

BADUY'S INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND MOBILE COMMUNICATION

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Abstract. Baduy is a fairly extreme indigenous people because it still retains customs with oral tradition and does not receive formal education. By inhabiting an unchanged customary area (5,101.85 ha) but not a remote area (170 km from Jakarta), Baduy people have to deal with an increase in population (11,705 people by 2017) and modernization. This qualitative case study analyzed the data to answer the two questions: (a) What values underlie indigenous entrepreneurship in the Baduy community? (b) What kind of mobile communication process is applied to the Baduy community to support the entrepreneurship? This study was conducted with the document review, participant observation and interview involving local people as 11 participants. Results from the case study approach indicate that: (a) *Pikukuh* as a local value underlying indigenous entrepreneurship; (b) Baduy's indigenous entrepreneurship; (c). Mobile communication process to support the entrepreneurship. Gatekeeping theory in the use of social media is discussed.

Keywords. pikukuh, indigenous entrepreneurship, mobile communication, Baduy.

1. Introduction

The Baduy are an indigenous community who live in the village of Kanekes, Leuwidamar sub-district, Lebak District, Banten Province, Indonesia. The village of Kanekes located on the island of Java is about 170 kilometers from Jakarta and 38 kilometers from the city of Rangkasbitung, the capital of Lebak District and about 65 kilometers from the city of Serang, the capital city of Banten Province. Although is not a remote area, this community is yet highly conservative. Baduy villages do not have electricity, health facilities and paved-road. The Baduy is a group of people who have never receive a formal education even though it has been provided by the government. In fact, there are several other indigenous communities in Indonesia such as the Ammatowa community in Kajang, South Sulawesi and the Orang Rimba community in Jambi beside the Baduy community. Despite the fact that these communities are a far from the capital city or a remote area, they do not reject a formal education provided by the government (Segar, 2008; Hijjang, 2014).

The Baduy community occupies an area of 5,101.8 hectares (2,101, 85 hectares for settlements and 3,000 hectares for protection forest). In this region, there are 63 hamlets consists of regions of the Inner Baduy (Baduy Dalam), Outer Baduy (Baduy Luar) and Exile Baduy (Baduy Dangka). The Baduy Dalam region consists of three relatively unchanged hamlets, which are: Cibeo, Cikartawana and Cikeusik. Meanwhile, the Baduy Luar region consists of 57 hamlets and Baduy Luar areas consist of three hamlets; the location of these two regions (Baduy Luar and Baduy Dangka) surrounds the Baduy Dalam region. Out of Baduy Luar and Baduy Dangka

Kincheloe, 2002). In its development, as indigenous knowledge is an effort to survive an indigenous community as well, this can also be a form of indigenous entrepreneurship.

Indigenous entrepreneurship often has non-economic explanatory variables. Some indigenous economies display elements of egalitarianism, sharing and communal activity, contrasting capitalism as it is known in the West indigenous entrepreneurship is usually environmentally sustainable; this often allows indigenous people to rely on immediately available resources, and consequently, work in indigenous communities is often irregular. Social organization among indigenous peoples is often based on kinship ties, not necessarily created in response to market needs. Much entrepreneurial activity among indigenous people involves internal economic activity with no transaction, while transactions often take place in the bazaar and in the informal sector, where enterprises often have limited inventory. Perhaps the most important finding is that the causal variable behind entrepreneurship is not simply an opportunity, but rather one's cultural perception of opportunity (Dana, 2015).

Life skill is a skill or ability to be able to adapt and behave positively, enables a person to face various demands and challenges in life (Hopson & Scally, 1980). Vocational skills developing from childhood may affect the personal interests, beliefs and values at viewing the world, and decisive in determining the purpose of employment as well (Hartung, Porfeli & Vondracek, 2005). Meanwhile, indigenous entrepreneurship is defined as creating, managing, and developed new businesses by indigenous people for indigenous communities benefit (Lindsay, 2005; Conway, 2011) focusing on the balance of cultural heritage and self-determination (Lindsay, 2005). Indigenous people are often close to nature and in some cases depend on immediately available resources (Dana, 2015). Other characteristics indicating that indigenous entrepreneurship is more holistic than entrepreneurship generally is because it focuses on economic and non-economic objectives (Lindsay, 2005). While mainstream economics suggest that rationally one might choose to maximize profit, we learn from indigenous people that entrepreneurship also has non-economic causal variables (Dana, 2015).

