

The Enculturative Function of Toys and Game in Inner Baduy of Banten, Indonesia

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Abstract

The Baduy society in Kanekes village, South Banten, Banten Province, Indonesia, doesn't acknowledge the term "play" as children activity, instead they call it as *Pagawéan Barudak*. Within the Inner Baduy cultural sphere, the usage of play object becomes the *Pikukuh* transfer value, the teaching of the ancestor that contains the customary rules. The existing forms in *Pagawéan Barudak* pose as the media transfer of the ethical values for the customs and culture teaching, that constitute in the communication of the play object usage and system. The effectivity in using play object as teaching medium for the rules, prohibitions and values becomes the strength of their culture system. Play activity in Inner Baduy as scaffolding media guides the children by changing the level of teaching guidance and value transfer. *Pagawéan Barudak* or play activity in the Baduy tribe emphasizes on the collaboration, harmony, social interaction, and socio-cultural activity, with the achievement end point that depends on the skill that considered important within the culture.

Keywords: Toys, ethical values, Inner Baduy

1. INTRODUCTION

Toys and children games can be found in every culture worldwide. It is considered as one of the cultural elements that gives a particular trait or characteristic in said culture. Traditional games as culture asset can also maintain the society culture existence and identity. Within the society culture, games contribute as knowledge models of the traditions. The models that have valid information would be developed and maintained as guidelines, serving as behavior guidance. Those necessities form the cultural system that reflects mankind as thinking and perceptive, biological, socio-psychological and spiritual entity. (Goldman, 2001 dalam Gaut dan Lopes, 2001; Rohidi, 2000; Sachari, 2002).

Through games and toys as knowledge medium of body function, human is introduced to basic skills of the body, e.g. tossing, kicking, listening, striking.

During childhood, the play activity also introduces the human interaction with the nature elements, such as children's interaction with the wind invented the *kolécér* (propeller toy) The propeller toy becomes the manifestation of the recognizable character, the invisible element of the wind. The same concept is also found on *leuleutakan* (playing with mud) and *icikibung*, children are introduced to the character of the soil, mud and water at the same time.

In addition to the interaction with the nature elements, such as wind, mud and water, there are also games that introduce the interaction with other living organisms, the flora and fauna, such as *peupeusingan* (imitating trenggiling), *dodombaan* (imitating sheep), *oray-orayan* (imitating snake). How is the function of play activity and toys in the culture? Games are taught from generation to generation bringing cultural value as its characteristics. The transmission process of cultural legacy from generation to generation is called enculturation.

The toys and games also maintain the society tradition carried from the enculturation process. The Inner Baduy society is not familiar with the term of toys and games. The playing activity during childhood is called *pagawéan barudak* (work of the children). The *pagawéan* refers to the output of the work, not the form of activity. The activity that has playful characteristic is prohibited as it's considered as useless or pointless.

1.1 THE STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION AND ENCULTURATION

The History of Enculturation Theories and the Study of Play

The playing activity that has the functional quality is an enculturation and socialization process for children. The enculturation intended as value embedding or adopting process that the validation is already accepted, understood and believed, becomes action and behavior guidance within the society. On the other hand, socialization is the process of introducing and familiarizing the children to the other individuals with various social status, role, category, and group. (Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, Permainan Tradisional Anak: Perspektif Antropologi Budaya) Games in the context refer to intellectual playability games as the decision making and action ability of the player.

Johannes Wilbert divided enculturation into three separate but interdependent processes: skill training, socialization and moral education. He also developed a model from which the various process of enculturation

can be studied on multiple levels and at multiple life stages.

Wilbert emphasized that enculturation is the combination of three separated process: skill training, socialization and moral education. He defined skill training as training in the physical and mental skills necessary to take up adult roles.

Moral education was defined as training in correct behavior and teaching right from wrong as determined by the individual's culture. Socialization, seen here as one component of enculturation instead of its own field of study, was defined by Wilbert as the "transmission of knowledge required by the individual to become integrated into his society by adapting to his fellow persons and by acquiring his position through achieving status and role." Enculturation takes place over three stages of life: infancy, childhood, and adulthood.

