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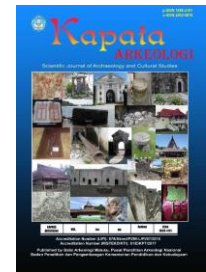


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# MORAL DILEMMA IN EDUCATION OF BADUY COMMUNITY

**Mikka Wildha Nurrochsyam**

Pusat Standar dan Kebijakan Pendidikan  
Jl. Jenderal Sudirman-Senayan, Jakarta 10270, Indonesia  
mikkawildha@yahoo.com

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### Abstract

Baduy community nowadays experiences a moral dilemma in education. The moral dilemma can be seen from two choices, where on one side, the school was rejected because it was considered to be contrary to custom or tradition. Many of the Baduy people who go to school leave the traditions and customs of Baduy. On the other hand, the schools welcomed because they become a means to achieve a prosperous life. This research aims to describe the moral dilemma in the education of the Baduy community, which is divided into Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar communities, and formulate the types of education following their culture. This is qualitative research using a case research method. The data were obtained by conducting in-depth interviews with informants, while the analysis method used was critical analysis. Results of the research indicated that Baduy people occupied the conventional moral awareness level, namely group morality, as a measure of goodness. The results also indicated that critical people occupied the post-conventional awareness level. Based on this moral awareness level, then the type of education following the culture of the Baduy Dalam community were non-formal education oriented to strengthen the customs and traditions. At the same time, the appropriate type of education for the Baduy Luar community was formal education oriented to the community's welfare.

**Keywords:** Baduy; indigenous communities; education; the moral dilemma

## INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government has tried to carry out the obligation to implement education for all citizens. However, government policies are inadequate to accommodate the peculiarities of the local culture, so it causes the resistance of community groups to the education service. For the Baduy community, the rights for education that should be accepted was rejected because it was considered contrary to the teachings of their ancestors. The Baduy community has its concept of education. The results of research conducted by Irawan (2017) conclude that education, which is in accordance with the teachings of *karuhun* or ancestors of the Baduy people, is indigenous knowledge. The learning aspects include agricultural aspects, cultural values, rules of customary law, and skills inherited from generation to generation (Irawan, 2017).

Although Baduy's custom prohibits its citizens from going to school, in reality, Baduy people lack knowledge of reading, writing, and calculating. Results of research conducted by Ruhimat (2013) conclude that the Baduy community needs actual learning. This can be seen from a small number of community members who have

alleviated illiteracy through learning activities conducted outside the framework of school education (Ruhimat, 2013). For lessons learned outside of formal education, indigenous leaders of Baduy did not impose any sanction on its citizens. Although formal education is prohibited by custom, some Baduy residents secretly send their children to formal schools such as those in SDN 02 Bojongmenteng at Ciboleger Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. During the research period, there were five students from the Baduy Luar community at this school.

There are several reasons why a community rejects or hesitates to get an education; one is a cultural reason. As a result of research conducted by Stavenhagen (2015), formal education in some cases has changed and removed some of the indigenous cultures. The objective of mainstream education, according to him, has assimilated indigenous peoples into the dominant Western or National culture, resulting in the marginalization of indigenous cultures in the education system (Stavenhagen, 2015). Benda & Castles (1969) state another reason in their research on the Samin community. They state that, in the past, the Samin people rejected the policies of the Dutch colonial government

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**Figure 1.** Children from *Baduy Luar* who attend SDN 02 Bojongmenteng, Ciboleger, Leuwidamar, Lebak, Banten (Source: Nurrochsyam, 2016)

by refusing to send their children to school as a form of opposition to the Dutch government. Education considers a colonial connotation (Benda & Castles, 1969). Although, in general, the Samin community has now received an education, in fact, some people consider formal education less critical because it is synonymous with Dutch school (Rosyid, 2015). In the research of the Samin community in Kudus, Rosyid (2015) said that there are three reasons why Samin Kudus residents refused formal education. *First*, formal education is implemented to get work aside from agriculture. *Second*, the perception of Samin Kudus residents that educated generations often become criminals, as shown on television. *Third*, certificates obtained from formal education are used as the requirement for education outside of agriculture, so many educated generations leave their villages (Rosyid, 2015).

