

# SOCIAL LEARNING: BADUY TRIBE'S STRATEGY IN MAINTAINING THEIR IDENTITY AMIDST TOURISM

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**Abstract** *The life of the Inner Baduy tribe, particularly in Cibeo village, is still coloured by strong customary laws and culture, making it an attraction for tourists. Despite this, the Baduy tribe refused to be a tourist destination in 2020, fearing damage to their culture. They prefer the term 'saba budaya' or gathering rather than tourism as it relates to their 'pikukuh' or customary law. Despite not receiving formal education, the Baduy tribe has a social learning system that is in accordance with their background. This social learning is their identity strategy, even though they do not have formal schooling. This research uses the theories of Li Yang, Theron Nunez, Barth, and Hewlett to analyse the impact, background, positioning, boundary strategy, and social learning of the Inner Baduy tribe towards tourism. The ethnographic method is used to collect data through interviews, observations, literature studies, and documentation. The analysis shows that the Inner Baduy tribe does not reject tourism as long as it does not interfere with their daily activities. Cibeo Village is open to tourism due to the practice of their ancestors. Their position as hosts is supported by WISUBA with mutually beneficial cooperation. However, the impacts of this interaction include cultural commodification and ecological damage, such as plastic waste. Ethnic boundary strategies are used to defend their existence from the impacts of tourism. Social learning plays an important role in maintaining their identity as indigenous people without formal education.*

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## **Keyword:**

*Social learning, cultural tourism, ethnic boundaries*

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## **1. Introduction**

The Baduy tribe, also known as Urang Kanekes, is an indigenous community that inhabits Kanekes Village in Lebak Regency, Banten Province (Erwinantu, 2012). The village is divided into two groups, namely Outer Baduy and Inner Baduy. Inner Baduy consists of three main villages: Cikeusik, Cikertawana, and Cibeo, while Outer Baduy covers 55 villages (Permana et al., 2017). The Baduy are famous for their *pikukuh*, which are customary laws that govern all aspects of their lives. One of their life philosophies, "*lojor teu meunang dipotong pondok teu meunang disambung*," describes an attitude of acceptance of everything that has been given by God (Suparmini, 2013). Although modernisation has begun to penetrate into Outer Baduy, Inner Baduy still firmly

maintains the *pikukuh*. They choose to live simply and maintain a harmonious relationship with nature as a form of worship to God. The natural beauty and unique community life make this tribe has great potential in the development of cultural tourism, especially in Lebak area. However, to maintain a balance between cultural preservation and economic improvement, policies that respect their customs and customary laws are needed.

In Baduy community, social learning can be understood as a process where individuals learn and internalise cultural values, norms, and practices through social interactions with other community members. This concept is rooted in the discipline of psychology, where social learning refers to the way individuals observe and imitate the behaviour of others, as well as understand the social environment around them. According to Bandura (1977), social learning involves observation, imitation, and reinforcement that occur in social interactions. The striking difference between Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy can be seen from the use of modern tools. Inner Baduy totally rejects modernisation, while Outer Baduy has started using tools such as mobile phones. Access to the Inner Baduy area is also more difficult and steep compared to the Outer Baduy, which is easier to reach (Senoaji, 2010). Despite not receiving formal education, the Inner Baduy community has a very strong social learning system. Values, norms, and customs are taught early on through observation, participation, and direct interaction among community members. This process ensures that the younger generation understands and respects the customs that have been passed down, so that their cultural identity is maintained even in the midst of changes. The *Pikukuh* in Baduy society covers various aspects of life, including how to interact with nature, fellow tribe members, and the outside community. Inner Baduy, who choose to live simply and protect nature, show a real form of social learning based on *pikukuh*. They learnt the importance of maintaining balance with nature as a tribute to God, and put it into practice in their daily lives. Another example of social learning related to *pikukuh* is the prohibition of using modern tools and chemicals in Inner Baduy. This rule is not only understood theoretically, but also internalised through daily practice and strict social supervision. The younger generation is taught to appreciate and obey this rule as part of the identity and way of life inherited by their ancestors.

In this case, social learning is not just a transfer of knowledge, but also a process of identity formation and collective values. *Pikukuh* functions as a guide that directs individual and collective behaviour, ensuring that the traditions and way of life of the Baduy community are maintained amidst the challenges of modernisation. Therefore, social learning and *pikukuh* are interrelated in maintaining the sustainability of Baduy culture and identity. The declaration of tourism in Baduy customary area is aimed by the Government of Lebak Regency to preserve the culture and environment through tourism activities. This declaration is stated in the Regional Regulation of Lebak Regency Number 13/1990 regarding the guidance and development of Baduy customary institutions (Ahmad, 2020). Based on data obtained from the Tourism Office of Banten Province, especially Lebak Regency, the certainty of the number of tourist villages under their auspices is difficult to classify. However, one of the hallmarks of tourism villages in Banten Province is Baduy tourism, which is famous for its natural beauty and unique culture. The Baduy basically welcome guests from outside. For them, life means establishing good relationships with anyone, as long as guests do not interfere with the rules and restrictions that have been set in the Baduy Tribe area (Aprilia. 2022).