The component of Wilbert's model is that the three processes can be studied at different levels: environment, society, and culture. Environment refers to the specific socio-cultural surrounding of the child: his home, playground, and environment. Society refers to the social matrices and subcultures the child is a part of. The culture refers to the overarching culture which includes several societies. Enculturation takes place at all three of these levels. Wilbert's model helps scholars to investigate how the three processes which make up enculturation are learned on the three different levels during each of the three life stages

The study of games through enculturation poses as functional approach. In general, the functionalists see play as an "imitative or preparatory activity and, therefore, functional as an enculturative mechanism." The first scholar who formulated functionalist approach to play was Karl Groos. In *The Play of Animals* (1892) and *The Play of Man* (1901), Groos developed his "practice" theory. The theory states that all young animals and humans possess instincts for skills they will need as adults. The purpose of play is to strengthen and practice these instinctual skills. According to Groos, play activity is considered as skill practicing.

According to Scudder and Mickunas (1985), children first imitate the movements, sounds, and attitudes of adults in a mechanical fashion with little thought or understanding. As they get older and develop cognitively, they begin to understand the purpose and intent of the behavior they are imitating. Eventually, this understanding transforms itself into a thorough grasp of the required rules and values. The last stage of this process is when children and young adults take these meanings and use them to guide their own behavior rather than just imitating the actions of others. In this way, playing helps children to "appropriate the implements, social relationships, and systems of meaning of their community." Enculturation is the process that transforms children's behavior from instinctual reactions into purposeful actions guided by a deep understanding of the implicit values of their culture.

1.2. TOYS AND GAMES IN INNER BADUY

Kampung Girang, the name given from Baduy Luar to Inner Baduy Cibeo, Cikeusik, Cikartawana, is headed by a *Puun* who by the time of the interview with the Jaro, the vice of the *Puun*, *Jaro Sami* mentioned that game activity is unfamiliar in Inner Baduy.

"*jenis nu disebut kaulinan barudak di dayeuh, anu sifatna heureuy nu senang-senang, di kami mah euweuh, jeung dilarang ku adat. euweuh kaulinan da lain tugas kami keur ulin*"

"The type called children games in the city, that has playful characteristic, doesn't exist in our society, and is also prohibited by the customary tradition, there's no such thing as games because our role is not to play."

(Jaro adat Cibeo interview, Jaro Sami 2013)

The term *ulin* or play is not part of the role of the Baduy society who intentionally avoid fun. They associate toys and games with playful behavior or purposelessly and useless activity, only for amusement purpose. The word *mainan* (game) in Indonesian signifies an unserious and wasteful activity. The word that means *heureuy* or *kaheureuyan* is not acknowledged within the Inner Baduy because it is heavily prohibited to engage in useless and wasteful activity. In the Sundanese language, *cocoan* means observing the object, try to do activity and treatment with the object, or exhibit the function of the object in proper or different way.

"... The Baduy way of living is always to abide to the rules and prohibitions, because of the great fear, they avoid any amusement and indulgence.

(Jul Jaccobs, J.J Meijer 1891).

1.2.1. The Form of Pagawéan Barudak in Inner Baduy

The Inner Baduy society has parenting phase and *pikukuh* value teaching that delivered through value transfer medium. The teaching focuses on certain stage of age which isn't determined by common consent but is consciously used based on the stage of age. The stage starts during pre-natal stage which catered by the adhered *pikukuh* or *pitutur* which carried on to the next stage, the *pupulih*.

The Inner Baduy society prohibits anything with playful characteristic that has no beneficial purpose. As there is no toy or game, but a form of children activity towards the adulthood, which is related to existing *pikukuh* and *papatah* within Inner Baduy society that prohibits and avoids worldly pleasure. The word *ulin* in sundanese language, which refers to the playful activity, is used when a person is no longer doing activity related

to his or her responsibility, such as during the waiting for the harvest time, they *ulin* while waiting for the next farming activity, which by their view, *ulin* is visiting relatives or friends by walking.

