

# Nurturing the Legacy of Children's Play for Readiness to Life: The Living Heritage of *Pagawéan Barudak Baduy*, in Indonesia

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## Abstract

Although the Baduy Dalam community in Indonesia forbids the use of anything that is considered impractical, such as toys or games, the children participate in pagawéan barudak or children's activities. This study identifies the patterns and values of such "play" activities for children and adults in this community.

It employs an in-depth examination involving data collection using descriptive methods; data gathering through observation, interviews, cultural investigations, visual ethnography, and mandala studies. It employed interpretation of the data using ethnographic methods for analysis.

Findings reveal that the children have two environments: in the village with limited and structured activities and in the fields where they can do pagawéan barudak, which include 30 types of activities. Activities for boys were observed to be productive "work" while those for girls were ones in which they imitated their mother's chores. The objective of pagawéan barudak is to prepare children to help their parents, and it shapes tolerance toward community members through activities emphasizing children's education by "working" through play activities. This process is aimed at achieving the goals of fulfilling life needs, self-empowerment, interacting with others, observing and understanding the environment, adherence, and service.

**Keywords:** Baduy, Children, Life Philosophy, Living Heritage, Play (*pagawéan*), Traditional Toys.

## Introduction

This study examines toys and games that serve as a mode of teaching children. One of these concepts is found in the Baduy Dalam: a part of the Sundanese ethnic tribe living in Java, Indonesia. This community imparts local wisdom and indigenous knowledge on interactions with the environment through games, toys and play.

In this community, they are called *ulin* or "play." This activity is done when a person does not have any chores or while traveling. It is termed as *pagawéan barudak* or "children's work." The word *pagawéan* means "work," but it does not literally mean a job. This is because playful activities in the community are considered impractical and are, therefore, prohibited. The way of infusing function into play activities is a compromise, it is expected to discover the patterns of cultural value transmission in the Baduy Dalam (inner) community. According to

Scudder (1985), children initially imitate the movements, sounds, and attitudes of adults mechanically with little thought or understanding. As they grow older and develop cognitively, they begin to understand the purpose and meaning of their imitative behavior. Eventually, this understanding transforms into a comprehensive understanding of the rules and values required. The final stage of this process is when children and young adults internalize this understanding and use it to guide their own behavior, not just imitating the actions of others. Therefore, play helps children "become instruments, social relations, and conveyors of the value system and meaning of their community." According to Scudder (1985), enculturation is a process that transforms children's behavior from instinctive reactions into actions and goals guided by a deepening understanding of the implicit values of their culture.

Our aim is to study the patterns of enculturation in play through the function-based approach in traditional communities. In general, functionalists view play as imitation or preparatory activity; thus, functionality is an enculturation mechanism (Wilbert, 1976). The functional meaning of play behavior and games as a means of transmitting skills relevant to the search for a place within the system serves as a tool for integrating individuals into society, forming personality traits, and transmitting moral norms and knowledge of their community's history. The formation of personality traits can be considered part of the socialization process because it brings cultural influences to individuals. It describes the transmission method of cultural values in the community by mapping the forms and patterns of the activities, their objectives, and dissemination of the cultural values. Its objectives are:

1. To identify the patterns and values of *pagawéan barudak* for children and adults in the Baduy Dalam area
2. To Understand the patterns of adult preparation in the play activities of Baduy Dalam children during their childhood.
3. To formulate the objectives of the transmission patterns provided by the adult community through play activities in Baduy Dalam.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Games are one of the main elements in life, and their origin lies in the essential components of culture. Huizinga et al. (1990) say that human beings are *Homo Ludens*, that is, creatures who like to play or create games, and points out that playing games are the fundamental human function for the birth of a culture.

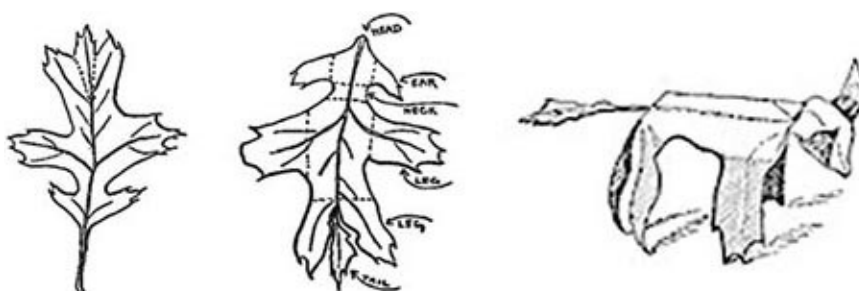
Play activities are an opportunity for children to make adjustments to their environment. Playing by running or chasing each other can be viewed as a means of training to survive and prepare for future life. Running stimulates the body, such as the muscular, nervous, respiratory, circulatory, and digestive systems. Montessori (1912) theory articulates the importance of emphasizing the stimulation of all the senses possessed by children by focusing on environmental adaptation. This is for the development of such skills with the aim of discovering the child's natural character and providing freedom. Further, Stanley Hall (in Ahmadi, 1977) follow Gomme's theoretical work which argues that children's folklore is a repository of good stimulus for children's physique. However, it also has a role in developing other fundamental skills, such as interacting with others and the surrounding environment (Yoshida et al., 2013; Taniguchi et al., 2014; Lidström et al., 2022). Astuti et al. (2019) show that play activities involving group activities can create a positive value for children's socio-emotional growth. The theory of arousal modulation suggests that play behavior maintains the curiosity and desire for exploration in children that prepares them to adapt to adult life (Stagnitti, 2004; Ballinger & Wilke, 2015; Gvozdikova & Amandykova, 2023; Joyce et al., (2023).

Moreover, children's toys and games are considered an element of culture that gives it certain characteristics. Therefore, traditional games are regarded as cultural assets and capital for a society to maintain its existence and identity (Dharmamulya et al., 2004). Such games are the process of adopting values so that they are accepted, understood, believed to be true, and then used as behavior guides or actions by the members of a community (Ahimsa-Putra, 2008). Thus, play has a fundamental role, and one such example is reflected in the role of board games

in South Africa as they teach children arithmetic and life skills, namely strategy (Maṭhoho et al., 2022).

