Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )	tree	Sign of grave
4.	Huma Serang Ceremonies (Agricultural ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	Wood	Incense in Nyacar and Nukuh rituals, the rituals held to ask for permit to open and clear an area to spirits
		Laba-laba Kijang (ground spiders)	-	Sign of the beginning of paddy planting
		Picung ( <i>Pangium edule</i> )	Fruit	Toys for Rice Goddess in Ngaseuk (paddy planting) rituals, one of rituals in Huma-cycle ceremonies
		Kemiri ( <i>Aleurites moluccana</i> )	Fruit	Toys for Rice Goddess in Ngaseuk rituals
		Aren ( <i>Arenga piñata</i> )	Leaf	Tying offering on Ngaseuk
		Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )	Not spesific	Offering in Ngaseuk
		Pacing ( <i>Amomum arboreum Lour</i> )	Not spesific	Offering in Ngaseuk
		Kitamiang ( <i>Saprosma arboretum</i> )	Not spesific	Offering in Ngaseuk
		Bubuay ( <i>Plectocomia clongata Bl.</i> )	Not spesific	Offering in Ngaseuk
		Albizia ( <i>Paraserianthes falcataria</i> )	Bark	Pesticide, used in Ngirab sawan rituals
		Karuhang	Leaf	Pesticide, used in Ngirab sawan rituals
		Aren ( <i>Arenga pinnata</i> )	Tuak / fermented sap	Mowing / weeding



**Table 5. List of Plants used by the Baduy in their cultural events (Continue)**

No	Cultural Events	Trees/Animals	Part used	Used for
5.	Kawalu (Harvesting paddy ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	Wood	Incense in the rituals of harvesting paddy to ask for permit to harvest from rice goddess
		Kapas (cotton)	Cotton	Offering
		Sirih ( <i>Piper betle</i> )	Leaf	1. Offering in Kawalu Mitembeyen 2. Consumed in Kawalu tutug
		Kiray ( <i>Metroxylon</i> sp.)	Leaf	To cover the newly harvested paddy
		Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )	Leaf	Cleansing body before rituals of Kawalu Tutug

**Table 6. List of Plants used by the Baduy in Daily Life**

No	Items	Trees/Animals	Part used	Used for
1.	Housing	Kiray ( <i>Metroxylon</i> sp.)	Leaf	Roof
		Aren ( <i>Arenga pinnata</i> )	Fiber from its fronds	Bubungan (part of roof) and rope (ujuk)
		Ratan ( <i>Daemonorops melanochaetes</i> Becc)	trunk	Rope/tying one part of to the others
		Bamboo		Floor, bilik (wall), etc
		Woody plant / tree	trunk	Frame
2.	Clothing	Pelah ( <i>Daemonorops rubra</i> Bl.)	Leaf	Making cloth from weaving The fiber of the leaves
3.	House-ware	Pandan ( <i>Pandanus</i> sp.)	Leaf	Making sleeping mat
		Teureup ( <i>Arocarpus elastica</i> )	Bark	Making Koja (bag)
		Bamboo	-	Kele (Water pot)
		Katomas ( <i>Codiaeum variegatum</i> )	Leaf	A mullet hanging on the door

**Table 7. List of Plants used by the Baduy as Medicine**

No		Trees/Animals	Part used	
1.	Birth Control	Wajor		Mixed and fermented
		Aren ( <i>Arenga pinnata</i> )	Sap	
		Gaharu ( <i>Aguilaria malacensis</i> )	Wood	
2.	Diarrhea	Pungpurutan ( <i>Urena lobata</i> )	Leaf	Squeezed and Mixed
		Palungpung (a kind of grass)	Rhizome	
3.	Fever	Kaca piring ( <i>Gardenia florida</i> )	Leaf	Squeezed and Mixed
		Salak ( <i>Salaca edulis</i> )	Leaf	
		Nangsi ( <i>Oreocnide rubescens</i> )	Fermented sap	
4.	Eyes irritation	Sempur ( <i>Dillenia speciosa</i> )	Fermented sap	Mixed and used as medical eye drops
		Seserehan ( <i>Piper aduncum</i> )	Fermented sap	
5.	Cough	Ilal ( <i>Ficus</i> sp.)	Fermented sap	Mixed and drink
		Awi Mayan ( <i>Gigantochloa robusta</i> )	Fermented sap	
		Awi Hitam ( <i>Gigantochloa atter</i> )	Fermented sap	
		Kareo ( <i>Amauromis phoenicurus</i> )	Fermented sap	



**Table 7. List of Plants used by the Baduy as Medicine (continue)**

No		Trees/Animals	Part used	
6.	Back pain	Handeleum ( <i>Graptophyllum pictum</i> )	Leaf	Squeezed and put on
		Cecendet ( <i>Physalis angulata</i> L.)	Root	Boiled
7.	Hemoroid	Waru ( <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> )	Leaf	2-3 leaves are squeezed, add water and drink
		Buntiris ( <i>Kalanchoe pinnata</i> )	Leaf	
		Sidagori ( <i>Sida rhombifolia</i> )	Leaf	
		Dadap ( <i>Erythrina</i> sp.)	Leaf	
		Kaca piring ( <i>Gardenia florida</i> )	Leaf	
8.	Hypertension	Avocado ( <i>Persea americana</i> )	Leaf	Boiled and drink
		Mengkudu ( <i>Morinda Citrifolia</i> )	Leaf	
9.	Rheumatic	Kiencok	Leaf	Squeezed and put on
		Keras Tulang	Leaf	Boiled and drink
		Mangandeh	Leaf	
10.	Wound	Taleus ( <i>Philodendrum giganteum</i> )	Sap	Put on the sap into the wound

The lists above are based on responses given by the respondents from the inner Baduy. Compare to those from the outer Baduy, there were some differences regarding material values of forests, especially on species of trees used and on the way the trees used. The reasons of these differences might be the intensity of the respondents involved in the cultural events or the sources of where they got their information. The intensity refers to the quality of the respondents being involved in the ceremonies. Those who actively involved might remember this material values well. Active here is defined as being engaged and directly involved in a cultural ceremony either as the participant or as the doer. Sometimes the respondents did not witness the ceremonies by themselves, the story about those ceremonies are obtained from the others or from the elders. This can eventually bring to different responses.

These differences are also influenced by the rituals done by inner and outer Baduy, which are sometimes different. In Marriage rituals, the inner Baduy usually uses Kemenyan (*Styrax benzoin Dryand.*) as incense. Burning the incense is part of the wedding rituals. This is done by Puun while he is spelling prays to ask for blessing. In outer Baduy, this ritual is not longer implemented. This group's marriage rituals are almost similar with Islamic marriage. They used Penghulu (Islamic marriage official) from Cicakal Girang hamlet, the only hamlet in the Baduy region in which most of its population is Moslem. The Penghulu will wed the couple in the way that is usually done by Moslem. Thus, Kemenyan here is not used anymore. Complete differences in material values between inner and outer Baduy can be seen in Tabel 8.





**Tabel 8. Different plants used in cultural event and daily life between Inner and Outer Baduy.**

No		Inner Baduy	Outer Baduy
1.	Perkawinan (Marriage ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	Sirih ( <i>Piper betle</i> )
		Teureup ( <i>Arocarpus elastica</i> )	Pinang ( <i>Areca catechu</i> )
		Sirih ( <i>Piper betle</i> )	
2.	Kematian (Funeral ceremonies)	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )	Kemenyan ( <i>Styrax benzoin Dryand.</i> )
		Paddy	Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )
		Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )	
3.	Ngirab Sawan (a ritual in Huma-Serang ceremonies)	Albizia ( <i>Paraserianthes falcataria</i> )	Lime ( <i>Citrus aurantifolia</i> )
		Karuhang	Coconut
			Hanjuang ( <i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> )
			Rattan
			Areuy Beureum ( <i>Argyreia capitata</i> )
4.	Medicine (Cough)		Lengkuas ( <i>Alpinia galanga</i> )
		Ilat ( <i>Ficus sp.</i> )	Lime ( <i>Citrus aurantifolia</i> )
		Awi Mayan ( <i>Gigantochloa robusta</i> )	
		Awi Hitam ( <i>Gigantochloa atter</i> )	
		Kareo ( <i>Amauromis phoenicurus</i> )	

The other plants mentioned in Tabel 5 that are not listed in Tabel 8 are similar in use or not specifically mentioned by the respondents from outer Baduy. Over all, there were about 22 species of plants/animals used in cultural ceremonies and mentioned by the respondents from Inner Baduy, and 23 species by the outer Baduy. The main difference is on Ngirab Sawan, one of the rituals in huma-cycle ceremonies which is done to rid of pests. The Inner Baduy only used 2 species, namely: Albizia and Karuhang. Karuhang is the only species here which is not mentioned by the outer Baduy. Meanwhile, the outer Baduy used 6 species to expel the pests, in which two of them are never mentioned by the inner Baduy. In this case, the outer Baduy is actually influenced by the surrounding community. The ingredient is also familiar to some people in Cijahe, a non-Baduy hamlet. The other example is the use of lime as a medicine to cure cough. Using lime together with kapur sirih (lime stone powder/slaked lime) is also common for the non-Baduy people. This shows us how the values for outer Baduy have been influenced by non-Baduy people. Nevertheless, all the plants mentioned are obtained from the forests and its surrounding sites and bring about the material values of forests for the Baduy.

### 5.2.2. Historical values

The values concern on special relationship of the forest with the past. It can be observed by looking at historical heritage found in the forest, such as artifacts, stones, et cetera. The Baduy has a strong historical relationship with the forest in the region. In the forest, Sasaka Domas, a terraced sanctuary which is the most important and sacred heritage of the tribe, is located. This cultural heritage is visited once a year during the Ziarah. Only



selected people can visit the site. This restricted access impacts on imprecise description of the Sasaka Domas.

There are several versions of description of Sasaka Domas presented by several authors. Most of them described Sasaka Domas as terraced stones (*punden berundak*). Only Suhada (2003) describe the Sasaka Domas as a cave with white land called *taneuh bodas*. Ekadjati (1995) also mentioned that in the forest also lies Sasaka Pusaka Buana which has similar function and sanctity. The Sasaka Pusaka Buana is located in the deep forest of Pamuntuan Hill, in the upstream of Ciujung River, western part of Kendeng Mountain. Only Cikeusik's *Puun* knows exactly where it is. However, the description of the Sasaka Pusaka Buana by Ekadjati (1995) is similar with the description of Sasaka Domas by other authors. Ekadjati described Sasaka Pusaka Buana as a terraced hill with an 8 feet stone on the top of it. Every terrace is like paddy ponds/plots with smaller stones. The second terrace is covered by white sand. This description is close to the description of Sasaka Domas by Permana (2003) who was referring to Hoevell (1845) and Pleyte (1909). Permana described the Sasaka Domas also as a hill with seven terraces. On the top of the hill, there are a menhir and a stone statue. This stone statue is recognized as Sasaka/Sasaka Domas. Domas means holy/sacred. Furthermore, the location of this heritage, as Permana stated, is in the middle of dense forest which is not far from the spring of upstream of the Ciujung River. He described the area as a very humid place in which the stones there are greenish and mossy. This area also sometimes called "Petak 13" (thirteen ponds) since every terrace consists of thirteen ponds and every pond is bordered by stones with 3-5 meters length of its side. Another author, Suhamihardja (1986) called this sacred place as Sasaka Para Pusaka. This place is believed as a house of Batara Tunggal, the God in Sunda Wiwitan, and their ancestors. Moreover, the Sasaka Para Pusaka is also the place where Sasaka Domas is located. The Sasaka Domas is regarded as the most sacred place in the region and the place that is always kept in secret, as a result only certain Baduy people are permitted to visit the site. The difference in names and the similarities in descriptions of Sasaka/Sasaka Domas show the imprecise description of the heritage and as the result of the restriction in access to the forbidden forest. Furthermore, this situation is exacerbated by the unwillingness of the people to share the information of this site.

From 7 respondents who have visited the site, no respondent gave complete story about the Sasaka. Mostly they only wanted to talk about the role of this sanctuary to their lives. However, based on the interview, it can be assumed that most of them recalled the Sasaka Domas as terraced hill as it is described by most authors. They were not confused by names of the Sasaka Domas and its surrounding site, since all the names are referred to the same object. Sasaka Pusaka Buana means the center of the earth. This is understandable since the Baduy regarded the Sasaka Domas as the center of the earth. Sasaka Para Pusaka means the house of relics. This is probably because there are relics, stones and menhir found here. Sasaka Domas itself means sacred/holy statue. However, no respondents wanted to give the description of the statue. The only description of how this statue looks like is coming from Permana (2003) who referred to Hoevell (1845) and Pleyte (1909). He described Sasaka Domas as a statue with human like form who is doing ascetic activities. Although the names are different, they are referring to the same object in the same place. The respondents never implied that all



names referred to different place. Based on their response also, the location of this sanctuary is in the upstream of Ciujung River.