In 2020, the Baduy Tribe, particularly the Inner Baduy, explicitly refused to be part of a tourism initiative, fearing that tourism would not only damage their environment but also reduce

their culture to mere spectacle. This resistance was rooted in the fear that the influx of tourists would disrupt their way of life, especially as many tourists were found violating established customs and boundaries. The Baduy people, who live closely with nature and adhere to strict customary laws (*pikukuh*), consider nature a sacred part of life that should be preserved. Hence, the idea of cultural tourism was viewed by some members as an existential threat. The declaration of Baduy cultural tourism was initially supported by stakeholders such as the Provincial Government of Banten and local tourism services like WISUBA, which has facilitated tours since 2015. The initiative sought to present the Baduy as a model of eco-tourism, leveraging their cultural uniqueness and natural surroundings. However, the Baduy community does not view these activities merely as tourism but rather as "saba budaya," or cultural gathering, which better reflects their values of maintaining harmonious relationships with visitors without compromising their customs. It is crucial to note that the Baduy's cultural identity is protected under multiple legal frameworks, such as Perda No. 8/2015 on Indigenous Peoples' Rights, as well as Perda 01/2016 on Tourism Implementation and Perda 02/2016 on the Master Plan for Tourism Development. However, the enactment of these regulations has sparked internal debates within the community, particularly among those who feel that the benefits of tourism do not outweigh the potential harm to their cultural and ecological systems (Rofifah, 2020).

Several studies have explored the realm of Baduy cultural tourism, including works by Made Handiwijaya Dewantara (2017) on community empowerment, Osni Wigiarti, Triana Ahdiati, and Solahuddin Kusumanegara (2020) on power dynamics, and Satria Iman Prasetyo, Muhammad Naufal Rofi, and Muhammad Basofi Firmansyah (2021) on the social, cultural, and ecological impacts of tourism. Additionally, Syam Adjie Priyombodo, Aan Wasan, and Hartman Nugraha (2022) examined the tourist attractions of the Baduy tribe, while Cika Aprilia (2022) focused on ethnic boundaries in interactions between tourists and the Inner Baduy Tribe. My research, however, delves into the process of the Inner Baduy Tribe's involvement in cultural tourism from a social learning perspective. This approach aims to elucidate how the Inner Baduy Tribe preserves its cultural identity during interactions with tourists and how the community adapts to external changes without compromising its core values. The study employs the host-guest theory, ethnic tourism, and the concept of ethnic boundaries to analyze the relationships between tourism stakeholders, their impacts, and the social learning processes within the community. This research examines the impact of tourism on the Baduy Tribe, an indigenous community known for its distinct cultural practices. The study aims to analyze how the Baduy Tribe's unique background is utilized as a tourist attraction and to evaluate their position within the framework of ethnic tourism theory. It will delve into the strategies and criteria of ethnic or social boundary theory to assess the effects of tourism activities on the tribe. The social learning process among the Baduy is deeply rooted in their adherence to *pikukuh*, or customary rules, which govern their interactions with nature, fellow tribe members, and outsiders. This strict adherence to traditional values is crucial for maintaining the tribe's cultural integrity in the face of external pressures and modernization. For instance, the Inner Baduy's prohibition on using modern tools and chemicals highlights their commitment to these values. This research will explore how the social learning process can be integrated into tourism policies to preserve the Baduy culture and identity while accommodating tourism. By applying theories such as the host-guest relationship, ethnic tourism, and ethnic boundaries, the study seeks to strike a balance between cultural preservation, economic benefits, and the protection of customary rights. The ultimate goal is to ensure that cultural tourism supports and enhances the Baduy way of life

rather than disrupting it.

## 2. Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods, which aims to understand emic views related to tourism among the Inner Baduy Tribe (Creswell, 2012). The research was conducted for three months in Cibeo Village, where the researcher directly participated in the daily life of the community, such as farming, attending traditional rituals, and observing interactions with tourists. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with traditional leaders, residents, and tourists, and participated in the saba budaya procession, which is a cultural interaction with guests. Some key questions in this research are how the Inner Baduy community interprets tourism, maintaining customary boundaries, and the impact of tourism activities on their culture and environment. Besides interviews, data was also collected through participant observation, field notes, and photo documentation. This research is expected to provide an in-depth picture of how the Inner Baduy tribe maintains their identity in the midst of tourism development, while offering solutions to maintain a balance between cultural preservation and economic needs.

## 3. Results and Discussion

Cibeo Village is one of the villages inhabited by the Inner Baduy Tribe. This village is located in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The other two villages are Cikatawarna and Cikeusik. Every week, Cibeo Village provides opportunities for outside communities to conduct friendship or cultural tourism. In connection with that, the openness of Cibeo Village is the only area that is open to cultural saba activities.

### 3.1. Geographical Location

The Baduy tribe lives in a village area called Kanekes Village. Kanekes Village itself is located at the coordinates of 6°27'27" - 6°30'0" LS and 108°3'9" - 106°4'55" East (Permana, 2001). The Baduy tribe occupies an area right at the foot of the Kendeng mountain range, which is about 40 km from Rangkasbitung station. Kanekes Village has an area of about 5,136 hectares, consisting of 2,136 hectares of cultivated land and 3,000 hectares of protected forest (<https://www.insiden24.com/ragam/pr-3964542604/sejarah-Sunda-badui-1-sub-etnis-suku-Sunda-yang-menutup-diri-dari-dunia-luar>, accessed 27 February 2023).



**Figure 1.** Map of Baduy Customary Area.  
Source: Detik.com.

According to Indrawardana (2013), Cibeo Village, which is an area in Kanekes Village, is one of the areas that can only be reached by foot with a time span of 4-8 hours. The location of Cibeo Village is located in an area with an altitude of  $\pm$  300 metres above sea level, has a hilly and undulating topography with an average land slope of up to 40°, which is volcanic soil (in the north), sedimentary soil (in the middle), and mixed soil (in the south) with an average temperature of 20°C. The village is located in an area east of the protected forest, west of the capital city of Jakarta, and 65 km south of the capital city of Serang.