The games of the Inner Baduy, which mentioned by Jul. Jacobs and J.J. Meijer (1891), are rice pounding (toetoetoean), rice basket lid (turup sumbul), rice sorting (tatapian), *olah-olahan* (kokence), weaving (nininunan), imitating and hiding (sassamunian). The rice pounding or *nutu* is not related to playing activity but the term *toetoetoean* or *nunutuan* is an imitation of rice pounding activity. This activity is performed by the girls while babysitting their younger sibling. *Nunutuan* is still performed until now in Cikeusik Inner Baduy.

Rice basket lid or *boboko*, *Turup Sumbuk* is rice container that is used by the children and adolescent to sow seeds. *Turup Sumbul* for the children is introduced as *ngawuk* (sowing, *pake pagawean* or helping to sow). During age of marriage, *Turup Sumbul* is used as gift container for the bride. After married, the *Turup Sumbul* is used as seed sowing container and example for the children. After the elder dies, the *Turup Sumbul* is used for keeping the *jimat/shalawat* that would be handed to the spouse.

Menapi Beras or *nanapian* is performed by the girls imitating the parents sorting the unused rice and dirt with the bamboo tray.

Olah-olahan or *kokéncéng*, the term for cooking utensils, is performed by the girls in cooking. Weaving or *nininuan* is fabric weaving imitating activity in smaller scale. The play activities in Inner Baduy, as described by Jul Jacobs and J.J. Meijer in 1891, refers to all activities for the girls. However, the activity for the boys wasn't mentioned.

With the inexistence of the term play, and the prohibition of playing activity in Baduy, Jaro Sami from Cibeo mentioned the children activity in the farm, home or wood as *Pagawean Barudak* or children work.

The form of *Pagawéan barudak* in Inner Baduy is considered as productive activities or chores, or self-sufficient skill. The boys seemed like doing the actual productive work during the process, when they were actually "playing". For example during putting the *kancung* up the tree, they were climbing and playing. In *Pitondok*, while they were looking for the proper place to set it by searching the hill that passed by the animals, they "played" *gogolosoran* or sliding on the ramp. The activity for the girls has greater playing value as they imitate the forms of their mothers' activities to help household chores.

The *Pagawéan barudak* is done by the children since the morning they leave for the field until the returning time. *Huma* or the field has greater meaning than their home as the children have more freedom of movement. The Baduy children ran, jumped, laughed with certain limitation when they were in the field. This is where the different facial expressions during their time in the field and their homes could be clearly seen. Meanwhile at home, they became more reserved and sedentary. As the girls helped their mothers cooking and getting water, the boys went to the river nearby to get the fish from the trap for their mothers to cook. Sometimes only the boys gather on the open ground during the afternoon.

In general, the form that imitates or resembles, is the *pagawéan barudak* for the girls. As mentioned by the study from J.J. Meijer in 1891, all the *pagawéan barudak* for the girls such as *nininuan*, *tatapian*, *turup sumbul*, *kokenceng* or *mamasakan* are the activities of imitating characteristics to prepare the children for adulthood.

1.2. ENCULTURATION IN INNER BADUY

The view from society who always considers toy by the cognitive, behavioral and affective or emotional aspect has brought toy that could represent each development of those aspects. Toy also has enculturation pattern that brings culture behavior and become a method for value transferring medium. Enculturation is the process by which cultural values and behaviors are transmitted from adults to children. (Jaime Marie Layne, 2008,1).

Enculturation is divided into three separate but interdependent processes: skill training, socialization, and moral education. (Johannes Wilbert, ed., Enculturation in Latin America: An Anthology (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976), 22-23).

In *pagawéan barudak*, the enculturation pattern focuses on skill training by modelling the parents so they could take their parents' role in the future. Based on the vernacular design of methodological explanation in *pagawéan barudak kancung*, they use materials determined by the tradition. The Baduy children were directed by their parents on how to make, how to use, the mechanism, material usage of the *kancung*. The materials for *pagawéan barudak kancung* are bamboo, tree bark, *teureup* and the irreplaceable material, *kasungka* tree. The making process started from the *kancung* head to the tail. During the experiment, the parents continued on directing the making process and the material usage to their children. They would say "*teu wasa*" if the children attempted to change the shape or the material, which also applied to the making of *pitondok*, *pikeplok*, *calintu*. The shape and material usage related to the development stage of the Baduy child, begins since the *pupulih* stage (infant) that tells a story about *Budak Buncireung* folklore: it's about catching a bird with bird. In adulthood, *jampé-jampé* stage, the material usage of the plant is more referring to the customary rule, such as planting *calik* tree as to be believed to protect the rice field from strong wind.