Of all this time, the Baduy people relied alone upon indigenous knowledge to may withstand a modern era and population pressures. Generally, indigenous communities such as the Baduy community hold indigenous knowledge as well that is a knowledge system that is rooted in the tradition of indigenous community culture, encompassing various types of vocational skills and indigenous entrepreneurship; an effort to create, manage and develop new business for their community benefit.

Although the Baduy people tried to maintain the custom in the middle of modern society and the frequent of contact with those society especially in the area closed to the village Ciboleger, then prohibition of use of communication technology, such as mobile phone apparently not obeyed by the Baduy Luar community, especially the teenagers and adults. The life of their economy that previously focused on agriculture now changed a lot because it no longer relies on agriculture alone. Because the area of land that they had did not increase, so they were forced to also seek other livelihoods. It is a tough task for indigenous figures to preserve the original Baduy culture in order to keep the outside community known as the ethnic characteristic. From the information obtained from local indigenous figures, if they performed "raid" on the people of Baduy Luar, then can be seized hundreds of mobile phones. This information is quite surprising because it is actually a prohibition to accept outside influence already known by the people of Baduy, but so many are violating the prohibition (Widowati &

Mulyasih, 2014). The Baduy Luar people have begun to know the internet technology by using social media as their means to support their entrepreneurs.

Social networking according to Nasrullah (2015) is the most popular social media. These social media allow members to interact each other. Interactions occur not only on text messages, but also include photos and videos that may attract other users' attention. All posts or publications are real time, allowing members to share what kind of information is happening.

In Indonesia, the Daily Social survey in 2016 mentions from 1012 respondents, 90.22% of which rely on online media to meet the needs of the news. When asked about his news source, 70.94% claimed to get news from the Facebook (FB) site and 27.39% acquired it from the WhatsApp (WA) group. Social Media is used not only to meet the individual social needs, but it is used as a source of information to meet their knowledge of various things (CNN Indonesia, 2016). In 2019, We Are Social mentioned that YouTube is the top-most percentage of 88% of the number of Indonesian internet users, followed by WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram (detikinet, 2019).

2. Literature Review

Galbraith, Rodriguez, and Stiles (2006) note that indigenous entrepreneurial activities are often cited as the “second wave” of economic development, with the first wave of economic development being direct governmental support and wealth transfer policies. Hindle & Lansdowne (2005) define indigenous entrepreneurship as the creation, management and development of new ventures by indigenous people. The indigenous entrepreneurship as what goes on wherever people who are indigenous happen to be engaged in entrepreneurial activities (Anderson & Peredo, 2006). Lindsay (2005) argues that indigenous entrepreneurship is undertaken for the benefit of indigenous people. He continues by connecting this with the “holistic” aims of indigenous entrepreneurship at furthering self-determination on the part of indigenous communities, the preservation of heritage, and other distinct social aims.

There are six key or common elements relevant to the concept of indigenous entrepreneurship: (1) descent from inhabitants of a land prior to later inhabitants, (2) some form of domination by the later inhabitants, (3) maintenance of distinguishing socio-cultural norms and institutions by the indigenous group, (4) an attachment to ancestral lands and resources, (5) often, but not always, subsistence economic arrangements, and (6) an association with distinctive languages. Not all elements are present in all cases, but in many cases of modern indigenous cultures, all six characteristics are present. In general, these characteristics, or some significant combination of them, serve to set apart indigenous people from those populations that came later (Anderson & Peredo, 2006).

In general, Dyson and Underwood (2006) explores the ways in which indigenous people around the world are participating in the world wide web (www), through establishing their own websites or accessing services via the web. One of the purposes of the indigenous websites is promoting indigenous e-commerce. Particularly on Native American, Parkhurst, Morris, Tahy and Mossberger (2015) found the contrast between residents of urban areas and tribal lands on information and communications technologies. Hudson (2011) added that there is a digital diversity among indigenous people in rural Alaska includes several parameters, especially in innovation and entrepreneurship. Digital diversity may involve more than use of available

content or facilities; it may include various forms of innovation – for example entrepreneurship in starting new commercial or public service activities taking advantage of broadband.

