



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

**From respected hermits to ordinary citizens: The conversion of the Baduy, ethnicity, and politics of religion in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)**  
Suryani, A.J.

**Citation**

Suryani, A. J. (2021, January 28). *From respected hermits to ordinary citizens: The conversion of the Baduy, ethnicity, and politics of religion in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3134744>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3134744>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3134744> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Suryani, A.J.

**Title:** From respected hermits to ordinary citizens: The conversion of the Baduy, ethnicity, and politics of religion in Indonesia (1977 - 2019)

**Issue Date:** 2021-01-28

# Resettlement Programme of the Baduy: Development, Religious Missions, and Negotiation Between *Adat* And Modernity

In the previous chapters it has been addressed that the Baduy face the problems of access to land and the population growth. Because of these, the Baduy have begun to manage Muslims' farms since at least the 1950s. The Indonesian government has offered a "solution" to the Baduy and isolated societies since that period through a resettlement programme. What the Baduy and the isolated societies likely did not know is the agenda of the programme. One of them was to prompt them to change their religions to the "monotheistic views" which are synonymous to religions recognised by the state. This chapter will discuss how some Baduy joined the resettlement programme, how the government tried to impose the state's religious ideology upon the Baduy community through the resettlement programme, how the Muslims and Christians started to be involved to change the Baduy's belief, and how the Baduy responded to this situation.

## A. Resettlement Programme, Religious Agenda behind It, and the Issue of Identity

### 1. *National Resettlement Programme*

The Depsos claimed to have had a resettlement programme since 1951. Then in 1964 it run a resettlement programme in Gunung Pandan (West Kalimantan), Hulu Banyu (South Kalimantan), Tanjung (Jambi), Senami (Jambi), Muara Basung (Riau), Sei Alam (Riau) and Bayung Lincir (South Sumatra). The Depsos had a more powerful legal basis to run the resettlement programme when

the government issued Law No. 6/ 1974 about the Main Guidelines of Social Welfare. Article 4 (1d) of the law mentions that the government has to increase the level of civilization of the isolated societies (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1997: iv, v).

Isolated societies are defined by the government as groups that are isolated, scattered, dependent on nature, stagnant, less differentiated, illiterate, and undeveloped. They generally live in mountainous areas in West Java, South Sumatra, Jambi, West Sumatra, Riau, East Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South-East Sulawesi, and Papua. In 1973, there were approximately 1,586,148 people in Indonesia categorised as isolated, while the whole Indonesian population was between 119 – 131 million (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 4-8, 30-34, Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 8-11, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 72, Muhidin 2002: 192). Two of many agendas behind the resettlement programme, as written in the manual issued by the Depsos, were to develop their socio-economic lives and to convert the people to monotheistic views which are synonymous with ‘religions recognised by the state’ (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 36, 38, 39, 67, Fathuddien *et al.* 1978:3, Persoon 1994: 344).

Responding to this duty, the Depsos issued a decision letter No. 10/ 1975 about the organizational structure and working procedure of the department. The decision letter mentions that the DPMT (*Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Directorate of the Development of Isolated Societies) will be responsible for the implementation of the law No. 6/ 1974. In practice, it has to co-operate with the departments of agriculture, health, public works, regional administration, agrarian affairs, religious affairs, education, cooperation, and communication. To organise the resettlement programme of the isolated societies the DPMT established the BKPMT (*Badan Koordinasi Pembangunan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Coordinating Body of the Development of Isolated Societies) and the BPPMT (*Badan Pembina Pembangunan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Body of the Development of Isolated Societies) at the central and regional levels respectively (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: iv-viii, 36-37, 42, Anggraeni 2000: 6).

As it is clear from the Depsos’ definition of isolated societies, the government deemed that the isolated peoples were not in line with the government’s hope: they were dependent too much on nature, not religious, and socio-culturally underdeveloped. Therefore, it thought that it had to help the people by creating a programme named the PPMT (*Program Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing*/ the Programme of the Development of Isolated Societies) which covered the aspects

of infrastructure, economy, society-culture, education-spirituality, and health. To achieve the purpose the Depsos assigned to build houses for the people, schools, offices, worship places, roads, sanitary facilities, markets, sports squares, cemeteries, and farms. The building of worship places was considered important to develop the people's spirituality towards the religions recognised by the state (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 38, 67-68, 160-163, 295).

Through the PPMT the Depsos resettled isolated societies to new villages. To do so the Depsos set a standardised process: (1) to motivate the isolated peoples to live in the resettlement villages, (2) to provide physical needs such as farms, villages, houses and public facilities, (3) to provide food, cloth, and medicine, (4) to provide seeds and farming tools, (5) to relocate the people to resettlement villages, (6) to train their people in living as permanent residents, (7) to train the people in improving economic life, (8) to train the leaders of the societies, (9) to educate the people especially in art, religion and communal activities, and (10) to transfer the resettlement programme from the Depsos to the local governments. Each programme lasted for 3-7 years (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 17-24, 62).

## 2. *Religious Agenda behind the Resettlement Programme*

The DPMT which was responsible for the implementation of the Law No. 6/1974 on social welfare wrote in the manual of the resettlement programme, *Program Operasionil Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing* (1975: 7, 18, 22, 39, 67), that one of the characteristics of the isolated societies is that they believe in animism-dynamism. To make the isolated societies in line with the state's ideology, namely to believe in the one and only God, the directorate DPMT made a cultural-spiritual programme for the resettled societies in the resettlement programme. The manual explains that:

“[the programme] shows a series of activities to lead their beliefs, customs, norms, routine activities, and other metaphysical habits to the monotheistic view. They also have to receive religious education so that they follow the instruction of God” (Direktorat Jenderal Bina Sosial 1975: 38-39).

The duty of the religious aspects in the resettlement villages, or more specifically the duty to convert the isolated peoples to one of the religions recognised by the state, was delegated to the Department of Religious Affairs. Responding to the duty, in 1978/9 the department published *Metodologi Da'wah Kepada Suku Terasing* (the Methodology of *Da'wa* to the Isolated Societies),

a manual about how to run *da'wa* activities to the groups.<sup>1</sup> Republished in 1992/1993, this book explains that the resettlement programme was formally the duty of the Depsos. Because this programme covered many aspects of society, many departments were involved. The Department of Religious Affairs was obliged to manage the peoples' religious life. In doing so it created a programme called *Dakwah Kepada Suku Terasing* (*Da'wa* to Isolated Societies) where one of its agenda was "to develop religious life which means to change their belief from dynamism-animism to the belief in one God". The purposes of *da'wa* to the groups, the book asserts, are to accelerate their civilization to be parallel with that of other Indonesians and to remove and change their belief by converting them to Islam (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978: 2-3, 12-13, 57, 67-68).

By connecting the definition of the isolated group made by the Depsos to the Quran (43:46)<sup>2</sup>, the Department of Religious Affairs perceives that being an isolated group means being in darkness. Therefore, the department had a duty to invite them from "darkness to brightness", to civilise, and to make them live "normally" like most of Indonesians. More concretely, in the context of the resettlement programme, the department had to invite the isolated peoples to abandon their belief in dynamism-animism and to believe in the one and only God. Afterwards, the *da'wa* activity was intended to increase the quality of their social, economic, cultural and political life (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 12-14).

"The Islamic mission has a goal to change the belief in animism and dynamism and superstitions to the belief in the Oneness of God. Animism, dynamism, and superstitions have made their thought simple, closed, and hard to accept something from the outside. In theory, after the spiritual issues can be changed, to change their social life will be easy." (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 13).

Moreover, the manual *Metodologi Da'wah Kepada Suku Terasing* (1978/9) suggests that the preachers have to, for instance, understand the people correctly by studying their languages and by living and participating in their social and cultural life. It is indispensable for them to know their taboos and not to break

<sup>1</sup> The 1978 edition was written by Usep Fathuddien, Muslim Abdurrahman, M. Tulus, and Muffich Dahlan. This book was republished in 1979 and 1992. The 1992 edition has more or less the same content as the previous editions but was printed with different authors and editor (A.M. Romly). I refer to the 1979 edition. Other books in this series are *Peta Dakwah* (1992), *Direktori Lembaga Da'wah Seluruh Indonesia* (1980) *Direktori Lembaga Dakwah* (1992), *Fungsi Majelis Taklim dalam Era Globalisasi* (1992), *Metodologi Dakwah Pada Masyarakat Transmigrasi* (1992), and *Metodologi Dakwah Pada Kehidupan Remaja* (1992).