Research on the rejection of formal education by indigenous communities related to custom and culture is interesting to study for several reasons: *first*, indigenous communities are often seen as similar to the general community in obtaining educational rights, even though indigenous communities have distinctiveness in culture, which is different from society in general. Government policies in the field of education, in some cases, are frequently meant to harmonize those communities. An indigenous community has its uniqueness and unique paradigm; *second*, this research is essential because it critically examines the rejection of education by the Baduy community.

Baduy Dalam community responded to formal education by showing a dilemma. They refused formal

education because it was considered breaking customs and traditions. Senoaji (2010), in his research, says that custom prohibits its people from going to school. They argue that if the Baduy people go to school, they will get smarter, and smart people will only destroy nature to change all the rules set by *Karuhun* (Senoaji, 2010). Even so, Baduy people who are critical and have advanced insight accept formal education. Formal education was considered necessary because contiguity of Baduy people with the outside world was more intense, resulted in various social issues, economics, politics, technology, and even the law that required Baduy people to get an education so they could live a proper life.

Based on the moral dilemma in education faced by the Baduy community above, the research problem to be answered is: how is the suitable education for the Baduy community? Meanwhile, the research objectives are: first, describing the problem of moral dilemma in the education of the Baduy community; second, formulating the type of education for the Baduy community following the situation and changing time.

### **Theoretical Foundation: Moral Dilemma**

‘Moral dilemma’ is a term used by Lawrence Kohlberg, a moral philosopher from the United States. The term moral dilemma appears in research for his dissertation on moral consideration. He asked dilemmatic questions to the research subjects of 72 boys in suburban areas in the Chicago area aged between 10, 13, and 16 years. Half of these children were middle to upper class and middle to the lower class (Rupp, 1996). Kohlberg used stories about moral dilemma problems



**Figure 2.** Information technology affects the lives of Baduy people  
(Source: Nurrochsyam, 2016)

used for one study test. There was what was known as Heinz's dilemma among these dilemma stories. Based on the research, Kohlberg (1995) made general structures and forms of moral thought that could be defined individually regardless of the specific content of individual moral action decisions. The structure contained three different levels of moral thought, and each of these levels was divided into two interrelated stages.

The first level was pre-conventional, consisting of two stages: stage 1 was an orientation to punishment and obedience. At this stage, he considered it a moral consideration for children who avoided punishment and submitted it to power without questioning it. Stage 2 was the stage of relativist-instrumental orientation. At this stage, it was stated that the right action was an act that instrumentally satisfies an individual's and sometimes others' needs.

The second level was the conventional, consisting of two stages: stage 3, the orientation of 'sweet child.' Good behavior was the behavior that was pleasant or that helped others. Stage 4 was law and order orientation. There was an orientation to authority, definite rules, and maintenance of social rules at this stage.

The third level was post-conventional, consisting of two levels, namely stage 5, which was an orientation of legalistic social contracts. Correct actions tended to be defined in terms of universal rights and measures that had been critically tested and agreed upon by the entire community. Stage 6 was the stage of universal ethical principle orientation. At this stage, moral decisions were based on conscientious decisions and on self-chosen

ethical principles, which referred to logical, comprehensive understanding, universality, and consistency (Kohlberg, 1995).

In this research, Kohlberg's (2015) moral consideration theory was applied to determine the moral considerations of figures in the Baduy indigenous community on the dilemma in education, which was the attitude to either accept or reject education. Informant's answers to the dilemma of education could be categorized as one of the levels in Kohlberg's (2015) moral awareness level. In terms of application, the placement of the moral awareness level of the Baduy community is essential because it can be a reference for fair government policies in providing educational services to the Baduy community.

