PLACING IDENTITY ON THE MARKET
(The Role of Modern Tourism on Kasepuhan Banten Kidul Community’s Cultural Movement in West Java, Indonesia)

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the dynamics within the encounter between identity formation of a minority group living in West Java, Indonesia and the arrival of modern tourism in the area. It studies whether an indigenous group endowed by various amazing tourism resources engages with tourism as a tactics to deal with policies excluding them for years. Contrasting to Friedman’s study on the early Hawaiian cultural movement which was anti-tourism, Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community living on Cipta gelar, an enclave area under Halimun-Salak National Park’s control, takes tourism as the opportunity to resist various dominations and to strengthen its cultural identity. Findings from participant’s observations and in-depth interview show some changes are also inevitable. Engaging with modern tourism means the readiness to accommodate the arrival of various outside elements. However, the strategy has led local government to declare the area as part of major tourism destination in 2007. It means Sunda Wiwitan, an indigenous religion practiced by the community which is not officially recognized as a legal religion in Indonesia can be freely practiced in order to promote tourism. In this case, tourism is seen as one opportunity to establish a form of social movement in resisting dominations. Borrowing De Certeau, the community might have produced silent productivity to deal with larger authorities, including with its consequences in various ways.

Keywords: identity, Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, tourism, resistance

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Background

In the last few decades we have witnessed the emergence of various social movements, which mostly triggered by the increase of local community marginalization. Bruce Rich (1999:33) describes this development as “the decade of failure”, marked by social transformations determined by policies supported by international donors changing policy of some non-Western countries in managing natural resources. On the one hand, economic growth is believed will bring prosperity, but on the other, the consequences appear on million hectares of forest areas which rapidly devastated. Ecological crises have been triggered by few groups, but the impact influence people who do not cause the crises. During the Climate Convention in Kyoto, 1997, the NGO’s warned that climate change will cause suffering to the poorest people and the most pristine ecosystem globally. These people
are including local ethno-religious groups producing harmonious relationship with the environment. Jason Clay (on Gedicks, 2001 & Shiva, 1988) has noted 20th century as the age of development has witnessed more genocides, ethnocide, and extinction of indigenous people than any other in human history.  

The basic demand of the movements is more respect for collective rights to land, and cultural identity (Andrew Gray, 1997). In Indonesia, how the government Threats these communities can be represented by a single term in 1989; “masyarakat terasing” or those living isolated and have only limited capacity to communicate with other advanced communities (Koentjaraningrat 1993). This group tends to be viewed as “un-civilized” and the government needs to drive up them from “isolation”. Before the arrival of the Europeans, customary practices existed throughout the region. In this period, adat was used to describe a social entity united by customs, traditions, rituals, rules or practices of everyday social life (De Royer et all, 2015 & Gomes, 1990:46). By fixing landscapes on maps, colonial government, and now, the current government, imposes a stereotype of local group identity (Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001). Indigenous communities are then designated as “backward” having various contradictory to the modern nation, the obstacle of economic growth and it tends to be undermined through various ways. They are a challenge to capitalistic principles and their ethnic identity, cultural distinctiveness, and livelihood practices historically tied to the place they occupied were presented as a developmental deficit (Moniaga 2007, Li 2000).

Indigenous communities have been driven away from public narrative for years while outside forces exploit their home ground to fulfill global demand. In Borneo, it is sadly described by Tsing (2005) through emphasizing local people’s words; “better you had brought me a bomb, so I could blow this place up”. Furthermore, Sulistyowati Irantopos four kinds of discriminations to these groups; first, limited access toward their “own” homeland and environment. Secondly, do not have legal justification to practice their local belief. Third, losing certain form of citizen rights and fourth losing certain spaces of living because their customary land is claimed as state land. A Sunda Wiwitan’s group living in Cipagelar, Sukabumi which is also known as Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community can be taken as one example. This community is actually endowed by the combination of various cultural and natural tourism resources rooted from its indigenous belief. Sunda Wiwitan it self is the name of an indigenous religion, and also a term to categorize several communities practicing the belief in West Java such as Badui in Kanekes, Kampung Naga in Tasikmalaya and Karuhun community in Kuningan.

In the similar vein, developing countries, including Indonesia having various cultural and natural resources for tourism try to engage with global market of

1 According to ILO Convention 107 and 169; “Indigenous people is social group with a social and cultural identity distinct from the dominant society making them vulnerable to being disadvantages in the development process...” on BenedictKingbury, “Indigenous People as an International Legal Concept, on Indigenous People of Asia, edited by R.H Barnes et all, Michigan, The Association of Asian Studies,1993: 23

2 According to Jason Clay (on Gedicks, 2001), Brazil alone lost more than 80 tribes from 1900 to 1957 and the native population dropped from approximately a million to less than 200,000.