### 3.2. History of the Inner Baduy Tribe

The history of the origin of the Baduy tribe from Banten states that the arrival of Sultan Hasanudin in Banten made Prabu Pucuk Umum as Senopati in the Banten area. As a result, Prabu Pucuk Umum and his soldiers left the throne in Banten. They entered the wilderness and travelled from Ciujung to the upper reaches of the river. This travelling area is called "a", meaning a quiet place to leave the war. Until now, the area is considered sacred and named GOA or Arca Domas. Descendants of Cikeusik village, Inner Baduy (Kartawinata, 2020:106). The origin of the Baduy tribe comes from a mixed tribe. It is said that at that time there was a group of people who violated the custom coming from Banten, Sumedang, Priangan, Cirebon, and Bogor areas. They were banished to a certain area because they broke the custom. Some of them went to the village area and some went to the wilderness. Some of them were scattered to the Ciberang, Ciujung, and Cisimeut river areas that directly lead to the upper reaches of the river (Fourtofour, 2012). According to Adimihardja (2000), the belief system adopted by the Baduy Tribe is that they are descendants of Prophet Adam or known as Batara Cikal, which is one of the seven gods or batara who was given the task of descending to earth. Prophet Adam in their belief has the task of asceticism to maintain world peace. Their belief system or religion adheres to the Sunda Wiwitan system. In Sunda Wiwitan itself adheres to the worship of the spirits of ancestors. As time goes by, in addition to the applicable customary rules, the Baduy Tribe also follows the compliance of the existing government system. Until now, the Baduy Tribe runs the national government system and the applicable customary rules. Both rules run without clashing and contradicting. The Inner Baduy tribe, since long time ago, has been known to hold a fairly strong *pikukuh*. This is based on their belief that protecting nature and maintaining customary rules is a form of worship that must continue to be held. Even without being seen by their pu'un or customary leader, the Inner Baduy believe that nature is part of their life and a secluded and simple life is a life choice.

### 3.3. Development of the Baduy Tribe

The Baduy tribe is divided into three groups: 'Baduy Tangtu' (Inner Baduy), "Baduy Panamping" (Outer Baduy), and "Baduy Dangka" (part of Outer Baduy) (Muslih, 2021). These terms reflect their distinct, yet intertwined, cultural heritage and identities. Inner Baduy, for example, are known for their strict adherence to customary rules, with the population living in three main villages: Cikertawana, Cikeusik, and Cibeo (Senoaji, 2010). On the other hand, Outer Baduy serves as a link between the Baduy community and the outside world, playing an active role in state activities without neglecting their customs that are still maintained (Misno & Kurnia, 2021). Nevertheless, both Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy still have similarities in maintaining their core cultural values. Historically, the Baduy have interacted with outsiders for a long time, although they are known to be very selective in opening up to outside influences. Particularly, Inner Baduy always welcomes guests warmly, in line with their life philosophy that upholds the value of friendship and harmony (Septiana, 2016). However, this openness is accompanied by

strict rules that must be followed by outsiders, such as a prohibition on the use of chemicals that damage nature and restrictions on not entering sacred areas.

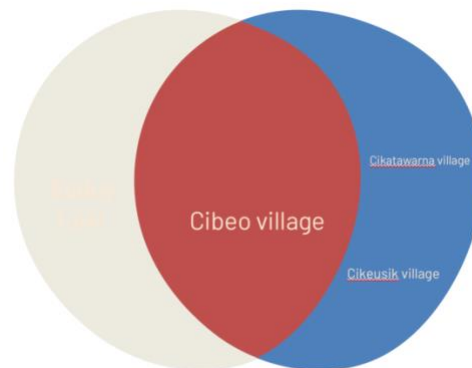


**Figure 2.** Inner Baduy Tribe Members and Tourists.  
Source: personal documentation

The development of Inner Baduy is very different from Outer Baduy in terms of modernity adoption. Inner Baduy still maintains a traditional lifestyle and rejects modernisation, while Outer Baduy is more adaptable to the times. Nevertheless, these two groups still coexist in harmony, where they complement each other in maintaining the balance between modernity and tradition (Aprilia, 2022). A clear example of this balance is seen in Cibeo Village, which is open to visitors but still applies strict rules to maintain the authenticity of their culture. The presence of tourism in the area is regulated through the 2007 Village Regulation, which ensures that tourism activities do not damage local cultural values (Aprilia, 2022). As for the modern development that enters Baduy, it mainly occurs in Outer Baduy. They start using modern tools such as mobile phones and televisions, although this only happens among Outer Baduy. Inner Baduy still firmly maintain their customary principles, seeing modern technology as a threat to their simple life (Sujana, 2020). In their daily lives, agriculture remains the main source of livelihood. Interestingly, the rice grown is not for sale, but only used for traditional purposes, which shows how traditional values still dominate their lives. In addition, the Sunda Wiwitan religion is the main belief adopted by both Baduy groups. Although some embrace Islam, those who do so must live outside the Baduy area, such as in Kampung Landeuh (Budiman & Mukrim, 2020). In terms of education, although Inner Baduy do not follow formal education, they still learn to read and write through books donated by outsiders. However, for them, formal education is considered to disrupt their life balance, because for the Inner Baduy community, the knowledge and intelligence gained from formal education can be used to cheat or take advantage of others. This is the reason why they prefer not to go to school formally. Instead, they focus on informal learning through daily experiences and the transmission of cultural values and local wisdom from generation to generation. The Inner Baduy tribe practices social learning through internal socialization, where knowledge of traditions, rituals, and survival skills is passed down from older to younger generations through stories, songs, dances, and daily activities. They also gain