Several researchers have carried out studies on educational services for the Baduy indigenous community, including Krisna (2014), with his article entitled '*Studi Kasus Layanan Pendidikan Nonformal Suku Baduy*' (Case Study of Baduy Tribal Education) *Services*. He concluded that the customary leader still rejected non-formal education. So, the effort made was to provide persuasive arguments to the customary leader about the goodness and benefits of education for the Baduy community. The other solution offered was to deliver interesting and life skill-oriented learning for the people to learn (Krisna, 2014). Different opinions were expressed by Zidny & Eilks (2018). Their research viewed the socio-cultural context of the indigenous people's views as contributing to encouraging adequate education transformation. He said a valuable lesson from the Baduy community was how the knowledge was used

alongside the socio-cultural context (beliefs, norms, culture, law, taboos). He pointed out that the Baduy farming system, which applied science's principles and concepts, could be understood as ethno-chemistry, ethno-botany, ethnomathematics, and ethno-astronomy (Zidny & Eilks, 2018).

Based on the above research results, it seems that there are two views, namely a view that the Baduy community is the object entitled to education service, although some traditional leaders reject it. In other words, education does not accommodate the culture of local people. Meanwhile, the second view sees precisely the culture and customs of the Baduy community as subjects that can provide multidisciplinary and holistic learning for science.

Saripudin (2009) research concluded that education needs to have two functions for the success of indigenous community education, namely the preservation and development functions. The preservation function was that education must strengthen the central values that originated and are rooted in the indigenous community's life. The development function was that local knowledge and local wisdom needed to include in the education curriculum for indigenous communities as a source of innovation and skills that can be developed to improve community welfare (Saripudin, 2009). In this development function, local cultural values were given meaning and developed following the context and challenges of social and cultural of today's society.

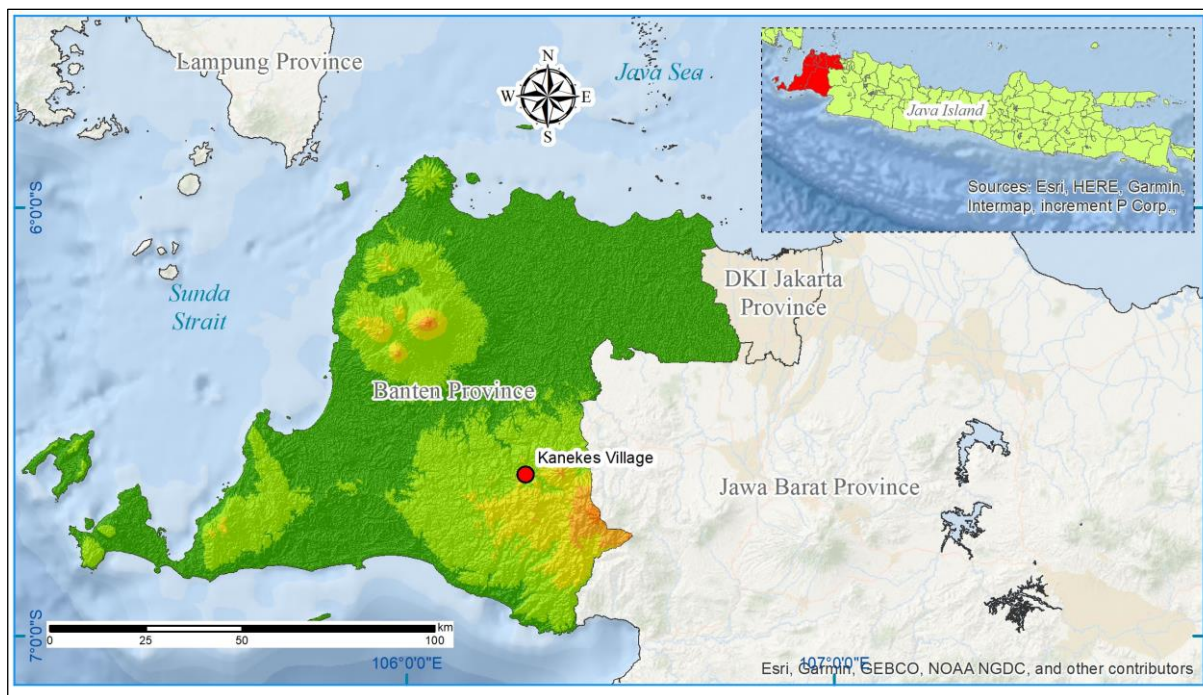
This research on the moral dilemma of education for the Baduy community is different from previous research. The difference lies in a critical analysis of culture considered stable in the Baduy community. There is no

stable culture, as a culture constantly changes and develops. Some cultures should be maintained, but there is a culture that needs to develop. This research provides moral consideration for the dilemma of education in the Baduy community due to the influence of unstoppable social and cultural change flow.