3 This is including the struggle to express certain indigenous religion and to re-gain customary land’s right.

tourism. Pitana and Diarta (2009) emphasize these countries; including Indonesia will depend on natural and cultural resources as the leading sector for tourism activities. Various forms of indigenous tradition such as traditional ceremonies, sacred rituals, harvest festivals and art performances have been long time known playing its role as the main attraction for tourists. Michel Picard (1996) emphasizes “cultural tourism” to describe further engagement between culture and tourism, which has reached the worrying development. Bali can be seen as the advance level of the engagement, but there are others which are in the early phase. Seren Taun, a traditional ceremony conducted by Sunda Wiwitan has attracted thousands of tourists in the last few years. Seren Taun is rooted from Sunda Wiwitan belief an dit is purposed to submit loyalty to the ancestors.

In this study, cultural performance is viewed as a part of social movement and atactic to express Kasepuhan Banten Kidul identity, after it has been neglected for years by the government and also Islamic majority group. By developing tactics in the daily life Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community is not totally determined by external forces through exploring some intagial spaces and to design new paths (De Certeau, 1984). James Scott emphasizes it as the everyday form of peasant resistance, as a part of the weapons of the weak. Peasantry background is relevant to be used for Sunda Wiwitan group according to it long period of agricultural tradition.

2. Problem Statement

According to a brief background above, a central question has been identified to develop a critical analysis to the interplay between identity formation of SundaWiwitan and the arrival of modern tourism; how does Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community practicing an indigenous religion, Sunda Wiwitan take tourism as the opportunity to develop cultural movement to deal with various external forces?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Identity, Resistance and Hidden Productivity

Various literatures have given evidences describing many social conflicts are often triggered by a single sensitive issue; identity. Identity itself is connected to the matter of existence and belongingness rooted and consisting from two different pillars; identifier and identified (Eralp&Inac, 2013). According to Jacques Derrida, all identities can possibly exist with their ‘difference’, meaning it also depends on the existence of external actors. Identity it self is not coming taken for granted but defined, determined and nominated by the ‘other’ (Taylor, 1994 and Porta&Diani, 2006). Each individual forms its identity to adjust with the demand of its larger society. Malouf (2000) defines identity as the allegiances of history, customs, religion, gender, class and the outlooks they entail, meanwhile Alain Touraine (1995) asserts identity related to individual’s will to act and to be recognized. In this paper, identity is a central issue for Kasepuhan Banten Kidul’s cultural movement, as a part of social movement toward discriminative state policies, majority group’s domination and globalization (Touraine 1995, Giddens 1991

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5 Quoting Wilkinson, Pitana and Surya Dinata (2009) define tourism resource as; “the combination of factors which attract tourist to a destination and sustain their experience while they are there”

6 Porta and Diani emphasize identity as a social process coming from self-identification and external recognition (2006).

7 HomayBhaba (2004: 128) emphasizes the term of “mimicry” to describe the dynamics character of identity
Identity is viewed as a central issue on the emergence of social (and cultural) movement. Charles Tilly (1978) defines social movement as rational, purposeful and organized actions to gain common goals, meanwhile, Laksono (2009: 11) defines as un-institutionalized collective actions to pursue better social justice consisting of two waves; (1) rooted from the centrality of class struggle, and (2) from deconstructionist tradition claiming as identity formation and then known as new social movement (2009:11). New social movement refers to a new paradigm of social movements and collective action characterized by strategies, goals and membership. It is an outcome of the changing of social economic and political relationship in the post-industrial society based on the desire of structural reform, rather than the struggle of exploited class/subject through class conflict.\(^8\) Alberto Melluci (1995) emphasizes in the post-industrial society, social movements are shifted from class, race and other traditional political issues to the cultural ground. Moreover, Klaus Eder (1993) asserts as the struggle for means producing identities and cultural expression. It is, can be viewed as the search for alternative forms of social and cultural life (Touraine, 1985).

Frederick Barth (1969) defines ethnic categories as “organizational vessels given varying amounts and form of content in different socio-cultural systems”. Meanwhile, Yelvington’s (1991) emphasizing ethnicity is as an aspect to consider particular group culturally distinct from other. Punjani (2002) adds “ethno-religious” as an extra, indicating particular religious orientation. According to Punjani, Sunda Wiwitan is being used to indicate sub ethnic Sundanese in West Java favoring Sunda Wiwitan as its religious orientation\(^9\). Zeen Zainal Mutaqin (2014) identifies Sunda Wiwitan in Kuningan, has taken two different tactics in dealing with discriminative policies and majority group; “front stage” and “back stage”. Moreover, Kasepuhan community in Cipta gelar, Sukabumi has to struggle with the establishment of Halimun Salak National Park in 1992 (Prabowo, et all, 2010). Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, as other “highlanders” community is a minority group rooted from a strong peasantry tradition having a system of shared access to common land (Murray Li, 2014). Unfortunately, indigeneity and also minority can lead to be dominated and neglected situation in various ways, as has been described above.