The design materials as tool used in *pagawéan barudak* are mostly bamboo rope (*Gigantochloa apus*),

and also *teureup* bark tree. The introduced skills which would be used in the adulthood role are identifying the tree, rigging, climbing, sowing, self-entertaining, maintaining the field and wind principle study.

Eventhough the usage of the materials are different, *Pagawéan barudak* has already spread to outer Baduy, especially the area with the same environment and resources. The evolution in *pagawéan barudak pipatar* also occurred into more feasible materials, such as plastic rope. It indicates that the shift, eventhough in slower pace, also takes place in Baduy region.

All of the products in *Pagawéan barudak* derived from the Baduy basic needs, such as food, insecticide, seed sowing and getting rid of loneliness. So the Baduy children could overcome and maintain their traditions. The *pagawéan barudak* originated from the Baduy traditions, such as ancestor veneration, field ceremony for the Hyang Sri Goddess, wedding ceremony and also funeral. All of the ceremonies are where the *pagawéan barudak* were derived from, in order to train the children to take on the actual ceremony in the future. The symbol produced from the Inner Baduy beliefs takes form in the folklore and the parenting system.

From the dispersion and convergence in vernacular design, the spread of the *pagawéan barudak* product takes place in geographical areas where the materials are feasible. On the other hand, the form is changed or rarely used in the area where the materials are unattainable or the prey is different.

In the process, the father becomes the role model of his devotion to the tradition and *pikukuh*, and the children follow in accordance with have been given through direct experimental learning by playing with the factual object.

The *sumbul*, which resembles a bird, is the symbol from the lore during the *pupulih* stage. The form is carried through the future *jampé-jampé* development phase, that uses “*murag manuk pageuh dahan*” spell or *jampé*, the traditional expression and action, as described by Jaro Sami:

“*rék masang jampé heula, atawa ngajampé paré masangkeun awi nu eusina dadaunan jeung macam-macam bahan nu mangfaat keur paré di huma*” (Jaro Sami Cibeo Inner Baduy)

Jampé is the action, work or laboring stage of age that conducted by casting spells.

Turub Sumbul, the *pagawéan barudak* for the girls which differs from the *pagawéan barudak* for the boys, is given since the *pupulih* stage (0-3 years old). Eventhough, it would be used properly in the next few years, they already have *sumbul* that would be used to mimic the *pagawéan kolot* (adult activity), such as *napi*, rice and dirt sorting, and also use *turub sumbul* and the lid to carry or contain anything. During *pupulih*, the *sumbul* is also used as seed sowing, which use supporting plant seeds instead of rice seeds.

During *pagawéan barudak* in 3-16 years old stage of age, the various seeds carried in the *sumbul* is sown at the field. However, during mid and late stage of *pagawéan barudak*, the *sumbul* is used as container for the rice seeds to be sown with the parents. In *jampé-jampé* stage, the adulthood stage of age, the *sumbul* is used as *mahugi* container or goods from the groom. The *Sumbul* is kept and used as *solawat* container when the spouse passed away in the *pagawéan kolot* stage of age (above 40 years old).

Since the *pupulih* to the adulthood stage of age, the daughters are taught to carry the *sumbul* everywhere and use it for anything in the *pupulih* stage. The use of *turub sumbul* in Baduy society is performed based on the stage of age.

With the different function in each stage, the carrying *sumbul* activity becomes the teaching method in devotion and obedience of a child, and later on the *sumbul* is kept and being replaced by carrying the child. The teaching method of carrying *sumbul* as the media is the substitute for carrying the child later on. Carrying child is the compulsory work or *pagawéan* for Baduy woman. Carrying child would be done by the Baduy women during their work in the field, doing household chore, going to the spring, walking together and other various activities..