practical knowledge from interacting with their environment, particularly in farming, hunting, and gathering natural resources. Core values like cooperation, togetherness, and gotong royong are fundamental to their harmonious social life. While they maintain their traditions, interactions with outsiders provide opportunities for cultural exchange. Despite lacking formal education, the Inner Baduy have a strong social learning system that preserves their cultural identity. Violations of their customary rules lead to reprimands, punishments, or belief in *kualat* (misfortune), with these principles serving as strict guidelines.

### 3.4. Identity Preservation and Openness to External Interaction



**Figure 3.** Analysis of The Differences of Inner Baduy Between Cibeo, Cikeusik, Cikatawama And Outer Baduy Villages.  
Source: Researcher.

Cibeo Village, as part of the Inner Baduy Tribe, has unique characteristics because although they maintain traditional *pikukuh*, they remain open to interacting with outside communities. Cibeo is famous for its agriculture, different from Cikatawama village which is known for its religious aspect and Cikeusik with its medical expertise. According to Ayah Dharma (45), each village in the Baduy community has its own characteristics: Cibeo for agriculture, Cikatawama for religion, and Cikeusik for medicine. Although Cibeo welcomes tourists, they still uphold their traditional values by carrying out various cultural and customary activities, such as farming, which is also part of their religious practices in the Sunda Wiwitan belief. Interactions with outsiders must follow their philosophy and life guidelines, including good manners, respect for nature, and customary rules. On the other hand, Cikatawama and Cikeusik opt for a more introverted life with a focus on their traditional worship and activities. Although the three villages have different approaches to outside interactions, they still form one unit within the Inner Baduy community. Each village is led by a *pu'un* who has a special role according to the characteristics of their village: Sang Rama in Cikeusik, Sang Resi in Cikatawama, and Sang Prabu in Cibeo. In addition, the *pu'un* also have the authority to decide whether cultural activities such as *saba* can take place in their area. Continuing to the daily life aspect, rice plays a central role in the life and belief of the Inner Baduy. The ritual of planting rice is done with manners and mantras, and rice can only be used for traditional purposes and not traded. The division of agricultural land is strictly regulated, only Inner Baduy people can cultivate it. Their knowledge of rice farming involves special rituals and respect for ancestors. Thus, farming is not only a livelihood but also a form of worship in *Sunda Wiwitan* (Septiana, D. 2016). In addition, customary leadership in the Inner Baduy community is held by *pu'un* who play an important role

in maintaining their *pikukuh* and beliefs. They maintain language and folk songs as part of their identity, despite not having a written culture. Their kinship system is bilineal, with marriages being conducted traditionally through a series of processes that take up to a year and a half. This process involves matching stages with relatives and traditional tools. Birth and death ceremonies are also conducted in a unique way, such as the role of the *paraji* in births and funerals that take place traditionally over seven days. Ceremonies such as *kawalu* and *ngalaksa* are part of their identity (Sarmin, 60).



**Figure 4.**Baduy Women Weaving.  
Source: personal documentation.

The Inner Baduy carry out various ceremonies according to their beliefs, such as *kawalu* which involves fasting for three months, and *ngalaksa* as an expression of gratitude. In addition, they also hold *Seba Baduy* to maintain good relations with the government, and celebrate rice planting with *angklung buhun* as a tribute to Dewi Sri, a symbol of prosperity (Septiana, 2016). In daily life, they use simple technology and apply the principle of *gotong royong*, with women preparing food and *lumbung* for events such as weddings, while men do the heavy work and morning and night *ronda* to maintain security. Agriculture, as their main activity, is a form of worship in Sunda Wiwitan. Along with the development of cultural tourism, Baduy now act as hosts or porters at tourist activities, while still maintaining a balance with their farming activities. Therefore, these activities not only reflect their way of life, but also provide rich social learning, including cooperation, cultural values, traditional skills, and environmental responsibility (Septiana, 2016).

### 3.5 Cultural Tourism and Boundary Strategy

#### 3.5.1. Background to the Declaration of Cultural Tourism of the Inner Baduy Tribe



**Figure 5.** Background to the Declaration of Cultural Tourism  
Source : research analysis

Tourism is a leisure activity that contains seeking pleasure by travelling from one place to another. According to Tylor (in Burns, 2003), culture includes a complex overall civilisation involving knowledge, beliefs, arts, moral laws, customs, and other habits acquired by humans as



members of society. Culture is a mindset that shapes individual behaviour in society. The tourism potential of Cibeo Village, Kanekes Village, Lebak Regency, offers natural beauty and the unique culture of the indigenous people, making it an attractive cultural tourism area. The background of the declaration of cultural tourism of the Inner Baduy Tribe is in line with the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy / Tourism and Creative Economy Agency for 2020 - 2024. This is a follow-up to the Regulation of the Minister of National Development Planning/Head of Bappenas Number 5 of 2019 on the Procedure for Preparing the Strategic Plan of Ministries/Institutions (Renstra K/L) Year 2020-2024, as well as based on Law Number 10 of 2009 on Tourism, Law Number 11 of 2010 on Cultural Heritage, and related regional regulations.