Each minority group will be vulnerable to be oppressed, but where there is oppression, there will be a resistance, and they have produced resistance for years. James Scott (1976) identifies peasant usually located on the bottom of social structure. Moreover, Scott (1985) defines resistance as “any act by peasant to mitigate or deny claims made on that class by super ordinate classes”.\(^11\) These struggles are no planning, individual and avoid any confrontation with authority. Mathew Gutmann (1993) criticizes Scott’s theory to be applied in different social background, such as Latin America where peasant resistances determined by the violence of military dictatorship and marked by popular “open” protest (1993:81). Even,

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\(^8\) Giddens believes one of the distinctive features of modernity is increasing inter-connection between two extremes of extensionality and intentionality which are; globalizing influences one the one hand and personal dispositions on the other (1991:1)

\(^9\) The majority of Sundanese in West Java are Moslem

\(^11\) James Scott (1976) poses peasantry’s behavior distinct from a capitalist enterprise; it is a unit of consumption as well as a unit of production.
Scott’s theory is different from anti-colonial resistance in West Papua (Gedick 2001:94). Kasepuhan Banten Kidul endowed by the richness tourism resources seems more sophisticated in establishing resistances; choosing tourism ground which is open, planned and well-organized.

Over last decades, Southeast Asia has experienced a rapid growth in international tourist arrivals from 21.2 million in 1990 to 96.7 million in 2014 (UNWTO, 2015). Wilkinson (1994) poses tourism as an activity consisting of three elements; (1) the movement of travelers to particular place, (2) temporary nature in the area visited for a pleasure and recreational activity and (3) not connected to permanent activities. Recent years, tourism is believed as a key for economic progress and being used as a tool for development and poverty alleviation (Dolezal and Trupp, 2015 and Marta Honey, 1999). In Southeast Asia, globalization might as a continuum, since the region was drawn into the European orbit from the sixteenth century. It can be linked to the period of ‘high colonialism’, roughly 1870 to 1940 when, significantly, tourism made its first appearance. Improved communications and security paved the way for up international tourism in British Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies or Indonesian archipelago (Hitchens, 2008). This is the beginning and today, Southeast Asia is being subjected to a variety of globalizing forces and tourism is a part of these. On the contrary, the rise local initiatives to increase benefits from tourism was also fostered through negative socioeconomic and ecological impacts of mass tourism in Southeast Asia. These include the unequal distribution of economic benefits from tourism in Pattaya, Thailand, or Kuta in Bali, Indonesia (2015:117-118).

Wati Longchar (2014) emphasizes commercial oriented tourism as one instruments of globalization potentially does not give respect to life, culture and environment. As a profit oriented project, it potentially does not give enough respect to life, culture and environment according to its roots in profit making, pleasure and enjoyment. Various environments, worship places, sacred groves and shrines are being desecrated by profit, pleasure and enjoyment seeking of tourism and to attract tourists, sacred music, dances, festivals and traditional ceremonies are reduced as “common” performances. Therefore, the promotion of commercial tourism has to be located within larger structural injustice (2014:66). However, Waliggo (1999) sees despite shaping marginalization, tourism with the right motives can bring positive aspects. Unfortunately, in Africa, tourism is becoming a powerful tool for cultural imperialism, felt as one way traffic rather than an equal relationship (1999:54). However, tourism also could produce local strategies to resist penetrations. Robertson (1995) emphasizes “globalization” by asserting; “there can be no cosmopolitans without locals”.12 This paper pays attention to the re-formulation of particular identity in adapting global market coming together with tourism. It is studying how to localize the demand of tourism market while expressing cultural identities both as a producer and also consumer. Michel de Certeu (1984) asserts, as a consumer, common people could explore interspatial spaces to escape from total control by showing there is room to play (Spielraum).13 This brings consumers not only to be passive, but also productive, though hidden

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12 As consumer, it is relevant to Alain Touraine’s reference to Michel Foucault emphasizing alienated people becomes the permanent and constant target for the power apparatus belong to class, a group or to individual in the society (Laksono, 2009:13)
within larger systems. Various cultural expressions of Kasepuhan community will be viewed as tactics to deal with various dominated circumstances. It is proving different from what has been emphasized by Scott; peasant’s resistances which are hidden and un-organized; but it is open and quiet well organized in showing they are not powerless.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses and acknowledges various methods for data collection and analyzing data based on anthropological study. It is aimed to understand particular culture through understanding various symbols and meaning within certain social phenomena to find out what people know (Geertz, 1973 and Spradley, 1975). The demand to find and to interpretation symbols will require, borrowing from Gilbert Ryle; a thick descriptions approach in studying particular culture as an interpretative exercise to search the meaning. Having an intimate association with informants to interpret significant symbols, emotion and understanding and the statement of underlying regularities of human experience is a muston the study (1975: 45). Moreover, this research is aimed to build a deeper understanding to the particularity of social and cultural life from the daily life of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community in Cipta gelar, West Java and identify how the community develops a particular cultural movement to deal with various external forces through engaging with tourism activity.