The child carrying activity is performed in many traditions in the world, such as the Kung tribe in Africa and the Navajo in America. Based on study, the child carrying activity gives advantage in the child neuromotoric development, because of the body contact and also similar vertical line of sight with the mother, which compared to the child that carried in horizontal way and have less body contact which resulted in more isolated socially.

In the Inner Baduy tribe, child carrying is taught since the *pupulih* stage through the *pagawéan barudak sumbul* or *turub sumbul* activity.

Wilbert's enculturation theory consists of three separated but interdependent process: skill training, socialization, and moral education. Skill training is related to the physic and mental training that imitate the role of the adult. Taking role of adult is not necessarily simulation as in imitating form and using mock up object, but using the factual object instead. In the *pagawéan barudak* form, the activity focuses on the skill training that mold the obedience behavior and transmitting social aspect to the community as in the *pagawéan barudak* activity for the girls.

The Baduy people have different focus on transmitting the values during the development stage. The *pupulih* stage consists of lore and storytelling activity that provides moral education about right from wrong judgment. During this stage, the skill training is also given through the activities using daily tools and

object. Eventhough it wouldn't be used properly until the next few years, the materials and tools given is not the imitation or dummy.

Skill training focuses during the stage of age *pagawéan barudak*, 3-16 years old or from childhood to marriage age. During this stage, the children are trained various skills. Plant identifying is one of the important skill in the Baduy society, such as for producing tools from bamboo and wood, rigging (*ngarara*), animal behavior study, in which the skills pose as fundamental skills and also as learning process in obedience and devotion to the costumary rules.

The devotion and obedience aspects form during the stages of age and in each stage has different focus as the enculturation medium. All the stages with different focuses have three form of enculturation role.

1.3 CONCLUSION

The enculturation model in *Pagawéan barudak* form focuses on skill training. The interdependant pattern between each stage has transmission focus, whether it's skill training, socialization or moral education. The *Pagawéan barudak* has three transmission areas with different environments. The field and house environment are interconnected with the field maintenance, seeds sowing and getting rid of loneliness, which followed by the social environment such as hunting, entertaining, rigging and climbing. The next environment is the culture is itself as a whole, the spiritual consciousness, the Hyang Sri Goddess and the ceremonies.

The *Pagawéan barudak* activities are interconnected by the materials usage and the activity purpose. *Pagawéan barudak* is not a singular activity with a single purpose, solving a problem or fulfillment of one need, but from the process of producing play object to the usage is one whole interconnected series. For example in the material usage for particular event in *Pagawéan barudak*, that determined by the customary rules such as producing rope from specific tree, or catching prey. The activity is not allowed to be performed if the materials or the usage deviate from the rules.

The analysis of *Pagawéan barudak* forms results the connection between activity form with the enculturation design, which serves as culture value transmission of the Baduy people that being performed from the *pupulih*, *pagawean barudak*, *jampe* and *gawe* stages. The *Pagawéan barudak* stage as enculturation form focuses on skill training. The theory is proved by examining the case with vernacular design theory, which is the six explanations elaborate on how the design within traditional community is determined by the environment.

The delivered value from the *Pagawéan barudak* activity is the devotion and obedience value as *pikukuh* or guidance in the future. The values from the *Pagawéan barudak* of the Inner Baduy are based on the analysis of the *pikukuh* analysis. The *Pagawéan barudak* activity is a series of enculturation process from the previous stage, the *pupulih* stage, that focuses on moral value transmission through the stories and lores, and also skills from the eloquently recited incantation, "*capitcuit cangkolerang*." The *Pagawéan barudak* focuses on mental and physical skill training with taking role as adult with the factual tools. Both aspects are applies by the individu to the society during the *jampe* and *gawe* stages. The *jampe* form is delivered during *pupulih* stage and *gawe* form during the *pagawean barudak*.