## METHODS

This research used a qualitative approach with a case study method, namely the education case in the Baduy community. Data collection was carried out by conducting interviews with the figures and customary leaders of Baduy, Baduy residents, and observers of the Baduy culture. Meanwhile, the analysis used was critical philosophical analysis. In critical analysis, ideology would be uncovered. According to Magnis-Suseno (1992), the definition of ideology is a comprehensive theory of the meaning of life and or values that produce absolute conclusions about how humans must live. He further says that the character of ideology is always contained fundamental demands that should not be questioned (Magnis-Suseno, 1992). This analysis reveals the motives behind the acceptance and rejection of education in the Baduy community.

The theoretical foundation used to explain the actions of Baduy people in education was a theory of moral consciousness development by Kohlberg (1995). This research used the three stages of Lawrence Kohlberg's (1995) moral awareness to map the moral considerations of Baduy community leaders on their attitudes towards education. In the study conducted by Kohlberg (1995), the subjects were boys aged 10-16 years old, and they were given dilemma-themed story questions. In the



**Figure 3.** The location of the research in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar, Lebak, Banten Province was shown in red pin (Source: ArcGIS Database, 2019)

research, the research subjects were Baduy community leaders and figures, while the questions asked were about dilemmatic questions on education, namely the dilemma of either rejecting school because of customary prohibitions or accepting schools because they were means to achieve a prosperous life. The locus of research was conducted in Baduy Luar and Baduy Dalam communities in the administrative area of Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Baduy Community: Between Traditional or Modern

Baduy people, often called '*urang* Baduy', is a Sundanese ethnic group. They occupied the area of communal land estimated at around 5,101.8 hectares. Most of them live in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar Subdistrict, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The total population of Baduy as of January 2010 was estimated at approximately 11,172 people, consisting of 2,948 heads of households spread across 58 villages. The Baduy community is divided into two: Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar. Baduy Dalam occupied three hamlets: Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikatawarna, while Baduy Luar occupied more than 50 hamlets. The language of communication in the daily life of the Baduy people is Sundanese with the Sundanese-Banten dialect (Suryani, 2014). Although speaking Sundanese, the Baduy people do not want to be called Sundanese because they are different in their living traditions and customs.

Regarding faith, in her research, Maharani (2009) states that Baduy people believe in the existence of Allah as '*Guriang Mangtua*,' God or the creator of the universe, and live according to the teachings of Prophet Adam (Maharani, 2009). In her research, Maharani (2009) further says that the essential content of Baduy teachings is the concept of 'without any change,' or as little change as possible, like the saying: '*Lonjor teu meunang dipotong, pondok teu meunang disambung*,' which means that what is long should not be cut, what is short should not be added (Maharani, 2009). With this teaching, Baduy people lived their lives following the norms in strict customary rules, without adding or reducing them. This view made the Baduy seem to live modestly and naturally and tend not to accept cultural changes from the outside.

Research conducted by Sucipto & Limbeng (2007) reveals that the teachings of the Baduy community are known as *pikukuh sapuluh*, namely rules and ways or guidelines for how humans must behave or what should be done so as not to violate the teachings of *karuhun* (ancestors). Among those teachings was a prohibition to destroy others (living things, including animals) against stealing, breach promises, lying, or cheating (Sucipto & Limbeng, 2007). The *karuhun* teachings in the Baduy community can be seen as purified beliefs or values or in the cultural paradigm perspective of the Durkheimian community. It is called appreciation of the sacred, which is a broad sense, can be translated into morality or religion. The sacred can be an ideology or utopia of society (Supriyono, 2005).