Traditional games are regulated by rules inherited from the previous generations of children (Danandjaya, 1987). Children play with anything they can find, such as leaves and stones. Toys and games have been excavated from the sites of ancient civilizations and have been mentioned in past literature. One of them is a toy from the Indus valley civilization (3000–1500 BC) in the form of a cart, whistle, bird, and monkey toy. Initially, toys were made from the materials found in nature, such as stones, sticks, and clay. Children in Egypt played with dolls that had wigs and movable limbs made of stone, pottery, and wood (Kandert, 1992). Regardless of the situation, children find the time and materials to play (Vandermaas-Peeler, 2002).

Human beings use various unique plants to create different toys (Beard & Beard, 1918). Flowers, leaves, and stems are used to make objects with shapes resembling people or animals (Figure 1).



**Fig. 1:** Leaves are used to make animal-shaped toys  
Source: Beard & Beard, 1918

Other examples are flowers made into hats, stems made into necklaces with strings, fruit cut lengthwise into boats, and dolls made of corncobs with corn wrappings as clothes (Figure 2).



**Fig. 2:** Flowers are shaped into toy hats  
Source: Beard & Beard, 1918

In the general society, play requires collecting scores to identify the winner. However, ethnic games prepare children for their adult life by emphasizing the concept of sharing rather than competition (Diamond, 2013). The aforementioned studies provide an overview of how toys and games characterize a culture. However, they did not review the forms, designs, values, and meanings contained in toys and games for indigenous people. Such games have the potential to be used in various fields today, especially education.

## Review of Literature

According to Mooney (2013), functionalism is a method of studying the life and culture of a society by examining the functions or roles performed by anything practiced in the society

and the ways in which these functions help ensure the cultural continuity of the society. This statement is supported by researchers of games in Indonesia. Children's toys and games are also considered as one of the cultural elements that give a specific characteristic or color to the cultural functions. Therefore, traditional games are considered cultural assets, contributing to a society's ability to maintain its existence and identity (Dharmamulya et al., 2004). Currently, games have a significant influence on children's play, indicating a trend of moving children away from personal friendship relationships to impersonal ones, causing a shift in children's worldview from communalistic to individualistic.

Several research results from different countries that attempt to study traditional games refer to indigenous research in their respective countries and try to explore and identify them. For instance, Krasilnikov (2003) has conducted research on traditional games in the Siberian population. Burnett & Hollander (2004) has explored traditional games in South Africa, and Ofele (2000) has conducted research on traditional games. They have linked them to learning in Argentina. Bishop & Curtis (2001) have defined traditional games as games passed down from one generation to the next, containing "good," "positive," "valuable," and "desirable" values. There is a consensus that traditional games refer to activities such as hopscotch, marbles, jump rope, rubber band games, and so on. However, some games such as practical jokes, initiation rituals, nickname-giving, and others are also considered traditional games as long as they have a long and documented history. Furthermore, Bishop & Curtis (2001) has classified playing traditions into three groups: games laden with verbal content, games laden with imaginative content, and games laden with physical content.

Diamond (2013) has studied toys and games in traditional societies, finding that generalizations about children by J. Piaget, Erik Erikson, S. Freud, pediatricians, and child psychologists are strongly based on the study of WEIRD societies (Western, Educated, Industrial, Rich, Democratic), and do not adequately represent the rest of the society. According to Bird-David (2013), who wrote about the Nayaka South Indian tribal society, at a time when modern children start school at the age of 6, Nayaka children independently seek games, visit and stay with other families, free from parental supervision, almost not requiring adults, and formal teaching is barely visible. There are no formal instructions and memorization here, no classes, no exams, no school with knowledge packages; everything is absorbed from its context, conveyed from one person to another. Knowledge is inseparable from social life. As another example, the Mbuti Pygmies tribe in Africa, according to Colin Turnbull (1965), children imitate their parents with small bows and arrows, small trap nets, mini baskets, and build miniature houses, catch frogs, and invite cooperative and willing elders to act as antelopes. For children, life is a long play, interspersed with play, and not a game anymore, it remains something real, for them to become adults. Hunting then becomes real hunting, climbing trees now a real effort to find honey, or in avoiding the pursuit of raging forest buffalo. This happens gradually and is learned, every change that occurs, until they become real hunters, which makes them proud, their lives remain full of laughter and joy (Diamond & Bishop, 2015). Ritualistic games are also practiced in wedding ceremonies. Danièle Jema-Gouzon (1985) writes about the ancient peasant society, and says that from time to time, they had a circular and global conception of profit rather than linear and open, internalized and externalized rather than internalized, ancestors defined the past, but also made the present and secured the future. Kabyle children grow to learn to interpret seasonal signals based on practical play. Games as a form of entertainment are part of traditional knowledge aimed at satisfying the specific needs of traditional societies through socialization agents such as learning from elders, and peer friends, especially when they participate in communal activities such as listening to folk tales and participating in music and dance activities in moonlight nights.

Gander and Gardiner (1993) also emphasize that the social awareness and behavior of children develop through games. In this direction, it is clear that games are not just a means of entertainment but are used as a tool to transfer cultural factors and values to the next generation. In short, it can be said that playing is an important phenomenon that plays a primary role in shaping culture and civilization (Hazar et al., 2017). Traditional games of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa tribe in Pakistan show that games, as a socialization function, are significant in

connecting everyone within their indigenous community (Bashir et al., 2018). Exploratory research in the indigenous community of the Bajo tribe found that traditional games for Bajo children play a crucial role in mental and physical health. Parents and teachers share the same opinion; they consider it necessary for the healthy development of children (Siregar et al., 2019). Indigenous games and sports were an integral part of the broader Australian movement cultures. A more in-depth examination of storytelling through yarning is essential, allowing Indigenous voices to actively contribute to the narratives of their games and sports. When coupled with documentary sources, this approach has the potential to convey a compelling narrative (Sebastian et al., 2024). All of these activities are ways to provide authentic education to children to shape and form the formative stages of their lives.

## Research Methods

### Malakar and Cultural Interpretations

The research employs a literature survey examining publications on the concept of culture and play in Sunda and Baduy Dalam. It also conducts observations and interviews, note-making, documenting, and recording. A descriptive research method is utilized to obtain comprehensive and integrated data on culture.