In Australia, Dyson (2003) found that the use of computer is certainly low amongst indigenous Australians, but a review of the existing literature shows no evidence of rejection of the technology on the grounds of its ideological bias. Carlson (2013) found that there is a rapid rise in the use of social media as a means of cultural and social interaction among Aboriginal people and groups is an intriguing development. The use of social media is becoming an everyday life. And the last, FB is the dominant social media platform among indigenous Australian entrepreneurs who are primarily using the social network to promote and market their business. FB also an important element of an integrated marketing strategy (Ryan-Harvey, 2012).

Based on some facts above, these research questions are:

- a. What values underlie indigenous entrepreneurship in the Baduy community?
- b. What kind of mobile communication process is applied to the Baduy community to support the entrepreneurship?

3. Material and Methods

Research Design

This study is a qualitative case study taken from Stakian’s perspective, which is a study of the particularity and complexity of a single case (Yazan, 2015). This study is to seek and find an understanding of indigenous entrepreneurship and mobile communication process in the Baduy community. The data were obtained from observations, interviews and documents.

Participants

The eleven participants involved were divided into three categorizations based on socio-cultural status and place of living, which are:

Table 1: The Classification of Participants

Territory	Pseudonym	Origin of Hamlet	Social / Cultural Status
The Inner Baduy people	Alim	Cikartawana	Customary leader
	Saman	Cikeusik	Community member
	Kaman	Cikartawana	Child supervisor
	Salim	Cikartawana	Son of an indigenous leader
	Ardan	Cibeo	Community member, guide
The Outer Baduy people	Sajadi	Kaduketug	The head of Kanekes village
	Kamidi	Cisadane	Custom security
	Didi	Cisadane	Community member
	Heri	Cipondok	Community member, a former of Inner Baduy ^a
The Baduy neighbouring villager	Hedi	Batu Belah	Community member
	Haji Karni	Sareweh	Non-Baduy Citizen, (land owner)

^aThe Baduy people who left from the Inner Baduy

Procedure

The researcher reached the Baduy village, through Ciboleger, in the north side and to Cijahe, in the south side. After permission letter to conduct research is given to a head of Kanekes village in the hamlet Kaduketug (Ciboleger access), the researcher decided to live together with local people in Cisadane village through Cijahe access. The researcher was accompanied by an informant named Kania, who is an Inner Baduy inheritance and currently lives in Bandung. It makes the researcher has a lot of conveniences to get to know Baduy people in Cisadane and Cijahe Post. The researcher occupies the 'halfway house' owned by the informant, which is relatively close to Cikeusik and Cikartawana. By way of the informant who was both an intermediary and translator, the researcher is able to interview some Inner Baduy people at the halfway house. The interview was involved several children as well accompanied by Kaman, who is a children's supervisor. The interview was mostly carried out at night as Baduy people usually farm from morning to evening. Besides, the researcher was recommended to visit the chief from Cikeusik to get the informal research permission. Direct observations of the daily lives of Baduy people and follow-up interviews were carried out in Cisadane village along with Baduy neighbouring village.

While the data was collected through Ciboleger access, the researcher decided to hire a guide from Inner Baduy to do the observation. From Ciboleger's access, the researcher decided to stay in the lodging owned by the local people in Keduketug village. In the lodging, the interview was conducted towards Ardan, who is a guide from Cibeo. Furthermore, direct observation of the daily lives of Baduy people and follow-up interviews were carried out from this hamlet and around villages as well.

Data Collection

The data was collected by observing, interviewing and documents. The researcher spent ten times for about a year to visit the Baduy community and stay with the local community for about a week in one visit. Since it is the participant observation, the researcher was not only living together with Baduy people but also involved in ceremonies, farming, shopping and recreation in the neighbouring Baduy village. A semi-structured interview was used according to the research questions. The data was collected based on observation and semi-structured interview towards 11 participants. While the document analysis is to complete the limitations of other methods, this documentary evidence acts as a method for cross-validating information collected from interviews and observations.