Cultural tourism of the Inner Baduy Tribe is known as "saba budaya" or cultural gathering, which is the result of an agreement between the Inner Baduy Tribe and outsiders to honour the Baduy Tribe as the host in tourism activities. The name change to saba budaya is stated in Kanekes Village Regulation No. 01/2007 on Saba Budaya and Protection of the Indigenous People of Tatar Kanekes. The process of launching cultural tourism in Cibeo Village, as the only area of Inner Baduy that is open to cultural saba activities, is based on a masterplan prepared by the Lebak Regency Tourism Office. This masterplan becomes a guideline for the implementation of tourism activities from 2019 - 2024, and becomes a consideration in making decisions related to the cultural tourism declaration permit in the Inner Baduy Tribe area. In the decision-making process including the licence of cultural tourism activities in the Inner Baduy area, the highest decision is in the hands of pu'un or jaro. This decision can be conveyed verbally through a meeting between private parties, as done by WISUBA. The declaration process of Inner Baduy Tribe requires approval from the parties of each area, as seen in Pu'un Tangtu Village, Jaro Tangtu, and Jaro Pamerintah (Village Head). This decision correlates with the permit issued by the respective pu'un. Kanekes Village has been open to tourism activities since 1994 with rapid development. However, the Inner Baduy Tribe has opened up since the Soeharto administration era, although at that time visits were still limited to certain people and not as much as now. The cultural tourism activities of the Inner Baduy Tribe are regulated by local regulations, including the declaration of cultural tourism in force. However, its implementation has not been effective in running tourism activities. In 2020, the community of the Inner Baduy Tribe refused to be used as a cultural tourism object and conveyed this through correspondence between the Inner Baduy Tribe and the government. For the Inner Baduy Tribe, entertaining guests is important, as long as the guests do not violate the established customary rules. The arrival of tourists is seen as a form of friendship between the Inner Baduy and the outside community as well as a way to introduce their life and culture to the outside world. In the process of declaring the Inner Baduy Tribe in the Cibeo Village area, Kanekes Village, a special unit is needed that carries out the principles of national tourism destination management so that the cultural tourism formed does not make the Inner Baduy Tribe a living spectacle. In addition, the role of jaro pamerintah is needed to oversee the process of cultural tourism activities in the Inner Baduy area.

### **3.5.2. Stakeholder Motivation and Contribution**

Stakeholders, including district and provincial governments, tourism actors, Baduy community, and tourists, have different roles and motivations in Baduy tourism development. The government focuses on initiating tourism to provide knowledge about Baduy culture, hoping to advance the local economy and strengthen cultural and moral values. They also act as the patron of the activity, ensuring that cultural tourism activities run systematically.

### Summary of Contribution and Motivation

Government	WISUBA	TOURIST
Make a policy to protect Baduy Tribe.	Create a service that is based on the principle of affective attachment.	Increase the income of Baduy Dalam Tribe by selling and tourist escort.
Focusing on the declaration of a socially constructed tourist attraction with the values of advancing economically, culturally, and morally.	Making service starts from a hobby to become a livelihood.	Seeking the sensation of enjoyment through the pattern of life lived by the Baduy Dalam community.

**Figure 6.** Summary of Contribution and Motivation.

Source : Researcher analysis.

WISUBA, as an open trip company, has a motivation to make a living and wants to help maintain the regularity of cultural tourism. On the Baduy community's side, there is a desire to maintain local rules and wisdom, as well as to provide meaningful tourism experiences for visitors, as stated by Ayah Dharma. Thus, stakeholders contribute to each other to support the development of cultural tourism of the Inner Baduy Tribe. The Baduy Tribe area in Banten Province, Indonesia, offers a unique tourism experience with cultural attractions and fascinating handicrafts, becoming an attraction for visitors who want to explore the richness of local culture. In an effort to maintain the authenticity and cleanliness of the environment, the local Tourism Office plays an active role.

The Outer Baduy tribe showcases their cultural attractions and handicrafts, attracting visitors to the area. In addition, the local Tourism Office ensures that cleanliness and natural beauty are maintained, creating a memorable tourism experience for guests. On the other hand, the Inner Baduy have a different approach. They do not organise attractions but emphasise on arts that are only performed during traditional events. They also package their daily life tools, such as carved glasses, as souvenirs to sell to tourists. According to Li Yang (2009), cultural commodification versus authenticity is how tourism is motivated by opportunities by packaging aspects of a culture to be staged and made to create jobs. In the declaration of the Inner Baduy Tribe, they do not package staged cultural attractions, however, in the process they package their daily life tools such as carved glass and make souvenirs for sale.



**Figure 7.** Baduy Tribe Carving Glass.

Source: personal documentation.

Cultural performances in the Inner Baduy Tribe are carried out by adhering to their beliefs. Performances are only done when there is a traditional event taking place. It can be in the form of playing traditional musical instruments such as angklung, karinding, and kumbang. The musical instruments are also used in farming activities, which is part of their worship in the Sunda Wiwitan belief. Cultural tourism in the Inner Baduy provides an immersive experience of their way of life, without focusing on attractions and performing arts. Visitors can experience the simple life of the Inner Baduy, without modern electricity or modern bathrooms. This cultural tourism is only available during certain hours and not every day, out of respect for their main activities, such as farming. Although there is no detailed written rule regulating the Inner Baduy area as a cultural tourism object, the declaration of Inner Baduy tourism is based on local rules to protect the interests of the Baduy themselves. Organisations such as Wisata Suku Baduy (WISUBA) apply a humanist approach in developing tourism, taking into account cultural values and the participation of local communities. By maintaining a balance between tourism development and preservation of cultural authenticity, the Baduy Tribe shows the world that cultural diversity can be firmly maintained. The development of cultural tourism in the Baduy area requires a wise approach and is based on local wisdom, to ensure that the uniqueness and authenticity of the culture is maintained.