Observations were carried out for three years to understand the cultural rules. The Baduy Dalam (inner) community restricts people outside the community to stay there longer than one night whereas the Baduy Luar (outer) community allows outsiders to stay there indefinitely.

This study employed controlled observation techniques to assess the children's ability to perform *pagawéan barudak* as well as adherence to the traditions. In-depth interviews and documentations were carried out using plot or sketch techniques. The Malakar technique helped to compare and examine the information more precisely (Rohidi, 2011). Data was strengthened through transcribed interviews and field notes on the controlled observations of the children.

Extensive interviews and mapping of symbolic meanings were conducted to identify the relationship between the play activities in the lives of the children and the traditions within the community. Interviews were open-ended, and the informants had the freedom to answer questions, express their views freely, and ask questions. Purposive sampling was employed by ensuring that the selected informants were representative of their community based on the researchers' considerations and assessments. It was followed by the snowball sampling technique (Biklen & Bogdan, 1986).

Visual ethnographic and investigative cultural methods were used to obtain effective and efficient results in examining the lifestyles and their relationship to the concepts of toys and play in the community. First, their daily life was meticulously recorded through participant observation and life history technique. Second, observations were strengthened by in-depth interviews with each individual. Steps taken were aimed at studying the meaning or significance of the behavior, language, and interaction in groups and cultural situations in the community. Ultimately, comprehension of cultural elements involved observing and interpreting behaviors during interactions with fellow human beings to thoroughly grasp the essence of cultural reality.

Ethnographic methods were utilized, employing a technique that generated a unique and targeted ethnographic description derived from ethnographic interviews (Spradley et al., 2007). The research process evolved sequentially, guided by five principles: employing a single technique, identifying tasks, proceeding step by step, conducting original research, and addressing problem-solving.

The first step in the observation focused on the internal organization of the community. We explored the social systems to perceive the *pikukuh* (guide of life) values of the people. This refers to culture as a system of knowledge acquired by humans through learning processes, which they use to interpret their surroundings and develop behavioral strategies in dealing with the world around them (Spradley et al., 2007). Application of the methods achieved two important objectives, namely the embodiment of the development and empowerment of culture as a means of life view and the creation of a knowledge tool. Children's knowledge of *pagawéan barudak* was the medium for this study.

## Findings

### pagawéan barudak forms

According to the observations, the community forbids anything playful; they believe that performing activities that are futile and playful is worthless. Therefore, there are no toys or games in their culture. It only includes activities that children perform before they reach adulthood. The *pikukuh* and *papatah* (words of wisdom) prohibit worldly pleasures. The word *ulin* (playing) in Sundanese is often used to refer to “play” activities. The Baduy Dalam people use it to refer to activities that are done when they are not performing their obligations, such as waiting for the harvest season and doing chores in the field. They define *ulin* as visiting relatives or friends by foot (Arlianti et al., 2023).

### Pagawéan (activity) and Ulin (play)

The Baduy Luar (outer Baduy) community refers to Baduy Dalam (inner Baduy) in Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikartawana as Kampung Girang. Kampung Girang is led by a *Puun* (traditional/customary leader) and his deputy, a *Jaro*. In an interview with *Jaro* Sami, he mentioned that playing activities are unknown in the area, “The so-called children’s games in the city, which involve playing and having fun, do not exist in our community and are prohibited by custom. We don’t have games because it is our duty to not play.”

*Ulin* is not considered as a duty of the Baduy people because they avoid worldly pleasures. Toys and games are fairly close to being considered playful and as a means of having fun. “The Baduy way of life always follows rules and prohibitions, and due to great fear, they avoid everything that can arouse joy and indulgence in life (Jacobs and Meijer, 1891).”

In the children’s activities, happily running around in the morning is considered as play. Children in the Cibeo community wake up before their parents in the morning. Sarnah and Sarti, aged 12 and 10, respectively, woke up and immediately started a fire in the kitchen. After cooking, they went to the spring that is about 500 m from the *saung huma* (house in the dry rice fields) to fetch water. In the morning, almost all the children are silent and still. They do not have any enthusiasm or passion when they are in their homes as if waiting to rush to get to the *saung huma*. In the morning, the family went to the fields, and the children ran there, followed by their parents.



Fig. 3: Illustration of the situation at Kampung Tangtu Cibeo Baduy Dalam  
Source: Author, 2013



Fig. 4: Illustration of the situation at Kampung Tangtu Cikartawana  
Source: Author, 2013

The children's attitudes were different than when they were at home; they looked happier and laughed more when they were at the *saung huma*. Rajak, aged three, and Saan, aged one, were given machetes by their parent, Jali, to train them to hold it. Saan used it to dig the soil that is used to make *gugulaan* (imitation of making brown sugar), which is printing the shape of brown sugar with a bamboo mold. Meanwhile, Rajak used his machete to cut tree branches, imitating his parents. Toys and games in general terms in the Baduy community are known as *pagawéan barudak*, interpreted as activities carried out by a child, but they are not pointless. They carry out *pagawéan* with the aim of helping their parents and meeting their own needs.



**Fig. 5:** Rajak, aged four, with his machete  
Source: Author, 2013

## Two Personal Environments

The community has two personal environments: the village or area where they live and the *saung huma*. The first is a means of interacting with the entire community. In addition, preparations for ceremonies are carried out here. The *saung huma* is the main personal space that offers freedom or autonomy for children and adults.

The adults work and cultivate the fields to meet their needs. Children are given freedom yet are bound by certain rules, such as being forbidden to speak loudly in the village. However, in the fields they were more enthusiastic and active. In the village, they generally stayed silent or visited their friends and relatives. Some older children would sew clothes and help their parents in cooking. Children who were about to enter the *pagawéan barudak* period were more likely to be quiet and played on the front porch of their house. *Pagawéan barudak* is mostly done in the fields or in the *saung huma*. The field is the centre of all activities.



**Fig. 6:** The quiet village in contrast to the situation in the fields  
Source: Author, 2013

## The Forms of *Pagawéan*

In the absence of the term “play” and the prohibition of playing activities in Baduy, *Jaro Sami* from Cibeo referred to the children’s activities in the fields, houses, and forests as *pagawéan barudak*. The word *pagawéan* refers to the outcomes of work or creation and not work itself. Table 1 describes the several forms of *pagawéan barudak* activities.