The research uses both of primary and secondary data to be analyzed and the primary data has been collected through several techniques based on ethnographic approach which are; participatory observations, focus group discussion (FGD) and in-depth interview with the leader of kasepuhan community, some community’s member in Cipta gelar and few members of Islamic community living on the coastal area. A long term observation to the community has been conducted since 2004, when for the first time I visited and interacted with the community. It is continued in 2010, and the last interaction in September, 2016 for attending Seren Taun harvest festival. Meanwhile, secondary data from various books, journals, research report and other resources have been used to complete the primary data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Drinking with the Devil; A Fragile Encounter

Kasepuhan Banten Kidul or Kasepuhan Adat Cipta gelar is a group of Sundanese lives in Cipta gelar, a hamlet or “kampung” and enclave area within Halimun Salak National Park practicing Sunda Wiwitan as its belief, surrounded by the Islamic majority group near by. The members of this community believe Kasepuhan Banten Kidul has been established since the year of 1386. It is accounted from the first Seren Taun, the harvest festival and the most important traditional ceremony of the community. There are various perceptions given by Moslem people living on the city or coastal areas, but mostly they perceive Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community as quiet “backward”, primitive or those who are Islam but practicing particular activities rooted from animism. Administratively, the community lives in Sirna resmi Village, Cisolok sub-regency under the government of Sukabumi regency and led by a traditional leader called Abah. The distance from the capital of West Java province is around 198 km, meanwhile from the capital of Sukabumi Regency is around 46 km.

Before moving to the current location, Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community lived in Cipta rasa, around 7 km from
Cipta gelar until the leader Abah Anom or Ki Encup Sutisna got an inspiration or “wangsit” from the karuhun (ancestor) in 2001 to move further to the inner forest area. This new location is given a name Cipta gelar, meaning “open heart”, located on hilly area at 1200 meter from sea level without an asphalted road. By taking motorcycle taxi, known as “ojek”, Cipta gelar can be reached around 3 hours from Cisolok on coastal area, depends on the weather. There is no any regular public transportation to Cipta gelar. Around 260 people live in Cipta gelar, consisting of 60 household, but it is also claimed more than another 29,000 people living on 569 other villages which are separated on three regencies; Kabupaten Sukabumi, Kabupaten Lebak and Kabupaten Bogor have a strong cultural and historical relationship with Kasepuhan Banten Kidul by admitting each Cipta gelar’s leader as their cultural leader. Cipta gelar is also known as “Kampung Gedhe” a where sesepuh girang or cultural leader lives, accompanied by bariskolot, a group of elderly as his assistance and supervisors and people who want to live with their cultural leader and practicing traditional way of life. This kampung gedhe Ciptagelar is then known as the center of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community.

People in Cipta gelar area administratively Moslem, but mostly still practicing Sunda Wiwitan, believing a monotheistic God; Sanghyang Keresa and respecting to the spirit of ancestors living in the upper world (Indrawardhana, 2011). There is a simple mushalla in Cipta gelar which is built around 2007, but it is mostly used by the visitors. According to the belief, the history of the human being will be related the three worlds; (1) buwananyungcung/ambutuhur/upper world where God lives,(2) buwanapancatengah/ambutengah/the middle world creatures live and (3) buwanahandap/buwanalarang/lower world describing a bad place f or those disobedience God (2011: 7). Human being lives in the middle world, and will go to the upper world after dies. Human and other non-human creatures are believed live and share the same world, inter-dependent each other’s and this tie brings people to treat their environment in a friendly way by
placing river, forest, tree as we-ness rather than other-ness.

Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community is rooted on a strong agrarian culture, placing paddy field and forest area as central of their cultural pattern. Culturally, the community divides forest into three different categories: (a) leuweungtutupan/ forbidden to be entered or exploited, (b) leuweungtitipan, an area which can be used through the permit from the leader for comuna purpose and (c) leuweungbukaan; area which can be used for housing and agricultural activities without any extension (GemaDesaHutan, 2004:9). This cosmology is expressed through various traditional ceremonies and the reproduction of particular myths. People believe “karuhun” have established an agreement with animals; forest would be protected, but if people need animal for ceremony, the animal will voluntary come to be sacrificed. Communalism is also the fundament of the society, reflected by particular traditions to work together on paddy fields. As a traditional farmer, people still use particular star formations such as bintangkereti and kidang as the guidance to start paddy planting period or harvest time. After harvesting, each family will divide paddy in two different aims; for daily life and for community’s emergency food stock. This stock is aimed to anticipate food crisis which could be occurred because of natural disasters or an extreme dry season.