Trustworthiness

Several methods were carried out in this study to achieve *trustworthiness*. We conducted observation participant several times for a week during a year to achieve credibility (2016-2017). Through Cijahe's access, we lived together with the Baduy people in Cisadane and got closer to the Baduy community in the Cijahe Post. From Ciboleger's access, we lived near to the Baduy community in lodgings rented by the locals. The research was conducted on two methods to achieve the conformability. First of all, there is an agreement in interviewing from one person to another whether they are the Inner Baduy, Outer Baduy, the former Baduy and non-Baduy residents. Then, the results were being triangulated by direct observation in the field. The research employed data review, related literature and the researcher (informants) from the psychology field

and an anthropologist who did several kinds of research in Baduy community as well to achieve the dependability.

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed manually through categorical aggregations (Cresswell, 1998). The information and observation from each interview transcript were numbered in paragraphs, then grouped into some themes. The researcher subsequently grouped them into several categories based on these themes. Several categories are obtained hierarchically, ranging from Baduy Dalam people, Baduy Luar people, Baduy Dangka people and non-Baduy residents. In order to find two categories with several themes, these categories were arranged chronologically, which are:

1. *Pikukuh* is a value underlying indigenous entrepreneurship. It consists agriculture, family involvement in agriculture, stable agriculture systems, a shelter where is the second home for farming, recreation and social activities, rejuvenating the idle land and migrating from neighboring villages, wandering, sharing, and stable agriculture systems.
2. Baduy's indigenous entrepreneurship

Finally, these categories and themes were written in a narrative including quotations and documentation results from participants.

4. Result and Discussion

Result

A. Pikukuh

The worldview of the Baduy community is led by *Pikukuh*, a ceremonial which means “unchanged” which originated from their ancestors. *Pikukuh* is the basis for religious activities and the daily life of the Baduy community. It mostly contains *buyut* (taboo) which is not recorded in the form of text but inherited in the oral culture. It is subsequently manifested in the daily life of Baduy people to interact with each other and the natural environment. The *Pikukuh* consists of two values:

1. The Values of the natural environment, it includes the balance and natural environment must be maintained. Another restriction aspects are: the mountain shall not be melted; the valley shall not be destroyed.
2. The values of morality are to maintain proper human behavior consist of honesty, politeness in speaking, purity, unchanging truth and consequences of greedy or violating the taboo.
 - a. Honesty includes a ban on stealing and restrictions on taking without knowingly
 - b. Courtesy includes a prohibition on speaking painfully and haphazardly and a suggestion to think before speak
 - c. Chastity includes the prohibition of dating and adultery
 - d. The truth that never changes includes the phrase: “The length shall not be cut short” and “The short shall not be connected.”
 - e. The greed will result in loss of leadership, honor, magic, authority and influence.

These values above are the basis on their everyday life, so taboo “irreversible” and fears of greed might be hold. Alim stated that “...even though we do not go to school, we shall understand and obey the ceremonial in living your life and in the balance of taking care and

handling of the natural environment, but we do not learn bad knowledge that may make yourself greedy...How the Baduy people educate their children is growing awareness of the need for their life.... in the form of natural schools, which means that the way people care for, maintain, save and how to use the forest not to be damaged, thus the results can be used to fulfill sustainable needs.”

B. Indigenous Entrepreneurship

The Baduy people's primary occupation is a farmer. The data shows that 100% of the Baduy Dalam people are farmers in 2009, which are 98.6% of husbands and 90.7% of wives work as farmers (Khomsan & Wigna, 2009). The Baduy's agriculture is based on *Pikukuh* such as: sustaining seeds from their ancestors, growing rice on dry land with no irrigation, using agricultural calendar of Baduy people, using slash and burn systems, and fertilizing the soil. The rice produced is not allowed to be sold as well and must be stored properly to fulfill their own needs.

The uses of land for agriculture and forest is as well arranged by dividing the five types of land that it “does not change”, which are: *Communal fields* are communal land for the ceremony in Inner Baduy; *Chief field* is the field owned by the chief of the Baduy Dalam; *Baduy Dalam field* is the field providing for the needs of the Baduy Dalam people; *Paragon field* is the communal field used for the ceremony in the Baduy Luar; and *Baduy Luar field* is the field for the needs of the Baduy Luar people.