**Table 1:** The forms of *pagawéan barudak* in Baduy Dalam  
Source: Author

No.	Form of <i>Pagawéan Barudak</i>	Description
1	<i>Lulumpatan</i>	When the children go to the <i>huma</i> or fields by running or chasing each other.
2	<i>Imah-imahan</i>	Creating a place in the fields that resembles a room with natural materials; many call it making <i>saung-saungan</i> (huts).
3	<i>Pipikulan pendul peuteuy</i>	<i>Pipikulan peuteuy</i> is carrying the <i>peuteuy</i> fruit when harvesting it, usually done by racing to transport the fruit to the village or to the <i>saung huma</i> from the fields.
4	<i>Mamasakan</i>	A form of imitation of cooking.
5	<i>Tatawuan</i>	<i>Tawu</i> (an activity of moving things by scooping them with hands) is carried out by children in the river around the village in the Baduy Dalam area.
6	<i>Lumpat peureum</i>	<i>Lumpat peureum</i> , or running with the eyes closed, is an activity that children perform when going to or coming home from the <i>huma</i> .
7	<i>Jalan nukang</i>	<i>Jalan nukang</i> (walking backwards) is similar to <i>lumpat peureum</i> and is done when going to the <i>huma</i> and vice versa.
8	<i>Naheun leugeut</i>	Making a trap by putting a type of sticky tree sap on to a stick of wood or on the branch of a tree. When birds or furry animals pass by, they will stick to these objects and cannot escape.
9	<i>Jerat</i>	Making a trap using a small tree that has flexibility by bending it above the ground and connecting it to a piece of rope. It traps the animals that walk on the rope by binding them when the flexible material returns to its original shape.
10	<i>Pitondok</i>	Making a trap made of bamboo, which traps animals on/under the ground, using a ballast to squeeze the animals to entangle them.
11	<i>Kancung</i>	Trapping animals, such as birds, by using tree branches resembling bird shapes that are hung on a twig or tree branch. When a bird lands there, its leg or body will get stuck, and the bird can be caught easily.
12	<i>Kemot</i>	A form of hunting by using a woven rope resembling a basket bag that can trap birds so that when the bird enters the basket, the rope gets pulled, and it will act as a basket and trap the bird.
13	<i>Turub sumbul</i>	A game using the cover of a <i>sumbul</i> (a small container for spreading seeds) usually played by the girls.
14	<i>Paparakan</i>	Making a dam on one part of the river so that the flow is lesser. The area that does not have a lot of flow will recede, and it becomes easier to catch fish.
15	<i>Karinding</i>	A musical instrument made of a bamboo piece that uses the mouth as a resonance medium.
16	<i>Kakacapian</i>	A musical instrument, which produces a sound that resembles the <i>kacapi</i> , a wire string musical instrument in Sundanese culture. Its shape differs from that of the <i>kacapi</i> because of the fewer number of strings.
17	<i>Calintu</i>	Some parts of the bamboo stick placed in the field have holes so that when the wind blows, it will make a sound. This activity is not carried out by children but by adults as it is done to entertain the rice goddess Sanghyang Asri.



18	<i>Pikepuk or kala batok</i>	A game that uses bamboo blades that produce sound. The construction resembles a trap shape. When the rope is stepped on, it will produce a sound that can startle both people and animals.
19	<i>Tarawelet or tarawelot</i> with five holes	A type of instrument with several holes that produces a sound similar to a flute.
20	<i>Kumbang</i> with three holes	An instrument that produces a sound resembling a flute, depending on its function and purpose.
21	<i>Lapun</i>	A type of tool for catching animals in the water used by the children when looking for fish in the river.
22	<i>Bubu</i>	A fishing tool with a trap system and an elongated shape that relies on river currents when fish are carried by the current.
23	<i>Budeung</i>	A fishing tool with a bottle-like shape to catch fish in slow currents.
24	<i>Elet</i>	A musical instrument that resembles a small flute and produces a sound that is not extremely loud.
25	<i>Titinunan or nininunan</i>	Girls imitate weaving activities done by adults using a simple but functional loom.
26	<i>Gugulaan</i>	Imitation of the process of making sugar by using soil with tools, such as coconut shells or bamboo, mostly performed by Baduy Dalam girls.
27	<i>Geseng-geseng</i>	A game in which blades of <i>hoe</i> (forest rattan) are rubbed together so that it produces fire, usually played by children.
28	<i>Dwer-dwer</i>	A game of making sounds similar to a flying grasshopper by spinning coconut leaves.
29	<i>Nunutuan</i>	Children imitate the process of pounding rice with a mortar and pestle by using soil and a hole in the ground.
30	<i>Ngaheurap</i>	A way to catch fish using a net made of strings from forest plants.

### **Pagawéan in The Fields**

The Baduy people's need for food is met by the crops of the *huma* (dry fields). Wet rice fields are a taboo as their custom does not allow cultivating the land using a wet rice field system. They are prohibited from diverting water from its original path, blocking or damming up (the entire river flow), and turning the land (hoeing the soil) that is usually found in wet rice farming systems. Hoeing, plowing, intensive farming techniques, and growing hard plants are also not allowed. Thus, they do not make use of the tools that are commonly used in wet rice farming. The only agricultural tools used in the *huma* (dry rice field, meaning not using irrigation) system are *arit* (sickle), *kujang* (a type of knife), *koréd* (a small tool similar to a hoe for clearing the grass that grows along with *huma* rice), and *aseuk* (a tool to make holes in the ground for the rice seeds to be planted). Apart from the customs and beliefs that forbid wet rice fields, the land is hilly and water is located far downhill, thus making it difficult to carry out cultivation with a wet rice field system. The *huma* system does not rely on seasons. *Ngahuma* (*huma* farming) is only carried out once a year, and *huma* fields are often planted three times in a row, which are then reforested for a period of 3–7 years and sometimes up to 12 years. The high population growth brings various problems, including those related to aspects of land management, land and water conservation, as well as customary and religious beliefs they adhere to. This can be seen in the fact that most Baduy residents allocate their agricultural land for a period of 4 years, and many also allocate it for less than 7 or 9 years, as regulated by their customs and beliefs. This also indicates the tendency of a significant number of Baduy residents in Kanekes Village to violate the customs and beliefs they uphold (Purnomohadi, 1985).