Figure 4. Settlement of Baduy Luar community in Baduy Tourist Village, Bojongmeteng (Source: Nurrochsyam, 2016)



**Figure 5.** The settlement of the Baduy Dalam community in Cikeusik captured from afar  
(Source: [Nurrochsyam, 2016](#))



**Figure 6.** Bamboo bridge in Gajebo Hamlet, Kanekes Village  
(Source: [Muslimah, 2018](#))

The appreciation of *karuhun* teachings resulted in the classification of the Baduy community into Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar. Baduy Dalam Community is a community group that firmly carries out the *karuhun* teachings that can be seen as the core of the Baduy community. In contrast, the outside is Baduy Luar, a group of Baduy people who lack the appreciation of the *karuhun* teachings. The division of the community into Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar illustrates the moral dilemma faced by Baduy people in addressing the values of modern culture. The Baduy Luar indigenous community is more open with the influence of modern culture but with an attitude to maintain customs and traditions. What distinguishes them is that what is morally right for the Baduy Luar community is lacking or not good for the Baduy Dalam community.

Baduy Dalam community is the guardian of the custom and tradition purity, as shown by the customary leaders. They often raided the Baduy Luar community to own goods that were considered contrary to their traditions and customs, such as radio, cellphones, and other technology equipment. The efforts of the Baduy Dalam community to live according to *karuhun* teachings cannot separate from the enormous influence of modern culture. The demands for live survival forced them to accept the influence of modern culture. For instance, the use of medical drugs and medical devices has been rejected because they were contrary to their customs and culture. However, based on their life experience, Baduy people were frequently faced with the need to save the lives of their citizens because of illness, so they needed the use of medicines and medical devices.



**Figure 7.** Baduy Dalam people wearing typical clothes of the white headband and white shirt  
(Source: Nurrochsyam, 2016)



**Figure 8.** Baduy Luar people wearing typical black clothes and batik headband  
(Source: Nurrochsyam, 2016)

As health concerns a person's life problem, the Baduy Dalam people now have accepted medical technology used in their lives. The main reason was that medical science has proven to save one's life.

### **Educational Dilemma**

Considering the moral decision of the Baduy indigenous community to accept medical technology, which once was strictly prohibited by their customs, it seemed that education was not impossible for the Baduy community. Some Baduy people were aware of the importance of education, as Baduy Luar people in Kanekes Village did. Some of them send their children to formal schools secretly and carefully to escape the traditional rules. The Government of Lebak Regency has sought to provide and provide educational services around the Kanekes Village near and bordering the indigenous Baduy community area. The provision of educational services was carried out through formal and non-formal education. The community assessed Non-formal education services as more suitable and attractive to the Baduy Luar community than formal education

because the implementation could be adjusted to opportunity (time), availability of space and staff, and the cultural context of the Baduy community. Non-formal education services that have been implemented for the Baduy community were: (1) functional literacy (KF) education programs and education and necessary skills training to develop life skills and entrepreneurship, as well as (2) equality education programs.

Although formal school education was prohibited by custom, some customary leaders and figures of both Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar communities had a moral decision to accept formal education even though the decision was not expressly disclosed, as the customary rules still prohibited it. As stated by *Jaro Daena*, a former *Jaro* (Village Chief) who lives in Kanekes Village, *"Formal education in Baduy community itself is not completely prohibited, but for now, the process of education transformation is still carried out secretly because it still conflicts with the local values and culture. On the other side, however, education is necessary to deal with changing times, and everyone has the right to get it"* (Nurrochsyam, 2016).

The statement showed a dilemma of choice in education for the Baduy people. On the one hand, it was seen as contrary to custom, but on the other hand, education was necessary. There were two reasons for accepting education: First, for social and cultural dynamics reason, where the reality of society was always dynamic, so Baduy people must comply with the changing times. The second reason was more about justice, in which rights must be accepted education entitled to everyone. Still, in this case, only a few were willing to accept the right to get education for their community.

Formal education for the Baduy community was essential to anticipate the changing times. Based on interview by author, Sarpin, a young Baduy figure, also stated it, *“The problem of education is still a dilemma because it clashes with customary law, which prohibits the community’s participation in formal education. Although on the other hand, education is highly necessary because changing times will still occur”* (Nurrochsyam, 2016).