The Baduy people do farming every day from the morning at 06.00 AM to afternoon at 05.00 PM. The Baduy people sell handicrafts, exploit their forests, hunt animals, makes thatched roofs, make palm sugar and agricultural tools for living. There are several activities prohibited to do in the Baduy Dalam, such as processing palm sugar, planting woody trees, coffee and cloves. Apart from helping their husbands in the field, Baduy women weave their main clothes in their spare time.

Baduy children with a range age 5-6 years or who are considered physically strong are almost always involved in agricultural activities or other work. One of the participants named Salim said that he taught his son to hold a machete by the age of 4 years old. After he thought his son is strong enough by the age of 5 years, Salim then invited his son to walk around 4 - 5 kilometers. Thus, Baduy children will be invited to travel miles away if their parents consider them strong enough to walk. Salim added that he used to be asked for travelling along with his parents since he was 5 years old.

While the researcher was observing in the Cijahe Post at 6:00 a.m., there are some parents along with their children walked to the field carrying food and sickles. There is also a mother along with her daughter walk towards the field, where the mother carries a big sickle and the child carries a small size sickle as well. Besides, the observation shows in Heri's house that he and his son (13 years old) just returned from their field in Cipondok hamlet at 5:00 p.m. Both of them raised chunks of wood from the fields to their home through the uphill road.

When it comes to agriculture, Baduy people generally build some shelters made from planting to harvest. These shelters are their second home as all agricultural activities are carried out here by almost all family members (father, mother and children) from morning to evening.

When Baduy fathers and sons are in the rice field, their mothers and wives prepare food for them that has been brought from home or cooked at the shelter. Sometimes these shelters are more populated than their first homes in the hamlet. These shelters are a wooden stilt house with a leaf roof as well as the wall and floor. These shelters can be overhauled to a new field when they are opening new fields.

On Friday and Sunday, they are on holidays. They used those days for social and recreational activities. On holiday, boys are able to recreation in groups with neighboring Baduy villages by buying food or watching television in stalls, especially in Cijahe and Ciboleger. Sometimes they are also accompanied by their father or grandfather. So does Baduy girls. At some point, these Baduy children are also involved by their parents in trading activity at the market.

Salim said, "*Sometimes I invite children to go to the market to sell bananas and coconut. We also buy daily necessities, such as cooking oil or salted fish.*" Besides, Baduy children are allowed to buy snacks or watch television in stalls close to the market. In the afternoon, Salim and their three sons usually go to Nangerang market, Ciboleger market or Cijahe Post. The distance between the market and Cikartawana hamlet is about 4 kilometres, or it takes 2 hours to walk. Meanwhile, if we go to Ciboleger market, it takes about 4 - 5 hours to walk, and to Cijahe Post is only 1 hour.

To outgrow the population growth and lack of available land, Baduy people look for the vacant land outside Kanekes village to do the agricultural activities by profit sharing and purchasing the land. Their farming activity is the same as the method used in Baduy region. The Baduy Luar people called the activity is "*ngadon*". They bring their children as well while they are farming. Several wood species which was not allowed to plant in the Baduy region, such as Albasia and Mahogany trees and other crops such as mangosteen, coffee and cloves, they can be planted in the Baduy Luar and neighbouring Baduy villages. The way of "wandering" is only allowed for the Baduy Luar people.

The difficulty of finding the labour outside Kanekes community was caused by a few people who migrate to the city and become Indonesian Migrant Worker (TKI) providing an opportunity for the Baduy Luar people. Some unemployed owners of woodland were offered to work the land to the Baduy Luar people. The Baduy Luar people who agreed to work on the land usually plant rice among the trees as well. Harvest wheat is harvested once a year, even if the soil is fertile, it can happen twice every year. As for trees, generally harvested once every five years. Rice yields are generally enjoyed 100% by Baduy people. The tree harvest is divided with the landowner.