### **3.5.1 Positioning of the Inner Baduy Tribe during Tourism**

In anthropological studies, social learning is not just a process of knowledge transfer, but also part of the adaptations and interactions that occur in everyday life. Hewlett (2016) explains that social learning plays an important role in maintaining cultural continuity, especially in traditional societies such as hunter-gatherers. This is very relevant when we look at how the Inner Baduy community in Cibeo Village interacts with tourists. Although they still adhere to their customs, interaction with the outside world through tourism becomes part of their adaptation process. Tourists who come to Cibeo not only observe, but also participate in the traditional life of the Baduy community. On the other hand, Baduy people also learn how they can maintain their cultural values and traditions, while still interacting with the outside world. As expressed by Hewlett, this learning process involves observation, imitation, and participation, thus allowing indigenous people to continue to adapt amidst the challenges of modernisation, without losing their cultural identity. The holistic anthropological approach provides a deep understanding of the relationship between the host (the Inner Baduy Tribe), guests (tourists), and tourism managers. In Cibeo Village, which is the only Inner Baduy area open to the outside world, their customs are still strictly maintained despite interactions with tourists. Although access to Cibeo Village is difficult and requires a travel time of around 8 hours through difficult terrain, tourists are still attracted by the natural beauty and culture of the Baduy Tribe.

Some of the Inner Baduy people initially refused to have their area included in the list of tourist destinations because they did not want to be made into a spectacle. However, some members of the tribe, especially in Cikeusik Village, did not mind being the object of tourists' photos as a sign of their visit. On the other hand, in Cibeo Village, the photo was considered a symbol of respect from tourists visiting Baduy. This anthropological approach reveals the complex perspective of the Inner Baduy Tribe on tourism. Burns (2003) revealed that ethnic tourism attractions often come from geographically and socially marginalized groups, who remain in an inferior position compared to the majority of the dominant population. Wulandari et al. (2020) emphasizes the importance of the active role of local communities in managing and developing tourist attractions in their area, because they are the ones who best understand the activities taking place in their environment. In this case, the Inner Baduy Tribe believes that being

a good host for visitors to their sacred area means welcoming guests with a friendly attitude and respecting customary rules. Adimihardja (2000) states that the behavior of the Baduy Tribe in everyday life reflects a form of respect for their beliefs. Their actions towards outsiders and fellow tribe members are related to life tasks that they call "*ngamandala*." In a study of ethnic tourism, Yang and Wall (2009) identified four main stakeholder groups: (1) governments at various levels, (2) tourism entrepreneurs, (3) ethnic groups themselves, and (4) tourists. Each stakeholder group has different motivations, goals, and views regarding the development of ethnic tourism, especially regarding the representation and authenticity of ethnic culture in tourism.

### 3.5.2 Impact of Inner Baduy Tribe Placement on Tourism

Basically, the Inner Baduy Tribe is not bothered by the presence of tourists in their area. Baduy people do not want to be called tourism, but want to be called Baduy cultural saba. Saba is taken from the word panyabaan or coming to visit (friendship). For them, tourism is not a job that generates as much profit as possible, but they also do not reject the arrival of guests/tourists. According to Nunez (in Smith, 1989) travellers tend to think that hosts are somehow inferior to them, triggering a chain of changes in the host community. Their relationships are almost always instrumental, rarely coloured by affective bonds, and almost always marked by a degree of social distance and stereotyping that would not exist between neighbours, peers, or fellow people. One has a much easier task when one studies and interprets social interactions in natural communities where values and attitudes are more shared and understood. The greater the ethnic and cultural distance between the host and the tour operator, the greater the likelihood of confusion and misunderstanding that both may face groups and the less likely they are to act. However, this is not new to anthropologists who are familiar with other types of acculturation situations. In the tourism activities of the Inner Baduy Tribe, as for the potential resolutions developed by the WISUBA manager in order to strengthen the relationship between tourists and the Inner Baduy Tribe community, namely by starting with a handshake that is not too big. It has a function as an adhesive and a symbol of appreciating the presence of the Inner Baduy Tribe at the gathering point of tourists, then undergoing communication between the Inner Baduy Tribe and tourists during the trip. Although, the Inner Baduy Tribe uses rough Sundanese in their daily life for communication, they can gradually use Indonesian. The use of Indonesian is due to their habit of communicating with people outside Baduy and their self-learning system through food wrappers that travellers bring with them.

The placement position of the Inner Baduy Tribe is reflected in their daily activities, including in the making of handicrafts such as weaving cloth and making glass. This activity has now become a typical souvenir of the Inner Baduy Tribe. Souvenirs are a testament to travel that are often shared with family and friends, but what is really taken home are the memories of the experience. Ethnic tourists tend to favour arts or crafts, especially if they are made by the ethnic people themselves. Items made specifically for the tourist market have less appeal, and authenticity is often exaggerated. However, the commodification of culture can threaten the traditional and authentic values of a culture, as seen in the glass of the Inner Baduy Tribe which now has to conform to market demands. Although the Inner Baduy make handicrafts for their own needs, cultural tourism activities make them produce handicrafts as souvenirs, threatening the value of their *pikukuh*. Although they still use traditional ways of making, the souvenirs produced are often packaged with different carvings to meet market demands.