The history behind the existence of Sasaka Domas is remained obscure. Nevertheless, there are 80% of the respondents in the inner Baduy who claimed they know the history, likewise 100% in Batu Belah and 86% in Cisadane. These respondents were further questioned about their experience to access the site. Concerning this question, there are 40% of the respondents in the inner Baduy who have visited the site, 20% in Batu belah and only 14% in Cisadane. The history they know about the site is mostly based on myth or the stories told by their ancestors for generations. However, this myth or stories can hardly be proven. The Baduy believed that the Sasaka Domas has been there since their ancestor was created. Some of them even related the Sasaka Domas with the creation of the earth. It is believed as the starting point in the earth creation. The earth in the early phase of its creation is called Ngenclong which was viscous, transparent and in the size of paddy seed. Once upon a time the Ngenclong started to harden and grow bigger. This Ngenclong is nowadays believed as Sasaka Domas. Since the Sasaka Domas is the starting point of the earth creation, the Baduy regarded their region as the core or the center of the earth (Sasaka Pusaka Buana). The Sasaka Domas is also believed as the place where the first created human was sent to the earth and further became the ancestor of the Baduy and the non-Baduy people. In fact, Sasaka Domas is a megalithic structure (Permana, 2003) and might be built in that era.

Although Sasaka Domas is a megalithic structure, its role in the life of Baduy people is still playing until now. The most important role of the Sasaka Domas is as an object of pilgrimage and worship done once a year during Ziarah ceremony. The Sasaka domas is also believed as the gathering place or the house of ancestor's spirits. The ancestors occupied the forbidden forest to look after and guard their descendant. Knowing that the forest and the Sasaka Domas connected them with their ancestors, the Baduy is trying very hard to conserve the forest from destruction. If they destroy the forest, the impacts will not only influence them but also the whole people surrounding them. Moreover, destroying forest is taboo and will lead to the ancestor's anger. This taboo is reflected on their activities. They are really afraid of breaking this taboo. Tribal punishment will be given to those who break the taboo.

Sasaka Domas is also important as the orientation of everything in the region. The Sasaka Domas is located in the southern part of the region, thus all houses and other objects in the region face to the south. The more southern it is, the more sacred it will be. Even in the activities this south orientation is always taking into account, such as in the circumcise ceremony; the patient is facing to the south. As demonstrated by this example, Sasaka Domas does not only have a historic value as ancient sanctuary but also a symbolic value. The relation between different types of values is further discussed in Chapter 5.2.7.

### **5.2.3. Social values**

The values are referred to the places or things in the forest in the Baduy region that tend to make connections between people and to reinforce a sense of unity and identity. The values relate also to life and to activities in groups and society. Social activity is seen as

an activity in which lots of people are involved. They meet and spend time together during these activities.

There are several activities/rituals done by the Baduy: Seren Taun, Bebersih Lembur (cleansing village), Ziarah (pilgrimage), Huma Serang ceremony, Kawalu, Ngalaksa, Seba, Kelahiran (birth), Sunat (circumcise), Perkawinan (marriage), and Kematian (funeral). The rituals can be classified into four groups: forest-related rituals, huma-cycle related rituals, life-cycle related rituals, and village-life rituals. Life-cycle related rituals are done occasionally; while the other rituals are done regularly once a year. The classification of the rituals into the four groups is shown in the tabel 9.

**Tabel 9. Classification of the rituals**

No	Categories	Rituals
1.	Forest-related	Ziarah (Pilgrimage)
2.	Huma-cycle related	Seren Taun, Huma Serang ceremonies, Kawalu, Ngalaksa, Seba
3.	Life-cycle related	Kelahiran (birth), Sunat (circumcise), Perkawinan (marriage), and Kematian (funeral)
4.	Village-life related	Bebersih Lembur (cleansing the village)

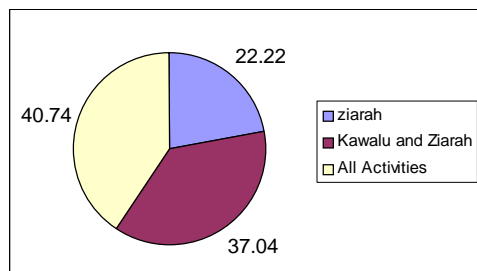


Figure 4. Social Activities linking with forest (in percentage)

There are three different opinions from respondents regarding social activities mentioned above that relate to the forest. Those opinions are Ziarah as the only activities that link with the forest (6 respondents or 22 %); Ziarah and Kawalu as social activities that relate with forest (10 respondents or 37 %); and all those activities are social and relate with the forest (11 respondents or 41 %).

Ziarah is pilgrimage to Sasaka Domas. As mentioned before, this activity is usually done once a year in the fifth month during Kawalu. The Ziarah is done after Bebersih Lembur is completely finished. This activity is lead by the Puun of Cikeusik and joined by several selected persons, mostly customary elders. All respondents in all hamlets agreed that Ziarah is a social activity linking with forest. The reason of ziarah being considered as a social activity is clear. It physically involves only 8 people, but it mentally connects all the Baduy people. It seems that every Baduy knows everything about the ceremony, such as who will join this ceremony, when the ceremony will be commenced, and they will even fast before the Ziarah just like the fast done by the selected people who will join the Ziarah. This ceremony is regarded linking with the forest since The Sasaka Domas which is located deep in forest becomes the place to do this activity.

For several respondents, Kawalu together with the Ziarah are regarded as social activities that are connected with forest, although not directly. This response was given by 40% respondents in inner Baduy; 40% respondents in Batu Belah and 29% respondents in Cisadane. The reason of including Kawalu as social values linking with forest is



probably because the respondents perceived Ziarah, which is done before Kawalu, as a part of it. Kawalu is the most sacred and the most important ritual in the Baduy culture. It is a ritual which relates with harvesting paddy in huma and divided into three parts: Kawalu Mitembeyan, Kawalu Panengah and Kawalu Tutug. The Baduy region during this ritual is closed for non-Baduy people. The first Kawalu, Kawalu Mitembeyan, is done in huma serang in the beginning of paddy harvest as a symbol of picking up Dewi Sri, the goddess of paddy. This ceremony is lead by Girang Serat, confidant of Puun, and joined by customary elders. The ceremony is also the sign for people to harvest paddy in their own huma. The second Kawalu, Kawalu Panengah, is done one month after the first Kawalu has taken place. This Kawalu is aimed at selecting paddy seeds which will be planted for the next huma. The ceremony is done by customary elders before the harvested paddy is brought to barn. The third Kawalu, Kawalu Tutug, is also called closing Kawalu. It is done in Balai Adat Kapuunan (customary meeting house) in Cikeusik which is attended by representatives from all hamlets in the Baduy region.

The other respondents (11 respondents or 41% from all hamlets) perceived not only Ziarah and Kawalu as social activities relating with forest, but the other activities - Seren Taun, Bebersih Lembur (cleaning village), Huma Serang ceremony, Ngalaksa, Seba, Kelahiran (birth), Sunat (circumcision), Perkawinan (marriage), and Kematian (funeral) - are also included. In detail, this figure is more dominant in the inner Baduy in which 50% of respondents agreed with this, likewise 30% in Batu belah and 43% in Cisadane. Even it is slightly different, it shows that more respondents in inner Baduy see the relation between the activities and the forest. It also shows how forests influence all aspects of their life. Although all these activities are perceived as forest related social activities, the respondents still think Ziarah is the most important and influencing ceremony of all. The communication between ancestors and the selected people happened during ziarah. At this moment, the Puun together with the others ask for inspiration regarding all events that might happen in Baduy region in the future. It is also the moment when the Puun in the name of all Baduy people ask for apology, safety, protection and good result for the next huma. It means that Ziarah can be regarded as first step for the next activities done in Baduy including the life-cycle activities. That is actually the reason for regarding all activities as social activities linking with forest. Except life-cycle activities which are done occasionally, the huma-cycle activities will be: Huma Serang ceremony, Bebersih Lembur, Ziarah, Kawalu, Ngalaksa, Seren Taun, Seba.

- Huma Serang is the Sacred Huma that is dedicated to the rice goddess, Dewi Sri, and for the purpose of continuity of paddy planting. The ceremony in the huma is closely related with the process of cultivating the huma starting from preparation until harvest. It has several rituals: Narawas (land clearing), Nyacar (land clearing, here the ritual is holding together with burning incense and giving sacrifice), Nukuh, Ngahuru (burning debris of land clearing), Ngaseuk (planting seed), Ngirab Sawan (expelling pest), Mipit (pre-harvesting), and Nganyaran (eating the rice).
- Bebersih Lembur (cleansing the village) is an activity, in which the Puuns order several authorities to inspect every house in the Baduy to seek forbidden things such as glasses, plates made of glass or ceramic, lamp, radio, radio cassette, bed, colorful costume except black, blue and white and other fabric made products.



Those all things, once they are found, will be destroyed and those who possess the things will get punishment based on their customary laws.

- Ngalaksa is a ritual done after Kawalu Tutug as an expression of happiness after fasting. In this ceremony, every Puun hands five bunches of paddy taken from Huma Serang's barn to selected women to be pounded and made into flour. The flour will soon be made into doll form cake. The cake together with other things will be put in the sacred place as a sacrifice to their ancestors. The flour is also made into a noodle like food called laksa.
- Seren Taun can be understood as a meeting for evaluating the result of the field in the current year and for designing plans of Huma for next year. The meeting is started with spelling chants and praises to Dewi Sri (the Rice Goddess) by customary elders, inserting paddy harvested in the current year to the main barns (*Leuit Tarekah*) and followed by the rest of the community to their own barns, and ended by singing and reading poem which are led by each hamlet elders.
- Seba is an annual activity done by the Baduy as a proof of loyalty and fidelity to the Government of Republic of Indonesia represented by local government of Lebak District. This activity can be regarded also as a formal visit of the Baduy led by their village head, Jaro Dainah and as a forum of report and communication between government and the Baduy. This activity is done after Kawalu and Ngalaksa. They distinguish the Seba into two sebas based on the result of huma harvest. Seba Gede (Big Seba) is done when the harvest of huma is satisfying. In Seba Gede, the Baduy will completely give the gift of their agricultural result and more people will join this ceremony. Meanwhile, if the harvest is not satisfying, the gift will be less complete and the joining people will be fewer also.

In conclusion, for several respondents all these activities are considered social activities since they involve lots of people and considered linking with forest although they are not organized in the forest. However, the close relation with ziarah makes it perceived as forest-related activities.

#### 5.2.4. Symbolic Values

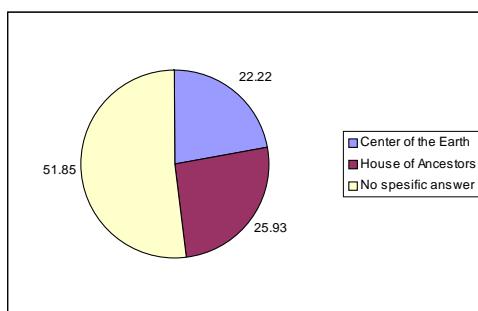


Figure 5. Symbolic Values of Forest In Baduy region (in percentage)

The values refer to the repositories of meaning of forest described as a symbol of something else, or connected with quality or idea in a lot of people's minds. Most of the respondents (74 %) agreed that the forest in the Baduy region has the symbolic values. However, to name the symbolic values of the forest in the Baduy region was a bit tricky since not all respondents understood the question. For those who acknowledged the symbolic values of forest, further question about what the forest symbolizes was given.

There are three responses upon this question, namely forest as the house of ancestors, as discussed in Chapter 5.2.6. on spiritual values; forest as the center of the world; and



no specific symbol response. The later response could be related with the creation of the earth, as it was implicitly indicated by some of the respondents. Once again it is clear that the values categories are not discrete but overlap.

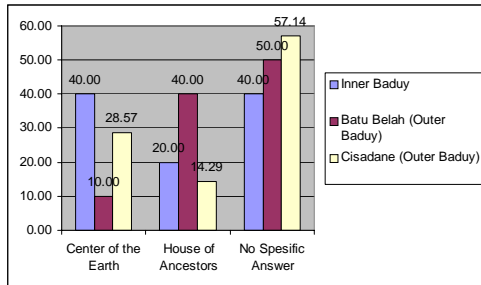


Figure 6. Symbolic Values of Forest Among Hamlets (in percentage)

In Total, there are 7 respondents or 26 % viewed forest as the house of ancestors, while 6 respondents or 22 % answered that the symbolic values the forest has is as the center of the world. The rest of respondents (14 respondents or 52 %) gave no specific symbol response.

That forest symbolizes the house of ancestors might be based on the belief that ancestors still occupy the forest to watch, guide, protect the Baduy people and punish those who break the taboo. In Naskah Sunda Kuna (Old Sunda Script), there were two sacred places (mandala or kabuyutan) known by Sundanese: Lemah Dewasana and Lemah Parahiyangan. The earlier was a sacred place that was dedicated for worshiping God, while Lemah Parahiyangan was dedicated for worshiping hiyang or ancestor's spirit. The Baduy region is identified as Lemah Parahiyangan. This is assumed from the names of a nearby village and river, Lebak Parahiyang and Ciparahiyang, which mentioned the word "parahiyang" (Ekadjati, 1985). The ancestors are believed to not only reside the forbidden Baduy but also travel to the new forest such as hamlet forest, especially to look after their descendants. It shows how forest connects the Baduy people with their ancestors through the taboo and through the ceremonies, either life-cycle ceremonies or huma-cycle ceremonies. In these ceremonies, the Baduy people provide sacrifices as gifts to their ancestors and as a proof of their loyalty and fidelity; the sacrifices will later be put in the sacred place in the forest.

Forest for the Baduy people also symbolizes the center of the world. This opinion might be based on the myth relating with the earth creation. The myth claimed the Ngenclong is nowadays Sasaka Domas. Since the Sasaka Domas is believed as the early phase of earth creation and located in the Baduy region, the Baduy people believe it as the center of the world and even the core of the world.