One of the landowners outside Kanekes is Haji Karni who owns land in the Saraweh hamlet, Karang Nunggal village, Cirinten sub-district along 2.1 hectares. Because no one worked on it, this land was offered to the Baduy Luar people, and cultivated by the three of them. The trees planted include cloves, Albasia wood, and mangosteen. They have cultivated on the land for three years. Haji Karni's brother named Haji Satar has 1 hectare of land located in front of the Haji Karni land as well. There are chicken farms cultivated by local people and three shelters of Baduy Luar people to farm.

By having some money from this additional income, they save a lot of money by buying gold chunks. It is because there is no access to the bank. They buy the land offered by the local with the piece of gold. Whether cultivating the land of somebody else or theirs, Baduy Luar people tend to build shelters for staying a while or a few days. Thus, they can go back and forth from the

hamlet to the shelter and vice versa. They even choose to stay a few days at the shelter, which is the furthest distance to 15 km from the hamlet. In this way, the Baduy Luar people can still survive by wandering in a spread direction to do agriculture. According to Sajadi, the land for agriculture beyond Kanekes was registered that 1.000 lands had received the certificate of freehold title in 2011 in five sub-districts namely Bojong Manik, Muncang, Cirinten, Leuwidamar, and Sobang. Meanwhile, those who worked on other people's land were in the Cileles, Gunung Kencana, Cimarga, and Sajira areas.

For example, Kamidi has 8 locations had been successfully bought in the Cirintren, Cibarani, Kebun Cau, and Karang Nunggal areas, by width from 600m² to 10,000m². In these locations, Kamidi build a shelter for growing rice, then the shelter is moved to another location, and so on.

C. Mobile Communication

Internet network for Baduy area is provided by two mobile telecommunication operators that are well-received namely Indosat and Telkomele. In the Baduy area closed to the entrance of Ciboleger village can use Telkomsel operator, while in Cijahe Indosat operator is more liked. Heri said that nowadays from teenagers to adulthood, the Baduy Luar people generally already have a mobile phone as a medium to communicate each other to support their entrepreneur activity. The use of social media that supports entrepreneur activity is divided into two themes below.

Farming activity

With an area of 5,101.8 hectares, Baduy Luar people rely solely on foot in the activities of farming, both within the traditional Baduy Luar region (Kanekes village) or outside the Baduy area. This is due to the absence of asphalt roads in the Baduy region, in addition to the prohibition or taboo as mandated in *Pikukuh*. In fact, restrictions are also applied to the use of mobile phones, but also no electricity in the region Baduy. Nowadays, the use of mobile phones has become a necessity in Baduy Luar's teenagers and adults. They make use of the stalls located on the border that provides charging services for mobile phones. A widely used application to communicate fellow Baduy Luar people in farming activities is WA for chatting and calling. The reason for this use is efficiency, as it will take a long time if the Baduy Luar people want to meet their friends on foot. Heri said: "So if you use a mobile phone, though far, anywhere else if you can get close. If by walking, it takes time and tired".

Actually, Heri has no land used for farming in the Baduy area (Kanekes village). But, he has had his own two lands outside the Baduy area which was done alternately, in the village of Cisemeut and Cibengkung. When he was farming, he no longer communicated with former landowners in both villages. Sometimes, Heri communicates via mobile phone with his family or friends of fellow Baduy people.

Trading activities

Baduy Luar's trading activities include marketing, buying and selling, and shipping. Marketing is done using the FB app. Baduy Luar people are already common to use FB as a way to market Baduy products. For example, Hedi who has a FB account since December 2018. Hedi lives in the Batu Belah hamlet, which is the center of the traditional machete production. Hedi

uses FB as an ethalation of Baduy products. A few times Hedi posted about a machete Baduy, in addition Hedi also post honey, durian, tamarine, clove, ginger, handicraft accessories, handicraft bags of bark, woven fabrics, and custom shirts. In addition, he also post farming, honey harvest and durian harvest activities on FB page. Hedi also uses Messenger and WA to communicate with both the buyer and the customer.

Heri who lives in Cipondok hamlet near Ciboleger market has been using FB since March 2017. Heri used FB to peddle Baduy products such as *petai* (bitter bean), durian, honey, woven cloth, and handicraft bags from bark. Some activities that are also posted are packing goods before shipped via package service, train ride to Jakarta, car trip to Bekasi city, and honey harvest. According to Heri, friends of his fellow Baduy Luar generally do not become mutual friend on FB, this is because they have often met every day.