<sup>2</sup> "And verily We sent Moses with Our revelations unto Pharaoh and his chiefs, and he said: I am a messenger of the Lord of the Worlds" (Quran 43:46), the translation of Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of The Glorious Koran* (New York, London, Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf 1992: 505).

them. They are also recommended to have a close relationship with the people, especially with their leaders. They have to arrive at the situation where they are not considered as strangers. The preachers also have to understand their psychology and environments. The manual also provides a chapter on how to manage births, circumcisions, and marriages. Circumcision, according to the manual, can be an effective way to convert the boys and girls of the isolated societies (Fathuddien *et al.* 1978/9: 16, 56-63).

### **3. *The Baduy's Reasons for Joining the Resettlement Programme: the Limited Adat Land and the Population Growth***

The whole size of the Baduy land is 5,136.58 hectares. Around 3,000 hectares of it are located in the Inner Baduy area and around 2,136 hectares are in the Outer Baduy area. and are used mostly for farming and settlements. If this land is divided evenly among 2,948 families (in 2010), each family would get around 1.74 hectares. In fact, many parts of the *adat* land are protected forests. The management of the fields in the Baduy land is shifting or moving from one area to another. Many years ago they would return to the previous fields after they were left for 5-7 years. In recent years they have returned to the fields sooner. Moreover, the inner Baduy manage farms in the inner Baduy villages and may not handle the farms in the outer Baduy areas, and vice versa. Because of the limitedness of the farming area, the Baduy, often manage fields outside of the *adat* land and even opened forest in the forbidden hilltops (Garna 1988: 184-186, 193, Persoon 1989: 6, Persoon 1994: 326-328, Perda No.32/2001, Kurnia and Sihabuddin 2010: 59, Permana 2010: 45, 51, Van Zanten 2020: 32, Danasasmita and Djatisunda 1986: 40).

Haji Sarmedi explained that because of the limited area and the increase of the population, the price of fields in the Baduy land kept increasing. As a comparison, the price of a field in the surrounding area of the Baduy land, for instance, is Rp20 million (around €1,333).<sup>3</sup> The price of the same sized field in the Baduy land could be Rp50 million (around €3,333). Although the price of a field in the Baduy land is more expensive, the Baduy still prefer it because it is closer to their houses. Because to have a field in the Baduy land is not easy, many Baduy eventually decided to manage Muslim's farms, for example, in Bojongmanik, Leuwidamar, Muncang, Sajra and Gajrug. This practice has begun since the 1950s.<sup>4</sup> Garna (1988: 186) even believes that it has been practised since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> A currency rate is changing, but in this dissertation the rate of Euro in Rupiah is 15,000. This rate is based on the euro-rupiah rate on 1 January 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Interviews with Sarmedi on 8 August 2017, with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017, and with Salia on 28 March and 4 June 2017.

Salia is an example of how the Baduy sought a job outside the Baduy land by becoming a labourer in a Muslim's farm. He and his wife left the Baduy land because they did not have a farm to manage. The price of a farm in the Baduy land was very expensive and they could not buy it. Salia said that with Rp50 million (around €3,333) a Baduy could buy about 300 - 500 square metres. This price is as high as in town. Salia and his wife then followed his brother to abandon the Baduy land and they moved to Muncang. What he did there was to take care of rubber and coffee plantations of Muslims. Because the plantations would be sold, Salia then worked in a farm of the ex-regent of Lebak Mulyadi Jayabaya. Besides Salia's family, about six other Baduy families worked there. Later Salia decided to stop working and moved to Palopat where he met Sardaya a brother of Jaro Samin. Sardaya contacted the founder of Pesantren Sultan Hasanuddin, Kiyai Zainuddin Amir, and asked him to lend Salia a house which was built by the state-owned company Krakatau Steel. At the housing complex near the pesantren Salia and his family live.<sup>5</sup>

Another example of how the Baduy face the problem of access to land is Eman. His parents decided to follow Jaro Samin to live in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal. Eman grew up and became an adult in the village. Their parents decided to become Muslims. Eman chose to move to the Baduy land, lived there with his brother. Nonetheless, he felt that living in the Baduy land was much harder. Then he decided to return to the resettlement village and followed his parents to become a Muslim. Later he met a Muslim Baduy woman who had left the Baduy land for years. Eman married this woman. Moreover, they lived in a house of Eman's brother. In 2016 the house would be sold by the owner and Eman did not have money to buy it. Finally, he and his family moved to a house provided by the Krakatau Steel company in Palopat. There he made a friendship with Salia.<sup>6</sup>

Eman confirmed that the problem of access to land drove the Baduy to abandon the *adat* land. Those who remain in the Baduy land are who have farms there. In line with the population growth, more and more people leave the land. Even many of the people who have farms also have to find other farms outside the Baduy land because their farms have been planted *durian* and other fruit trees. It is no longer possible to plant rice in the farms. Because the price of farms in the Baduy land is expensive, many decided to rent farms of Muslims. If not, they manage the farms and share the results with the

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Salia on 4 June 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Eman on 4 June 2017. In Chapter 5 we will see how Muslims and Christians tried to solve their problem by providing land and at the same time offered their religions.



**Table 3.1 - The Population Growth of the Baduy  
Which Affects their Access to the Farming Area**

Year	People
1822	188*
1888	184*
1899	1,407
1908	1,547
1928	1,521
1966	3,935
1969	4,063
1972	4,077
1979	4,081
1980	4,057
1983	4,574
1984	4,587
1985	4,474
1986	4,850
1990	5,582
1993	5,649
1994	6,483
2000	7,317
2004	7,532 - 7,700
2008	10,941
2010	11,172
2011	11.269
2012	11,279
2013	11.279
2014	11,279 - 11,299
2015	11,290
2016	11,699
2017	11,699
2018	11.699
2019	11.699

Sources: Garna (1988: 52-53, 56, 59), Kurnia and Sihabuddin (2010: 67-71), Pemana (2010: 32), Suryani (1974), Djauhari (1979: 39), BPS Lebak's *Leuwidamar Dalam Angka* 2012 (16), 2013 (16), 2014 (25), 2015 (25), 2016 (3), 2017 (21) 2018 (25), 2019 (25), Statistik Leuwidamar Tahun 2015 (3), Wim van Zanten (2020: 30). \* Inner Baduy only. Data from 2011 -2019 are taken from *Leuwidamar Dalam Angka* from the category of the population of the *desa* of Kanekes. But numbers are problematic because there is a village in this *desa*, namely Cicakal Girang, which population is Muslims. The numbers of the population might have included the Muslim population from Cicakal Girang. Data from 2016 – 2019 are probably not updated. The increase of the population happened in the period 1928 – 1966.

owners. Which commonly happens is that the Baduy handle Muslims' farms. They plant rubber and albasiah (*Albizia chinensis*) trees. Until the trees grow high, the Baduy use the land for three to five years to plant rice, bananas, and cassava for their food. Afterwards, the Baduy return the farms to the owners and they seek other farms to manage. The Baduy who have money can buy farms and they become independent. Persoon (1994: 322-323) explains that in the 1980s there were around 1,500 Baduy who managed non-Baduy fields (also see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Garna 1988: 186, Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1989: 109).

The leader of Jamaah Tablig<sup>7</sup> in Cikapek Haji Adung<sup>8</sup> explained that there were hundreds of the Baduy living in the village. They left out the Baduy land and were spread in many *kecamatan* (sub-districts). Cikapek, according to him, is one of the concentrations. "The number of population in the Baduy land increases, while the land is limited. They want to manage farms, but the land is not available," he said. in Cikapek and Bedenglima (both in the sub-district of Leuwidamar) around 300 Baduy families reside in a piece of land disputed by plantation companies. About 17 out of the 300 Baduy families in Cikapek are Haji Adung's neighbours.

The problem of access to land can be understood by looking at the population growth as the result of marriage and new births. The Baduy marry at a very young age, around 12-17 for the girls and 16-21 for the boys (Garna 1988: 52, 105).<sup>9</sup> After they marry, they start to manage farms. Because they are young, they possibly do not have enough money to buy farms. What possibly happens is that they manage their parents' farms. If their parents do not have one, the next most likely option is that they would manage non-Baduy's farms outside the Baduy land.