Collective training in the Baduy society through *pagawéan barudak* is performed when the consciousness level of the children at the age of *pagawéan barudak*, which the devotion and obedience is regulated and set by all of the Inner Baduy people. The consciousness level of the design of *pagawéan barudak* differs itself with the toy and game of the western world. The games in the western world doesn't restrict the enthusiasm and freedom of the child, in order to educate on the character and personality. This design has already influenced the games and toys design in Indonesia, on the other hand, the Baduy society has restrictions and rules in their *pagawéan barudak* toys and games design, in order to educate tolerance with others. Within the collectivistic Baduy society, the games are directed to human development, therefore it lacks the fantasy effect but with strong functional effect. Whereas play activity should cover the following characteristic: fun (freedom to play as an option, not as an obligation), separated, uncertain, non-productive, governed by rules and fictious.

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Notes

Table 1. Parenting Stage of the Inner Baduy Society.

No.	Level	Type of Value Transfer Design	Age
1.	Infant (Budak Leutik)	<i>Pupulih</i>	0-3
2.	Juvenile (Budak)	<i>Pagawéan barudak</i>	3-16
3.	Marriage	<i>Jampe-jampe, Pitutur</i>	16-40
4.	Elder (Kolot)	<i>Pagawean kolot</i>	above 40

Table 2. The Process of Pagawéan barudak in each stage

Stages	Age	Process
<i>Pupulih</i>	0-3	storytelling on how catching a bird, the form and the media through lores and tales. .
<i>Pagawéan Barudak</i>	3-16	The form of the bird trap resembles the shape of the bird with bamboo, teureup wood, kasungka plant as the materials.
<i>Jampé-jampé</i>	16-40	<i>Tali teurup</i> is tied at the abdomen by the women after giving birth . <i>Tali kasungka</i> is used as oral ulcer remedy by inhaling the smoke like cigarette. <i>Tali kasungka sap</i> is used as worm medicine. <i>Tali teureup</i> is used as bag material. <i>Tali teureup</i> is used to make a net.
<i>Pagawéan Kolot</i>	40-Keatas	Preparing some specific animals and plants for the ceremonial requirements.

Table 3. The usage of *Sumbul* based on stage of age.

No.	Stage of age	Usage
1.	<i>Pupulih Stage</i> 0-3 years old	Using the <i>turub sumbul</i> as training medium to practice on seeds sowing, with various plant seeds instead of rice seeds.
2.	<i>Pagawéan Barudak Stage</i> 3-16 years old	Using <i>turub sumbul</i> to sow rice seeds at the field during planting period.
3.	<i>Jampé-Jampé Stage</i> Marriage age 16-40 years old	Using <i>sumbul</i> to carry objects or as gift carrier for the bride.
4.	<i>Pagawéan kolot stage</i> above 40 years old	<i>Sumbul</i> container is used as <i>shalawat</i> container when the spouse passed away.

Table 4. Enculturation Focus in Stage of Age

	Age	Stage	Activity	Enculturation Focus
Infant	0-3	Pupulih	Lore and tale <i>Putri Bungsu, Semah Kasep, Raden Kamasan, Sakadang, Peucang, Sidadap, Oa jeung Aul.</i>	<i>Moral Education</i> Through lore and storytelling in order to train oral and articulation. Skill training on tools.
Juvenile	3-16	Pagawean Barudak	The forms of Pagawean barudak during playing and working stage, with the peer and field activity.	Focusing on behavior and product skill training in the forms of <i>pagawean barudak</i>
Adult	16-40	Jampe-jampe dan Gawe	Manifestation from the <i>pupulih</i> and <i>pagawean barudak</i> stage with the form combination of working and followed by <i>jampe</i> .	Focus on socialization, the transmission of the knowledge from the individu to the community.
Elder	Above 40	Pagawean Kolot	Activity related to the ancestor veneration and ceremonies.	Becoming enculturation media to the generation..

Table 5.

	Modern society	Baduy Dalam society
Games characteristics	Unrestricted, Fun (freedom to play as an option, not as an obligation); Separated; Uncertain; Non-productive; Governed by rules; Fictious; Fantasy	Restricted Influenced by obligation and needs. Dependant with life Productive Non-fictious and using the factual objects. Non-Fantasy
Games Purpose	Self-development	Tolerance with society members.