WEAVING BADUY IDENTITY IN MEDIA
SIGN OF WEAVING BADUY IDENTITY IN MEDIA “DESAN KANEKES” WEBSITE
(SPATIAL SEMIOTIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)

MENENUN IDENTITAS SUKU BADUY DI MEDIA
SIMBOL TENUNAN IDENTITAS BADUY DI MEDIA LAMAN “DESAN KANEKES”
(ANALISIS WACANA SEMANTIK SPASIAL)

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Abstract: This paper explores the contribution of media in changing the image of an indigenous community by controlling some information of the tribal values possessed by the Baduy tribe in the media. The media that represented Baduy Tribe to the public is called “Desa Kanekes” which invites readers to see the transformation of an isolated tribe into tolerated tribe. Framing in commodification spaces is identified in this media, so that by using discourse framing by Foucault, Barthes's semiology, and commodification by Christ Ryan, this paper will describe and interpret the hidden signs on the website. Baduy’s identity has unknowingly changed direction from farmers to craftsmen. The website contained articles that certainly support the government program to increase the production of weaving that can support the economic life of the Baduy community. The viewpoint of Baduy life principle which is living a simple and spiritual life is changing through this website. Baduy tribe is directed to become modern indigenous people. This process can be seen on this website that is classified into two spatial codes, i.e., public space and private space. Public spaces are represented in Baduy festival columns and Meretas Mimp. The private spaces are represented in writing about ritual cultivation and weaving. Ambiguity occurs in most articles because of the unexplained division of custom territory that is the basis of the Baduy interaction boundaries. The identity of the actual Baduy (Inner Baduy) does not receive any portion on this website. This could impact their existence in the future. There is an indication that the Baduy Luar is Baduy thoroughly. This is certainly contrary to the reality.

Keywords: baduy, website, spatial semiotic, commodification


Kata kunci: baduy, laman, semiotik spasial, komodifikasi
INTRODUCTION

Baduy is one of the isolated tribes in Indonesia with its own uniqueness. Baduy tribe is estranged from the surrounding communities socially, while the territory where the Baduy tribe lives is located side by side with other communities. Their way of living is always interesting for many tourists who come to Desa Kaneke (Kaneke Village) where the Baduy tribe lives. Baduy tribe is one of the sub-tribes of the Sundanese (West Java) living in the area of the Cibaduy mountain included in the administrative area of Kaneke Village, Leuwidamar Sub-district, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The name ‘Baduy’ comes from the name given to the nomadic Arabs, called Badawi (Danasasmita and Djatisunda, 1986: 1-2). Meanwhile, Kaneke according to Asep Kurnia in "Saatnya Baduy Bicara" (It’s the time of Baduy to Speak) (2010) comes from the name of the village where they live given by the government. The Baduy tribe itself is divided into three customary territories, namely Baduy Dalam or the inner Baduy (tangtu) and Baduy Luar or the outer Baduy (panamping and dangka). The difference between the three territories lies in the customary rules that surround them. The inner Baduy is the original Baduy tribe as it still adheres to the rules of ancestral customs, and its people are forbidden to think about worldly life. The outer Baduy, consisting of the panamping and the dangka, is a part of the Baduy tribe whose members are expelled from the inner Baduy for having violated the custom. The difference between the panamping and the dangka is that the dangka area is designed for the people of Baduy who no longer bear the predicate of the tribe; in other words, they are not considered a part of the Baduy tribe because they have violated the most fundamental custom of the tribe. Meanwhile, the panamping is part of the Baduy tribe region that can interact with the outside world according to the rules that have been set by the Puun (the head of the adat). This area is often used for tourist attractions and research. These divisions are the basis for all the life interaction happened in Kaneke. All information that comes and goes is carried by certain rules in each of the territories.

Information stated above was obtained from the publications of a variety of research and travel notes. However, in 2016, a website was established to actively convey various activities of the Baduy tribe, called "Desa Kaneke" (Kaneke Village). The official website (www.kanekes.desa.id) was formed following the Lebak Regency government’s program to create a container for the aspirations of its citizens. This website is managed by the village officials and continuously uploads the latest articles on the Baduy Tribe. In fact, some tribes in Indonesia have started using online mass media to publish or introduce their existence to the public. Melayu Online and Osing Banyuwangi, for instance, are two of the tribes in Indonesia who already have independent websites. The websites are useful to publish the existence of the tribe to the public. The Malay Online site contains the history, culinary, language, and literature of Malay ethnic forums in Indonesia. Osing Banyuwangi site is also a site that publishes the history and art of the Osing community. Both sites are created by their own people. The "Desa Kaneke" website has a different history from the two regional sites because this website was initiated by the Lebak government to create a site specializing in the activities of the villages under the Lebak district and the "Kanekes Village" website is one of its products. The people of Baduy tribe who
administratively settle in the Kanekes Village spread in some kampung (smaller villages or hamlets) indirectly become the central figure of the website. The Baduy tribe is described as very open to the life of the outside world and willing to follow the changes. This is slightly different from the news so far that illustrates the life of the Baduy tribe as far from the frantic scene of modern civilization.