Commodification is the process of product relations, how these products can be distributed to the market to fulfil consumer needs (Hendro, 2021: 73). Cultural commodification can

encourage local communities to change their behaviour to suit market demands, resulting in the loss of traditional activities and other authentic aspects of cultural manifestations (Yang and Wall, 2009:562). This impact can be seen that a glass with its function as a drinking vessel with no engraving, now has to have a selling value according to market demands that threaten the value of the *pikukuh* itself. The contradiction between the tourist's desire for cultural exoticism and the ethnic community's desire for modernity is a tension. Seeing that the ease when accessing how the perception of tourists and the desire of tourists forget the other side of the Inner Baduy Tribe as the host. Key stakeholders in ethnic tourism development: Four main stakeholder groups have been identified as the unit of analysis: (1) government at various levels; (2) tourism entrepreneurs; (3) ethnic groups; and (4) tourists. Their perspectives on ethnic tourism and their judgements on the representation and authenticity of ethnic cultures were compared. Each of the four stakeholder groups has different motives, goals, and objectives. Many stakeholders are not members of ethnic minorities (Yang and Wall, 2009: 565).



**Figure 8.** Plastic Waste in the Baduy Tribe Area.  
Source: personal documentation.

Another impact of placing the Inner Baduy Tribe as the host is the destruction of nature. You can see the rubbish brought by tourists. The Inner Baduy tribe itself upholds the values of nature conservation. It can be seen in their worship that the involvement of protecting nature is the main thing in their life. For them, nature is a trust and mandate from their ancestors that must be preserved. The prohibition on the use of soap is a form of protecting nature from chemicals, along with their belief that violations will lead to *kualat* or natural law. Although the government provides a potential resolution by renaming cultural tourism to *saba budaya*, this has not solved the problem comprehensively, there are still conflicts and negative impacts due to the lack of awareness of tourists of the importance of maintaining values when staying in touch. WISUBA or open trip service managers provide a potential resolution by inviting tourists to bring plastic waste to be collected at the point of return. However, until now, the resolution has not provided an appropriate solution to the introduction of values and attitudes towards protecting nature during the activity. The Inner Baduy tribe, which upholds the values of ancestral customs, must respond and adapt to the growing cultural tourism activities.

### **3.5.3. Ethnic Boundaries and Social Learning**

Ethnic boundary strategy is considered as a potential solution to overcome the impact arising from the placement of Inner Baduy as a cultural tourism destination. The conflict that occurs from this tension becomes the main issue that needs to be addressed in the planning

process. Better planning is proposed to encourage balanced tourism development, reducing the negative impacts of ethnotourism by considering the environment, socio-culture, and economy. According to Barth (1969), an ethnic group is a cultural unit that shares the same cultural characteristics, but each has its own distinctive features. In the case of Inner Baduy, ethnic boundaries are seen in the values and symbols used daily, functioning as an identity as well as an effort to survive. Examples of distinctive features and cultural characteristics that define Baduy as can be seen through various aspects, such as *pikukuh* (customary law) that regulates all aspects of their life, including how they interact with nature and outside society. Traditional clothing is also one of the important symbols. The Inner Baduy wear white and black clothing, which symbolises purity and attachment to their customs, and serves as a distinction between the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy. Headbands called *trekung* and *jamang sangsang*, clothes without buttons and collars, and made by hand, also symbolise adherence to customary rules. Other symbols, such as *koja* bags made from natural fibres and machetes used for daily activities, are also part of their identity. The machete, for example, has an important meaning for the Inner Baduy community, used for agriculture and considered as a symbol of manhood for men. According to Barth (1969), ethnicity is maintained through boundaries applied by the group to defend their identity from outside influences, and in the case of Baduy, these boundaries are seen through the prohibition of the use of modern technology as well as the protection of their environment.

In cultural tourism activities, customary rules such as the prohibition of littering, documenting, using soap, and other norm violations are upheld. Sarmin (60) explains that customary rules are applied not only to the Inner Baduy community but also to visitors, with different limits. Even so, there is some leeway given, such as allowing behaviours that are actually prohibited by custom, for example smoking, dating, or wearing modern clothes. This customary structure regulates social contact between different ethnicities, with the final decision often resting with the customary leader. Although the Inner Baduy abide by the laws of nature, there are also customary rules that specifically apply to themselves. Sarmin (60), as the host, explained that the punishment for tourists who break the rules is the law of nature, such as the case of tourists who drowned after bathing using soap. For offences committed by the Baduy themselves, corporal punishment may include 40 days and 40 nights in prison. The decision whether the offender is allowed to return or expelled to Outer Baduy is determined by the local customary leader. The ethnic boundaries applied are a form of *pikukuh* preservation owned by the Inner Baduy Tribe. Travellers are expected to abide by these rules, which are usually explained by the tour guide before the visit begins. The role of tourism managers, such as WISUBA, is to provide warnings before entering the customary area, while direct communication is carried out by the Baduy Tribe to reprimand tourists. Rules that tourists must obey include prohibitions on the use of chemicals, documenting the area, stepping on sacred places, speaking rudely, damaging plants, and bringing home plastic waste. Ethnic members adjust their behaviour to the standard values that make up their group identity to avoid deviant behaviour, which is not only punished by their own group but also by other ethnic groups (Suratri, 2019: 5). Ethnic boundary strategies require the role of stakeholders who understand the importance of cultural preservation in cultural tourism. Hendrik (25) stated that the government's role in protecting the Baduy Tribe is limited to the time of tourist visits. Nunez (in Yang and Wall, 2009) stated that when host communities adjust to tourism, they often resemble the tourists' culture more. This can be seen in the position of the Inner Baduy Tribe as a host who provides facilities for tourists' needs. Barth (1969:15) states that 'The dichotomisation of others as foreigners, as members of other ethnic groups,

implies recognition of the limits of shared understanding, differences in assessment criteria, and restriction of interaction to sectors with shared understanding and assumed interests”.