Mixing tools are used to mix medicines, treat diseases in both people and plants, or repel pests and eliminate disturbances of spirits that disrupt rice plants. They consist of round or oval stone tools, which serve to grind the ingredients, similar to a mortar and pestle. In addition, there are mixing tools made of metal, bamboo, bone, and horn to mix or refine betel nuts before chewing them. The habits of their ancestors in treating various human diseases in Baduy or controlling pests in rice fields are consistently preserved and passed down to the next

generation, according to Johan Iskandar (1992).

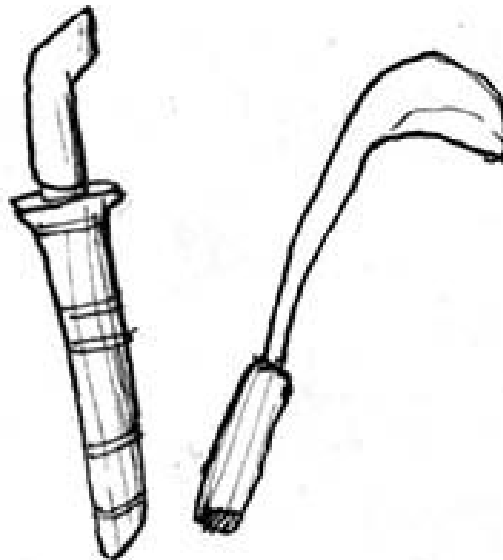
Some tools for catching fish, such as *kail* (hook), *bubu* (fish trap), *heurap* or *kecrik* (net), and *ayakan gede* or *sair* (tools for sifting fish) are include in *pagawéan barudak*. Fish are caught in the river because swimming or keeping fish is considered as a taboo.



**Fig. 7:** *Carangka* and *Kekeb*  
Source: Author, 2013

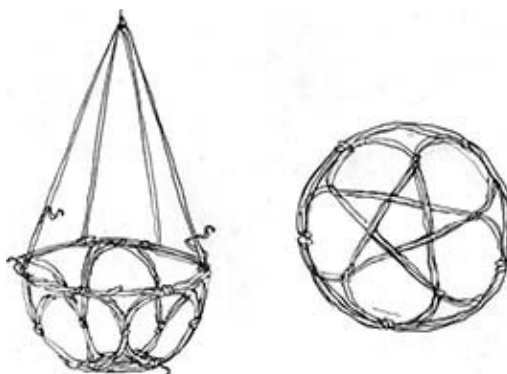
Tools for animal livestock are almost non-existent. Many people keep only chickens as other animals are taboo. There are no cages specifically designed for chickens. A nest is made for hens that are laying eggs and are placed behind or on the edge of the house, attached to its wall.

Craft tools include machetes, curved carving knives, tools for making holes or levelling wood, and looms made of wood and bamboo. In addition, there are blacksmith craft tools, including a tool to blow fire when heating iron, hammers, and bases made of iron.



**Fig. 8:** *Parang kujang* used in the fields  
Source: Author, 2013

Barrels are used as to store water while the *kele*, a tool made of bamboo segments with a hole at the top edge, is used to draw water and store water for washing feet, usually placed on top of the the steps of the house. A tool known as *lodong* (long and large piece of bamboo) for extracting sap water is used for apping sap water. Its shape is almost similar to that of the *kele*, only longer and made of large bamboo. To carry goods or *huma* products, *rancatan*, that is, a carrying device, which consists of a pole made of bamboo split and carved in such a way that it has flexibility and includes a weaved rope to hold the goods, is used.



**Fig. 9:** The shape of *salang*  
Source: Author, 2013

*Huma* is processed using simple, traditional methods and tools. Processing the soil is done by first clearing the grass and bushes; after drying them, they are burned. Then, the land is cultivated. The period of *ngaseuk* (planting) for *huma* fields in the Baduy area is usually three months. According to the beliefs of the Baduy people, rice is the incarnation of the goddess of rice, Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri (also known as Hyang Sri, Nyi Sri, and Sanghyang Sri). Therefore, the time of planting must be enlivened by a ceremony accompanied by the *angklung* (a musical instrument made of bamboo) to please the goddess and receive her blessings of abundant rice yields. *Angklung* can only be played only during *ngaseuk* times; outside of that time, playing it is a taboo.

The harvest is cultivated in such a manner that the needs of the family for one season (i.e., one year) are met. Therefore, part of it is set aside and stored in the barn. In addition, rice is set aside for the *ngalaksa* ceremony (to make *laksa*, a noodle-like food), where each family is obliged to donate a large bowl of rice that is handed over to the *Jaro Dangka* (village elder) for outer Baduy and to the *Puun* (customary leader) for inner Baduy. Fruits, such as durian, are sold by the farmers. However, other fruits, such as bananas, mountain rambutan, and *Pangium edule* plant are not sold.

Many forms of *pagawéan barudak* are carried out in the fields, such as *turub sumbul* (container cover), *calintu* (bamboo sticks), *pipatar* (hunting net), and *kumbang* (flute-like instrument) that support field processing. Meanwhile, the other forms are not directly related to the fields but are part of the activities in the fields.



**Fig. 10:** Playing *angklung* while planting rice in the fields  
Source: Author, 2013

*Pagawéan barudak* in the fields are related to the relationship between fertility and the outer Baduy people's belief in Hyang Sri who must be made "comfortable" during the farming process. The activities begin with planting the seeds in the form of *angklung*, which is marrying Hyang Sri with the soil so that fertility occurs. Then, the time between planting and harvesting involves using bamboo sticks to produce sounds that will please the goddess so as to entertain her until the harvest. At harvest, a happy welcome song is played for Hyang Sri. Table 2 describes these stages.