People also express their indigenous belief embedded on daily cultural life by conducting traditional ceremonies for: (1) respecting the ancestors (2) respecting and purifying the world (3) respecting the paddy goddess (SanghyangShri/DewiPohaci) and (4) for the wealth of the larger society. They believe human lives together with other both seen and un-seen creatures, and have no right to decide the fate of other creatures. Earth is seen as a mother and sky is a father bringing to the separation of “world” into: jagadleutik (micro-cosmos) which is “self” and jagadgede (macro cosmos) meaning the world. Various religious expressions of Sunda Wiwitan can be found on various traditional ceremonies, especially “serentaun”, a big three days ceremony involving all member of community at the end of farming cycle to respect SanghyangShri blessing farmer and crops. Serentaun is attended by hundreds people from surrounding villages nearby Cipta gelar having emotional, cultural and historical tie with Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, including Baduy group from Kanekes, western part of Halimun Salak National Park. It is aimed to collect part of paddy-harvest from each family and keep it in a traditional building known as Leuit Jimat for emergency stock. Today, this harvest festival will involve various traditional art performances for three day, attended by those having cultural tie with kasepuhan, and also tourist. It has been officially declared as one popular tourism attraction, listed on local and provincial government schedule. It means the event will be promoted, organized and attended by government officer from various levels, including from the national park. People also regularly conduct “ruwatanjagad” to keep the harmony of the society and to avoid the arrival of natural disasters and have particular ceremonies related to farming activities: turun nyambut to preparing rice field, ngasek to start planting and mipur to start harvest period.

As have been occurred to other areas, the arrival of modernity is also inevitable in Cipta gelar. It is marked by a better permanent road connected to the city, electricity, electronic devices and the latest one, internet. These developments have brought both of positive and negative impact. The arrival of accessible road and
electricity in 2000-s have made people much easier to go to the city for trading, getting education and health services. On the contrary, it starts changing life’s style and life orientation of local people, especially the young. It is felt quite strong that those living in the “outer” Cipta gelar have started to see big city as the future, inspired by those coming as tourists, researchers, photographer, NGO staff etc. In the term of religious discourse, the oppression toward indigenous religion has been started since the establishment of Government Law in 1969, stating only 6 legal religions officially recognized by the government. It means Sunda Wiwitan is excluded from the state’s discourse. Responding this policy, community has taken an accommodative way to express their resistance by administratively converting to Islam, avoiding conflicts with the government and Islamic society nearby.

According to the interview with the previous leader; Abah Anom and the member of “bariskolot”, an elite group of kasepuhan community; Ki Suhendar and Ki Absor, administratively people in Cipta gelar are Moslem, but they do not practice Islamic worships and cults as other Moslems. They prefer to be categorized as Sunda Wiwitan and believe insome cosmological views as described in the previous chapter. This step is different from other Sunda Wiwitan groups, for instance Baduy in Kanekes refusing to be categorized as Islam or Hindu and prefer to see themselves as part of “agama luar” or the outsider. But, a different step is also taken by some members of kasepuhan community living in villages closer to the Islamic community on coastal area. In these outer areas, people start changing to be “a real Muslim” and leaving practicing Sunda Wiwitan. People living in these villages in fact have much bigger opportunities to encounter and to interact with Islamic group through various activities on traditional market, government office and tourism activities than those living in hilly Cipta gelar which need three hours by motorcycle to reach. It, slowly but sure facilitates the acceptance and the absorption of various new values, including Islamic teaching which is practiced by the majority group living on the coastal area.

Another “fragile” encounter is the establishment of modern conservation policy; Halimun Salak National Park in 1992, following 5 first national parks in 1985. Suddenly, the area where Kasepuhan Banten Kidul has lived for hundred years claimed as a preservation zone forbidden for human activities in order to protect tropical rain forest. It’s added by the extension of national park area covering the whole area of Cipta gelar as a sanctuary zone in 2003, and human all human activities are categorized illegal, stated on the Law No.5, 1990 (Prabowo, et all, 2010). But, kasepuhan community clearly declared a resistance to response these policies. According to Ki Absor, people refused the policy to categorize them as illegal inhabitant by saying; “our ancestor had lived in this area since, maybe thousands years ago, and national park just exist since 1992, so how could they say we are illegal ? In my opinion, the government’s policy is illegal”.