THEORITICAL BASIS

Based on the phenomenon, the author is interested to investigate further what kind of construction is done by the media to display the image of the Baduy tribe. There is an indication of the government's desire to change the identity of Baduy as seen from various attempts made to draw their sympathy with various offers of modern comfort. The creation of a strong space to divert or shake the customary rules of the Baduy tribe is created within this website. Rituals that are usually never published are packed as texts and images that interest the readers. The construction of the discourse is directed at an idea that makes the government seem to be the one bringing enlightenment. According to Foucault, discourse cannot be understood as a series of words or propositions in the text, but discourse is something that produces others (an idea, a concept, or an effect). A discourse can be detected because systematically an idea, opinion, concept, and life view are formed in a certain context that influences a certain way of thinking and acting (Eryanto, 2005: 11). Power according to Foucault is not owned but practiced in a scope where many positions are strategically related to each other. For Foucault, power is always articulated through knowledge and knowledge always affects power. The organizer of power, according to Foucault, always produces knowledge as his power base. Knowledge is not a vague expression of power relations, but knowledge is within the power relations themselves. There is no knowledge without power, and there is no power without knowledge (Eryanto, 2005: 65-66).

Semiotic research on the spatial concept in Sunda-West Java has attracted researchers to gain explanations on how signifying practice conceive and performed in Sunda (Christomy, 2017). Semiotic studies of space in the international media often connect ideology, power relations, and the existence of minorities. The Critical Discourse Analysis approach is also widely used in the spatial semiotic analysis if it uses the media as corpus, such as the papers in Social Semiotics and Eikon. The indigenous phenomenon in multicultural and modern societies has become a study of interest because of the framing of ideologies in those tribes which is done by power relations.

By using Barthes's semiology, which explains culture, ideology, and myths to describe the understanding of a community about their lives, I will parse the power threads in the website. Culture refers to values, beliefs, and activities. Different cultures can be understood by different communities because of the sign system they understand. The values, beliefs, and rules in their lives are called ideologies. Most ideologies and cultures are shaped by myth, the connotative form of an understanding of past events that are not supported by real evidence. Mythology is a form of collective interpretation which includes ideology and culture. Each media has its uniqueness and ability to follow the existing trends. In analyzing the media there are no standard rules, but there are some general considerations that help provide
insights into media knowledge and what influence the media can exert (Gaines, 2010, p. 93).

Cultural commodities are one of the means that can be the conversion of the cultural product of ethnicity into a commodity. MacCannel states that tourism not only a commerce activity but also includes history, nature, and culture framing. (Dean MacCannel, The Empty Meeting Grounds, 1992, p. 1). Cultural tourism is a package that was created to fulfill the tourists’ desires. Those creations could impact the local people and the tourists. Tourists will have framed-cultural exotism. Nevertheless, the local people as a tourism commodity will be reshaped to fulfill the need. This image had happened in Labuan Bajo as described by Maribeth Erb in Limiting Tourism and the Limits of Tourism: The Production and Consumption of Tourist Attractions in Western Flores (on (Advances in Tourism Research)-Indigenous Tourism. The Commodification and Management of Culture) that create a cultural environment in Labuan Bajo to fulfill the tourism expansion made a wide gap between local life and the tourists. The life of tourists that came to their village is giving temptation to their lives and making them wanted to be more modern like them, while the tourists need to see the nature of primitive people that they cannot see in their world. In addition, the created cultural environment become empty and lost their true meaning (Ryan & Aicken, 2005, pp. 155-162). The Baduy tribe has many cultural products ranging from art, rituals, to homemade products (weaving). This potential is not realized by the Baduy people because they do not prioritize materialism. All the homemade products are created to fulfill their daily life necessity. The Baduy people are accustomed to a simple life with farming as their main livelihood. Types of plants used are limited, especially for the inner Baduy (Baduy Dalam). Similar treatment also occurs in their arts, rituals, and handicrafts. The outer Baduy (Baduy Luar) community has more access to the mundane things. Therefore, they have begun to develop transactional activities in their lives. The outer Baduy community has begun to develop a home-based creative industry assisted by the government. If we go to Baduy through Kampung Ciboleger to Kampung Gajeboh, then we will be treated to a variety of products from the local community selling from their terraces. The products are honey, miniature traditional houses, woven fabric, and knick-knacks.