The buying and selling activities of the Baduy people are passively and actively. Passively, tourists and visiting merchants can purchase transactions from Baduy's products. Handicrafts such as woven fabrics, tree bark bags, and accessories are products favored by tourists. In the Ciboleger market, there are several stalls selling the handicrafts, honey, ginger, and brown sugar. In addition, when entering the Baduy region through this access, many Baduy Luar people are selling handicraft products and honey in front of their house. In the village of Cijahe, there are many stalls that sell handicrafts, honey and brown sugar, although the seller is not a Baduy people. Meanwhile, the merchants who stopped by generally already know each other well with the Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar people. These traders buy commodities such as bananas, wood, or durian.

Communication between the Baduy people with tourists can be continued, because after both parties met generally they share the mobile phone number. If tourists need a certain amount of Baduy products, then delivery of goods can be done in two ways. First, if the number is not much, the Baduy people will come to the address of the tourist, buy and sell transaction then done at the buyer's house. Furthermore, the Baduy people will offer to other acquaintances. Secondly, if the goods are ordered in bulk, then delivery of goods is done through the package service. Hedi admitted that social media helps in buying and selling products. For example, the FB messenger feature Hedi uses as a means of buying and selling, while the FB wall to market trading. In addition, WA social media is also used for buying and selling means.

Related to delivery, Hedi claimed to have social media to contact the package service provider in Cimarga Village for honey, crafts and machetes; contact market traders in the city of Rangkasbitung to sell the Baduy agriculture product; contact traders or buyers in the cities of Jakarta, Bandung, Tangerang, Cikarang, and Subang. Hedi usually uses public transportation to reach the office of package service provider, Rangkasbitung market, and other cities. For Heri, the existence of mobile phones, is functioning as a means of doing business. Some commodities such as honey and handicrafts (woven fabrics, accessories, leather bags) are marketed through mobile phones, partly sent through packages with package delivery services if it is considered as far away as West Java, East Java, North Sumatera and East Kalimantan. The package service office is located in Leuwidamar Sub-district and Rangkasbitung city. Mobile phone facility used by Heri especially for business is social media of WA and FB. The WA features used are chat, WA Group and WA status. While FB is used to "explain himself to the public", in the sense of introducing himself as an outer Baduy people to the wider community. FB is also partly used for buying and selling of the products, while Messenger features are used for transactions.

For Hedi, if the buyers order Baduy products (such as honey, woven cloth or machete) originating from cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Sukabumi, Tangerang, Subang, Cikarang and Purwokerto, then he would prefer to deliver the order through package service. He no longer delivers himself to his customers.

Discussion

The values in *Pikukuh* are inherited by the Baduy community, which is to maintain the harmony, namely human relations with each other and nature. As the sanction is applied to children and adults breaking the custom, several values are still in effect. To the Baduy children breaking the custom, they were told and reminded again about common law in a forum. Meanwhile, for adults, they must be “expelled” from the Baduy Dalam to the Baduy Luar or vice versa as outsiders and live outside Kanekes. .

The agriculture system conducted by the Baduy Luar community in the area outside the customary land is a form of indigenous entrepreneurship, which is the creation, management and development of new businesses by indigenous people for the benefit of indigenous people (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2005). Basically, this effort is to survive, and not merely an economic motive. It is also a unique community-indigenous (Gallagher & Lawrence, 2012) and its objectives are economic and non-economic. Indeed, this way also happens to other indigenous communities. For example, Aboriginal entrepreneurship in Canada is unique in its purpose, which is to end dependency and create economic independence and strengthen their traditional culture (Anderson & Giberson, 2004). In Maori, New Zealand and Aborigines, Canada, their ownership of land and common law belongs to non-individual communities, and the results are marketed in internal economic activities without transactions (Dana, 2015). Meanwhile, in the Sami community in Europe, entrepreneurship is to defend themselves and their way to survive (Ronning, 2007).