Sarpin’s statement shows the attitude of teleological moral decisions as there were reasonable goals to be achieved. In his writing on teleology ethics, Hay (1998) says that an action can be seen as morally right or obligatory if it produces good things more than bad things (Hay, 1998). The acceptance of education for Sarpin was not deontological; what was prohibited by custom should not be violated. Sarpin wanted to strengthen the custom while deciding that getting an education was more important due to the demands of the time. Sarpin himself wanted to send his two children, Mulyono and his little brother Marno, to universities to study anthropology and law because both departments were needed for the Baduy community at this time. Anthropology expertise was needed because the Baduy people needed an orientation, so in following the changing time, Baduy people did not forget their culture, while legal expertise was needed because Baduy people were often faced with problems related to law.

A surprising opinion about the importance of education was also stated by Mursid’s father, one of the leaders of the Baduy Dalam community, *“Because formal education is essential to face the changing times. So far, formal education in the Baduy community is indeed still carried out secretly and going step by step, and people are always careful not to get caught, and there are no problems with local leaders”* (Nurrochsyam, 2016).

Looking at the statement about the formal educational needs of Baduy Dalam leaders showed that the school was not a locked place, which could not be entered or broken into in the Baduy community. Mursid’s opinion about the importance of formal education was a visionary mind that went beyond his

group’s views. Mursid knew that there was an inappropriate view in his group, but as a familiar figure, he had to remain on the side of his community. For Mursid, the group was significant. Therefore, even though he verbally stated the importance of formal education, Mursid still maintained Baduy customs and traditions. As an authoritative figure in the Baduy Dalam community, Mursid did not recommend that Baduy children get an education. According to him, let the time prove; if education proved to bring benefits, the Baduy people would accept it. Mursid’s view was utilitarianism, namely the view that good and bad things depended on the value of use or benefit. In his opinion, it became clear that government policy towards Baduy education needed to be benefit-oriented. The rejection of education by the Baduy community meant that the implementation of education had not been oriented to the value of use or benefits to the community concerned.

Things rejected by leaders and figures of Baduy Luar and Baduy Dalam communities regarding education and its problems was because education did not strengthen Baduy customs and culture. Baduy culture taught that happiness in life did not involve wealth or material, but people would be happy if they were in harmony with their neighbors, nation, and environment. The value of use or benefits for Baduy people here meant following customs and traditions. Likewise, for education, if wished to be accepted by the Baduy community, it was necessary to follow the customs and traditions. According to the Baduy customs, education taught about problems that were undoubtedly contrary to Baduy culture. Because education was oriented towards the achievement of material, as said by Jaro Daena, *“one of the cases that usually occur when Baduy people have already get formal education is that they abandon the traditional values of Baduy little by little and tend to be oriented towards the world. This is a consideration why formal education cannot fully enter the Baduy community”* (Nurrochsyam, 2016).

Educated people were considered to forget customs because education produced smart people. The smart category in Baduy communities is often opposed to the moral category. It is because smart people do not always have a high moral standard. With intelligence, people made social life not harmonious because a person might be a know-all. The smart category here should be related to the issues of custom and tradition, so their intelligence would be used to benefit Baduy culture. Baduy culture itself contained science inherent in culture and local wisdom. It was similar to the results of a research conducted by Arisetyawan, Suryadi, Herman, & Rahmat (2014) who says that even though there are no Baduy people who go to formal schools as the custom prohibits them, the ways of thinking and life values of Baduy people are exciting to learn, as in anti-rodent building



technology, which based on mathematics and physical theory that can be justified logically (Arisetyawan et al., 2014).

The main concern of the Baduy leaders was that if the children in Baduy who had formal education would convert their belief. Sarpin said, *“The concern of Baduy community or traditional leaders is that the entry of Islam people will receive education, and this is the fact. After being educated, the Baduy people join the organization and later become preachers. So, in this case, the concern of the Baduy community increases, so there is no education for the Baduy community because they assume that there is no education that fights for its community. Every educated person will convert their belief”* (Nurrochsyam, 2016).