The first symbol, forest as the house of the ancestors, is valid for all forests in the Baduy region including new forests. Meanwhile, the second symbol, forest as the center of the world only refers to the forbidden forest, specifically the Sasaka Domas.

The majority of respondents (52%) gave no specific answer regarding the symbol of forests. The figure was not merely reflecting their knowledge about the forests; instead it is reflecting the first responses they gave over the questions of forest's symbols. Further explanation about symbolic values might change their responses; however the responses were related with either the house of ancestors or the center of the world.

### 5.2.5. Aesthetic Values

The values refer to a quality of beauty. It can be related with the place with scenic beauty that can embrace emotional response. In Baduy culture, the aesthetic values are also expressed in the form of poetry (pantun) and songs. These pantun and songs are identified as culture-bond and usually performed together with ceremonies. For instance, in the seren taun ceremony, the hamlet's elders will lead their people to read poetry and sing with Angklung's music. Angklung is their musical instrument made from bamboo assembled by two pipes which can create monotonic sound. For the Baduy, the angklung is played mostly in ceremonies. An example of the poetry linked with the forest is the poetry read in funeral ceremony as a pray.

*"Hong ilaheng, ka ditu ulah teu puguh, ngajungan kana Kaung nu ngaluwak, kana Kalapa nu ngajajar, kana Jambe nu ngaberes, kaditu ka si gelemeng hideung"*

This poetry is actually spelled to direct the spirit on its journey to Batara Tunggal (God) in Buana Nyungcung (Nagara suci/heaven). It is depicted that the forest is dark and can easily make somebody lost. Thus, the direction is given to lead the spirit reaching the right place. In this short poetry, the situation in the forest is pictured. Besides as a vaguely dark place, the forest is pictured as a place full of Kaung (*Arenga piñata*), Kalapa (coconut) and Jambe (*Areca catechu*). To reach Buana Nyungcung, the spirit has to follow the Kaung trees which are abundant, the Kalapa trees which stand in row, the Jambe tree which stand tidily.

The other aspect of the Aesthetic values is linking with the place in the forest which has a scenic beauty. The responses given by respondents were surprising. All of them agreed that no place in the forest has scenic beauty, either the forbidden forest or the new forest. The response is probably because of what they view as beauty is different. The forest, especially the new forest, is the place they usually interact with. Thus, they see there is nothing special with it. However, we can study the aesthetic value through the tourist coming to the region, since the scenic beauty is usually a place that can attract tourist to come.

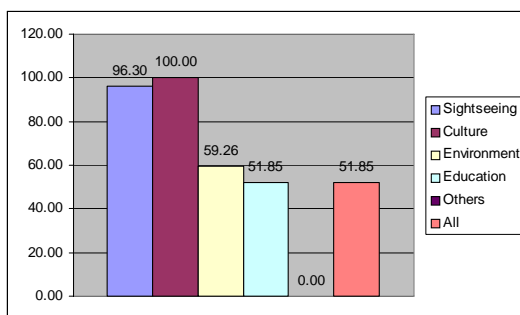


Figure 7. Reasons of Visitor coming to the Baduy Region (in percentage)

All respondents agreed that there are a lot of tourists/visitors coming to their village because of their aesthetic values. However, the reason of their visit is mixed with other values. During the interviews, the respondents gave several reasons of visitors coming to the Baduy region. The responses are as follow: 26 respondents or 96.30% replied visitor come for sightseeing; 27 respondents or 100% agreed that visitors come to see

the culture of the Baduy; 16 respondents or 59.26% agreed that visitors want to see the environment around the Baduy region; 14 respondents or 51.85% answered visitors come to learn something about the Baduy; and 14 respondents also replied all are the reasons of visitors coming to the Baduy.



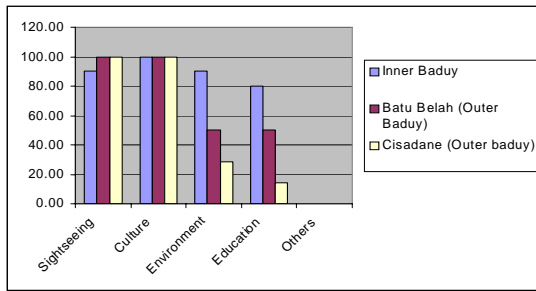


Figure 8. Comparison of Reason of Visitors Among Hamlets (in percentage)

The difference regarding responses among the hamlets is only obvious on the number of respondents who mentioned the combination of enjoying the nature and gaining the knowledge of the local culture as the reasons for visiting the region. There are about 90% respondents in inner Baduy who chose environment and 80% for education. Meanwhile, only 50% respondents in Batu Belah chose environment and education as the reasons; and only 29%

and 14% chose for environment and education in Cisadane. It shows the more outside the fewer respondents chose for environment and education. Environment is the only reason that directly connects to the forest. However, the unique environment including the forest blended with the habits the Baduy has constructed the culture of the Baduy.

Most of the time, Outer Baduy hamlets (officially Kaduketug) are the gate for visitors who want to enter the region. First they have to register to Jaro Pamarentah (Village head), Jaro Dainah, and indicate the reasons of coming and the duration of visit. After that, they can access the Baduy hamlets. Usually the domestic visitors (Indonesians) are allowed to access to Inner Baduy, but foreigners are only allowed to access in the outer Baduy hamlets. Those who want to stay overnight will be resided in the Baduy people's houses, either in the inner or in the outer Baduy. They recalled that the largest number of visitors who spent nights there was around 600 visitors. This figure shows that the interaction between visitors and the Baduy in frequency and intensity is similar in both groups.

Even though the Baduy people do not obviously admit the scenic beauty of their region, we can assume through the visitor's point of view that the Baduy region including the forest has scenic beauty.

### 5.2.6. Spiritual Values

The values address aspects of the religious, the numinous and the sublime; those that inspire humans to relate with reverence to the sacredness of nature. In the Baduy region, the values are centered in the Sasaka Domas, the most sacred site in the forest. However, in respect to the sacredness, there were different reasons of the sacredness among respondents. The reasons were grouped into three main reasons, namely: ancestor's spirits, the Sasaka; and the creation of human and the earth.

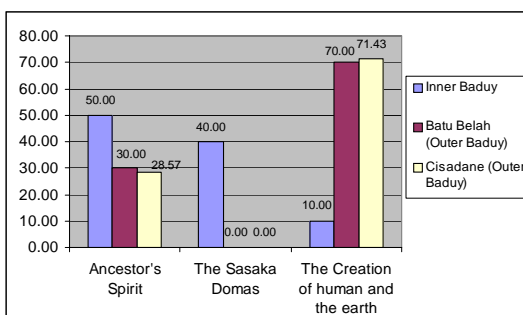


Figure 9. Comparison of Reasons of Sacredness of Forests among Hamlets (in percentage)

Most of respondents in Inner Baduy Hamlets chose ancestor's spirits (50%) and Sasaka Domas (40%) as the reasons of the sacredness of their forests. Meanwhile, in both hamlets of outer Baduy, the most dominant reason chosen was the creation of human and the earth. The percentages of respondents that chose this reason are 70% in Batu Belah and 71.43% in



Cisadane. This figure shows the difference among hamlets regarding the sacredness of forests in their region. These perceived reasons are based on belief and myths and are reflected through the activities of the people of those hamlets.

Ancestors who occupy the forests and Batara Tunggal who is represented by the Sasaka Domas are two divine entities all the Baduy people try to respect. Those two divines are related with the taboos and the commandments (Pikukuh Sapuluh) which are reflected in the Baduy's way of lives. Moreover, the ancestors are perceived as if they have powers to travel to any forests and punish all misbehaving people. As a result, those who connect forests with ancestors and Batara Tunggal will never dare to break the taboo or disregard the Pikukuh Sapuluh. Compare to the outer Baduy, the inner Baduy is the group who is more persistent in holding and practicing all the taboos and the Pikukuh Sapuluh.

In outer Baduy, the sacredness of forests is made by the myth of the creation of human and the earth. As mentioned before, the Baduy people believed that the creation was started in their region, precisely in their forbidden forest. Unfortunately, the reason is not as powerful as the other reasons to bring the people more obedient to their taboo and the Pikukuh Sapuluh. In fact, the regulations in outer Baduy are more lenient than they are in inner Baduy.

All the reasons given by respondents showed the richness of the spiritual values perceived in the Baduy culture. The values are also shown through the religion and myths; and the personal spiritual experiences one can have during their visit to the forests.

#### a. Religion and Myth

The spiritual values of forests are about religious life of the people surrounding them. All respondents in the three selected hamlets admitted the links between forest and religious activities and knew that some of these activities are organized in forests. Religion of the Baduy people is called Sunda Wiwitan. It is actually animism with lots of influence from Hindu and Islam (Djajaningrat, 1936). The religion adopted the god (Batara Tunggal) from Hindu, while Islam influenced the Baduy in the Sahadat (the pray chanted in certain ceremonies), in the marriage ceremony and in Sunatan (circumcision rituals).

Sunda Wiwitan is practiced through regarding ancestor's spirits and worshipping Batara Tunggal (God). The ancestor's spirits is regarded in order to request for blessing and as a guardian for the Baduy people, while Batara Tunggal is regarded as the creator and the ruler of the universe, and to whom all the Baduy people will return after death.

Sunda Wiwitan requests humans to always accept whatever is given to them, never ask more for everything nor be overly joyful. It also obliges the Baduy to be loyal to Batara Tunggal. Loyalty can be done through doing Tapa (religious activities in order to be closed to God). For the Baduy people, working in huma without depleting environment and help each others are regarded as Tapa. The religious way of life is shown through ceremonies, such as Ngukus, Muja, Kawalu and Ngalaksa, and through taboos. Ngukus, Muja and Ngalaksa are parts of Huma Serang ceremonies.

The most remarkable religious activity is Muja (worship), which is organized in the Sasaka Domas. Muja is a part of the Ziarah (pilgrimage ceremony). The ritual is done once a year and is three days long: 16, 17, and 18 of Kawalu month (the fifth month of



Baduy's calendar). The ritual is led by the Puun of Cikeusik. Together with elders, the Puun firstly goes to a hut which has been prepared before. The hut is built temporarily, only for the sake of this ritual. After spending a night in the hut, on the 17th, they go to the river for cleansing their body. After this ritual, they will go to the Sasaka Domas which is a terraced hill with 13 terraces. The ritual is started from the first terrace, the Puun and the elders face the top of the hill. After completing the worship, they will clean and tidy up the Sasaka. They will clean their face, hand and foot with water taken from Sang Hiyang Pangumbahan stone, a stone that can contain water. Later, they will climb up to the top of the hill to collect moss attached on the stone (menhir). The moss is called Komala (diamond) and will be brought back home. The Komala is believed that it can bring luck for those who need it. This ceremony is also considered as social values as described in Chapter 5.2.3. Once again, it showed the interrelationship between different types of values.

Based on this, it can be assumed that the forest plays an important role in the religious ceremonies, both as the house of ancestors, to whom the Baduy respects; and as the place where the Sasaka is located. This assumption is agreed by the responses of the 80% respondents in inner Baduy, 70 % and 71.43% in outer Baduy. Meanwhile the other respondents gave no specific response on this matter.

As other animistic beliefs, Sunda Wiwitan is accompanied by taboos. These taboos are believed as a mandate given by their ancestors and can be classified into several categories. Based on their level, taboos are divided into two categories: buyut adam tunggal and buyut nahun. Buyut Adam Tunggal is dedicated only for the inner Baduy. It covers core taboos and also other lower taboos, while the Buyut Nahun is dedicated for outer Baduy that only consists of core taboos. The other lower taboos are covering daily life activities. Thus sometimes what is common in outer Baduy is forbidden in inner Baduy.

The taboos can also be classified based on their objectives. In this classification, the taboos are divided into three: taboos for protecting the purity of human's spirits; taboos for protecting the purity of mandala (sacred place, in this case it can include whole their region); and taboos for protecting their culture.

Myths in the Baduy culture are mainly linked with the ancestors and the earth. The myth about ancestors not only about they reside forests, but also about their ability to give punishments to all law breakers, either the Baduy people or the non-Baduy people. This superstitious ability is believed as if it is real. The good side of this myth is that the taboos on forests is being obeyed and can further bring the preservation of their forests from destructions. The myth about earth is focused on its creation and the role of the Baduy region as the center of the world. Those two myths seem similar with the reasons of sacredness of forests and their religion. However, it might be because their beliefs and the myths are told through generations. This oral transfer created opportunities for development and changes. It made both beliefs and myths intertwined and influenced each others.

#### b. Spiritual Experiences

Forests in the Baduy also bring about the spiritual values that are related with a particular way of thinking, feeling or behaving. These experiences are concerned on personal psychological experiences that touch the human spirit. The values are experienced not



only by the Baduy people but also by the non-Baduy people who live around their forests or come to the Baduy village. However, different people can have different experiences at the same places. Therefore, there can be different psychological experiences one can have from the forests in the Baduy region.