**Table 2:** *Pagawéan Barudak* in the farming community

Source: Author

No.	Name of <i>Pagawéan barudak/kolot</i>	Farming Stage
1	<i>Angklung</i>	Planting rice seeds
2	<i>Calintu</i>	Between planting and harvesting
3	<i>Kacapi</i>	Harvesting (joyful occasion)

### Pagawéan Barudak Forms for Boys and Girls

Forms of *pagawéan barudak* are performed by children to help their parents or fulfill their own needs. The boys seem to be doing productive "work"; only in the process do they "play," such as when they put a *kancung* (animal/bird trap) on a tree and play with it. In the *pitondok* (animal trap placed on the ground) form, they search for the best location to put it, such as a hill often frequented by animals; after locating the place, they slide on the slope made of red soil. In *pagawéan barudak* by girls, there is a greater element of play. They imitate their mothers' chores and are trained to help their parents.

*Pagawéan barudak* performed by children is carried out in the fields from morning until they return home. The fields are more than just their homes as they experience slight freedom of movement there; they run, jump, and laugh with certain restrictions. This is observed in the difference in their expressions when they are at home and in the fields. At home, they are quiet and stay still. The girls help their mother in cooking, light the fire, and fetch water. The boys go to the river that is a few meters away from their house and catch fish. Sometimes, in the evenings, only boys gather in the village field.



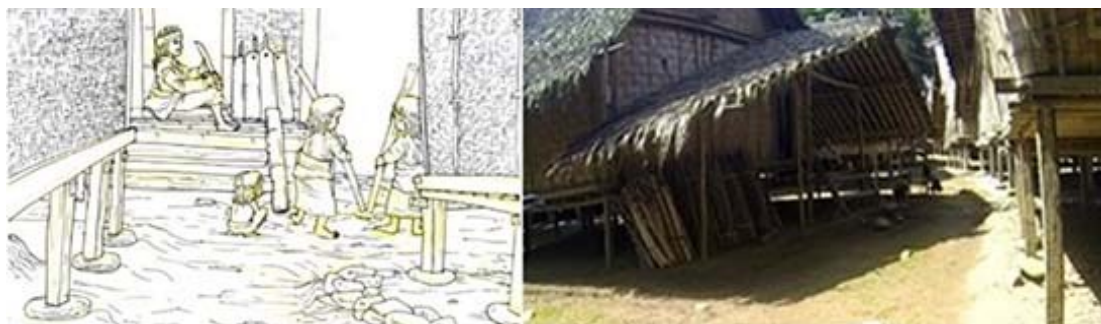
**Fig. 11:** Boys in Cibeo gather in the afternoon after coming back from the fields

Source: Author, 2013

In general, the forms of *pagawéan barudak* imitating activities that adults perform are for girls. As revealed in Jacobs and Meijer (1891), all of them are forms of *pagawéan barudak* for girls, such as *nininunan* (imitation of weaving), *tatapian* (imitation of sifting/sorting rice),

*turup sumbul* (the cover of a rice container), and *kokenceng* or *mamasakan* (imitation of processing food or cooking). Imitation work is a teaching process through which the girls learn and prepare themselves for the next stage of life.

The Baduy Dalam games mentioned in Jacobs's (1891) book include *toetoetoéan* (pounding rice), making *turup sumbul* (rice basket cover), *tatapian* (sifting rice), *kokence* (sifting rice), *nininunan* (weaving), and *sasamunian* (imitating and hiding). *Nutu* (rice pounding activities) is not a play activity, but *toetoetoéan* or *numutuan* is a form of imitation of the *nutu* activity. It is carried out by girls while taking care of their younger siblings. *Numutuan* is still performed in Cikeusik Baduy Dalam.



**Fig. 12:** *Nunutuan* activity in Cikeusik Baduy Dalam  
Source: Author, 2013

*Boboko* (lid of rice basket) or *turup sumbul* is a form of rice container used by children and adolescents to sow seeds in the fields. For children, it is introduced as *ngawuk* (helping to sow seeds). When a person is in their teenage years, that is, of a marriageable age, a *tutup sumbul* containing gifts is presented to the bride. After having children, it is used to sow seeds and serves as an example for them. When a person becomes old and dies, it is used to store the amulet that will be given when their spouse dies.



**Fig. 13:** *Turub Sumbul* has different functions at various stages of life  
Source: Author, 2013

The sifting/sorting of rice activity for girls imitates the actions of their parents sifting through rice or picking and sorting out the unused rice and waste using a bamboo tray. It is carried out by children using seeds or dry soil.

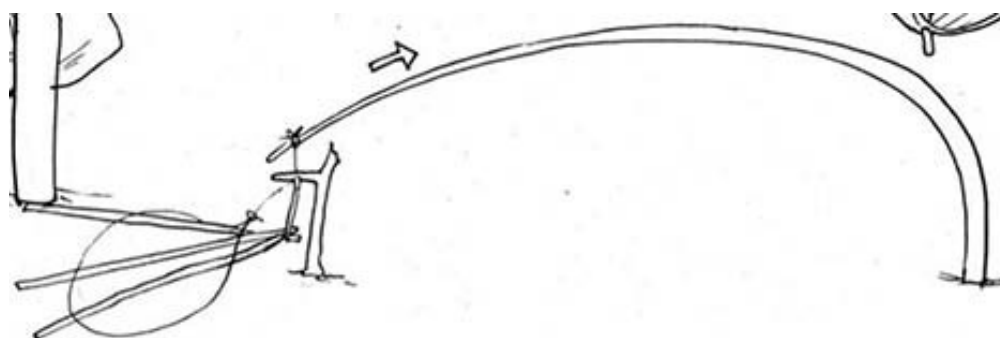


**Fig. 14:** *Nanapian* in Baduy Dalam  
Source: Author, 2013

*Kokéncéng* refers to a kettle or cooking utensil, and it means a play to imitate processing food. It is a girl's activity. Meanwhile, *nininunan* is the activity of weaving cloth. It is carried out by a child by imitating the weaving activity on a smaller scale.

The form *lulumpatan* (running) is often done by children when they go to the fields. They run because going there makes them happy. Since they often pass the same road, they run and jump quickly. The form of carrying *petai/parkia speciosa* flowers is the activity of carrying flowers from a *petai* tree and hanging them with other objects. They carry these objects to help their parents, and this task is followed by enjoying with their friends. *Pipikulan* (carrying) is not the same as when adults carry things. Children carry objects while helping their parents at work; it helps them gain an interest in this task. The form of *imah-imahan* (imitation of a house) for girls involves activities resembling objects at home or making small huts that are similar to the shape of their house. They carry out chores mirroring the ones they do at home. The form of *lumpat peureum* (running with eyes closed) is where children go to the fields or return home by running with their eyes shut as they are familiar with the roads. Hence, they do not have any difficulties as they have memorized the areas and directions to their destination. It is sometimes held as a contest among children and their close family members; they race with each other to reach the specified goal.