A perfect example of how the Baduy faced the problem of access to land was their acceptance of the resettlement programme in 1977. The reason behind the acceptance of the programme, according to Haji Nalim<sup>10</sup>, was that the Baduy

<sup>7</sup> Originating from India, Jamaah Tablig is an Islamic group that focuses on *da'wa*. This group is characterised by the distinct clothes and by the so-called *hunjij* (Arabic: خروج) or marching out. Through the *hunjij* the people of Jamaah Tablig leave their houses for three days, a week or four months for the purpose of *da'wa*. This group has been active in promoting Islam to the Baduy for 10-15 years.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Haji Adung on 8 July 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 June 2017, with Haji Sarmedi via Whatsapp on 12 March 2018, and with Kurnia via Messenger on 13 March 2018. The 1974 marriage law requires the man and woman who will marry to be at least 19 and 16 years old respectively. In practice, like in the Baduy land, many couples married under these ages. See for example: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/12/18/15413921/ketentuan-batas-usia-nikah-di-uu-perkawinan-mendiskriminasi-kaum-perempuan>.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

did not have fields. Because of it, they had to manage Muslims' fields and had to seek other fields every three to five years (Persoon 1989: 12). Bakels and Boevink state clearly that the only reason why the Baduy decided to join the resettlement programme was the limitedness of land. They state:

“That the Baduy decided to move to Gunung Tunggal in 1978 has only one compelling reason: hardly anyone in Kanekes had enough land to live on. The Gunung Tunggal project changed that. The 44 families who live there now have an area of 90 hectares of land and so one can have more land per family than the originally allocated one hectare.” (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 70).<sup>11</sup>

#### 4. *Resettlement Programme of the Baduy*

The imbalance between the size of the *adat* land and the number of the population has forced the Baduy to seek farming areas outside the *adat* land. To help the Baduy solve the problem, the government of Lebak tried to resettle them in 1950, but did not succeed (Anggraeni 2000: 20). In 1954 a group of government's officials visited the Baduy community. The journalist who followed the visit asked them whether the government would develop the Baduy. He wrote: “Up to now the government has not issued an official statement about the question” (*Pesat*, 31 Agustus 1954: 21). In 1973 the Depsos of Lebak did research on the possibility to develop the Baduy. In 1975 it published the result of its research with the conclusions, among others, that the Baduy community could be classified as an isolated community, its religious belief had prevented them from development, and there were some groups of the Baduy community who would like to adopt changes (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 73-74, 101).

Moreover, within the Baduy community itself the problem of access to land was getting visible (see Persoon 1987: 51). The *jaro pamarentah* Samin then initiated to contact the government. At that time Jaro Samin and his relatives were managing fields in (Pasir) Kopo and Gunung Tunggal. The latter was a rubber plantation but it was no longer productive. Jaro Samin met the governor of West Java Aang Kunaefi Kartawiria (1975 - 1985) to ask the land of the plantation for the Baduy. The governor explained that he had to coordinate with the Depsos first. Jaro Samin then met the Depsos and explained that the Baduy needed fields. The Depsos then included the Baduy society into

<sup>11</sup> “Dat de Baduy in 1978 besloten naar Gunung Tunggal te verhuizen heeft dan ook maar één dwingende reden: vrijwel niemand bezat in Kanekes voldoende grond om van te kunnen leven. Het Gunung Tunggal-project bracht daarin verandering. De 44 gezinnen die er nu wonen, hebben de beschikking over 90 ha. grond en dus kan men per gezin over meer grond beschikken dan over de oorspronkelijk toebedeelde 1 hectare.”



Photograph  
3.1: Jaro Samin.  
Photograph was  
taken by Jet Bakels  
in 1984. Printed  
with permission.

the national resettlement programme of the isolated societies (see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 78, 116-117).<sup>12</sup>

One of the sons of Jaro Samin, Haji Nalim, explained:

“My father talked to the Depsos that the Baduy needed fields. He said that he wanted to be settled. Continuously moving to new areas was troublesome. The Depsos responded to the request by providing the resettlement villages in the ex-rubber plantation area of Cipangembar.”<sup>13</sup>

Contrary to one of the Depsos’ conclusions, the Baduy society was actually not an isolated society. It was and is an open society where its members make contact and do business with wider societies (see Bakels and Boevink 1988: 1, 76, Bakels

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

**Table 3.2**  
**The Baduy Resettlement Programme 1977 - 1999**

No.	Years	Resettlement Villages	Numbers of Families
1	1977/1978	Cipangembar 1 (Gunung Tunggal)	73 - 80
2	1977/1978	Cipangembar 2 (Gunung Tunggal)	75
3	1977/1978	Pasir Kopo 1 (Palopat)	79/ 68
4	1979/1980	Pasir Kopo 2 (Palopat)	75 / 53
5	1985/1986	Kanekes	50
6	1987/1988	Sangkanwangi	50
7	1991/1992	Jalupang Mulya	50
8	1992/1993	Kompol 1 and Kompol 2	50
	1993	Nayagati	?
	1996/1997	Cicakar	?
9	1999	Pasirgintung	83 - 100
10	?	Sukatani 1 Sukatani 2	42
11	?	Jayasari	42
12	?	Cilanggir	37
13	?	Sologor	40
	1977 - 1999	Number of families	± 770

Sources: Bakels and Boevink 1988: 66, Persoon 1989: 10-11, Unpad and Depsos of West Java 1996: 1, Anggraeni 2000: 7, interviews with Haji Sarmedi in May 2017 and November - December 2018. Persoon (1994: 346-348) has a different data. According to him, Pasir Kopo 1 and Pasir Kopo 2 were founded in 1981-82 with 75 and 113 houses respectively.

1989: 360). The Baduy often come to markets to sell their products. Many of them manage Muslims' farms and travel to cities. However, as hermits the Baduy isolate or limit themselves from contacting with the wider society (Darmasasmita and Djatisunda 1989: 9, Persoon 1994: 345). It was because of the lack of land which made them accept the resettlement programme. So, the resettlement of the Baduy was a special case.

The Depsos started the social welfare programme for the Baduy by surveying an area at Blok Pagilan, close to Ciboleger. However, the laboratory assessment stated that it was not good for farming. Then the Depsos examined Gunung Tunggal<sup>14</sup> and Pasir Kopo. The government decided to choose the former with the reasons that it was good for farming, close to the main road and town and surrounded by other villages. More importantly, many Baduy like Jaro Samin, Nalim, Sardaya, Sargawi, and their relatives had managed farms in Gunung Tunggal. Ace Bustaman the owner of the plantation also allowed the area of 92.82 hectares to be used for the resettlement villages of the Baduy. The government of Lebak then took over the ownership of the land where 80 hectares of the land would be used for fields and the rest was for a housing complex (Muliahati *et al.* 1981: 11-15, Garna 1987: 21, 98, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 66, 77-78, Persoon 1994: 343-345, Anggraeni 2000: 6, 21).

Starting from January 1977 the field supervisor Muksin<sup>15</sup> and Jaro Samin visited Bojong Manik, Cileles, Gunung Kencana, Muncang, Cimarga and Leuwidamar (areas where the Baduy managed Muslims' farms) to find the future inhabitants of the resettlement villages in Gunung Tunggal. In April 1977, they obtained 43 Baduy families that were ready to be relocated. They ensured the people that moving to the resettlement villages was like to find a new livelihood (*bubuaran*). In September 1977, they were successful in bringing around 50 families to the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 74, 78, Anggraeni 2000: 19-22).

<sup>14</sup> Gunung Tunggal is the name of a hill in that area. The resettlement villages of the Baduy in the area were Cipangembar 1 and Cipangembar 2 and later Margaluyu and Cihaur. Since the names of the villages were new and did not exist in the map, Bakels and Boevink (1988: 66) state that in the 1980s the resettlement villages were more popular with the name Gunung Tunggal. Now to refer to a wider area people use "Gunung Tunggal" and to specify they mention the names of the villages.

<sup>15</sup> Muksin initially worked as an official of the Depsos of Lebak. After retiring, he was asked by the Depsos to work as a field-guide/ supervisor of the resettlement villages of the Baduy, especially in Gunung Tunggal. Beside Muksin, in that period there were two other field-supervisors, namely Dedi from Leuwidamar and Jamhur from Cilisung. Muksin and his family lived in Cipangembar for eight years. Afterwards, he was asked to manage the Baduy in Pasir Kopo 2 to change the position of Ucen (see also Bakels and Boevink 1988: 71). Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017 and with the wife of Muksin, Enah, on 10 July 2017.

The Baduy who moved to the resettlement villages, such as Jawas, Haji Nalim and Sardaya, explained that the limited Baduy land for farming was the reason why they were willing to move to the resettlement villages.<sup>16</sup> Understanding this situation Muksin and Jaro Samin persuaded the people to live together in the resettlement villages rather than being scattered in the fields of non-Baduy. The fact that the government promised them houses to live in and fields to manage attracted the people. Arji, one of the Baduy, admitted that he moved to the resettlement village because he wanted to develop his farming. In his village in the Baduy land, he said, he could not plant productive trees. Even his clove trees were cut by *adat* leaders. Conversely, in the resettlement villages the *puun* did not forbid the Baduy to do develop farming because the villages were not part of the *adat* land (FASA Unpad 1980: 2-3, Persoon 1994: 355, Anggraeni 2000: 26). Afterwards, the resettlement villages were then inaugurated in 1978 (Muliahati 1981: 1-5, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 67).<sup>17</sup>

In 1982 the volcano of Gunung Galunggung erupted and some victims were relocated to the resettlement villages.<sup>18</sup> In the same year the Baduy figure Nalim decided to leave the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul and opened a new village and he named it Margaluyu which means ‘a proper path’.<sup>19</sup> Narja said that it was Jaro Samin who asked Nalim to open and move to Margaluyu.<sup>20</sup> Many Baduy from the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggul followed him. In 1984, the Department of Agrarian Affairs measured the land in Cipangembar 2 and found that it did not to the government. The Baduy then moved to Cihaur and Margaluyu. In 1985 the Baduy in some resettlement villages gained certainty about the ownership right of the land. Even they obtained 1.5 hectares of land from which was more than the one hectare that was promised. The extra 0.5 hectare was taken from the Baduy who left the resettlement villages and returned to the *adat* land. Two years later, the Baduy in the resettlement received the certificates of their land. In 1987 the resettlement villages of the Baduy were “transferred from the Departement Social Affairs to the Provincial Government” of West Java (Persoon 1989: 11, Anggraeni 2000: 27-29, 32, 39, 45, see also Bakels and Boevink 1988: 93 - 94).