For the Baduy people, the forests are the media for solitude, the place for recovering from embarrassments, and for encouraging one's spirit and will. It shows a cultural bond between the people and the forests. As it is mentioned in their poetry of Seren Taun :

*“Jauh-jauh di jugjug, mapay-mapay jurang, malipir dina gawir, nyalindung dina gunung,  
nyamedi di tempat nu suni, jauh teu puguh nu di jugjug, ka tempat anggung nu teu puguh  
nu rek di teang, ngajauhan lara jeung wiwirang tina perang. Panasna Sarangenge, tiisna  
Ciibun nambahan geterna hate, sumarabah kana bayah, ka surung ku niat nu geus  
nekad, ngalangkang kalangkang ka tukang jadi angan-angan, jeung datangna harepan  
jeung kayakinan tina nu ngatur sakabeh alam, nu ngeusi keun nu malik keun”.*

Walking far away without certain destination, cross the precipice pass the ravine, shelter in mountain, meditate in a lonely place, walking to the place with uncertain things to be sought, get away from embarrassment of lose from war, the hot sun, the cold morning dew, encourage your spirit and will, reminiscence the past which has been memories with the coming hope and faith from Him who control the universe and has the power to do anything.

The poetry implies the forest as a solitude place in the mountain for the shelter. The Baduy region is located in the area with elevation of 800 – 1.200 m above sea level and it is surrounded by mountain. From west, it is bordered by Mount Kenjur, Mount handarusa, Mount Hoe and Mount Pamuntuan. In southern part, it is bordered by Mount Kendeng, Mount Sangresik, and Mount Parangbeusi. All of these mountains have forest. The forbidden forest is sited near Mount Kendeng. The poetry also implies the romantics of forest for the Baduy people, as a solitude and peaceful place and as the place to ease your embarrassment and feeling of lost.

Some authors referred this poetry back to the origin of the people. It seems that the poetry advices those who lose from war to meditate and isolated in a lonely place. The advice leads them to forest. The question is popping up in the matter of who were those people. It could have something to do with the war with Islamic soldiers.

The existence of forests themselves, as it was indicated by some respondents, brings the feeling of security to the Baduy people. The feeling might have emerged as the result of their role as the water guardian. This role requires them to protect the springs in their region which flow and water not only their region but also the surrounding areas. Protecting the springs means protecting the forests surrounding the springs also. Thus, the existence of the forests shows that this role is played well by them and they will not get any punishments from their ancestors. Moreover, it is also mentioned in the Pikukuh Sapuluh that their environment including the forests has to be undisturbed. Disturbing forests will give them unpredictable disasters, not only for them but also for the surrounding people. The forests bring the feeling of security since they are far from experiencing disasters.

For the non-Baduy people, the forests are one of the things that have attracted them to come to the region. Some tourists admitted that the Baduy people can live harmoniously with their forests, thus it is attractive to see how the people interact with the forests and

assimilate the forests into their cultural activities. Tranquility is the feelings they got from the forests that they could access in the region. Moreover, the forests also give scenic beauty. This view will bring the feeling of amazed and admiration.

### 5.2.7. Relation between Different Values

During the interviews, respondents sometimes indicated almost similar responses for different values. These similar responses are possibly given because the values are linked to each other. In Tabel 10 those relations are presented.

**Tabel 10. Comparison of Related Values**

No.	Forest's Features	Values					
		Material	Historical	Social	Symbolic	Aesthetic	Spiritual
1.	Forest as the center of the earth	-	-	-	<b>V</b>	-	<b>V</b>
2.	Forest as the house of the ancestors	-	-	-	<b>V</b>	-	<b>V</b>
3.	Forest links with the creation of the earth	-	<b>V</b>	-	<b>V</b>	-	<b>V</b>
4.	Forests link with the cultural ceremonies: Ziarah and Kawalu	-	-	<b>V</b>	-	-	<b>V</b>

Forest as the center of the earth and Forest as the house of the ancestors are symbols people give to their forest, especially the forbidden forest. At the same time, those two features are also regarded as spiritual values; since they are the myths existing in the Baduy's culture.

Forest links with the creation of the earth is included as historical values, since the creation is linked with the story behind the existence of the Sasaka Domas, the historical artifacts located in the forest. This feature is also regarded as spiritual values, since the creation of the earth is linked with the sanctity of their forest. Some respondents, who were given no specific symbolic values, sometimes gave a story of earth creation instead.

Ziarah and Kawalu are two of the cultural ceremonies celebrated in the Baduy's culture. The ceremonies are regarded as spiritual values since they are religious activities that link the people with their ancestral spirits and their god. On the other hand, those ceremonies are also regarded as social values since the whole community participate in the ceremonies.

### 5.3. Values of different forest types

As mentioned in 5.1, different types of forests exist in the Baduy. However, the respondents from those two groups indicated slight differences on these types of forests. By referring to Garna's classification, the differences on what those two groups defined as forests are shown in Tabel 11.



**Tabel 11. Comparison on Different types of forests**

No	Garna's Classification	Inner Baduy	Outer Baduy
1.	Leuweung Kolot/Old Forest	Hutan Larangan/ Forbidden Forest	Hutan Larangan/ Forbidden Forest
2.	Leuweung Ngora/New Forest	Hutan Kampung/ Hamlet Forest, Riverside	Hutan Kampung/ Hamlet Forest, Riverside
3.	Reuma	-	Reuma
4.	Jami	-	-

Leuweung kolot/old forests and hutan larangan/forbidden forests are referring to the same places; likewise the leuweung ngora/new forests and hutan kampung/hamlet forest are also referring to the same forests. The difference between inner and outer Baduy is in the way they perceived Reuma. The Inner Baduy do not regarded reuma as a forest, while the outer Baduy do. There are 70% respondents in Batu Belah and 71.43% in Cisadane regarded reuma as forests.

The difference might be caused by difference in the perceived definition of forest. Those who answered reuma as forest might define the forest solely based on its appearance, namely a land with lots of trees. Meanwhile, the respondents who denied reuma being included as forest defined forest not only based on its appearance but also on its function for their cultural lives. Forest and non-forest are different in the way they are treated. Non-forest areas are culturally dedicated to future cultivation, while forest is not. The relation between types of forest and the cultural and spiritual values of forest is shown in Tabel 12.

The other factor influencing the difference perception of reuma between both groups is the appearance of the reuma itself. As mentioned in 5.1.3., there are differences in appearance between old reuma and young reuma. Young reuma will be predominated by bushes/weed, while old reuma will consist of lots of trees. As the result, those who see young reuma will not include it as forest, while those who see old reuma do. Thus for some respondents, there is no certain status applicable for reuma, either a forest or just a land full of bushes.

**Tabel 12. Relation between types of forest and cultural and spiritual values**

No	Value	Old Forest	New Forest	Reuma	Jami
1.	Material Values	-	V	V	V
2.	Historical Values	V	-	-	-
3.	Social Values	V	V	V	V
4.	Symbolic Values	V	-	-	-
5.	Aesthetic Values	V	V	V	V
6.	Spiritual Values	V	V	V	V

The study proved that old forest is playing more roles in the Baduy people's lives, thus the cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Baduy are more intensive in this forest. However, as it is shown in table 12, the other types of forests also hold cultural and spiritual values. The quality of the values among forests is different; one type of forest can be more intense than the others. In material values, new forest is more important source of material than the others. Old forest does not have these values since no



exploitation is allowed in this forest. Historical values and symbolic values are predominated by old forest. This is because of the existence of the historic and sacred structure in the forest, Sasaka Domas. Social, aesthetic and spiritual values exist in all types of forests. The intensity of social and aesthetic values is probably similar for all types of forest, but in spiritual values this is different. Old forest is more intense than the others; it is because of the Ziarah ceremony and existence of the object of the worship, Sasaka Domas.

#### 5.4. Differences between hamlets in cultural and spiritual values

The difference of the values between the inner and outer Baduy is not about the way the cultural ceremonies are organized, but rather on the quality of knowledge or the perceived values. These comparative values can be interpreted from the in-depth responses given by each respondent and the observation of their actual behaviors. The comparison is made between both groups based on this information as it is shown in Tabel 13.

**Tabel 13. Comparison of Cultural and Spiritual Values between inner and outer Baduy**

No	Value	Inner Baduy	Outer Baduy 1	Outer Baduy 2
1.	Material Values	***	**	*
2.	Historical Values	**	***	*
3.	Social Values	***	*	**
4.	Symbolic Values	**	**	***
5.	Aesthetic Values	***	**	*
6.	Spiritual Values	***	**	*

Note: The stars above indicate the degree of the knowledge possessed by the groups.  
\*\*\* = Most knowledgeable; \*\* = Moderate, \* = Less knowledgeable

Inner Baduy is considered as the group who knows more almost all values than outer Baduy. It is concluded based on the information they gave and the actual behaviors they have shown. In social values, respondents from the inner Baduy can describe in detail all social and cultural activities that link with forests including the process, actors involved and the materials needed. It might be because they are actively involved and give high contribution in the ceremonies. In aesthetic values, the respondents from the inner Baduy can give complete explanation on the poetry, songs, and musical instruments played in the ceremonies; also the tourists and the reasons of their coming. In material values, the information given by the inner Baduy is obviously more complete than that by the outer Baduy. The respondents from inner Baduy give comprehensive information on the material used in the cultural ceremonies, the description of the plants, the place to obtain and the usage of the plants in the ceremonies. Regarding the use of plants as medicine, the inner Baduy could present a detailed procedure of how to use the plants as medicine. In spiritual values, the respondents from inner Baduy can described the importance of the forests for their religious life through the information on their religion including the practices of their religion; on their sacred places, on the personal spiritual experiences they have every time they accessed forests.

The respondents of the inner Baduy are considered less knowledgeable in historical and symbolic values than the outer Baduy 1 (Batu Belah). They could not present the complete history of the most sacred place in the forests, the Sasaka Domas. It might be



because of the cultural reason. However, it is difficult to measure whether they do not know or they do not want to share the information. Those two symptoms lead to similar result, namely they do not give suffice information on historical values. One information they gave during the interviews and it made them valued more knowledgeable than the outer Baduy 2 (Cisadane) is the the information of the role of the Sasaka Domas to the life of the Baduy people. Regarding symbolic values, the highest degree is possessed by the outer Baduy 2; they admitted the symbolic values and described the influence of the symbols in their life. In these values, the inner Baduy and the outer Baduy 1 are considered in the same level. In these two hamlets, the respondents did not give complete information or admit the existence of the values. However, it is difficult to decide whether they did not understand the values (questions) or they did not know the information.

### **5.5. Conclusion**

As described in Chapter 2.2 within the Baduy region two groups are usually distinguished, i.e. the inner and outer Baduy. The inner Baduy is described as more persistent in their culture. This is clearly reflected in the findings of this study. Respondents from the inner Baduy possess more knowledge on their culture than those from the outer Baduy. It was also found that the closer the hamlet to the non-Baduy people's hamlets, the less degree of cultural and spiritual values the respondents have. The data also showed that within the Baduy region different types of forest exist. The cultural and spiritual values of forest are centered in forbidden forest. Nonetheless, in less intense, the values are also possessed by the other types of forests. Thus, within the general cultural context of the Baduy, the more specific cultural and spiritual values of forests are multiple but also interrelated.





## 6. DYNAMIC OF CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES

The cultural and spiritual values as mentioned in Chapter 5 are the recent values the Baduy has. These values are not static but rather dynamic. Although the tribe does not admit them, the changes on the values are also gradually taking place. The values are considered as the products of the continuous and slow adaptation to the situation surrounding their region. In this chapter, the changes of cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Baduy culture are identified. Interestingly, according to local respondents, no changes in cultural and spiritual values have taken place. Nonetheless, it could be observed, and it was even admitted that in fact several local practices with specific cultural significance did change. Consequently, in the following description these changes in practices will be used as indicators for cultural changes.

As it is believed in their religion, the Baduy people are assigned to be Wiku (saints). They are supposed to always accept whatever is given to them. This notion has made many influences to their lives. Mostly, they will refuse anything that is not suitable with their culture. Lots of programs offered either by the government or by other institutions have been refused by them. The latest refusal was made when they were given the fund for Refined Fuel Oil (*BBM*) Subsidy Reduction Compensation Program. Eventually, this notion has made the values they have for the forest relatively constant. The believed religion is creating their culture, which has lots of taboos, and has been implemented for generations. Thus, it is really difficult to change or eliminate their culture. However, though it runs slowly, the process of changes is also taken a place.

### 6.1. Changes in Forest-related Cultural Practices

The easiest way to find the changes in the values is by observing the behaviors of the outer Baduy. This group is interacting more often than the inner Baduy people with non-Baduy people. It can be assumed that this interaction influences the behaviors of the group, and that the influences are more obvious in the outer Baduy than in the inner Baduy. These changing behaviors is not always directly influencing the cultural and spiritual values, however their behaviors are reflecting the relative strength of the values. It was noted during the study that the impacts of the behavior changes have made the cultural and spiritual values gradually eroded.

During the study several changes of behaviors of the Baduy people as the result of their interaction with the non-Baduy people were noted. These non-Baduy people can be the people surrounding their region and the tourists coming to their region.



### **6.1.1. Change on the medicine use**

As indicated in the description on material values, the Baduy people have good knowledge on medicine. They usually heal their sickness using their knowledge on medicinal plants. Several plants are familiar for them, such as the plants to cure fever and wound. This knowledge is conveyed orally from one Baduy people to the others for generations, no specific training is needed to transfer the knowledge. Sometimes, the healing process is helped by the dukun (traditional healer/shaman). The dukun is regarded as a person who knows more about healing sickness from a person, not only physical but also spiritual sickness.