For the Baduy community, formal education experience was identical to the conversion of religion, so educated people will convert from the belief of the Baduy community, so one of the reasons to suppress Baduy people not to go out and convert to another belief was by not allowing children in Baduy to get to formal school. One example was Sarpin’s sibling, who took a moral decision to leave the traditional land of Baduy because of the awareness to convert after getting a formal education. Sarpin’s sibling thought that the group was not entirely right, but it could be less accurate. In the view of Sarpin’s sibling, he saw a truth beyond the group that was considered more suitable. Therefore, he chose the truth outside the group with the risk of being discharged from the group. Baduy people were known as a society that obeyed the government rules. However, the existence of educational services from the government made traditional leaders worry about the members of their community because after getting a formal education, their people ended with the conversion.

Based on the educational dilemma, as illustrated above, when viewed from the perspective of the development of Kohlberg’s (1995) moral consciousness (1927—1987), it could be seen that the Baduy community could place in the conventional moral stage of group-oriented morality. What is good at this stage is the attitude directed at fulfilling the family, group, or nation’s expectations, which is considered a valuable thing, no matter what the consequences (Duska & Whelan, 1982). The current stage was divided into two, namely: stage 3, which was called orientation of ‘sweet children.’ At this stage, good behavior was the behavior that was pleasant or helping others and getting their approval; and stage 4 was called law and order orientation. Moral decisions at this stage were based on authority, definite rules, and the maintenance of social rules. Good behavior was an attempt to fulfill the obligation, show respect for authority, and maintain the social order that already existed for the order itself (Duska & Whelan, 1982).

The conventional moral awareness stage or stage 4 was the law and order orientation in the Baduy community, shown by Jaro Daena and Mursid, who wanted education for the Baduy people. However, they still considered the Baduy customs and culture more. Jaro Daena and Abah Mursid considered their groups very important, so what was considered acceptable or whatever the group wishes must be maintained. Similarly, Sarpin viewed education as very important, so he had prepared his two sons to go to college. Sarpin had a critical view of the righteousness of his group, but he stayed in the value and customs corridors of the Baduy community. Hence, he preferred to live in the area of Baduy traditional land. Some Baduy people who were critical to their groups made moral decisions to leave their groups, such as Sarpin’s sibling, who thought that education was necessary; and considered converting to another religion. The decision to convert was not without a consequence, which was being discharged from the group. Sarpin’s sibling was no longer bounded by group righteousness. Still, the moral decision to get out of the group was taken under the consideration of critical thinking of the group’s perspective.

Based on the development stage of Kohlberg’s (2015) moral consciousness, the moral decision of Sarpin’s sibling and some of the critical Baduy people by making autonomous decisions based on their moral autonomy could be placed in the post-conventional stage of consciousness, namely the principled or autonomous stage. At this stage, there is an apparent effort to interpret moral values and moral principles with a validity that can be applied regardless of the group’s authority or individual concerned (Kohlberg, 1995). At this stage, there are two levels, namely, stage 5, which is called legalistic social-contract orientation, and stage 6, which is called universal ethical principle orientation. In stage 5, it can be stated that the right actions tend to be understood from the general rights of individuals and standards that have been critically reviewed and approved by the entire community. Meanwhile, in stage 6, it is stated that the truth was interpreted by the decision of conscience, following the ethical principles chosen by themselves based on logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency (Duska & Whelan, 1982). From the structure of moral awareness development, it seemed that the decision of Sarpin’s sibling occupied position 5, namely moral decision to leave his group based on general individual rights and standards that had been critically reviewed and approved by the whole community in the sense that formal education was essential for the benefit of society.

The decision of Sarpin’s sibling was principally different from the Baduy people’s decision who left the Baduy community due to the material orientation and freedom of the outside world. Baduy community called

Baduy people who lived outside the traditional land of Baduy as Baduy Dangka. They were initially residents of Baduy Luar, but they left the Baduy area for some reason. According to a research conducted by Hakiki (2015), there are two reasons this is happening, namely: first, because of their own desire to leave Baduy Luar (*panamping*) to become a community who lived more freely; second, because there is expulsion from *panamping* for violating customs.