Moreover, Abah Anom, the leader explains if government’s purpose by establishing national park is to protect the forest, Kasepuhan community has protected the forest area for hundreds, or even thousands years. People have protected forest area by establishing various traditional values and rules, but on the contrary, ironically national park officer are actually very seldom to visit forest area. It has raised a question; how national park
could protect the forest if they never enter the area? According to the leader, although has been categorized as illegal inhabitant but the government never forces them to leave Cipta gelar. Furthermore, when I visited the head office of Halimun Salak National Park in the middle of 2005, the park management consciously takes serentaun festival conducted by Kasepuhan Banten Kidul in Cipta gelar as part of official campaign to attract tourisit for visiting the area. The government tends to see kasepuhan as an important resource for tourism leading to the exception for letting human to live in the sanctuary zone. It is can be seen like a symbiotically relationship between an indigenous community living on a national park with the management of the park which need various tourism resources to be massively promoted. Coincidently, people live in Cipta gelar, one of three enclave areas on Halimun Salak National park beside Nirmala-Citalahab’s tea plantation area and Cikotrek on western part of the park area, endowed by the richness of various cultural resources for attracting tourists.

2. Tourism Resources in Cipta gelar

As previously discussed, natural and cultural tourism resources play an important role as the bargaining positions of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul’s community to maintain their cultural identity toward several external forces. Resource itself can be understood as something that a country, a group or an individual has and can be used to increase its wealth, a supply of something that someone has and can be used when it is needed and a place or thing that provides something useful. Meanwhile, Wilkinson (1994) emphasizes tourism resource as a combination of factors which attract tourist to a destination and sustain their experience while they are there. These resources can be consisted of goods and services, natural and human, social and cultural, economic and spiritual; fact and fiction or systemic and contextual. According to the explanation above, we can identify that tourism resources in Kasepuhan Adat Cipta gelar and the area nearby can be divided into two different major resources; natural and cultural resources. Natural resources will be based on the physical environment particularly forest area, river, paddy-fields which surrounding the area of Cipta gelar. Meanwhile, cultural resources will be closely related to various cultural expressions rooted from Sunda Wiwitan belief embedded on Sundanese traditional daily life through; traditional ceremonies, traditional rituals and values, traditional building, various myths and local rules. According to both of resources, we can identify several tourism activities which can be done in the area as listed below;

The community has established certain rules manage visitors coming to the area for various purposes, as a tourist, research or official visit. The visitor usually will need to meet the cultural leader first in Imah Gedhe, central building where the leader and family live, to communicate what are their purposes. The leader which is now, Abah Ugi, assisted by his assistant, will decide the next step. If the visitor will stay in Cipta gelar for several days, the leader’s assistant on tourism activity will manage the place for stay. It can be in Imah Gedhe or the house of one family, which also will be the guide for visitor during stay in Cipta gelar. There is no an established and fix price for all activity, including particular ticket, but usually visitor will give money for food and accommodation. The sense of family-ness and brotherhood will be much stronger rather than profit/financial oriented activity. Tourism activity in Cipta gelar has not been seen as a professional business yet, instead,
**Table 1. Tourism activity in Cipta gelar.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Natural/Eco-Tourism</th>
<th>Cultural/Educational Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bird-watching at the Halimun Salak National Park area</td>
<td>Serentaun, a yearly traditional harvest festival, the biggest traditional ceremony conducted by Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community. It will be also attended by community members from other areas, even indigenous communities from other islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jungle trekking crossing the inner area of the national park from Cipta gelar to Cikaniki, taking around 4-6 hours. Permit from the national park is required.</td>
<td>Various traditional ceremonies related to paddy plantation; nyambut (preparing rice field), ngaseuk (start paddy planting), mepit (start harvesting) and ruwatanjagad to avoid disasters or bad things occurred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>River boarding/kayaking on Cibareno river</td>
<td>Various traditional building; Leuit Si Jimat (community warehouse to keep public stock of rice), traditional houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
<td>Various traditional dances, music and songs including wayanggolek/local shadow puppet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Off-roading (jeep/motor-trail)</td>
<td>Various rituals and myths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>Traditional medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Photography</td>
<td>Traditional handicraft</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional and organic wet agriculture activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Live in with local kasepuhan family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Micro-hydroelectric power at Cibareno river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Picture 2. Last serentaun harvest festival in September, 2016 (648 years)
tourism is seen as the activity to promote particular cultural identity, therefore it cannot be measured from the perspective of modern-professional tourism development rooted from financial profit taking.

3. Shaping A New Cipta gelar : A Cultural Movement

I have visited Cipta gelar for several times, and usually I would be spending few days to live and to interact with the people. It was in the early December, 2004 when for the first time I visited Cipta gelar. I had a purpose to meet the leader of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community at that time, Abah Anom, for digging indigenous community’s view about community forestry. I observed many things, including conducted some discussion with dozens members of the community. I stayed at small traditional building in front of the central building, Imah Gedhe, and shared room with a Dutch anthropologist from Wageningen University, Baslian Bolman. Culturally, this community can be categorized as a part of ancient Sundanese societies. Their ancestors were part of Padjajaran Kingdom warriors in the past which should be moved to the hilly areas after the invasion of Islamic power coming from the coastal area; Banten in around 18 century.