<sup>16</sup> Interviews with Jawas on 21 November 2018 and with Sardaya and Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Muliahati mentions that the inauguration was held on 25 July 1978, but Bakels and Boevink mention that it was in May 1978.

<sup>18</sup> Interviews with Sardaya on 04 June 2017 and with Enah on 10 Juli 2017

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 May 17.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

### 5. *The Issue of Identity*

In the foundation of the resettlement villages, in fact, the government did not involve the *adat* leaders and somewhat ignored the Baduy's *pikukuh* (guidelines). Their houses in the resettlement villages were quite different from their houses in the Baduy land. They were electrified by a generator, after a renovation the roofs were changed with zinc roofs, and the windows were also made of glass or wire. Unlike in the Baduy land, in the resettlement village they did not have *leuits*, *saung lisungs* and *bale adat*. For farming, they obtained hoes from the government but the Baduy seldom used them. Abas, Udaya, and Tarwi from the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) introduced modern tools, techniques, and fertilizers to the people. They taught the people how to move from the traditional to the modern ways of farming for two years (Abas Tjakrawiralaksana 1986, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 68, 80 Persoon 1994: 347, Anggraeni 2000).<sup>21</sup>

The decision of Jaro Samin to collect the Baduy from various sub-districts and to invite them to live in the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal was challenged by the Baduy leaders. They thought that the resettlement programme was a threat. They asked Jaro Samin to return to the *adat* land to exercise his duty as a *jaro pamarentah*, but Jaro Samin, based on the advice of Muksin, refused. The *adat* leaders could not accept this. Then they sent envoys to Gunung Tunggal to ask Jaro Samin and the Baduy to return to the Baduy land. The *adat* leaders considered the Baduy in the resettlement villages were like a man who sits in the doorway (*malang di tengah lawang*) or a man whose one foot is on a boat and another foot is on another boat. In other words, their identity was unclear (Persoon 1994: 345-346).<sup>22</sup>

Finally the *adat* leaders offered the Baduy in the resettlement villages two choices: to return to the Baduy land or to stay in the resettlement villages. Sarmedi explained that even though there were two choices, the *adat* leaders preferred the first one. They encouraged the Baduy to sell their houses in the resettlement villages and return to the Baduy land. But if they wanted to live in the resettlement villages they had to leave Sunda Wiwitan.<sup>23</sup> The Christian Baduy Narja explained that the Baduy may not live outside the *adat* land. In the resettlement programme they lived in the houses provided by the Depsos. This broke the rule and could excommunicate them from the *adat* system.<sup>24</sup> Because Jaro Samin himself refused to return, the *adat* leaders changed his position as a *jaro pamarentah* with Nakiwin. The relationship between the Baduy in the resettlement villages and the *adat* leaders was deteriorating. Eventually, the *adat*

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017 and with Eman on 04 June 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June and with Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.



leaders decided to excommunicate the Baduy in the resettlement villages as Baduy and therefore they were not allowed to join *adat* ceremonies such as *kawalu* and *ngalaksa* (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 80-81, 84).

Because of this situation, in 1980 many families in Cipangembar I left the resettlement village. Two years later more families vacated their houses, moving to their original villages. In 1983, there were only 170 out of 300 families in three resettlement villages. Therefore, many houses were abandoned and crumbled. The empty houses were then occupied by the non-Baduy. Haji Nalim<sup>25</sup> surmised that 60 families left the resettlement villages of Cipangembar 1 and 2. The houses which were left by the Baduy were then occupied by non-Baduy, including by the victims of Mount Galunggung which erupted in 1982. The Baduy who decided to return to the Baduy land left the Baduy land again. They sought for farms to manage in the neighbouring areas of the *adat* land. They were lamented to leave the resettlement villages (Garna 1988: 62, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Persoon 1994: 348-349, Anggraeni 2000: 27-29, 32, 39, 45).<sup>26</sup>

Narja added the reasons why the Baduy left the resettlement villages. First, the Depsos halted its donation after six months of resettlement and it affected the livelihood of the Baduy. Second, the Baduy did not get used to being developed. Because of these two, they did not like living in the resettlement villages.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, there was a rumour saying that the Baduy in the resettlement villages would be circumcised for the second time, converted to Islam and sent to an empty island through a transmigration programme. The rumour also said that the government would not give them land as it was promised (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79, Persoon 1994: 346, 349). Eman who joined the resettlement programme said that the rumour was spread by non-Baduy who wanted to possess the houses in the resettlement villages.<sup>28</sup>

Some Baduy who chose to remain in the resettlement villages reasoned that returning to the *adat* land was not a solution to their problem of access to land. In other words, to have a field was the main reason why they liked living in the resettlement villages. They now could move freely and planted any tree they wanted. They were no longer bound by taboos. They were also able to participate in development and progress as they were campaigned by the officials (Persoon 1994: 362). Eman's parents were an example of the Baduy who decided to remain in the resettlement village. He said:

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 June, with Salia on 28 March and with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Narja on 20 December 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Eman on 04 June 2017.

“My mother and father thought that rather than returning to the Baduy land, it was better to convert to Islam. Returning to the Baduy land would be hard. They had found their livelihood outside the *adat* land, especially in Cipangembar. Then the *puun* gave them two choices to return to the Baduy land or to convert to Islam. Because the religions that the Baduy knew were only Sunda Wiwitan and Islam and that they also pronounced the *shahāda* of Kangjeng Muhammad, my parents then chose Islam by pronouncing the *shahāda* in Cipangembar in front of Abah Sarmin.”<sup>29</sup>

As the Baduy in the resettlement villages were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders, they started to change. Even it was viewed by the government as something good because the Baduy could participate in national development. For example, they broke the taboo of formal education. Actually, the government warned the officials not to introduce it first. It was worried if the people disliked it. Notwithstanding, some children showed their interest in literacy and their parents realised that education was important. The parents hoped that, as long as they did not have to pay, their children would get a formal education. In 1977 there were already 20-25 Baduy children registered at an elementary school. All they needed such as uniforms and books were provided by the government. In 1984, an elementary school was founded in the resettlement village.<sup>30</sup> Three years later a programme of Paket A, homeschooling which has the same level as elementary schools, was opened. In 1989 Sapin, a Baduy youth from the resettlement village, graduated from the Senior High School (SMA) of Rangkasbitung. In the same year, Ratna Dewi the daughter of Jaro Samin became a student at a senior high school for health. Another Baduy youth studied at Universitas Advent of Bandung.<sup>31</sup> The Muslim Baduy youths also attended religious education which was organised in the afternoon at *madrasah*, houses, and mosques (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 85, 103-104, Anggraeni 2000).

Moreover, the Baduy also managed wet rice fields (*sawah*) which were considered easier than to manage dry rice fields (*huma*). Samin, Nalim, Sardaya and Jayman even had fishponds which all of these were taboos. Later in 1998 and 1999, the Baduy received financial support from the government under the programme Credit for Farmers (*Kredit Usaha Tani* KUT) from which they

<sup>29</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

<sup>30</sup> The school building was broken because the soil eroded. The remains of the school still exist in the oil palm plantation near Cihaur. See Photographs 3.7 and 3.8.

<sup>31</sup> In the later development Ratna Dewi and her relatives from the family of Jaro Samin converted to Christianity. As we will see in chapter five, they are supposed to have a connection with this university. Some Baduy even decided to live in Bandung.



Photograph 3.2: A gathering between Baduy and officials in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggul. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.3: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.





Photograph 3.4: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.5: A house of a Baduy in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Gerard Persoon in 1985. Printed with permission.



Photograph 3.6: An oil palm plantation in Gunung Tunggal. A man stands on the location of the ex-building of the elementary school for Baduy children in the resettlement village. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.