The *jerat* (trap) form is making a trap used by children to catch animals in the forest when they do not have to help their parents. This activity is extremely common in the Sunda region in general but is rarely done by a child as it is considered dangerous. Forms of *jerat* in other areas are regarded as an outdated form of hunting and are, therefore, abandoned. However, in Baduy, hunting is not the main objective of this activity. It is a medium for them to recognize the potential of the environment as well as natural wealth with various types of plants that are multi-beneficial.



**Fig. 15:** *Jerat* in Baduy Dalam  
Source: Author, 2013



**Fig. 16:** The process of making *jerat* in *Pagawéan Barudak*  
Source: Author, 2013

The form of play that Baduy children do are going to the forest or fields or just chasing each other in the village *huma* or fields. Unlike the games that exist in the Baduy Luar community, the game of chasing or running has certain rules. *Lulumpatan* displays their enthusiasm and following the pace of their parents; the children run so that they know the concept of speed and slowness with different steps between the children and their parents. There is a concept of *silih anteur* (taking/accompanying each other to a destination) between children and parents, indicated by the words *sisih asih*, *silih asah*, and *silih asuh* (love each other, educate/remind each other, take care of/guide each other). The word *silih* or “mutual” means “reciprocal relationship” or “in pairs.” The word *silih* in the game of *lulumpatan* is the changing role between the children and the parents; when a child learns to walk, the parents walk slowly but their role as parents is not lost. The child runs at the pace of his parents without leaving the role of a child. The transformation from slow to fast or the change from child to parent through *lumpat* or running and walking is an introduction to the duality of the world and changes.

*Pipikulan peuteuy* is carrying *peuteuy* or petai fruit (*parkia speciosa*), which children do when harvesting fruit, usually racing to transport them to the village or to the *saung huma* from the fields. The important aspect is the concept of carrying or bearing, which in adult life will become a form of *pagawéan dewasa* (adults’ work/activities).

*Tatawuan* (scooping) in Sundanese is a form of moving things by scooping, usually using hands. It is performed by children in the river around the village in the Baduy Dalam area. Half the river is dammed, and thus, the flow of water switches to the side that is not blocked. In the blocked area, the receding water is scooped by using their hands with the aim of reducing the quantity of water so that they can remove fish and other aquatic animals. When carrying out activities to reduce the water in such a manner, the children play by spraying each other with water until the water recedes. Then, the area gets filled with fish. Fishing without using any equipment is also an activity to prepare for future ceremonies in the community.

*Lumpat peureum* (running with eyes closed) is a form that children do while going to or coming home from the *huma* fields. Since everyday, they pass the same path, many children have memorized it, and they can walk the path even with their eyes closed. When their eyes are open, nature appears bright, and it is easy to cross the path. When their eyes are closed, Baduy children feel the darkness but can still walk and even run. They perceive the difference between darkness and light under the same conditions and understand that there is light because they feel the presence of darkness. Thus, with tactile knowledge, it seems as though darkness has turned to light. In the light, they exist, and in darkness also, they exist.

*Jalan nukang* (walking backwards) is similar to *peureum lumpat* when going to the *saung huma* or the fields and vice versa. Children walk in the intended direction but facing backwards. Table 3 describes the division of *pagawéan barudak* for boys and girls.

**Table 3:** *Pagawéan Barudak* in the farming community

Source: Author, 2013

<b><i>Pagawéan Barudak</i> forms for boys</b>	<b><i>Pagawéan Barudak</i> forms for girls</b>
<i>Lulumpatan</i>	<i>Lulumpatan</i>
<i>Pipikulan pendul peuteuy</i>	<i>Imah-imahan</i>
<i>Tatawuan</i>	<i>Titinunan/Nininunan</i>
<i>Lumpat Peureum</i>	<i>Gugulaan</i>
<i>Jalan Nukang</i>	<i>Turub Sumbul</i>
<i>Naheun Leugeut</i>	<i>Nunutuan</i>
<i>Jerat</i>	<i>Sasamunian</i>
<i>Pitondok</i>	<i>Tatapian/Nanapian</i>
<i>Kancung</i>	
<i>Kemot</i>	
<i>Paparakan</i>	
<i>Karinding</i>	
<i>Calintu</i>	
<i>Pikepuk or Kala batok</i>	
<i>Tarawelet or Tarawelot</i>	
<i>Kumbang with 3 holes</i>	
<i>Lapun</i>	
<i>Budeng</i>	
<i>Elet</i>	
<i>Dewer-dewer</i>	
<i>Geseng-geseng</i>	

## Conclusions

Play activities in the Baduy Dalam community are a process of inculcating tolerance in children so that they are able to socialize with different members of the community with the general aim of shaping themselves. It is not a single activity that only contains one goal, solves one problem, or fulfills one need, but all the processes are a comprehensive series of interconnected tasks.

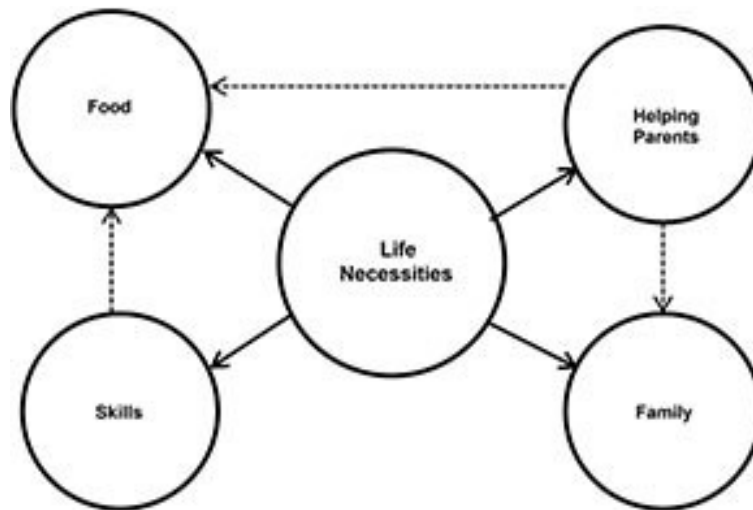
In the end, it is a process of educating children by "working" through a play activity because then the child does not remain idle. The process starts from activities as a necessity to a form of devotion to life or achieving certain goals. According to the results of the applied instruments, it is concluded that traditional games have a positive impact on the development of play functions through the patterns and values of *pagawéan barudak* for children and adults in the Baduy Dalam region. It is also evident in the preparation for the adulthood of Baduy Dalam children in their play activities during childhood, as well as in the forms and purposes provided by the adult community through various forms as follows:

### a. Necessities of life

*Pagawéan barudak* activities are a necessity for the children to remain engaged. However, these tasks not only help them spend time in a fruitful manner but also involve helping parents and learning about their own skills to fulfill their basic needs, namely obtaining



food.



**Fig. 17:** Aspects of fulfilling life's necessities in *Pagawéan Barudak*  
Source: Author, 2013

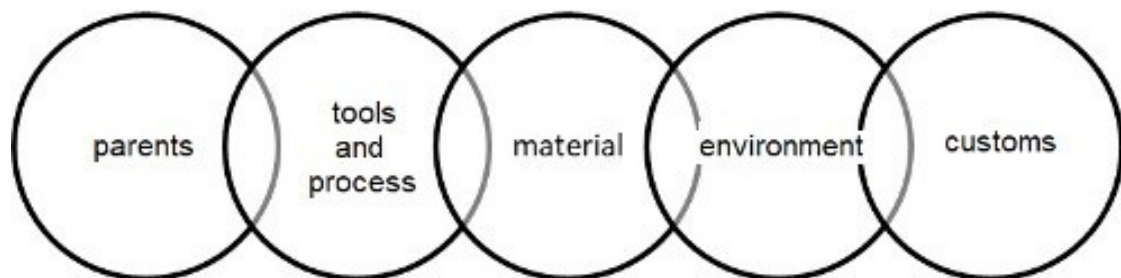
### b. Self-empowerment

In fulfilling their needs, children hone and develop their skills in the form of *pagawéan barudak* activities. The process involves making their own tools or media, fulfilling their material needs, and measuring things using their own body. By making their own tools or media, children develop the ability to use tools or master the process of making them. In realizing their material needs, children get trained to recognize the types of materials used. They learn how to perceive the types of trees governed by the existing *pikukuh*. In addition, they recognize shapes and learn how to make ropes, which starts from the tree bark until it becomes a rope that is ready to be used.

Children who discern the types of ties to be used by measuring their bodies as a reference to making tools are understanding the abilities of their bodies. When viewed from the aspect of vernacular design, due to their awareness of their body's abilities, the children as the user are the designers as well as owners of the products.

### c. Interaction

*Pagawéan barudak* expands the relationship between children and themselves, their families, and the environment. Interaction is the core of the process of these activities as transmission takes place through it; children will interact with their family, especially the father (for a son) and mother (for a daughter). The family is a model for their activities starting from the manufacturing process, materials and tools used, and manner of using them. The course of children's interactions begins with modeling from parents, then interacting with tools and processes; materials; and other people or living things, and finally with customs containing *pikukuh* and *pitutur* (advice/lesson/wisdom).



**Fig. 18:** The process of interaction in children  
Source: Author, 2013

#### d. Seeing and recognizing the environment

The most important process in the *pagawéan barudak* is to introduce children to their environment, both the family environment and their natural environment. In the sequence of interactions, children have described how the interaction process led to a synergy with their customs and culture. Similarly, interaction enables children to become more familiar with their environment. One of the important aspects in this process is to prepare for the next stage of life. This relates to the ability to make (process) and know the materials. An introduction to the environment is key because it is the center of activity and by knowing it, children will understand their needs and role. The natural environment must not be destroyed, land use must not be changed for economic purposes. Areas that serve as protection areas, such as reserve forests and conservation forests, must be maintained. The lives of the Baduy people are entrusted to the single heritage of Adam through the teachings of Sunda Wiwitan. (Source: Interview with Ayah Mursid on June 2, 2013)

#### e. Adherence

In *pagawéan barudak*, from modeling the parents to the process of manufacturing and doing the *pagawéan barudak*, all tasks must be done in accordance with the *pikukuh* in Baduy Dalam. The delivery process is as follows: *Puun* (customs leader)—*Jaro* (village leader/elder)—*Wakil Jaro* (the deputy)—*kokolot lembur* (elder)—Parents—Children. Adherence is the desired outcome of all *pikukuh* and is conveyed to the children through *pagawéan barudak*. Adherence to the method, tool, process, material, and results is essential. Changes, such as modifying the tools, materials, or purpose, are not allowed

#### f. Service

The culmination of all *pagawéan barudak* activities is service. It is how children learn to serve themselves to reach the stage of serving their life's purpose in the world, a process toward *kaéndahan* (beauty). All activities are taught from childhood for the survival of the community through service.

The process of *pagawéan barudak* as a medium to achieve *kaéndahan* is that the activities are considered as necessities of life, and children empower themselves by interacting and knowing their environment through adherence, thereby giving birth to an attitude of service in their lives. They understand the dynamic balance between themselves and the environment and culture. Understanding this equilibrium in *pagawéan barudak* is to remain centered on the source and avoid any deviations from the context outlined by customary rules.

Individual activity through *pagawéan barudak* is a micro-cosmic projection from the macro-cosmic realm (service) so that universal values and harmony are accessed through the people. Thus, a person tries to harmonize his own universality through these activities. Awareness of the cosmic law will strengthen one's belief in the creator, that is *hyang manon* (acceptance to God), and the realization of that acceptance will be converted into honesty and love through service activities. "*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.*" Translated into English: "In our community, there is no equivalent to the type of children's games found in the city, characterized by playfulness and enjoyment. Such activities are absent in our traditions and are explicitly forbidden. Our focus is not on engaging in games, as our responsibilities lie elsewhere." (Interview with the traditional leader of Cibeo, Jaro Sami, August 23, 2014)

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