However, the knowledge on medicinal plant use is gradually being eroded. In some cases, the Baduy people still use their traditional knowledge to heal disease, but in another cases they try new medicine. It is admitted that sometimes new medicine is healing faster than their traditional way. This is the reason why the Baduy people nowadays start to use the new and modern medicine. The trend is not only done by the outer Baduy, but in less intense also by the inner Baduy. However, the inner Baduy still uses more of their own knowledge to treat their disease. In some cases also, it is proved that they are more relying on their knowledge than on the more modern medical knowledge.

One supporting proof regarding this change is the role of Mantri Kesehatan (paramedics). The paramedics are working in the field to help people who undergo any kind of disease. They even can recommend a patient to be hospitalized. There used to be no Baduy people consulting their disease to the paramedics, however this phenomenon is now changing. Sometimes, we see an outer Baduy people come to Puskesmas (community health center) in Cisimeut to get a treatment for their sickness, but they will refuse to bring any medicines to home. Rasidi, a paramedic who is responsible for the Baduy region, admitted that the Baduy people are now familiar with him, specifically with the new medicines or treatments he gives to them. Trust is highly needed anytime you do something with Baduy people. Even when you treat them for their sickness, they will only allow you if they trust you. Rasidi recalled that in the first time of his assignment in the Baduy region, there were almost no Baduy people consulting their sickness to him. The situation has changed after several initiations and familiarized activities including being introduced by Village Head (Governmental Jaro). Those who go to meet him are not only the outer Baduy but also the inner Baduy. However, not every sickness is consulted to him. His last visit to the Baduy, in the time we had the conversation, was when he organized Pekan Imunisasi Nasional (National Immunization Week) in the Baduy region. At that time, the children whose age is below 5 years old were immunized. Those children are not only from the outer Baduy but also from the inner Baduy area. However, there were still some parents in the inner Baduy refused to have their children being immunized without giving any specific reasons. I personally assumed the reason for the refusal lies within the culture or taboos.

Following this change is the increase of the use of modern medicines. Balsam is one example of fabric medicine which is used by both groups of the Baduy. Sometimes they also requested a medicine for certain illness such as for headache, even they do not know the name of the medicine. As mentioned before, one of the reasons of using this



fabric medicine is the practicality and the fast effect it can result compared to their traditional way.

The changes will influence the material values of forests, especially the knowledge of the medical plants. It erodes the values by replacing their knowledge with new ways and with those which are similar with the non-Baduy people. Even though there are still lots of Baduy people who refuse these new ways, the influence of those who use this and the influence of other factors, such as information and tourism, can change this persistence. Furthermore, the new generations might view this behavior as a common thing to do and less information regarding the material values will be transferred to the next generations. Spiritually, using modern and new medical systems are breaking their taboos. Thus, the power of taboos as a control and barrier for external factors invasion will also be eroded.

#### **6.1.2. Change on the use of manufactured items**

House wares and other equipments in the Baduy culture are made as natural as possible. The Baduy never uses anything that can harm environment and themselves or anything coming from outside their region that are against their culture. Those kinds of products will be simply refused by them. This is also applied for foods, medicines and even activities/programs. For generations, this way of life has been implemented by them and nothing seems possible to replace those natural items.

The culture of using those natural items is supported by the taboo of forbidding manufactured items usage. Those who intensely use modern manufactured items will be expelled to outer Baduy or even worse to outside of the village. Based on the Baduy culture, manufactured items are forbidden due to their effects. They are considered as a change agent that can bring consumerism and threaten their culture and their existence. These manufactured items include electronic, modern house wares, and manufactured foods such as noodle, biscuit, etc.

Nowadays, the use of manufactured items is contaminating. They are firstly used by the outer Baduy as the result of contacts they made with the non-Baduy people. The contacts have introduced them with the items that are never used in their lives before. Soon afterwards, the curiosity mixed with the pleasure of using the items moved them to further initiation. Some outer Baduy people even utilize the items as if the taboo never existed. They sometimes bring the items to their hamlets. Thus, during the *Bebersih lembur* (cleansing the village) activity, several forbidden items are found, such as watch, radio, glass, even noodles. The *Bebersih lembur* activity is dedicated to collect all forbidden items from the houses of the Baduy people and destroy the items. It is usually done before the *Kawalu* ceremonies and worship to *Sasaka Domas*.

The use of these items is now reaching the inner Baduy too. Several manufactured foods, such as noodles, tomato ketchup, cigarettes, even coffee and tea, which are forbidden since they can dirty one's body, are now familiar with the inner Baduy people. The initiation was not only the responsibility of the outer Baduy people, but also the responsibility of the non-Baduy people such as tourist and traders/mobile vendors who come to their village. These vendors usually come daily to their village and sell the products to the inner Baduy people. From the result of private conversation with one of the vendors, the original reason for their coming is tourists. This means their first



costumers are the tourists who come and sometimes spend a night there. However, their products also attract the inner Baduy people to buy and use the products.

The people who use the manufactured items are now low in number, but it is growing. Only two factors can slower this phenomenon, namely the role of the elders and the Puuns; and the bebersih lembur activity. The elders and the Puuns are models of how the Baduy people should behave. Even if the people use the items, they never dare doing it in front of the elders or the Puuns. It shows that using such items is contrasting the values they should behold.

This change can give a lot of influence to the culture of Baduy. The use of manufactured items has a huge potency to replace house wares, equipments or even foods they usually have. The change also can eliminate the role of the taboo of using modern and manufactured items. Eventually, these will erode the cultural and spiritual values of forests, especially the material values since the items can replace those coming from the forests, such as bamboo as water container (*kele*), medicines, daun tulang (tulang's leaves) as tea, etc. The most influenced values are the spiritual values. This is relating with the taboos and the role it is supposed to play. For some extent, it also erodes the aesthetic values since the garbage, such as plastic packs and bottle, are now found in the Baduy hamlets and can not be easily destroyed.

### **6.1.3. Change in fallow duration**

After harvesting the huma, the area will be fallowed for a period of time. It is usually 5 years in outer Baduy and 10 years in inner Baduy. Sometimes, the fallow duration is more than that. However, along with the increase of population in the region, the fallow duration is shortened. It can be less than 5 - 10 years. Some respondents also mentioned that the fallow duration can also be done only for 3 years. The change might be a solution taken as the population of the Baduy people is increasing.

Culturally, the shortened fallow duration affect the habit of the people in cultivating a land. It is actually a solution taken as the response of the increase of population. In the Baduy culture, a family has the right to have land for cultivation. The land still belongs to the tribe; however their right is only cultivating it. Every year the number of families who will be given land is increasing. The increase together with the limited land brings a new problem that need to be handled. The Puuns are the persons who hold the authority to decide about the land for cultivating. So far, the solutions taken are either shortening the fallow duration, or reducing the size of the land per family. Some Baduy people hire a land outside their region, while the others become the labor in non-Baduy farmers. If the problem remains, the number of Baduy people who become labors will increase also. In their cultivation activities, the Baduy people who become labors will not purely follow those belong to their group, they will conduct the activities that are requested by the owner/farmer. Mostly the Baduy people do whatever the Puuns requested them to do, for example they will start planting after the Puuns, through the Huma-serang ceremonies, declare the commencing of planting paddy. It is probably related with the sanctity of their region. Outside their region, they also have to consider the owner's orientation. Sometimes, these orientations are different from the Baduy. The owner orientations include the time of planting which is not influenced by the Puuns; and planting commercial trees which are forbidden.



#### **6.1.4. Changes on other activities**

Nowadays, the Baduy people are now doing some activities similar with those of the non-Baduy people surrounding them. These behaviors are sometimes forbidden and are included in the taboos they have to obey. The behaviors include traveling with vehicles, watching movies/television, wearing colorful outfits other than black, white and blue, and schooling (learning reading and writing). These changes mostly have influence on their life styles. However, the impacts of the changes can further invite the changes in their cultural and spiritual values, like the impacts of the use of manufactured items.

Traveling with vehicles is forbidden, thus no Baduy people is allowed to take any vehicles on their journey. They usually walk to wherever they go. In Seba ceremonies, they will walk from their village to Rangkasbitung (about 50 km) and take about 5-6 hours. However, the taboo is now only applied for the inner Baduy. The outer Baduy people are occasionally allowed to go by vehicles, especially in the Seba. While the inner Baduy leave for the town early in the morning, the outer will go later carrying the gift for the regent. It is admitted that the taboo used to be valid for all the Baduy people.

Possessing electronic items such as radio and television are forbidden. Even watching and listening to the radio are also considered forbidden. However, there are groups of people of the outer Baduy nowadays coming every night to the nearest village to watch movies/television in non-Baduy people's houses. Even the inner Baduy people sometimes enjoyed movie and/ or television as well. This phenomenon is now common and the villagers, the non-Baduy people, are familiar with their presence.

The Baduy people have their own outfits and are only allowed to wear outfits with certain colors. The inner and the outer Baduy have different kind of outfits and different colors. The inner Baduy mostly wear white outfits, while the outer Baduy wear only blue and black outfits. Nowadays, the outer Baduy people are also wearing other color outfits. They even sometimes wear t-shirt and jeans.

The Baduy is only allowed to learn Silat (martial arts). It is forbidden for them to learn reading and writing. Even though it is not done obviously, the taboo is now broken. Some Baduy people are now learning to read and write. Actually, the skills are needed for those who will become a carik (village's secretary). Nowadays, the carik is beheld by Haji Sapin, who used to be a Baduy but he was expelled and decided to be outsider.

#### **6.1.5. Relation between values and actual condition**

The earlier description of changing behaviors reflecting changing values indicates that often positive relation between behavior and values exist. However, this relation is sometimes ambiguous. This can be demonstrated in respect to the local perspective on forest cover. Forest's cover here is referred to the forbidden forest's cover. There are different figures among the hamlet's responses regarding the forest cover. The inner Baduy's people are still holding the image of an ideal forbidden forest in which no disturbance is allowed. Thus, 50% of the respondents claimed no changes happened in this forest cover over 15-20 years. In contrast, 100% of the respondents in Batu Belah (outer Baduy 1) admitted that the forest cover is gradually decreasing, likewise 86% of the respondents in Cisadane (outer Baduy 2). The actor in this deterioration process is



the outsider meaning the non-Baduy people. Among 27 respondents, 23 (85 %) blamed the outsider causing the deterioration. In total, respondents who claimed no changes in forest cover were only 7 respondents (26 %). Although the percentage is far smaller, this figure reflected their will to maintain their image as the water guardian and their image as a tribal group who is able to protect their region even from outside invasion.

A high percentage of respondents who admitted the gradual decreases of forest cover show that most of the Baduy people are aware of the situation which has threatened the existence of their forbidden forest. Unfortunately, the situation becomes problematic. On one hand, the Baduy people are not allowed to access the forbidden forest except with the permit from Puuns. They obey this rule due to the taboo. Those who break the taboos will be punished by the Puuns according to their rules. Besides the direct physical punishment from the Puuns, they will also experience punishment given by their ancestors in the form of disasters, tragedy or even bad luck. This kind of punishment will not only experience by the doer but also by whole community surrounding the doer residence. On the other hand, the outsider can access the forest through the southern part of the forest and log illegally without being afraid of the taboos. The Baduy thinks that the taboo which is valid for them will also valid for the outsiders. They believed anyone who breaks the taboo either the Baduy or the outsiders will be punished. However, it is really difficult to prove whether the outsiders receive any punishment from the Baduy's ancestors. Besides, it will be very hard to punish the doers based on the Baduy's rules since they are not Baduy people; and it will be impossible to catch the doers by themselves. Thus, the Baduy people usually report all the illegal logging activities to the authorities, namely government and police. The recent progress regarding this illegal logging is that the Baduy is now proposing the building of fences surrounding their customary region to the local government. As Jaro Dainah, Village head of Kanekes, stated that the Baduy agreed on switching the fund for Refined Fuel Oil (*BBM*) Subsidy Reduction Compensation Program to the establishment of fences surrounding their region (<http://www.glorianet.org/berita/b6027.html>).

#### **6.1.6. Conclusion**

From the above description, it can be concluded that some cultural practices have changed. The changes have eroded the cultural and spiritual values. Most affected values are material values and land-use related social values.

### **6.2. Factors Influence Changes in Cultural and Spiritual Values**

As mentioned above the changes in cultural values are mostly influenced by external factors. Internal factors seldom solely initiated the changes, and are usually in the form of personal responses. As it is shown by the young generation in Baduy who responds the strict rules implemented by the customary elders regarding a new trend or an offered program/activity. There are sometimes different points of views between youngsters and elders on a specific problem, however most of the time the dispute will always be won by the elders. They firmly behold cultural rules and values. External influencing factors include demographic; economic; socio-political; scientific and technological; and cultural and religious.



### 6.2.1. Demographic factors

The population of the Baduy people is dynamic. Changes in size, structure and distribution due to births, deaths, migration and ageing are also taking place. However, the data of the group on education, religion and facilities are relatively constant.

**Tabel 14. The population of the Baduy people**

Year	Population	Year	Population
1817	135	1972	4.077
1822	188	1976	4.095
1845	265	1981	4.057
1888	291	1984	4.587
1908	1.407	1994	6.483
1917	1.500	2001	7.184
1928	1.521	2004	7.265
1968	4.010		

Source: Rafles, 1817; Blume, 1845; Hoevell, 1845; Garna, 1973; Suhamihardja, 1986; Danasasmita and Djatisunda, 1986; Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lebak, 2001; 2004.