Photograph 3.7: Bricks of the ex-building of the elementary school which eroded. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.

planted ginger in the area of 20 hectares. In addition, they also planted the trees of banana, rubber, coffee, rambutan, cassava, coconut and also corn and paddy. Besides, some of the Baduy worked as labours in factories, housemaids, drivers, and miners. They thought that farming did not suffice them. All of the practices are taboo in the Baduy land, but they broke them (Fakultas Sastra Unpad 1979: 3, 9-10, Muliahati 1981: 17, 1987: 99, Bakels and Boevink 1988: 68-69, 95-96, Garna 1990: 99, Persoon 1994: 355, Anggraeni 2000: 41, 44, 57-58, 63, 65-66, 95).

## **B. The Emergence of Islamic *Da'wa* and Christian Missionary Activities in the Resettlement Villages**

The manual of the resettlement programme issued by the Depsos mentions that one element of the agenda behind the programme was to change the beliefs of the people who are resettled from “animism-dynamism” to “the monotheistic views”. To achieve it the Depsos introduced religious education (Direktorat Pembinaan Masyarakat Terasing 1975: 67-68, Fathuddien 1978: 3). In the resettlement villages of the Baduy, the efforts to change the Baduy’s religion to Islam and Christianity have started since the first years of the resettlement programme. While this section is to show the emergence of Islamic and Christian missions in the resettlement villages, the details and development of the missions and the conversion of the Baduy will be discussed in the next three chapters.

### **1. Islamic *Da'wa***

Bakels and Boevink (1988: 1-2, 101) state that the resettlement programme of the Baduy was to “integrate [them] with the surrounding Islamic population.” Cooperation with the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama* KUA) was thought to be an effective way to speed the process of integration. Enah<sup>32</sup> accounted that her husband Muksin persuaded the Baduy to become Muslims. Muksin also asked his friend Jamhur from Cilisung who was a teacher to teach in the resettlement villages. In the evening the Baduy children came to Muksin’s house to study how to read and write. Gradually, they wanted to study at school. The fact that Muksin had a responsibility for the religious affairs of the Baduy was confirmed by Abah Ewong and Haji Sarmedi. “The Islamic affairs [of people in the resettlement villages] were managed by Muksin,” Abah Ewong said.<sup>33</sup> Haji Sarmedi

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.



mentioned that Muksin was supported by the Depsos and the KUA.<sup>34</sup> Depsos supported Muksin's effort by providing *mukena* (praying clothing for women).<sup>35</sup>

Bakels and Boevink (1988: 101-102) account how the KUA officials tried to convert Jaro Samin to Islam. On one day Jaro Samin was invited to Muksin's house because KUA officials came from Rangkasbitung. There was also the *camat* of Leuwidamar. They came to the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal to distribute food and clothes and at the same time to introduce Islam to the Baduy. After an hour speech about Islam delivered by a KUA official, the meeting was closed with a prayer and the distribution of the food and clothes to the Baduy. Jaro Samin was also given a package, but he was not allowed to open it there. Before Jaro Samin left for his house he was approached by the *camat* and a hajj. They asked him to convert to Islam. This would become a good model for the Baduy. They added that by converting to Islam he could probably go to Mecca for hajj. When Jaro Samin arrived at his house he opened the package and found a prayer mat. Because he was a Baduy he used the mat as a table cloth.

Moreover, Abah Sarmin<sup>36</sup> was the first non-Baduy who resided in the resettlement village of Gunung Tunggal, became a religious teacher, and later converted about 200 Baduy. From Kopo, Serang, he came to Cipangembar in 1978, only a year after the programme started. He came here because he wanted to live in his own house and land. Previously, he managed the farms of other people. In the harvest period he had to divide the corps into two halves. One half was for him and another half was for the owner of the farm. He knew Cipangembar because he often visited the village and bought cassava from the Baduy. He also had already known Muksin since they were in Kopo. At that time Muksin was a tailor. Sarmin told Muksin who was a field-guide of the resettlement villages that he wanted to become a resident of Cipangembar. When he started to live in the resettlement village he prayed to be able to Islamise at least two Baduy so that he would have Muslim friends. What he did was that after sunset he visited the houses of the Baduy.

Abah Sarmin explained:

“I asked them about how our life would be in the hereafter. During the conversation I inserted information about Islam. I did it for five years. Gradually our conversation was accepted by the Baduy. I told them, ‘if you convert to Islam, you probably become a hajj.’ The Baduy answered, ‘how

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 10 July 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Enah on 10 July 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

come? To perform hajj, much money is needed.’ He then became a Muslim. In the second year of his conversion, he was funded by the regent of Lebak to go to Mecca. Funded by another man, his wife also went to Mecca. They were Haji Nalim and his wife. Haji Nalim and his family were the first Baduy whom I converted.”<sup>37</sup>

Three years after Abah Sarmin lived in the village he and other 15 Muslim newcomers told the Baduy that they needed a small mosque (*musola*). Bakels and Boevink (1988: 67-68) state that it was related to Muslims of Cicakal Girang who joined the resettlement programme. After a meeting with the Baduy, it was decided that the mosque would be built on Sunday. The Baduy and their leader Jaro Samin helped the Muslims to found the mosque. Persoon (1989: 12-13) records this situation by saying the process of *da’wa* in the resettlement villages of the Baduy is marked by “the presence of prayer houses, Islamic social workers, [and] the regular visits of the Islamic leaders....”. When there was a check from the Depsos of West Java in 1984 asking about the small mosque, Abah Sarmin, advised by Jaro Samin, told the officials that the wooden building was for a meeting. The *bedug* (a kind of drum) and the *tongtrong* in the mosque, he said, were to call the people when there was a meeting. Nonetheless, the officials were not sure with the explanation. From Abah Sarmin’s accent, they must have been able to identify who Abah Sarmin was. After being insisted, Abah Sarmin admitted that he was a non-Baduy and a Muslim. The officials then told him that the Baduy, through him and other Muslims, could embrace Islam.<sup>38</sup>

In 1988 the Depag of Lebak founded Al Fitrah Mosque in Margaluyu. Starting from that year Muslim Baduy studied Islam in their own village. Abah Sarmin invited Ustad Hadil, Haji Mursidi, and their *santri* to come once a week to the village to conduct Islamic education. The number of the participants, however, kept decreasing. Other religious teachers like Faton sometimes came to help. Eventually, they handed Islamic education over Abah Sarmin. Every Tuesday he came to the mosque to teach the Muslims and the Muslim Baduy Islam. Since 2015, because of the problem of his vision, he has not been able to come to the mosque. In the meantime Islamic education of the Muslim Baduy in the village is managed by the Muslim Baduy Suparta. In 2018 he died.<sup>39</sup>

The second religious teacher was Abah Ewong<sup>40</sup> who came from Babakan Kasilun, Jayamanik, Cimarga. Coming to the resettlement villages in 1981, like

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Abah Sarmin on 4 June 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Eman on 8 December 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.



Abah Sarmin, Abah Ewong came there with the same reason, namely that he did not have a field. Jaro Madisa recommended him and his family to come to the resettlement villages. Shortly after Abah Ewong resided in the village, other Muslims came. They occupied the houses that were left behind by the Baduy. In the following time the Department of Agrarian Affairs measured the land of Cipangembar 2 and found that the land belonged to other people, not to the government. It was why Abah Ewong, Abdul, and Sawari moved in 1984 to Cihaur. Some Baduy from Cipangembar 2 returned to the Baduy land, many followed Haji Nalim to Margaluyu and some others followed Abah Ewong to Cihaur. In 1986 he opened a *majlis ta'lim* (an informal education for Islamic education) for the Muslim Baduy women. He thought Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the tradition of the Prophet (*hadīth*).

From 1985 onwards, Islamic education of the Muslim Baduy youths were handled by Haji Ading from Majalaya (Bandung). He had a connection with *Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami* (The Muslim World League) in Mecca and came to the resettlement villages of the Baduy based on an appointment of the Depag. It is not known for how long he was there. Afterwards, Syahroni who was sent by Al Wasliyah of Medan arrived in Cipangembar in 1988. Masduki (from the Depag of Lebak), Ahmad Yani (Al Wasliyah), Masta (Al Wasliyah), and Ustad Ulil of Jamaah Tabligh were other Muslim preachers who did *da'wa* activities among the Baduy (Persoon 1994: 361). My informant Eman was one of the Baduy youths who was thought by the preachers. He declared *shahāda* in front of Abah Sarmin and studied Islam to Abah Ewong and Ustad Syahroni of Al Wasliyah.<sup>41</sup>

In 1993 Nurkib Ibnu Djais who was an officer at the KUA of Leuwidamar began his *da'wa* activities to the Baduy. He claimed to have converted 70 Baduy families.<sup>42</sup> In 1996 Suparta, Kasja, and other seven Baduy boys followed university students to Bandung. They were distributed by the students to Islamic foundations in some cities in West Java.<sup>43</sup> In 1997 Ahmad Yani left the resettlement villages.<sup>44</sup> In 2003 Suparta who already hold a bachelor diploma returned to the village and was appointed by Al Wasliyah as a religious teacher in Margaluyu. Assisted by the Muslim Baduy Asturi and Sukma, Suparta and his wife Rosmala Dewi manage Madrasah Al Wasliyah which was founded by Ustad Syahroni. The children of the Muslim Baduy study at this *madrasah*.