Figure 9. Children of the Inner Baduy tribe playing in the field.  
Source : personal documentation

The Inner Baduy tribe faces serious challenges in maintaining their cultural identity amidst the influx of tourism that brings modern values from outside. To maintain cultural authenticity, the tribe applies strict ethnic restrictions that include the prohibition of using modern tools, tool-sewn clothing, smoking, and marrying people outside their community. These restrictions distinguish the Inner Baduy Tribe from the Outer Baduy Tribe, which is more open to outside cultural influences. According to Barth (1969), the ability of an ethnic group to maintain its identity is determined by the way they face challenges from outside. In this case, ethnic boundaries function as a defence mechanism that allows the Inner Baduy Tribe to uphold their traditions despite being involved in tourism activities. However, along with the increasing interaction with tourists, cultural utilisation occurs, where cultural aspects are used as an attraction for tourists. Nevertheless, the Inner Baduy Tribe still tries to maintain their ethnic boundaries so as not to be affected by the foreign values brought by the tourists. In this process, social learning plays an important role. Social learning occurs when members of the Inner Baduy Tribe interact with tourists, where they not only introduce and enforce customary rules to the visitors, but also involve a two-way learning process. Travellers learn to understand and respect Baduy culture, while tribe members adapt by teaching and reinforcing their identity.

According to Hewlett (2016), social learning is an important process in adaptation and knowledge transfer between generations that plays a major role in maintaining cultural sustainability, especially in hunter-gatherer communities. Although Hewlett's research focuses on this community, the concept of social learning that he describes can be applied more broadly, including to indigenous communities such as the Inner Baduy. In the Inner Baduy community, the social learning process can be seen in the way they pass on knowledge about farming, living a traditional life, and maintaining relationships with nature to the next generation. Through the process of observation, active participation, and imitation in daily life, they are able to maintain their tradition and cultural values amidst the challenges of modernisation. Like hunter-gatherer communities, Inner Baduy use social learning as a tool to preserve their cultural identity in a changing world. The Inner Baduy not only pass on values and skills from previous generations through social learning, but also demonstrate the ability to innovate within their traditional context. They use this innovation to adapt to environmental changes without compromising their

cultural identity. Social learning also reinforces ethnic boundaries through the processes of imitation and innovation that occur during interactions between tribe members and travellers. Children in the Inner Baduy Tribe, for example, have been taught since childhood about the customary rules that must be followed when they are dealing with tourists. In the context of Baduy tourism activities, cultural commodification and social learning have significant relevance. The Inner Baduy must maintain the boundaries of their cultural identity while engaging in cultural tourism activities. They should use boundary strategies to ensure that their customary rules are respected and not affected by foreign cultural values that tourists may bring. At the same time, tourists have the opportunity to learn about the culture, traditions, and values of the Inner Baduy Tribe through direct interaction with local community members. Members of the Inner Baduy Tribe can use this interaction as an opportunity to teach and enforce their cultural rules to tourists, explaining the importance of maintaining the authenticity of their culture. In conclusion, the Inner Baduy Tribe uses a restriction strategy to maintain their customary rules and cultural identity in the face of cultural changes brought by the values brought by the tourists. Social learning through inter-ethnic interaction also plays an important role in building a broader understanding of multicultural society and improving skills in interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds. In the context of Baduy tourism activities, it is important for the Inner Baduy Tribe to stay true to their cultural identity and use boundary strategies in running cultural tourism activities, maintaining the authenticity of their culture, and teaching their cultural values to tourists.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The purpose of this research is to analyze the social learning strategy done by Inner Baduy tribe in maintaining cultural identity against the infiltration of tourism. Using ethnographic methods and research in Cibeo Village, the findings of this study explained that wherever there is a good social learning system as an informal passing of traditional values and customs among generations, so communities can strong carry out daily life according to local wisdom with the principle named "pikukuh", which means the rules to carrying out their live everyday. The tourism label is strongly rejected by Inner Baduy, instead Inner Baduy prefer to call it as "saba budaya" for their interaction with tourists because they want to keep the cultural order. They employ an ethnic boundary work of clear demarcations between themselves and the outside community, particularly when it comes to such modern equipment or practices that might be harmful to the environment, like plastic woes. In line with Fredrik Barth's 1969 concept, ethnic groups are not solely defined by their shared cultural characteristics, but also by the boundaries they establish to distinguish themselves from external influences. This idea is crucial in understanding how the Inner Baduy tribe maintains its identity. The tribe's strategies of social learning and the maintenance of ethnic boundaries are essential in protecting their identity against the pressures of modernization and cultural commodification driven by tourism. Their ability to adapt to external changes while preserving their core values highlights the importance of respecting and valuing indigenous knowledge systems in the face of modernization.

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