Compared to the years before, the size of population of The Baduy people in 2001 is bigger. The increase is mostly influenced by birth; the rate of fertility is around 100 infants per year or around 1 %. It is actually lower than its rate in the sub district of Leuwidamar in 2001, 451 infants. The dynamic of size of the Baduy's population is also influenced by death and migration; however those numbers are lower than birth. In 1984, the number of birth was 152, while mortality was 70 (Sam, et al, 1986).

The dynamic in the structure of population is relating with the changes in the population based on gender and age. As shown in Tabel 14, the number of males and females is increasing over time; however the ratio was almost similar. There are no complete records on the data of population based on age. However, the tendency is firstly analyzed by Ekadjati (1995), who compared the population of the tribe in 1972 in three hamlets based on age. At that time, the percentage of young people (below 29 years old) was higher than those whose age was more than 30 years old. The ratio was about 2:1. In 2001, the data on young people in the Baduy region could be identified from the number of people in school age (4.667 people). The ratio between young people and old people was also 2:1, meaning there were more young people than old people. The trend was also shown in 2004 (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lebak, 2001; 2004).

Distribution of population relates to the number of people in the inner Baduy and those in outer Baduy. The dynamic is also influenced by the movement (migration) of the people from the inner to outer hamlets, or even to the outside of the village due to the breaking the cultural regulations. However, the exact number of these data is not available.



**Tabel 15. The population of the Baduy people based on Gender**

Year	Population		Total	Ratio
	Male	Female		
1976	2.041	2.054	4.095	0.994
1981	2.077	1.980	4.057	1.049
1984	2.297	2.290	4.587	1.003
2001	3.640	3.544	7.184	1.027
2004	3.636	3.629	7.265	1.002

Source: Danasasmita and Djatisunda, 1986; Suhamihardja, 1986; Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lebak, 2001; 2004.

The dynamic in population has affected the life of the Baduy people, especially to the activities relating to the use of the land. Together with the available land, population influenced their cultural lives, such as on the duration of fallow, the size of huma per family, establishment of new hamlets, and on the land use in their region. The problems are worsened due to the encroachment of their customary land by the non-Baduy people surrounding their region.

The dynamic in population also occurred in outside their region. Compared to the Baduy population, the increase of population in outside the region has been faster. As it is shown in Tabel 16, the density of the population of the Baduy people in 2001, compared to the other villages, was lower.

**Tabel 16. The Baduy population compare to the other villages**

NO	Village	Area (Ha)	Population		Total	Density	Note
			Male	Female			
1	Leuwidamar	745	1,787	1,716	3,503	4.70	
2	Lebakparahiang	690	1,363	1,272	2,635	3.82	
3	Wantisari	512.68	1,791	1,658	3,449	6.73	
4	Cibungur	702	1,957	1,797	3,754	5.35	
5	Jalupangmulya	1,085.32	1,466	1,448	2,914	2.68	
6	Sangkanwangi	982	1,338	1,246	2,584	2.63	
7	Cisimeut	1,626	3,827	3,768	7,595	4.67	
8	Nayagati	1,150	2,075	2,149	4,224	3.67	
9	Margawangi	624	794	710	1,504	2.41	
10	Bojongmenteng	670	1,427	1,499	2,926	4.37	
11	<b>Kaneke</b>	<b>5,101</b>	<b>3,640</b>	<b>3,544</b>	<b>7,184</b>	<b>1.41</b>	<i>The Baduy</i>
	Total	13,888	21,465	20,807	42,272	3.04	

### 6.2.2. Economic Factors

The economic situation within their region is relatively constant. The main change was centered in the use of money in their life. They used to use barter system in their trade with the other Baduy people or with the non-Baduy people. However, money now becomes more important in their life.

For the Baduy people, all farming activities are done mainly for fulfilling their daily lives, thus whatever they got will be saved and used daily until the next harvest. All the Baduy people are farmers, they plant paddy as their main product. The paddy has never been





sold for cultural reasons. They use the paddy for them selves, or they put in their barn. They can lend the paddy to the other Baduy people in case of emergency only. They plant the paddy only once a year and do it mostly for religious reasons. However, after harvesting the paddy and during waiting for the next huma season, most of Baduy people are planting other permitted plants such as chili, cucumber, cassava, maize and yard long bean (*Vigna sesquipedalis*); making palm sugar and koja (bag made from bark of *teureup/Arocarpus elastica*); or selling fruits from their kebun/garden. Their products, except paddy, are sometimes sold in the closest market to non-Baduy people. From these activities, they will get money which will later be used for buying their needs or they simply saved it.

For the local government and based on national standard from BKKBN (the National Family Planning Coordinating Board), the Baduy people are categorized as poor people. Most of them are rated in Pra Keluarga Sejahtera/pre-prosperous families (Pra KS) and Keluarga Sejahtera 1/prosperous families 1 (KS1). One of these indicators is based on their income. Classifying them in these categories means they have low income per year. However, they do not admit they are poor. For them, living in the way they are now is sufficient. Besides, their religion requests them to accept whatever is given to them, and being like they are now is a part of their religion.

This way of life has been done for generations and transferred continuously from the elders to the young people. For generations they have become farmers, and occasionally they sold their products. If there are no changes in their way of lives, there will be no changes in their actual income as well. This indicates that no changes takes place in their income, either per capita or per household unit.

The economic life of people in the surrounding villages is also dynamic. The remarkable progresses in the area were tourism and the development of the market in Ciboleger in the 90s. Together with development of the area as a tourist attraction; the market becomes larger and more important, not only for the tourist but also for the Baduy people. The other market nearby their region is in Kroya.

The market has a lot of influence in the life of Baduy people. In this market, the Baduy people usually sell their products and buy their needs. The market has helped the Baduy people to obtain manufactured products or anything unfamiliar with them before, such as slippers, medicines, or even Baso (meat ball with noodles). The market has changed some Baduy people from farmers to traders.

As a tourist spot, the Baduy has attracted lots of people. As seen on Tabel 17, the number of visitors coming to the region is increasing. For the non-Baduy people, tourism has given them the opportunity to have a new source of income by becoming guide, porter or souvenir seller. The tourism has increased the number of vehicles (usually bus or minibus) coming to the Ciboleger bus station as well. For the Baduy people, tourists are regarded as guests. They view tourism as something that has given them no benefits at all, it is even claimed as the change agent; change in lifestyle, increase of dirt in their village, and turn their barn into full of grafitties, etc. Overall, the tourism has made their region and its surrounding area busier.



**Tabel 17. Number of Visitors coming to the Region**

Year	Number of Visitor		
	Domestic	Foreign	Total
1973	236		236
1974	213		213
2001	4.397	139	4.536
2004	3.083	38	3.121

Source: Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lebak 2001, 2004

### 6.2.3. Socio-political factors

In general, the Baduy people and the non-Baduy people surrounding them have a harmonious relationship. Each group understands the other behaviors well. The relationship has been made for generations. However, there are some cases in which the Baduy people and the non-Baduy people have had conflicts. Most of the conflicts are based on the encroachment done by members of the groups. As Jaro Dainah recalled, there are several cases of encroachment done by the non-Baduy people to their region. An example of the cases that was reported by him is the encroachment in the border of their region with the Keboncau village in which 8.936 m<sup>2</sup> of their region is claimed by the non-Baduy people. There used to be a sign stating that the land is the part of the Baduy region. However, now the sign has been removed and the land has been certified by Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Agency) as the non-Baduy people property (<http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0208/02/nus05.html>). From personal conversation with the non-Baduy people, there were some cases also reported that sometimes the Baduy people used and cultivated the land that was claimed as the property of the non-Baduy people. Though the cases can hardly be proven, they showed the probability that not only the non-Baduy people encroached on the Baduy region but also vice versa.

The Baduy was given their customary right on their region and the right is protected by the regional regulation 32/2001 on Protection of the customary rights of the Baduy Community. The effort of the Baduy people to protect their region has a long remarkable history. The encroachment started to annoy the tribe in 1950. However, the first law protected the tibal customary right was The Decree of the Governor of West Java in 1968. The conflict was not completely mitigated by the establishment of the decree. In 1985, under coordination of the Puun of Cibeo, the Baduy people asked the central government of Indonesia in Jakarta to respond quickly on the conflict. The provincial regulation 13/1990 on supervision and development of Lembaga Adat Masyarakat Baduy (Custom Council of Baduy) in Lebak District was established later. Even though the region has been protected by the regional regulation, the encroachment still happens sometimes.

Regarding political matters, the Baduy is the group who refused to take part in the last general election (2004's election). From 1971 to 1997, the Baduy always took a part in general selection. In 1999, they refused to join the election because the election was organized in the Kawalu season. However, as Jaro Dainah recalled, the elders of the tribe were admonished by their ancestors and the tribe had to be back to where they were supposed to be (<http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0403/27/nas08.html>). Moreover, according to their culture, the Baduy is assigned to keep their religion, their region and their country. They will not join the election since they are saint's community



and joining the election is against their culture (<http://www.kompas.co.id/kompas-cetak/0312/30/daerah/771634.htm>).

Outside their region, the political situation is dynamic. The situation is mostly influenced also by the general elections done in Indonesia. During New Order era, the election was done five times; in 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997. According to 1975's regulation on the fusion of political party, those elections only 3 parties took part: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Golongan Karya and Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI). All of those elections were won by Golongan Karya. In 1999, after the New Order era collapsed, the election was joined by 48 parties and won by PDI. However, since the new president was elected by the members of representatives, the elected president was not from the winning party (PDI) but from the other party (PKB). The latest general election was done in 2004 with only 24 parties. The election was done twice: legislative election and presidential election. The legislative election also determined the parties that allowed nominating their candidates for president and vice president. Only big five elected parties were eligible to enter as candidates in the presidential election. The election itself was recorded as the first direct presidential election in Indonesia.

The other election that took place in the district was the election of Regent of Lebak district in 2003. The election was not a direct election; instead it was done by regional house of representative in Lebak District. Four political parties took part in the election with their candidates for regent and vice regent. The election was won by the candidate from the collaboration of two parties: PDI and PPP. In this election also, the Baduy people were not concern on who would win the election. For them, they would be loyal to the winner whoever would win the election.

### **6.2.3. Scientific and technological factors**

Although the Baduy refuses all new technology coming to and being implementing in their region, the situation of this scientific and technological factors outside their region is dynamic and indirectly influencing their life. The Baduy itself has become an object of study and attracted scientists to come and study their culture or their environment.

Outside their region, the non-Baduy people are living with more modern technology, and they are open to new scientific and technological inventions. Electrical instruments such as television, refrigerator, etc, are common in their life. Motorcycle and other vehicles also become more familiar. School is becoming an important thing in their life as well. All of the items are the things that are being refused by the Baduy.

There are lots of media of information used by the people surrounding the region. News papers are the most common media. Other media, such as magazine and television, are also popular among the non-Baduy people. Internet is not available there until now, except in Rangkasbitung, the other sub-district. Regarding information, the Baduy people are not allowed to learn reading or to watch television, thus it seems they are not getting up to date news. However, though the newest news might not reach them quickly, the Baduy people get a lot of information about everything that happens outside their region. The information is obtained from the surrounding people or from the tourists.



### 6.2.3. Cultural and religious factors

Cultural and spiritual activities in the Baduy culture, as mentioned before, are relatively constant, whereas the activities in the non-Baduy area are dynamic. The non-Baduy people surrounding the region are mostly sundanese, thus all cultural activities they suppose to be done are sundanese's activities. The activities will be more or less similar with those of the Baduy. However, their activities nowadays are influenced by Islam and are now different with the Baduy. They do not celebrate seren taun or seba anymore, except the people in Cisungsang, in the southern of their region, who still celebrate the ceremonies. The people are known as Kasepuhan.

Most of the non-Baduy people surrounding the Baduy region are Moslem, thus their religious activities are similar with the other Moslem's areas, and are related with the rituals the Moslem usually conducts. These religious activities replaced the cultural activities long time ago. As seen on the Tabel 18, the religious activities are done not only outside the region but also inside the region. In the Baduy region, the only musholla, a mosque but in a smaller size, is located in Cicakal Girang hamlet. In this hamlet, the people follow the Baduy culture for their daily life, but in their religious life, they practice Islam. However, some people assumed that the musholla is a symbolic mosque to alleviate government pressure.

**Tabel 18. The religious facilities in the Sub-district of Leuwidamar**

NO	Village	Religious facility			
		Mosque	Musholla	Church	Temple
1	Leuwidamar	9	18	-	-
2	Lebakparahiang	3	12	-	-
3	Wantisari	5	12	-	-
4	Cibungur	9	17	-	-
5	Jalupangmulya	8	9	-	-
6	Sangkanwangi	4	9	-	-
7	Cisimeut	8	21	-	-
8	Nayagati	8	14	-	-
9	Bojongmenteng	7	13	-	-
10	Margawangi	2	7	-	-
11	Kanekes	1	-	-	-

Source: Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lebak, 2001

### 6.3. Conclusion

The Baduy culture is not static. Even though it runs slowly, the changes are also taken a place. Several identified changes actually happened on their behaviors; however, these behaviors can erode their cultural values. Potential driving factors are also identified and are believed to have indirect influence to the values. The culture is finally understood as the adaptation from the situation happened either inside or outside their region. Often, these changes are externally influenced, e.g. as a result of expanding government networks and policies, extending commercial markets or tourism.