<sup>41</sup> Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017, with Ustad Syahroni on 22 July 2017, and with Eman on 4-6 June 2017.

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.hidayatullah.com/feature/mereka-memilih-berani/read/2013/11/27/7497/nurkib-ibnu-djais-20-tahun-berdakwah-di-baduy.html>, accessed on 15 February 2016, and interview with Haji Sarmedi on 24 May 2017.

<sup>43</sup> Interviews with Ustad Kasja on 9 April, 10 May and 24 May, and with Ustad Suparta on 10 May 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Syahroni on 22 July 2017.



Photograph 3.8: Abah Sarmin. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.9: Abah Ewong. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.

## 2. *Christian Mission*

Persoon's (1994: 361) statement that there were no Christian missionary activities in the Baduy resettlement villages, as can be seen in this section and chapter 5, seems to be untrue. Some Christian missionaries did come to the resettlement villages. Among the first and the most important was Ismail Amaloh, from East Nusa Tenggara. He came to the resettlement villages together with Haji Ading. In the resettlement village of Cipangembar, Ismail lived for around six months in the house of Jaro Samin. During his stay in Cipangembar Ismail trained the Baduy sport, especially football. Eman who joined the plays said that Ismail's football skills were excellent. The sports facilities themselves were provided by the Depsos.<sup>45</sup> Abah Ewong stated that every afternoon he saw Ismail played football with the Baduy. Ismail asked the Baduy's religion. Abah Ewong accounted:

“He also asked me the same question. I answered that I was a Muslim. He said that he was a Christian. Some of the football players were Muslims like Pain, Owi, Ade, Ardi, and Jamani. After sunset, I invited the Muslims to my house and warned them that the couch was a Christian. I heard that he was from Bandung. He lived here in the house of Jaro Samin for about six months. At that time there had been no Baduy who converted to Christianity.”<sup>46</sup>

The second man who introduced Christianity to the Baduy in the resettlement villages was Anturi. According to the Muslim Baduy Odo, he was a student from a university in Bandung and came to the resettlement to do fieldwork about the resettlement programme. Anturi was probably a student from Universitas Advent Indonesia in Bandung. During his research he cared for the people. When there was a Baduy who was sick, he brought him to a hospital, paid for the medication, and gave the sick's caretaker money. Because of his kindness, many Baduy liked him and chose to convert to Christianity.<sup>47</sup>

And the third who attempted to convert the Baduy to Christianity was Kharel Budiman Silitonga. In his book *Saya Dijuluki Nomensennya Baduy* (I am Called the Baduy's Nom[m]ensen) (1998), he accounts his efforts to introduce and convert the Baduy to Christianity. From Medan he came to Pandeglang in August 1978, no longer after hundreds of the Baduy moved to the resettlement villages of Gunung Tunggal. In Pandeglang he stayed in the house of his friend to study Sundanese language of Banten. After mastering the language he moved

<sup>45</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 June 2017 and 20 November 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Abah Ewong on 4 June 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Interviews with Odo on 20 May 2017.

to Malingping, a sub-district in Lebak, and began to introduce Christianity there. Saleh<sup>48</sup> in Serang from *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) of Banten claimed to know Silitonga. He said that in Pandeglang Silitonga stayed not in the house of his friend, but in that of his brother who was a high-rank official in the Agency of Spatial Affairs (*Dinas Tata ruang*) of Pandeglang. During his mission in Lebak he converted Muslims and the Baduy to Christianity (Silitonga 1998: 86-89).

When the *adat* leaders pushed the Baduy in the resettlement villages to return to the *adat* land, some Baduy decided to choose Christianity. This happened because there were Christian missionaries who cared for them. Knowing this the *adat* leaders became angry. They said that they were allowed to abandon Sunda Wiwitan and the Baduy land, but may not convert to other religions except Islam. The Muslim Baduy Haji Asraf said that when a Baduy did not choose Islam, his relationship with the Baduy society will be cut off. He would become a lost Baduy. If he wants to revert to Sunda Wiwitan, he must convert to Islam first.<sup>49</sup>

Although there was a reminder from the *adat* that they had to choose Islam, some kept their faith in Christianity. The Christian Baduy who remain in Cipangembar are the families of Usman, Narja, Sapei, Alpin, and Tatang. Other Christian Baduy decided to move to Rangkasbitung and Bandung. The Christian Baduy figure Nurgojali (commonly called Windu), a grandson of Jaro Samin, lives in Rangkasbitung. The wife of Jaro Samin, Narisah or Arce, converted to Islam, but later converted to Christianity. Haji Nalim himself<sup>50</sup> once asked his mother Narisah about her religion. She said that she did not follow the religions of her children.

The family of Jaro Samin is the core narrative in the conversion of the Baduy in the resettlement villages either to Christianity or Islam. Samin was the *jaro pamarentah* in the 1970s and 1980s. Jaro Samin converted to Islam and did a pilgrimage to Mecca. His wife Narisah converted to Islam and lives with her Christian daughter Tati. Some of their children converted to Islam, some others to Christianity, and one remains as the adherent of Sunda Wiwitan. Both the Muslim and Christian converts became figures and had influence in their circles. From the oldest to the youngest, Samin's children are Salinah (Muslim), Tati (Christian), Nalim (Muslim), Narja (Christian), Arsiti (Sunda Wiwitan), Sawitri (Muslim), and Ratna Dewi (Christian). Salinah married the Muslim Baduy Haji Kasmin who is a businessman and a politician (see chapter 7). Nurgojali the son of Tati became a pastor (see chapter 5).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Saleh on 10 July 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Haji Asraf on 24 May 2017.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Interviews with Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017, with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017 and with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017. The conversion of the Baduy will be discussed in chapter 6.

The news about the conversion of the Baduy to Christianity arose tension between the Muslims and the Christians. The sports teacher Ismail who converted the Baduy to Christianity was reported to the *desa* office. In the evening the head of the regency-level military (Danramil), the head of police of Leuwidamar, and many people came to Cipangembar. They sought Ismail and forced him not to invite the people to Christianity. They claimed that he not only invited the Baduy but also the Muslims. Eman who was in the location heard that the *desa* officer threatened Ismail by saying, “Where is the man who will disrupt the religion? This is my knife!” Afterwards, Ismail removed the electricity network he had installed in the Baduy’s houses. Eman said that the sports equipment Ismail had distributed was also taken back.<sup>52</sup> After that event, there was no more information about Christianisation in the resettlement villages.

“The development of Christianity was withstood because there was a strong role of the government, namely when the development of Christianity increased rapidly the government called [the Christian converts] to the *desa* office and officials of the government came to the resettlement villages, therefore, people who converted to Christianity were afraid” (Anggraeni 2000: 120).

Abah Ewong and Haji Nalim<sup>53</sup> thought that there were about 20 Baduy people who converted to Christianity at that time. Eman<sup>54</sup> thought that there were no less than 50 Baduy converting to Christianity, while Haji Sarmedi<sup>55</sup> believed that the number was more than 70 people. Among the Christian converts were Jawas, Sarip, Sawari, Harun, Satim, Salman, Sardim, Sardawi, Hasan, Sarun, Sapri, Sapei, Usman, Narja dan Ratna. Their family members probably also converted to Christianity. However, some Christian Baduy, for instance, Jawas, Sargawi, Harun, Sawari, Hasan, Sarun, Sardim<sup>56</sup>, Sapri, and Sarip, converted to Islam. There were various reasons why the Christian Baduy converted to Islam, including the pressure from the *adat* and their relatives who converted to Islam. Some stated that they left Christianity because they did not understand the teaching of the religion. Some others, especially from the family of Jaro Samin such as Usman, Sapei, Narja, Ratna, and their family members, remain Christians (Anggraeni 2000).

<sup>52</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

<sup>53</sup> Interviews with Abah Ewong on 4 June and Haji Nalim on 24 June 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Interviews with Eman on 4 and 6 June 2017.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Haji Sarmedi on 20 May 2017.

<sup>56</sup> Sardim is reported to leave the resettlement and lives in Pandeglang.