There are two main issues which can be given attention related to kasepuhan community; first, the “fragile” friendly environment lifestyle and second, the religious expression of Sunda Wiwitan. SundaWiwitan rooted respect to karuhun, the ancestor have produced strong harmonious relationship with the environment. This bond expressed on daily activities, inevitably should face some challenges; the policy national park, the discrimination over un-recognized religion and the coming of modernity including tourism as one of an important tool. After permanent road connecting Cipta gelar to the cities as the symbol of “modern world” established and micro-hydroelectricity power installed around 2003, the flowing of modernity has started to change the face of Cipta gelar. During my stay in Cipta gelar, Abah Ugik, the son of Abah Anom played modern music equipment when his father and other elders played karinding, a traditional music equipment.

I met with a foreign researcher from Netherland, a group of photographer from Jakarta and 3 national NGO’s workers from Bandung. We shared a traditional building located in front of the Imah Gedhe, the central building where the leader and his family lives. I heard the Dutch researcher that two weeks before dozens of off roader, rafter and jungle trackers also gathered in Cipta gelar, including with their modern devices. At night, when Baslian and I learnt how to use karinding, a traditional music device with Ki Absor, some local boys were learning to use modern camera from a photographer. Ki Absor added Abah Ugik, the son of Abah Anom which is now the leader of Kasepuhan after the death of his father in 2007, took his undergraduate in Bandung. Few next years when I visited Ciptagelar for joining serentaun traditional ceremony in 2010 and 2016, some local boys offered “ojek”, motorbike taxi, to take me back to Pelabuhan Ratu, the capital of the regency. There are growing numbers of local young women wearing veil during Seren Taun festival. Previously, it is only common for women to wear veil when they go to the city. It can be seen as another mechanism of adjustment to the social environment of majority Moslem’s neighbor living on the coastal area. Another thing coming up on my last visit is when Ki A (pseudo-name) also carefully and secretly criticizes the current leader for being too busy with his laptop and internet, rather than building a close interaction with his people.
It is un-usual within a strict patron-client traditional community such as Kasepuhan Banten Kidul to openly give a critique to their cultural leader, or talk about a bad thing related to the leader with foreigner. It proves the community at whole has started to step further becoming more open and maybe, more equal.

I met with my old friend, Ki Absor when attending Seren Taun in September, 2016 and he explained; we need a normal life, as other groups living outside there and tourism provides the best way to reach that without devastating the forest and traditions inherited from the ancestor. Another prominent leader of contemporary Cipta gelar, Kang Yoyo which is also known as “the second leader” of Abah Ugi explains the changing of Cipta gelar to be more adaptive to adjust with modernity is seen as something inevitable. It means that accepting a lot of various elements coming from outside, including tourism is consciously accepted as long as it can be localized and taken for several local needs and interests. Furthermore, it feels that the community consciously takes the positive side of tourism to strengthen their cultural identity by identifying, documenting and strengthening various historical and cultural resources. One of the central local cultural needs is more recognition to Sundanese culture and Sunda Wiwitan/s belief, and tourism as an effective cultural ground has provided an opportunity to freely express it. According to previous explanation about identity, resistance and social movement, the strategy to accept tourism can be viewed as a part of social movements using cultural ground as its arena. This cultural movement, to mention “cultural way”, is actually to resist various dominations from various external forces and aimed to control the means of producing particular identity and the means of cultural expression.

Accepting modern tourism is seen as the “third way” to deal with dominations in the term of religion and legal and land use activities. Today, kasepuhan community uses in-out strategy to maintain their cultural identity. Out-strategy is conducted by promoting themselves to wider audiences through social media and internet, meanwhile in-strategy is taken to strengthen and to internally maintain kasepuhan identity by establishing a local television station, Ciga TV focusing on traditional performances and values which can be watched by the member of community every day. This is consciously taken to neutralize oppressions from the majority of Islamic society nearby and also national park management. In the last serentaun, the head of national park also attended, gave his speech and clearly state the area declared as the “special” tourism area, meaning people are legal to stay. From religious issue, by emphasizing cultural performances as the important resources for tourism attractions, it will be a guaranty various Sunda Wiwitan’s religious expressions to be performed and protected, according to its importance as tourism capital. In 2007, the provincial government has officially declared Cipta gelar as a part of major tourism destinations in West Java. Furthermore, the existence of Kasepuhan community has been viewed as an important political capital, proven by the arrival of three head of regencies on the serentaun ceremony in 2016. In line with De Certeau’s emphasizing this progress as the hidden productivity of a minority group, it proves the establishment of a particular social movement on the cultural ground by taking tourism as its important vehicle. Modern tourism in this case has acted as a “mother” by giving an opportunity for Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community to strengthen
its cultural identity and reaching wider audiences through cultural performances, internet and networking with other communities.