### Education for Baduy Community

Baduy people have a mechanism to deal with problems undermining the cultural values of their community. The division to categorize people into Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar was a sociological mechanism created to maintain the purity of tradition. Supriyono (2005) discussed that the sacred located in the Baduy Dalam, which was the core of the Baduy culture, in which the Baduy value and culture are maintained, outside the circle is the Baduy Luar where the community begins not to prioritize the maintenance of Baduy values and culture. Both could be considered as a unit that kept the Baduy community alive.

The Baduy Dalam community nowadays, as the core of Baduy culture itself, had experienced the shock of colonization of capitalism's products towards their lives due to technological developments and economic problems. The influence of technology, for instance, could be seen from the use of a cellphone. When doing hospitality outside Baduy, some Baduy Dalam people established communication via cellular phones. The influence of technology could also be seen from the influence of television in their lives, such as in the Cikeusik area. Baduy Dalam people frequently watched television in the village next door. They were also accustomed to using medical drugs for treatment, which were once prohibited by their customs. They also consumed a lot of factory-processed food, such as instant noodles, snacks, coca-cola, and other factory-processed foods and drinks.

Based on its character as the core of culture and custom, the Baduy Dalam community was a buffer zone for the purity of Baduy culture and tradition. In this position, what is important was not formal education but non-formal education, namely education oriented to strengthen the custom and view of the life of the Baduy community. The statement regarding the educational needs in accordance with the Baduy Dalam community was like what Mursid said, "*If you want to include formal education in the Baduy community, you should not be in a hurry but adjust it to the needs and not conflict with the prevailing customary values*" (Nurrochsyam, 2016). Furthermore, Mursid said that the educational needs for the Baduy Dalam itself should be informal, namely those related to customary law and tradition. One of the Baduy

Dalam community's attitudes in dealing with the changes where informal education turned into formal education was only dealing with time and patience because formal education was considered not more than a compliment and balance. Therefore, informal education itself was very much needed; in other words, formal education had not been entirely needed by the customs of the Baduy Dalam community.

On the contrary, the Baduy Luar community developed cultures that were relatively different from the Baduy Dalam community, even though it remained the same in terms of teachings, namely adhering to the *karuhun* teachings. The Baduy Luar community was used to using technology such as smartphones and the internet. They traded online to sell products such as fabrics and manufactured goods up to foreign countries. The challenges and problems faced were also increasingly complex because they came in direct contact with the life of the modern world. Thus, in this position, the need for education would be very high. The type of education needed for the Baduy Luar community was formal education that met the needs and demands in the life of the modern world.

### CONCLUSION

The discussion in this research indicates that the moral decision of the Baduy Dalam community in educational dilemma occupied a conventional moral awareness level, namely the morality orientation of placing importance on the group (level 3). Some cases indicated that Baduy people took moral decisions to send their children to formal school because they thought that formal education was essential to anticipate the current development and achieve a better life. Nevertheless, they remained loyal by not wanting to leave the group (level 4). Furthermore, some critical people occupied the post-conventional awareness level by deciding to leave the group because they assumed that their group could not fulfill their rights as individuals regarding formal education and belief.

Education is required to be placed adequately based on the paradigm structure of the Baduy community. Based on the moral dilemma in the education of the Baduy community, it could also be concluded that education for the Baduy community needed to be separated from the type of education between Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar communities. The three and four conventional moral awareness levels of the Baduy people indicate that the Baduy community is a community that places importance on their groups. Therefore, suitable education for the Baduy Dalam community, which is the core of the Baduy community, is non-formal education, namely education directed at strengthening the Baduy customs and traditions. Whereas, the Baduy Luar community can get formal

education focused on anticipating the current development and achieving better welfare in life.

At the end of this conclusion, it recommends that the now Baduy people be aware of the crisis plaguing their lives. Awareness of crises is essential in seeking a new orientation to organize the life of Baduy customs and traditions to be adapted to the current development. One way to overcome the crisis is by holding a 'discourse,' which means a discussion held by the customary leaders of both Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar communities regarding the issue of education for Baduy people. Considering the characteristics of the paradigm between Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar communities, it is crucial to hold customary discussion by the leaders to formulate what types of education that is appropriate for the Baduy community. Furthermore, in this case, the government must be responsive to the discussion results by supporting and facilitating the community with whatever is needed and desired by the Baduy community according to their choice.

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