## C. Negotiating *Adat* and Adopting Modernity

Like more than a thousand Baduy who decided to change by leaving Sunda Wiwitan and choosing Islam or Christianity, the Baduy who decided to remain in the *adat* land also changed. They try not to, but changes cannot be stopped. By looking at the reference on the Baduy from the 1950s to the present it is clear that more and more Baduy change. As many Baduy said that their leaders were not as strict to the *adat* as in the past. Or in other words, they have adopted some extent of development and modernity. Persoon (1987: 51) writes: “The long-recognized right of the Baduy to be different, to have a religion of their own and not to change or integrate, not to participate in development processes and to stay away from things that they do not want to interfere with, comes under increasingly strong pressure.”<sup>57</sup> This section will address how the Baduy negotiate their *adat* and modernity in the forms of tourism, electronics and fashion, modern medication and language.<sup>58</sup>

### 1. *Tourism*

Jusen<sup>59</sup>, an ex-secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes, stated that the Baduy began to open themselves for tourism since 1990. The *jaro pamarentah* Saija<sup>60</sup> confirmed that the Baduy land became a tourist destination in the 1990s. It was when Jusen was the secretary of the *desa*. Jusen himself was born in Ciboleger in 1955. At the age of 18 he moved to Jakarta to work. In 1982 he returned to Ciboleger and realised that his village was left behind. He thought that Kanekes could only be developed if people came there. He said that the Baduy were also in an economically difficult situation. Afterwards, from 1988 to 1992 Jusen became the secretary of the *desa* of Kanekes. He met the *adat* leaders and asked whether or not he was allowed to invite people to visit the Baduy land. They permitted him as long as tourists could respect the *adat* of the people. Jusen then went to the Agency of Tourism of Lebak to discuss the idea. Afterwards, he and the government organised a meeting with the Baduy leaders which resulted in an agreement that the Baduy community would become a tourist destination. The

<sup>57</sup> “*Het lang erkende recht van de Baduy om anders te zijn, om een eigen godsdienst te hebben en niet te willen veranderen of te integreren, om niet te participeren in ontwikkelingsprocessen en zich afzijdig te houden van zaken waar, zij geen bemoeienis mee wensen, komt onder steeds sterkere druk te staan.*”

<sup>58</sup> Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017. The largest newspaper in Indonesia, Kompas, published an article on the Baduy who faced modernity and experienced changes. See <http://vik.kompas.com/Baduykembali/>. The same issue was also raised by the Qatari media Al Jazeera as can be seen on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLoPoU8iCrw>, accessed on 23 May 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Interviews with Jusen Ciboleger in March 2017.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.



Baduy gave their fingerprints on the agreement and a welcoming statue of a Baduy family was erected in Ciboleger.<sup>61</sup>

Afterwards, from 1992 to 1998 Jusen became the secretary of *desa* Sangkanwangi, still in Leuwidamar. In that period he opened a shop where tourists who would visit the Baduy land could buy food and drinks. This shop has become an important stop before the Baduy and tourists continue their trip to the Baduy villages. Besides, Jusen equipped his food shop with a lodge and a gift shop selling Baduy clothes, scarves, bracelets, honey and other products as souvenirs. For tourism and economy, the identity of Baduy is reproduced. Gowns and t-shirts which are non-Baduy dresses are made of the Baduy batik in various sizes. The t-shirts themselves, according to Jusen, are produced by Chinese businessmen in Rangkasbitung. Jusen receives Baduy products which he sells to the tourists.

Tourism has given the Baduy an alternative source of livelihood. The Baduy, especially whose villages are in the border area or along the tracks passed by the tourists, have benefitted from this opportunity by selling drinks, food, and handicrafts on the terraces of their houses. Tourism, according to Haji Sarmedi<sup>62</sup>, has attracted the Baduy to have a house in the villages passed by the tourists, especially in the bordering village of Kaduketug. In the villages there are no more people who work as coolie labourers. The women make handicrafts and sell them on the terrace of their houses. Their husbands seek for honey in the forests and sell it to their consumers at the market outside the Baduy land. Some of them have even sold the products online from which they obtained millions of rupiahs. The *jaro pamarentah*<sup>63</sup> and other Baduy<sup>64</sup> expressed that the number of tourists visiting the Baduy villages was more than a thousand per month especially on long holidays and in the year-end.

Furthermore, the economic impact of tourism can be seen in the availability of tourist services on the internet. The government even believes that the Baduy community can be a world tourist destination. The Indonesian News Agency Antara published news entitled '*Wisata Baduy optimistis mendunia*', Baduy tourism is optimistic to be known globally.<sup>65</sup> The reasons why the community may receive international visits are that it 'preserves their customs and rejects modernity', has a green environment and produces unique accessories. The same

<sup>61</sup> The statue is very much influenced by the concept of development in the new order's era: a family with two children and the father brings a hoe. In fact, the Baduy do not use a hoe which is taboo.

<sup>62</sup> Interviews with Haji Sarmedi on 20 and 24 May 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with the *jaro pamarentah* Saija on 10 May 2017.

<sup>64</sup> Interviews with the Baduy Musung, in December 2015 and Jaro Saija on 10 May 2017.

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/574620/wisata-baduy-optimistis-mendunia>, accessed on 8 October 2016.

view was expressed by the member of the Lebak Parliament Emuy Mulyanah as reported by the newspaper Kompas.<sup>66</sup> In 2014, for instance, the Baduy land was visited by 158 foreign tourists from the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland.

How Baduy became the limelight of the government is also evident in the effort to make the architecture of the Baduy house as the *adat* house of Banten. A report by the Agency of Culture and Tourism of Banten mentions that there are some kinds of local houses in Banten including the houses of Baduy, Betawi Ora, Bugis, Citorek, Joglo, Kebaya, Kebaya Susuhunan Panjang, and Chinese. On 5 November 2014 the researchers of the *adat* house of Banten proposed to the government to choose the Baduy house as the *adat* house of Banten. The report also states that it has provided fund for building a Baduy house and buying Baduy housewares as museum collections of Banten.<sup>67</sup>

What the Department of Tourism and Culture of Banten is doing is similar to what the Sarawak Tourism Board is undertaking. The ethnicity and tradition of the Baduy in Banten and Bidayuh people in Sarawak are promoted by the governments to attract tourists. What happens in both areas as the result of what they do can be said the same. It is very striking that Chua (2012: 45) states: "This was not lost on my informants, who, in turn, asked whether those tourists, like others of village lore, thought they were head-hunters or monkeys who live in trees." It corresponds to the words of my Baduy informants: "Tourists may visit our villages, but please don't consider us like animals in a zoo."<sup>68</sup>

The increasing number of tourists, in fact, have changed many aspects of the Baduy mainly its environment and economy. When I visited Outer Baduy villages in December 2015 I saw piles of plastic garbage behind their houses from the snack packages of the tourists. In Gajeboh village the Baduy made rubbish bins from bamboo. Musung in whose house I spent one night said that they made the bins because many tourists came to the village. Some of the houses in the village also had a toilet which is actually taboo. The toilet, he said, is initially for the tourists. Because they already have it, they eventually use the toilet.

## 2. *Electronics and Fashion*

The appearance of the Baduy in the bordering areas is more or less the same as that of the non-Baduy. They possess smartphones and wear the same style of dresses. Until the 1980s and the 1990s the raid was still done by the *adat*

<sup>66</sup> <http://travel.kompas.com/read/2015/03/16/123000727/Obyek.Wisata.Baduy.Bisa.Mendunia>, accessed on 11 October 2016.

<sup>67</sup> Department of Tourism and Culture of Banten. *Bahan Laporan Penyelenggara Pemerintah Daerah* (Report of the Provincial Government's Programmes), 2014.

<sup>68</sup> A conversation with the Baduy Ardan at the end of 2017.





Photograph 3.10: A statue of a Baduy family welcoming visitors was erected in 1990. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.11: Tourists are welcomed by the Baduy in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.



Photograph 3.12: A family takes a picture in the border of the Baduy land in Ciboleger. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018.



Photograph 3.13: A man looks at a board made by students of Atma Jaya University to remind the tourists to keep the Baduy land clean from garbage. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2018. Photograph was taken by Ade Jaya Suryani in 2017.

leaders to clear the Baduy from modern products. In the meantime where the use of the modern products such as toilets, t-shirts, and smartphones, is extensive, the *adat* leaders seem to be reluctant. A lot of informants even believe that some Baduy leaders possess cellular phones. “An *adat* leader in an inner Baduy village has a cellular phone,” said one of my informants. In the early 2000s the smartphone of Blackberry was popular and very expensive, but some Baduy are reported to have it.<sup>69</sup>

The Baduy also have motorcycles. Because they cannot bring them into in the Baduy villages, the owners park their vehicles in the villages outside the Baduy land especially at the houses of their brothers and sisters who converted to Islam. Saputra (1959) has seen this acceptance of modernity by the Baduy since the 1950s, started to be more open in the period of Jaro Samin (the 1970s and the 1980s), accelerated in that of Jaro Dainah (in the 1990s) and still continues. How the Baduy have accepted and utilised modern products is also recorded in fictitious works. Sutendy (2015:17-18) in his *Baiat Cinta di Tanah Baduy* (The Faithful Oath of Love in the Baduy Land), for example, writes:

“The youths of the Outer Baduy are now skilful to use handphones, [and they also] wear jeans and t-shirts as youths in cities. A number of people do not longer take a bath in rivers and defecate and urinate in a river<sup>70</sup> as they used to. Some of them have been brave to have a bathroom and toilet. Even some people connected cables to the electricity network from another [non-Baduy] village, Ciboleger. People whose villages are far from Ciboleger use electricity by buying batteries to illuminate their houses with bulbs and to charge their handphones. Every week they bring the batteries to Ciboleger to be recharged. All of the practices are previously forbidden by the custom.”