On the contrary, socio-cultural impacts are inevitable effects of the relations with tourists, and of interaction with the tourism industry. According to its root in profit making, tourism can turn local cultures into only commodities when religious rituals, traditional festivals are reduced to conform to tourist expectations. Furthermore, once a destination is treated only for entertaining tourist, basic changes may occur including when the intermingled between culture, religion and tourism are difficult to be separated (Picard, 1996). What I could compare from visiting Cipta gelar in 2004, 2010 and 2016 prove tourism can bring both positive and negative consequences, including toward Sunda Wiwitan’s belief. The encounter has shaped a new face of Sunda Wiwitan in Cipta gelar; women wearing veil or start believing Islam. Few leaders stated Islam and Sunda Wiwitan can be practiced and live together in the heart of the people. Different from their neighbor Baduy, people in Kasepuhan starts using modern devices; internet, manage their own TV station named Ciga TV, drone and latest social medias to promote their uniqueness. It also proves culture as a cumulative tradition which, dynamically could be influenced by various factors including, in Cipta gelar; modernity, tourism and Islam.

In the same vein, tourism can generate positive impacts and be a possible strategy to survive by adapting cultural expressions to the tastes of tourists as done in Bali. It also can strengthen community by raising pride of the groups, influencing tourism development with equal relationship between guest and host, developing alternative livelihood or reduce emigration from rural areas on and protecting the cultural and natural environment. Ideally, people in Cipta gelar can still live surrounded by protected forest with its ecological and cultural values, practicing Sunda Wiwitan as the basic values attracting tourist and they can live from the guest for daily life, besides from agricultural lands. Moreover, today the consciousness to preserve historical and cultural identity is rising among the community members, according to the rise demand of tourism attraction on the one hand, and the need of recognition from external actors on another hand. This situation, positively also increase the socio-cultural cohesion among the people in Cipta gelar, enhance knowledge and awareness on the importance of cultural heritage among youth member, handicraft renaissance, local art revivalism, reduce outmigration numbers, enhanced personal skills in various activity and improve the living standard in many ways.

But, every encounter will also produce “take and give” dynamics for both sides. It includes the recent face of tourism in Cipta gelar facilitating the arrival of people from various different cultural backgrounds, including different lifestyle and life equipment. Entering modernity can bring to the over exploitation on social and cultural carrying capacity of local community. It can be analogized as riding the bull; you could survive with your indigenous identity, lifestyle, and cosmology, or will be collapse, fall to the hard ground. This hard landing can clearly be witnessed on the documentary movie directed by Peggy Vail entitled; The Gringo Trail. Tourism and modernity can be a mother and a monster for the people living in Ciptagelar at the same time, but today people are still enjoying their successful in using tourism as the opportunity to strengthen their cultural identity.
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The encounter between Kasepuhan Banten Kidul and various external forces; government policies on religion and forest management in the form of the establishment of Halimun Salak National Park, the arrival of modern tourism and the pressure from Islamic majority group have produced particular resistances. Practicing an indigenous religion which is still officially un-recognized, the community has suffered from the domination of Islamic power coming from coastal area forcing their ancestor to hilly areas in the past until the last few decades. The symbiosis of political relationship between the government and the majority religious group has shaped various discriminations to many local ethno-religious group like Sunda Wiwitan. After years, the community arrives at point to engage with modern tourism as a part of particular social movements to strengthen their cultural and religious identity. Through maintaining and regularly performing various traditional performances from Sunda Wiwitan belief as tourism attraction, the community has produced particular peasant resistances by choosing soft and open cultural ground. In this case, tourism has provided a political opportunity structure, or a juncture to between the need to re-gain a particular cultural identity on the one hand, and the interest to establish tourism activity in the area. Coincidentally, in Indonesia after 1998, the opportunity structure in the term of political reformation has also opened the wave of culturally, indigenous community revivalism. It is proven by the attendance of President Abdurrahman Wahid or known as Gus Dur to serentaun harvest festival conducted by another Sunda Wiwitan group in Kuningan, in 2006.

This strategy is relatively effective; through performing cultural performances to fulfill tourism demand; the existence of the indigenous belief can be preserved. Moreover, Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community is also today legally stated to live within national park area, which is previously forbidden. It is showing the power of tourism in changing treatment toward a minority group having (and practicing) an un-recognized indigenous religion and living on the sanctuary zone of a national park. Without having cultural and natural resources which are valuable for tourism demand, the community could be treated differently by the government. Tourism activity in Cipta gelar is also cannot be measured from mere financial perspective because economic benefit is not the main purpose of the cultural movement, but to strengthen a particular cultural identity. It is also proving the importance role of tourism as the arena to play hidden productivity of common people in maximizing particular opportunity sand gaining the means of producing cultural/religious identity and cultural expressions. But, on the contrary, modern tourism also has brought some changes and community needs to be aware to the potential destructive impacts of un-controlled tourism bringing to un-equal host-guest relationship, changing norms, values and lifestyle, ecological crisis even prostitution in the future.

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