## 7. DISCUSSION

### 7.1. Empirical Relevance of Study

#### 7.1.1. Different Types of Forest

Forest for the Baduy people is an important part of their lives. Their religious beliefs and culture are mediated by the forest. For the Baduy people, disturbing the existence and sustainability of their forbidden forest is considered more sinful than killing human (<http://www.sundanet.com/artikel.php?id=28>). Thus, it can be concluded the conservation of the forest in the Baduy region is underpinned by these religious beliefs and culture. Tuan (1974) described this condition as important manifestations of local cultures and environmental perceptions of the people. The importance of forest or sacred grooves is also analysed and acknowledged by many authors. Aumeeruddy and Bakels (1994) found such forest is common in Asia. Precisely, it has been documented in India (Chandrakanth et. Al, 1990; Tiwari et. Al., 1998), China (Pei, 1985; 1999), Japan (Omura, 2004) and Indonesia (Aumeeruddy and Bakels, 1994; Wadley and Colfer, 2004).

Those beliefs in the Baduy culture bring the main image of their forbidden forest, a natural forest with restricted accessibility. Natural forest is described as the forest which has not involved human activity or intervention. Nayar (1987) found this kind of forest in Kerala, India and described it as "sacred places where trees and plants were allowed to grow undisturbed and where reptiles, birds and animals could have free living without fear of poaching or interference by man". Such situation is also given to the forest in the Baduy region, except for once a year during Kawalu, some animals are hunted and become a part of the ceremony. Hunting animals in the sacred forest also happens in the sacred forest of Iban people in Kalimantan (Wadley and Colfer, 2004). In the Baduy, the people hunt deer, kancil (*Tragulus javanicus*), porcupine, or trenggiling (*Manis javanica*); while the Iban people preferred large-bodied animal such as bearded pig and deer. This hunting can be a way of control animal's population in the forest, especially animals potentially to be pests. Besides, it can provide periodic but important proteins to the diet (Colfer et al., 2000). In Ghana, some animals are believed possessing sacred values and are used in spiritual healings and for protection (Falconer, 1999). For instance, chameleon is believed that it can protect new-born baby from evil spirit and diseases.

Restricted accessibility is upheld by the taboo that prohibits anybody or any activities in the forest except the permit from their Puuns. In larger context, Laird (1999) stated that restriction in such forest is usually implemented through taboos, codes and custom to particular activities and members of a community. In the Baduy region, the Puuns are the persons who are responsible for taking care of the forest. Likewise, in Maharashtra, India, regulation and religious customs in the sacred forest are set down by priests (Bharucha, 1999). Both the Puuns and the priests were given that authority since they are considered possessing a knowledge on the forest, the deities, and their influence to the community's religious and daily activities. Pei (1999) also discovered such prohibition found in the Holy Hills of China by the Dai people. The reasons of prohibition in the Baduy and Dai are



similar. In the Baduy region, the disasters are believed that they will cover not only their community but also the people surrounding them. The prohibition is also found in several places in Africa (Falconer, 1999; Soutter, 2003)

As the result of this prohibition, the forest in the Baduy becomes an important site which consists of a large diversity of tree species and animals. Some trees and animals, such as Kapinago and Cangcaratan, are endemic and rarely found in other surrounding places. UNESCO (1996) named this kind of forest as the reservoirs of local biodiversity, preserving unique species of plants, insects and animals. Bharucha (1999) found that the contiguous forests he studied in Maharashtra consisted of the plant species present in the Maharashtra region. Wadley and Colfer (2004) narrowed their preservation role only at the species useful for local people. For instance, the species that are deemed to be incarnations or symbols of deities and other supranatural forces, usually *Ficus* in India, will be preserved by the believer. In Baduy region, the preservation role is not limited to the specific tree species since they do not worship tree. Instead, their whole sacred forest has strong connection as the place of their religious activities. They not only preserved a single tree but also the whole part of the forest. Thus, it is believed that the preservation of the forest is only as a side effect of their cultural belief's practice. It was supported by Laird (1999) who stated that the conservation of the forests is often a side effect of customs that associate or dedicate the forests to deities.

The Forbidden forest is only one type of forest in the Baduy. The other types of forest also exist in the region. The classification of forest that is almost similar with that in the Baduy is found in the Iban people in Kalimantan. They separate forest fallow (old and young), preserved forest (tembawai and pulau) and smallholdings (kebun) (Wadley and Colfer, 2004). Forbidden forest and new forest in Baduy are included in the preserved forest in Iban. Forest fallow, based on its origin, is closed to reuma in the Baduy. Both can be forest derived from fallowing previously swidden rice cultivation (huma) areas. The fallow sometimes allows the area to grow back into a secondary forest. The development of forest succession in the swidden farm was described by Schmidt-Vogt (1997) who studied the cultural landscape of Lawa swidden farmers in northern Thailand.

Though it is admitted that the other types of forests also have cultural and spiritual values, the studies on the values are still centered in forbidden or preserved forests. For Baduy and Iban people, the other types of forest are important for cultural ceremonies as the lands are dedicated for cultivation (huma). Thus, huma-cycle ceremonies are mostly done in these types of forests.

### **7.1.2. Local Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forests**

As mentioned in Chapter 5, forests in the Baduy region have several important local cultural and spiritual values for the people. The values have been classified into historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic, material, and spiritual values. Although these categories sometimes are overlap, still the distinction is useful in understanding the cultural and spiritual values, classifying the different dimension of the values and comparing the research findings to other studies. The values show the close relationship between the Baduy people and the forests in their region. These strong values are included in the religious, spiritual and cultural beliefs and can not be clearly separated from the physical forest (Laird, 1999).



Such values are also found in other tribal forests throughout the world. For Instance, Ingles (1997) identified the values of religious forest in Nepal. The values are varied from spiritual, recreational and aesthetic, educational, archaeological and historical, and symbolic values. The spiritual values connect the forests with the worshippers and the supernatural world. The recreational and aesthetic values exist for people observe and enjoy religious festivals organized in the forests. The educational values relate with the messages about conservation and respect for the nature the forests convey. The archaeological and historical values of religious forests are also identified, especially those located at long-established sacred sites of international significance.

Another example of interface between people and sacred grooves comes from India. Malhotra et al. (2001) identified socio-cultural values of sacred forest attached to rituals, ceremonies and functions performed in the forest. They classified the values based on their functions in the ceremonies into religious and secular. The secular later is differentiated into cultural, political, health, economic and psychological functions.

Both examples are referred to the sacred forest. In the Baduy region, the sacred forest is similar with the forbidden forest. Although, it is true that the values are centered in the forbidden forest, the cultural and spiritual values of the other types of forests are also present, especially in huma-cycle ceremonies. Sometimes, the values of those different types of forests can hardly be separated, especially in social values in which the role of each type of forest can influence each other.

Forest as a place dedicated for deities and ancestor is not only possessed by the Baduy culture. In India, lot of sacred forest may serve as both deity worship and ancestor worship (Malhotra et. al, 2001). Nevertheless, unlike in India, the forest which is believed as the abode of ancestor spirits is not burial grounds. In fact, there are no burial grounds in the sacred forest in the Baduy region or even in the whole part of the region. They bury the body of a death Baduy people in the new forest, but the cemetery will exist there for seven days only. After seven days, the cemetery will be left unmaintained. It will grow into bushes; and with the flat surface, it will be looked as if it is not a cemetery. They only plant a Hanjuang tree (*Cordyline fruticosa*) as a mark of the cemetery. The other difference relates with the tree worship that sometimes exists in India and Nepal (Ingels, 1997; Malhotra et. al., 2001; Chandrakanth et. al., 1990). The tree is considered as the incarnation or symbol of deities or other supernatural beings such as ancestor spirits.

Regarding ancestral spirits, the perception of the Baduy people who believe forest is the house of the spirits also exists in ancient Africa civilizations (Coulibaly, 1978). In Ghana, some sacred forests are burial grounds that shelter the ancestor's spirits and or protective spirits (Falconer, 1999). The Karanga people in Southern Zimbabwe also relate the sacred grooves and tree with their ancestral spirits (Soutter et. al., 2003). In other part of Indonesia, the ancestral spirits residing the sacred forest is also believed by Iban people in Kalimantan (Wadley and Colfer, 2004) and even by Javanese (Sastrapradja, 1988). A bit different version is found in the tandory people is South Madagascar. Their sacred forest is believed as a shelter of genii spirits, "powerful and mythical" animals that reside in the forest and are the owners of the forest (Soutter et al., 2003).



In the Baduy culture, the existence of the ancestor spirits has created the historical values, symbolic, and spiritual values. Historical values relate with contribution of the ancestors in building the most sacred artifact, Sasaka Domas which now is marked as the place where the spirits usually gather. Symbolic values relate with the beliefs that the forest is the house of ancestor spirit. The spiritual values relate with their religion, Sunda Wiwitan, in which the ancestor spirits together with their Batara Tunggal is worshipped; and they are also regarded as the guardian of the tribe. Overall, the ancestor spirits are colored their culture; since from them, the taboos and their culture are stemmed.

As the sacred artifact located in the sacred forest, Sasaka Domas plays an important role in religious activities. Together with its surrounding places, the Sasaka becomes the temple where the selected people worship their god, a symbol of the creation of the earth and of the center of the world, and the pride of the tribe. It means if the Sasaka Domas and its surrounding place are depleted or even vanished, their culture will also disappear. Some sacred forests in other parts of the world also have a temple or sacred structure, such as in India (Malhotra et. al., 2001; Chandrakanth et. al., 1990), Nepal (Ingels, 1997), Japan (Omura, 2004), Ghana (Falconer, 1999), in Kaya forest in Kenya (Soutter, 2003) and Iban people in Kalimantan (Wadley and Colfer, 2004). Some of the structures can be in the form of sacred and ancient burial grounds.

Besides as the house of ancestral spirits, the sacred forest in the Baduy region symbolized the center of the earth. The symbol links the forest with the myth that the forest is the starter point of the earth creation. Likewise California Indian, Karuk people (<http://www.mailtribune.com/archive/97/june/62097n1.htm>) and Pit River tribes (<http://www.chc.ucsf.edu/archives/lshiLaidtoRest.htm>), regards their land as the center of the world. Many other Indians also regard the same opinion for their land. This opinion is implemented through sun dance that is practiced differently by those tribes (<http://www.crystalinks.com/sundance.html>). In Asia, the center of the earth is also claimed by the Han people in China (<http://www.c-c-c.org/culture-resources/ethnic-minorities/>).

For other tribes in the world, symbolic values of forest also exist, however the values varied from tribe to tribe. Calame-Griaule (1980) in Falconer (1990) described several symbolic values in Africa, such as tree as protector and provider; tree symbolized human fertility, and tree as symbol of political unity. Compare to these symbols, the forest in the Baduy region can be also called as a protector, since the forest protect the tribe both from disaster and from the anger of the ancestral spirits. In India, some species are worshipped for they symbolize deities (Majupuria and Joshi, 1988), similar trend also happens in Nepal (Chandrakanth et. al., 1990).

Forest also has aesthetic values, the values that can be related with the place with scenic beauty. However, deciding whether a place has scenic beauty is problematic since beauty is not a tangible quality that can be easily measured. The dispute is not only about what is beauty but also about who decide what beauty is. One thing regarding a beautiful landscape is that the landscape can attract people to come. It connects with recreation and tourism. The interviews with the Baduy people show that they can not easily define what the beauty their land has. However, by looking at the number of visitor who comes





to the region as tourists, we can assume that the region has a unique and beautiful landscape. Besides, sometimes in the informal conversation, the Baduy people made a statement that, according to Bengston and Xu (1995), can be included as a reflection of appreciation of aesthetic values of their land, such as *endah* (beautiful), *alus* (good), and *asri* (green). Especially when we ask them to compare between natural environments with built environments.

The aesthetic values of forest are relevance not only for local people, but also for external people who visit the region as tourists. The reason of people coming to the forested sites do not only concern on aesthetic values, but also concern on spiritual values: pilgrimage, worship, visiting holy men, etc (Majupuria and Joshi, 1988; Chandrakanth et. al., 1990), cultural: experincing or witnessing a ritual or a cultural ceremony within forest (Reisinger, 1994), or education. In the Baduy region, the attracting reasons of the toursist coming to the region is cultural reason since the tribe possesses a unique culture that mixed with the environment condition of the region, and in smaller number is educational reason. Based on The World Tourism Organization, tourism in the Baduy region is included as the cultural tourism.

The aesthetic values, as recognized by IUCN, can be expressed in many forms, through art, poetry, songs, literature, music and even dance ([www.iucn.org/bil/value.html](http://www.iucn.org/bil/value.html)). In the Baduy culture, the poetry and music are only performed in the ceremonies. The poetry is sometimes used as a chant or a pray during the ceremony. The peoetry can contain advices, historical events, admiration to god, and a description of a situation. The appreciation of forests through these forms can also be found in other culture, such as the Turkish culture (Tont, 1999). The poetry shows a close relationship between the trees and the people. This relationship is one main character of most tribal group in the world.

Trees in human life play an important role. In the Baduy culture, the use of trees is really intense. They are highly dependent on the forest resources, since the tribe refuses all new and modern technologies. Forests in their region have become resources for food, fuelwood, medicine, housing, even for their cultural ceremonies. This dependency on forest resources is also found in the Iban people in Kalimantan (Colfer et. al., 2000), and the people in Western Ghats, India (Bharucha, 1999). Soutter et al. (2003) mentioned the importances of sacred forests as sources of day-to-day benefits in Orissa, fruit gardens of the Dayak people in Kalimantan, and sources of food of the Kaya forest in Kenya. Those importances of forest are used together with its spiritual importance.