**METHODOLOGY**

The data collected primarily from “Desa Kanekes” website are divided into two spatial codes in accordance with Barthes’s semiology i.e. public space and private space. Framing in commodification spaces is identified in this media so that by using discourse framing by Foucault, Barthes’s semiology, and commodification by Christ Ryan, this paper will describe and interpret the hidden sign in the website. Baduy’s identity has unknowingly changed direction from farmers to craftsmen.

**DISCUSSION**

The "Desa Kanekes" website has an important contribution in introducing the Baduy tribe to the world, especially with the ease provided by internet access in comparison to conventional means of information. Each post contained in this website has the power to mold the figure of the Baduy people to the audience. This website becomes the main axis in delivering
the image of the Baduy community to the public. The "Desa Kanekes" website was formed due to a government program in Kecamatan Leuwidamar which advocated each village to have a page or a website as a form of publicity and appreciation to the local community. The information published on this website contains all kind of Baduy daily activities so that the world noticed.

The articles on the "Desa Kanekes" website are divided into two spatial codes, i.e. public space and private space. The public space can be identified from the writing that includes the cooperation between the Baduy community and the local government. While the private space (personal) can be identified from the writing about the special rituals of the Baduy people in the fields and while weaving. Therefore, all of the writing can be contained in three main themes, namely the Baduy Festival, Baduy literacy, and the rituals of the Baduy people. The theme of the Baduy Festival in some articles reveals the success of the cooperation between the government and the Baduy community in increasing the production of Baduy weaving. Several parties are recorded giving a positive statement about the implementation of the Baduy Festival. Overall, the Baduy Festival event is described as a success, and it has become an annual program. The literacy of the Baduy community is illustrated with their interest in learning technological devices, such as laptops, smartphones, and so on. Rituals that were used to be difficult to be published are now available for public knowledge with the publication of the rituals of cultivation and weaving. The three main themes are united as a government mission to introduce Baduy on the website. The weaving theme is the main theme of this website, which implies that the government has another aim besides promoting Baduy.

**SPACE AND POWER IN “DESA KANEKES” WEBSITE**

Space in semiotics is a process of describing a significant sign relationship between the object and its spatial context (Gaines, 2010, p.78). After the categorization of aspects of discourse within the Foucauldian framework, the concept of space in articles published on the website can be described, especially those that have meaningful power relations with the Baduy community. Based on that, the publication space in the discourse containing the element of power relations on the website "Desa Village" is divided into public space, namely Baduy festival and internet service; and private/personal space, namely myth, and the rituals of cultivation and weaving. The articles in the public space have similar patterns of text formation, namely: (1) the construction of the success of the Baduy Festival due to the local government idea, such as interview quotes with village apparatus and local officials "... Festival Baduy memberikan banyak pelajaran pada para pengunjung yang hadir..." (Baduy Festival gives lessons to the visitors who attended..." (visitors and activist of Wahid Foundation) and " Acara tersebut akan menjadikan tolak ukur kesiapan para pelaku pengrajin di Wilayah Desa Kanekes untuk berkolaborasi ..." (The event will serve as a benchmark for the willingness of the craftsmen in the Kanekes Village Area to collaborate ...)") (Head of Kanekes Village); and 2) an overview of the modern environmental and social conditions of the Baduy community, such as " Lingkungan kampung sangat bersih, tak ada sampah berserakan. Tempat sampah tersedia di mana-mana...(The neighborhood is very clean, there are no garbage scattered.
Garbage cans are available everywhere...)" (the Village Head of Wlaharwetan); "Di sini tak ada pengangguran, semua warga bekerja secara kreatif. Mereka mampu mengelola sumberdaya di wilayahnya secara baik dan berkelanjutan (Here there is no unemployment, everyone is working creatively. They are able to manage the resources in their area well and sustainably)" (a Wahid Foundation activist); and "Masyarakat Baduy dan Kabupaten Lebak pada umumnya merupakan masyarakat pekerja keras, produktif dan kreatif, sehingga banyak produk-produk unggulan yang dihasilkan sangat berkelas dan berkualitas (The Baduy and Lebak Regency Community are generally hardworking, productive, and creative community, so that their products are very classy and qualified)" (Local Secretariat of Lebak). The creation of Festival Baduy becomes a successful product of the Lebak Government to take Baduy life transform it into a new identity, i.e from farmers to weavers. The phrases and clauses that construct all the opinions of government positive side or the positive comments are came from village heads, civil servants, social foundation (Wahid Foundation), etc. As already mentioned earlier, Desa Kanekes site is born by the government representative to publish any kind of Baduy daily activities which is quite different from the two former cultural society sites, i.e. Osing Banyuwangi dan Melayu Online, which has no government interference at all so that the purpose of publication quite different either.