The Muslim Baduy Ira accounted that in the past the Baduy leaders checked the obedience of their people. When they found the Baduy having a non-Baduy dress, they burnt it. Now people can easily see the Baduy wear t-shirt and good sandals. Every day people can see the Baduy ride their motorcycles and park them in the border of their land. Now having electronics is common. Ira is sure if one checks the “bags” of the *adat* leader he will find smartphones. “I have witnessed and found it. The taboos are only for the older generation,” Ira concluded.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Asep Kurnia on 30 March 2017.

<sup>70</sup> The original text is Indonesian and it is written ‘*singau*’. It think it should be *sungai* or river.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Ira on 4 June 2017.

### 3. *Modern Medication*

The Baduy also started to accept modern health service in 1975 when the government sent Idi Rosydi as a special health official for the Baduy (*Mantri Khusus Suku Baduy*). He was allowed by the *jaro pamarentah* Jaro Samin as long as he only trained the Baduy how to live healthy and to treat yaws of the Outer Baduy. One year later the Baduy of Cibeo accepted the programme of the eradication and prevention of infectious diseases. The *puun* of Cibeo, Puun Jandol, was even injected (Kurnia and Sihabudin 2010: 233-241). He also came to the resettlement villages regularly to check the health of the Baduy (Bakels and Boevink 1988: 79).

Furthermore, the Baduy have also permitted Eros Rosita to make the Baduys' houses as a centralised health service (Posyandu). In 2010 there were at least eight posts which were located in Kaduketug, Kadukujang, Gajeboh, Cicakal Muara, Cipaler, Kaduketer, Cicakal Girang and Cisaban. Besides, Rosita also teaches the Baduy women how to become a traditional midwife (*dukun bayi*). Kurnia and Sihabudin (2010: 242-243) explain that to advance the health of the Baduy, Baduy leaders, Nurani Dunia Foundation and the state-owned company Krakatau Steel founded a centre called *Imah Pangubaran dan Pusat Informasi Baduy* (House of Medication and the Centre for Baduy Information) in Ciboleger. To support the programme the government provided an area of 7,516 square metres behind the house of Asep Kurnia and Eros Rosita. Modern medication, according to Persoon (1994: 366), was one of many efforts to develop the Baduy. The other things were the improvement of the road to the Baduy land and the foundation of schools.

### 4. *“Polite” Sundanese*

The last example of how the Baduy are changing as the result of adaptation appears obviously in their language. The Baduy, like the majority of Banten and West Java, speak Sundanese. Different from Sundanese of West Java which has obtained much influence from Javanese since the period of Mataram (Moriyama 2005: 10-12), Sundanese of Banten and Baduy do not have a rigid concept of *undak-usuk basa*, which words are proper to be spoken to whom.<sup>72</sup> Since Banten was part of West Java until 2000, Sundanese of Banten, to a certain degree,

<sup>72</sup> Although the Bantenese and the Baduy speak the same language, Sundanese of the Baduy has a different accent by emphasizing the consonant of the final syllable. More importantly, different from Sundanese of Priyangan and to a little degree from Sundanese of Banten, Sundanese of the Baduy utilises the same words when they are conveyed to people from all ages. About Sundanese of West-Java, Banten and Baduy, read J.J. Meijer, *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Baniënsch Dialect der Soendaneesche Taal* (BKI 1 January 1890, Vol.39(2), pp.222-261); Mangoendikaria, *Dialect Soenda Banten* [ca. 1920] D Or. 426; Mikihiro Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in 19th - Century West Java*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press: 2005), and Ade Jaya Suryani, *Bahasa Sunda dan Jawa Banten: Imposisi, Peta dan Jati Diri*, (Serang: IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, 2014). The linguistics of Sundanese of the Baduy, read Suria Saputra, *Baduy* (1959), pp.XIII-1-59.



obtained influence from its centre of power. Educational institutions, Sundanese textbooks and teachers were the main channels to transfer the influence. Because the Baduy have fewer contacts with wider societies, their Sundanese is believed to be pure. In the 1950s Saputra recorded that:

“Not only cannot they speak other languages, but they are also abstinent to speak in the languages. Various languages spoken by various nations to speak with them, are responded in their own language. Whether the people who talk with them can understand or not, for them it is not a problem. .... Instructions, advice, prohibitions are conveyed in their language without borrowing from foreign languages” (Suria Saputra 1959: XIII-1).

What Saputra wrote no longer applies. Now the Baduy speak Indonesian with the tourists. The food shop of Jusen in Ciboleger where tourists stop before and after visiting the Baduy land is a good place to see how the Baduy speak the language. The tourists who do not speak Sundanese are responded by the Baduy in Indonesian. The Baduy who have a wide network with the non-Baduy, like Musung, tend to speak in Indonesian. The Muslim and Christian Baduy who spent many years in West Java, like Kasja and Windu Nurgojali, have lost the accent of the Sundanese of Baduy which has an emphasis on the consonant of the final syllable. Even the Baduy in the resettlement villages of Cipangembar, Cihaur, Margaluyu and Sukatani speak Sundanese like most of the Bantenese.

During my fieldwork I tried to speak with the (Muslim, Christian and Sunda Wiwitan) Baduy with the Baduy accent, but they seemed not to like it. They preferred to speak ‘high’ Sundanese or Indonesian. ‘High’ Sundanese is Sundanese spoken by Bantenese or by the people of West Java. When I kept trying to speak with the accent of the Sundanese of Baduy or in ‘rude’ Sundanese, the Muslim Baduy Eman and Omo, and the Sunda Wiwitan Baduy Saridi, were not impressed. They continuously spoke in ‘polite’ Sundanese. Omo explained why he chose to speak ‘polite’ Sundanese:

“The Baduy may not attend school. Even though I did not attend school, I may not be plebeian. Our life will not change if we don’t want to learn. I benefitted from the tourists. I learned from them how to serve and to communicate. This is the way to study informally. *Urang teu kabagian ngaji, tapi kudu mengkaji* (We are not allowed to obtain a formal education, but we have to think critically). *Teu sakola tapi kudu ngolah* ([We] don’t attend school, but [we] have to be able to manage)”.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Omo on 10 May 2017.

Omo's knowledge how to communicate with the tourists, serve them and not to be plebeian, has made him visible to the government. Before he decided to become a Muslim he and his friends were often asked by the *desa* government to represent the *adat* community when the regency government, like the Depsos, had a programme. In 2001, for example, he followed an agriculture training organised by the Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB) for a month. In 2002 he was also appointed by the government of *Desa Kanekes* to follow a sewing training organised by the Depsos of Lebak. After finishing the training the Depsos gave him and other participants sewing machines. It happened, which is defined by Omo as a success because he learned how not to be plebeian from the tourists. One of many ways to achieve it is to improve his skill in communication or language.

#### D. Conclusion

Soon after its independence the Indonesian government tried to develop its nation through transmigration and resettlement programmes. In West Java/Banten, the resettlement programme was conducted for the Baduy community, even though it did not qualify the definition of an isolated society. The government through the Depsos began its programme in 1977 and continued to the following years by relocating hundreds of the Baduy to the resettlement villages. When the Baduy started to live in the villages, they soon faced a dilemma. The *adat* leaders reminded them that they were hermits, therefore they had to return to the Baduy land. But returning to the *adat* land was not a solution because they faced the problems of access to land and the population growth. Many of them decided to remain in the resettlement villages, incorporated themselves with the larger society and followed the government's programmes. In fact, those who decided to return to the *adat* land, like those chose to remain in the resettlement villages, eventually had to negotiate their *adat* with modernity which is taboo for the people by accepting tourism, modern medication, electronics, fashion, and 'polite' Sundanese. To make the process of incorporation in the resettlement villages smooth, the government permitted Muslims and Christians to do missionary activities. Because the Baduy in the resettlement villages were no longer recognised by the *adat* leaders as Baduy, they did not have a choice except to convert. How Muslims and Christians did missionary activities will be discussed in chapters four and five respectively.