Spiritual values of forests in the Baduy region can be identified through their religion and myth, and through personal spiritual experiences. The earlier is practiced only by the tribe, but the later is experienced not only by the tribe but also by non-Baduy people. Lots of forests are associated with religious activities. Sunda Wiwitan, the religion of the Baduy people, is included as an indigenous religion, which McNeely (2001) stated is believed in the spiritual connection between humans and nature. It is actually animism with lots of influence from Hindu and Islam. As other animistic beliefs, Sunda Wiwitan is accompanied by taboos. Breaking the taboos can result in sanctions from the spiritual world, such as illness, loss of crops or drought (McNeely, 2001). Lots of studies are also focused on the religious activities associated with forest, such as in India (Majupuria and



Joshi, 1988; Chandrakanth et. al.; 1990, Ingels, 1997) and Africa (Falconer, 1990; Soutter et al., 2003; Getui, 1999).

In the Baduy culture, this religion and myth are unwritten sources their customary laws. They usually transferred orally from one generation to the next generation. Transferring cultural stories orally through generation has also been used by many cultures in the world, such as in Africa (Schipper, 1990) and in Aru Islands – Indonesia (Osseweijer, 1998). The stories in cultural context can be used as a tool for education (De Wit and Van Est, 2000), and social power (Brinkman, 1996; Cruikshank, 1997; Osseweijer, 1998). In Baduy culture, the stories are dedicated to maintain the sacredness of their region and to educate youngsters in cultural values and ethics. Roberts (1999) admitted that in some cultures the repeated stories is told in order to maintain some particular places as numinous, and loaded with meaning and power. Moreover the Baduy people also once used the stories as an effective tool in the process of proposing their right to control their region by themselves. This proposal was ended with legitimating a law on their customary rights over their region by the Local Government of Lebak District.

Personal spiritual experiences are emerged as the response derived from the experience of the environment or of particular natural and attributes within it; and as the response that can embrace emotional response, sense of place, sound, smell and any other factors having a strong impact on human thoughts, feeling and attitudes (Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos, 1993). In the Baduy region, this spiritual experience is experienced also by the people who come to the region or who live surrounding the region. These personal experiences are strongly influenced by cultural background (Roberts, 1999), thus different people can have different experiences at the same places. Therefore, there can be different psychological experiences one can have from the forests in the Baduy region.

### **7.1.3. Dynamic of Cultural and Spiritual Values**

The dynamics in values were not studied in the same detail as the values itself. Nonetheless, the comparison between inner and outer Baduy provided important information on changing values and behaviours. These changes could be related to more general changes in socio-economic condition.

The dynamics of the cultural and spiritual values of forests in the Baduy region are the result of interaction between the cultures with the external situation. As they are in the Baduy culture, the values are not just the remnants from the traditional past, but the result of gradual adaptation to changing demographic, economic, cultural, legal and technical conditions (Wiersum and Persoon, 2000). In this study, the changes of cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Baduy culture are identified. The most influential factors are demography and economy. The demography factor relates with the increase of the population. Comparing to the size of their land, this increasing population creates the lack of the land for huma. The economy factor relates with the development of their region for tourism and the development of the nearby market. This creates several changes in their lifestyle and their occupation. However, these behavioral changes has not affected so far to their relationship with the sacred forest. The values and the taboos are still dominantly influencing their life, especially the inner Baduy people. It made their sacred forest



survived despite the external situation. The only problem they have so far is encroachment done by the non-Baduy people. Such situation is also found in other parts of the world. In some parts of region in India, sacred forests are survived and remained rich in biodiversity compare to those of government-controlled forest reserves (Laird, 1999). However, outsider in those regions is also considered contributing in the depletion of the resources.

The dynamics of forest values are also experienced by other cultures with various driving factors. In southern Ghana, people attitudes, especially young generation, are changing due to the influence of the strength of the traditional political and spiritual leaders, the immigrants, and land pressure (Falconer, 1999). In Maharashtra, India, though the forest is considered preserved, the depletion most recently happens due to urbanization and tourism development (Bharucha, 1999). Wadley and Colfer (2004) by referring to Lawrence et al. (1995) and Salafsky (1994) mentioned the changes of the values of Iban people on their forest resources due to new economic opportunities: expanding road network and better access to market. Malhotra et al. (2001) summarized the threats of depletion of cultural and biological integrity in India, namely commercial forestry, development projects, shift in belief system, sanskritisation, pilgrimage and tourism, encroachment, modernization and market forces, and fragmentation and perforation. Tresierra (1998) identified changes in indigenous groups of forested regions in Latin America and their environment. The factors causing these changes were divided into exogenous and endogenous factors. The exogenous factors relate with outside situation, such as better road infrastructure and agricultural frontier; concessions on mining, petroleum, logging and tourism; and conflicts and common interest in conservation. The endogenous factors relate with social factors such as population and education; and economic factors such as the influence of market and the loss control over natural resources.

One important change in the Baduy culture as the response to the increase of population is found in the fallow duration. The fallow duration is shortened from 5-10 years to only 3 years. The similar symptom is found in Jimmy Valley, Papua New Guinea, where the shortened fallow duration and the degradation of ecological system are taken as the response to the increase of population over a period of thousands of years (Van-helden, 2000).

The shortened fallow duration will affect not only ecologically but also culturally. Ecologically, reducing fallow duration will increase weed pressure, labor requirement and the need for soil and moisture conservations (Roder et al, 1998). However, rice yields and soil fertility are two things that will not be influenced by the reduced fallow length (Roder et al., 1995). This is because soil nutrients were more abundant after harvest than before planting, and their supply from ash was higher than the loss for cropping (Watanabe et al. 2004). In Northern Thailand, soil fertility, once it is used, had only just recovered after 5 years fallow for shifting cultivation fields (Nakano, 1978). As mentioned in point 6.1.3, the effect of the shortened fallow duration culturally are on the behavior of the Baduy people, especially on the time of planting and harvesting, and the plants used.



## 7.2. Theoretical Relevance

In this study, the cultural and spiritual values are operationalized into historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic, material, and spiritual values. These values are based on the previous studies on the forest values, such as FEMAT (1993), Gregersen, et. al (1995), Bengston and Xu (1995), IUCN (1998), Putney (2003), Ambrose-Oji et al (2002), Reunala (1999), Holden (2004) and Renkema (2003). However, based on the interviews, some values are easily to understand for local people: historical, social, material and spiritual values; while the others are more difficult to explicitly distinguish. The values is also understood holistically by the people, thus it make the values interrelated and overlap.

There are two reasons of difficulties in defining the symbolic value: first, not everybody understands the idea of symbol; and second, not everybody knows what the symbolic values are. As the result, lots of respondents (72%) admitted the symbolic values of the forests, but most of them (52%) can not easily name the values.

Regarding aesthetic values, an intriguing question is: what beauty/scenic beauty is, and who decide this beauty. For them, their region is natural; and compare to the built environment, they will prefer the situation in their region. However, such natural situation for them is common; there is nothing special since they have the situation for generations. They defined it only natural; some of them, after long explanation, finally stated *endah* (beauty). Later, deciding which part of the region is *endah* is also difficult for them. Thus, issuing the question of scenic beauty to the tribe will result in no beautiful place in their region. The only ways to decide the aesthetic values of the forests are through the eyes of visitors/non-Baduy people, and through analyzing the song, poetry, music, etc that are embraced from their experience with their forests.

## 7.3. Discussion on Methodology

This study utilized observation, literature study, and interviews with experts and the Baduy people. The observation was conducted in order to get suffice information on behaviors of the people, especially in comparing what they said and what they actually practiced. Even though the observation was done with the intent of minimal interfering the people activities, in some cases the activities they showed were unnatural. These activities were related with their attitude towards the external modern products. Some obviously admitted and showed those changes, while the others concealed those. The changes were also revealed from the interviews with the non-Baduy people.

Literature study and interviews were also used. The literature study was done to the documents and the previous studies on the Baduy. Those data mostly obtained from the local government and from local libraries. Interviews were done with the experts and the Baduy people. The experts included the non-Baduy people surrounding the region, the local officer such as local paramedic, local government officers, and some local observers. These local observers were the local NGOs concerning on the Baduy problems. These all interviews were done in the form informal conversation.

The methodology used was not sufficient in obtaining enough information, unless the personal approach to the people was successfully done. The Baduy people are mostly not talkative and shy. Thus, building rapport to familiarize the researcher and the study was necessary. Chosing a right interpreter is also crucial. The interpreter is not only able



to speak their language, but also familiar with them and they familiar with the interpreter. This familiarity was proven very helpful, during the field work the interpreter used were familiar with them and vice versa, so that the people were not shy being interviewed. The other useful ability was mastering their language. It helped a lot when you could talk to them with their language. Even though their sundanese is rather different, but they regard the other sundanese as family since they come from the same root.

It was found that there were slight different attitudes towards interviews and different quality of knowledge between respondents from different group, gender and age. These differences recognized inner and outer Baduy; men and women; and young and old respondents. Except different in group, the other differences could hardly be generated and proven. Women of the tribe were not really opened to the non-Baduy people. They spent more time in huma with husband or in house/kitchen. Interviewing women became very awkward. This situation brought about shyness, and finally their responses did not merely reflect what they knew. Since women are not allowed to enter the forbidden forest and since the values are center to the forest, it can be assumed that women are less knowledgable than men about some forms of forest values. Similar situation was also happened in interviewing young respondents. It took more time to bring familiarity to these two types of respondents. The strategy used in the study was doing the group interviews. The group interviews were done during National Immunization Week (PIN) and informal conversation in market. However, the result of the interviews still could not be generalized as the responses representing women and young people of the tribe.



## 8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

### 8.1. Conclusion

Forests are playing an important role in the life of the Baduy people. Their relationship with forest has been practiced for generations. Cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Baduy region are dynamic. They are the results of continuous and slow adaptation to the outside situation. The people organize their religious ceremonies in the forests, obtain material for fulfilling their need from the forests, bury the dead body in the new forest, place offering somewhere in the forests, etc. These activities show how the forests have colored their lives.

The cultural and spiritual values are related with their beliefs and myths and are centered in the forbidden forest. This is where their most sacred structure, Sasaka Domas, is located. Due to sacredness, the tribe prohibits anybody access the forest without permission, and protects the forbidden forest from destruction. The situation has made the forest rich in biodiversity and maintained in its natural condition. Thus, conservation is believed as a side effect of these cultural and spiritual values. In other forests, the values exist in less degree, especially in material values and social values. The values is the result of their role in the life of the Baduy people as the land for cultivation, thus they are important in the huma-cycle related ceremonies.

Several changing and sometimes destructive agents are brought by the non-Baduy people. The encroachment through making agriculture field and doing illegal logging has depleted their forests. The tourism has introduced new technologies and a new way of life to them. Better access to the region and the development of market has invited them to try something new. Finally changing behaviors request them to improve their income. However, the changes were also initiated by indigenous situation, namely the increase of population and the lack of land availability.

The dilemma between preserving their culture and improving their lives as human being has been discussed for years. Pros and cons regarding this matter are also happened. Thus, even though they frequently refuse developmental programs, they still offer the programs by the local government. It does not mean the local government does not respect their culture, but as human being and as Indonesian who have similar rights with other citizens, they deserve to be offered. The best solution is to let them decide whether they will keep their culture or change. However, once they decided, the other parties, such as government, NGOs and surrounding people, have to respect this.



## **8.2. Recommendation**

Recognition of cultural and spiritual values of forests in the Baduy region is necessary for those who will deal with the tribe, such as local government, local people and other decision makers. This is also important for future studies. The effort of understanding the culture of the Baduy will ensure their livelihoods and protect their culture. This will also benefit ecologically, since the culture will indirectly pursue the biodiversity conservation in the forest.



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## ANNEXES

### Annex 1. List of Questions

- 1 Have you ever been to forest?
- 2 Where / which forest did you go?
- 3 Have you been to Hutan Larangan (Old forest)?
- 4 How does forest cover in Hutan Larangan over 15-20 years?
- 5 What cause of the decline/incline of the forest?
- 6 Do you know any places in the forest that have special historical meaning/significance?
- 7 How many cultural heritages can we find in the forest?
- 8 Do you know the historical story of the cultural heritages?
- 9 How many times do you visit the places?
- 10 What purposes do you usually visit those places?
- 11 What social activities do the Baduy usually done that link with the forest?
- 12 Are there any special places in the forest to do these activities?
- 13 How many times do you visit the places?
- 14 Does the forest symbolize something?
- 15 What symbols does the forest have?/ what does forest remind you to most?
- 16 Are there any places in the forest which has a special beauty?
- 17 How many times do you visit the places?
- 18 For what purposes do you usually visit these places?
- 19 Are there people coming to Baduy?
- 20 For what reason do they come?
- 21 What are trees or part of trees used in the cultural and spiritual events?
- 22 Do you know where we can find those trees or part of trees?
- 23 Are there any places in the forest titled sacred?
- 24 Why are these places titled sacred?
- 25 What can we find in the sacred sites?
- 26 How many times do you visit the places?
- 27 For what purposes do you usually visit these places?
- 28 Are there any links between forest and religious activities?
- 29 Do these religious ceremonies take place in the forest?
- 30 What role does the forest play in these ceremonies?