The social psychology of mobile technology and social media calls for a similar adaptive response by psychology to now consider real, social facts that are generated through a reality that is augmented by the seemingly “mystical” presence of technology. Social psychology must widen its definition of the field of social interaction to include the influence of the mere presence of mobile communication technology. Mobile media and technology assist in rendering present seemingly absent social influences. The entrance of remote interlocutors into the field of social interaction can issue a definite challenge for both the people within the field of interaction and the social scientist (Cumiskey & Ling, 2015).

Formally, the gatekeeping theory was identified by Lewin (1943) through his publication entitled *Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change*. Since World War II Lewin has done research that found that housewives are gatekeepers' to introduce new food to their families. Then the concept of gatekeepers can be applied to broader communication situations such as to spread the news through the communication channels in a group. Lewin's theory of the gatekeeping process was later used by scientists who were concerned with the study of the gatekeeping role in the mass media, e.g. White (1950), and today also including in social media, e.g. Shoemaker and Riccio (2015).

Gatekeeping theory refers to the control or reduce of information flood from media (including in the social media) as it passes through a gate (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; Shoemaker & Riccio, 2015). The gate is guarded by gatekeepers, who make decisions about what

information to let through and what to keep out (Lewin, 1947). In settling on these choices, gatekeepers practice control over those on the opposite side of the gate.

Teenagers and adults originating from Baduy Luar are generally an indigenous entrepreneur. In conducting business in agriculture, farming, marketing and trading activities, they use social media Facebook (FB) and WhatsApp (WA). As Gatekeeper, they are the decision makers about what social media apps to use (including features in it). WA is more widely used to communicate with fellow Baduy people especially on calling and chatting features, while the status feature is used as a sort of showcase for other known WA users. This is due to limitations on end-to-end encryption. Meanwhile, FB is a showcase more links because it can be reached by unknown users. The Messenger feature on FB can also be used for calling and chatting, as well as a wider range. Thus, they are also gatekeepers in their information processing.

FB is a digital media platform that demonstrates these new changes and developments in gatekeeping theory. Facebook is a social media network that allows users to create individual user profiles, business pages, and groups (Chin-Fook & Simmonds, 2011). FB also allows users to post pictures, comments, and status updates visible to self-chosen FB friends. FB users make choices about what information to add, withhold, and disregard, and how to shape, localize, and manipulate the information they channel through their profile. Within a given network of FB friends, there is a small number of users who consistently share links to news stories, where in the case is about the commodity product. When online news consumers buyer browse to FB for their news, these users are performing a gatekeeping function. The other FB members of the network can easily go elsewhere for their news but, if they consistently follow one friend's links to news stories, that friend is a network gatekeeper but unknowingly. In addition, FB users today have transformed to the public domain of the Internet with a reluctance to share private information on their public profiles (DeJuliis, 2015).

Unlike FB, the interaction is set to be more open where sometimes people who are not registered as friends can also interact with us, interactions in the WA group tend to be more closed because they can only be seen by group members invited by the group's manager. The end-to-end encryption feature WA has also signifies that the message can only be seen by the sender and the recipient, thus offering protection to its users from the parties who want to supervise the chat (Bafadhal, 2018). In addition, Malka, Ariel and Avidar (2015) mention that WA can effectively facilitate a variety of people's social activities, whether individuals or groups, whether family or business. The WA offers a user-friendly and convenient instant messaging experience to use for a variety of content in a variety of contexts.

Conclusion

Facing with modernity, Baduy people are able to survive through indigenous entrepreneurship based from *Pikukuh* as customary law. However, effort to defend *Pikukuh* also staying survive seem to have begun there is a change. Only Baduy Dalam people is still sacral in maintaining customary law, while the Baduy Luar people have begun to change in farming by utilizing land outside indigenous territories and violating customs by using social media applications through mobile phone.

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Title and Abstract

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 КОРЕННОЕ ПРЕДПРИНИМАТЕЛЬСТВО И МОБИЛЬНАЯ КОММУНИКАЦИЯ БАДУЙ
 Abstract Baduy is a fairly extreme indigenous people because it still retains
 customswith oral tradition and does not receive formal education. By
 inhabitingan unchangedcustomarya area(5,101.85ha) but not remote area