The event called "Festival Baduy (Baduy Festival)" is a sign of space (power) used by the local government to inform the public that they are able to cooperate with the Baduy community. The image of Baduy displayed in this column is an image made by the government through an activity called Baduy Festival. The harmonization of the government and the people of Baduy is detectible in this column, as seen in the following phrases and clauses: "Sementara Kepala Desa Kanekes, Saija mengatakan, pihaknya merasa berterima kasih atas perhatian dan penghargaan yang telah diberikan kepada masyarakat Baduy. (While the Head of Kanekes Village, Saija said, he felt grateful for the attention and appreciation that have been given to the Baduy community)" (an article dated 7th November) and "Menurut Kepala Desa Kanekes, Jaro Saija; "Acara tersebut akan menjadikan tolak ukur kesiapan para pelaku pengrajin di Wilayah Desa Kanekes untuk berkolaborasi dalam menyajikan Ekonomi Kreatif, untuk pangsa pasar baik lokal domestik maupun ekspor (According to the Head of Kanekes Village, Jaro Saija; "The event will serve as a measure of the readiness of the craftsmen in Kanekes Village area to collaborate in Creative Economy, for both local and export market share)" (an article 28th Oct). The underlined phrases indicate the power of the government that exerts a strong influence on the success of the "Baduy Festival". The phrase "berterima kasih atas perhatian dan penghargaan (grateful for the attention and appreciation)" reinforces the success of the government's role in promoting the lives of the Baduy people, especially because this sentence was meant for the Kanekes Village people. Similarly, the following phrases are quoted from the head of the village's statement. Mostly, the statements quoted in the article come from local officials. The statements of the Baduy people or community have a small part in the articles. This shows the objective of the website manager to appoint the leading role of all activities that occur in the Baduy community to the government. The author's exposure is more inclined to opinions or
statements submitted by the local officials or official guests. Statements from the people are scattered in each article. The statements always contain positive responses to the government.

The Baduy community begins to accept modernization including information technology which, according to this website, has a positive impact on their lives. The publication space was created through the festival and distributed through online media. This provides a significant economic impact for the Baduy community. As stated in one of the articles: "Semoga pelaksanaan acara ini akan berdampak positif bagi perekonomian masyarakat adat Baduy khususnya...(Hopefully the implementation of this event will have a positive impact on the economy of the Baduy people especially...)" (Lebak Regent), which shows that the Baduy community is prepared to engage in the national economy through the marketing of Baduy woven fabric. This is in contrast to the characteristics of the Baduy agrarian community. There is an attempt to shift the pattern of life, which is indirectly done by the government, from agrarian society (farming) to a merchant/industrial society (weaving production). The example of the sentences is "Menurutnya, ini momentum penting agar mampu mempromosikan hasil karya tenun baduy ini kepada khalayak yang lebih luas agar dapat dikenal dan mampu bersaing dengan produk-produk dari daerah lain (According to him, this momentum is important to promote the products of Baduy woven clothes to a wider audience and to compete with products from other regions)" (an article dated 24th October). The underlined clause reinforces the exposition of the government's mission to frame the Baduy community as a weaving community. The word "momentum" becomes a spatial time which gives space to publish the mission.

The pictures above are snippets of the Ngaseuk and Ngaduruk rituals. The article entitled "Ngaseuk" and "Ngadurukan" explains the rituals of the Baduy community to start the farming season and finish the harvest. The inner Baduy (tangtu) and outer Baduy (panamping and dangka) communities come together to perform the rituals. The ritual is a momentum that can be used to witness how the people of the inner Baduy follow a land procession located in the panamping region. The images/illustrations that appear on this website show more Baduy people in black clothes, a mark of the outer Baduy people. The people in white clothes, which are indicative of the inner Baduy, are only shown twice on the website. This indicates that the author of the article only had access to the outer Baduy community so that all forms of news only reach the outer community. However, almost all articles do not indicate such limitations. Because the website is managed by a village official, these articles can be used to shape public opinions about the Baduy tribe. The outer Baduy community is more prominent because of the ease of negotiating with the
outsiders, including the government. Opinions built from this publication are important because they will form the identity of the Baduy tribe in the public eye.

The signifier of the private space in the narrative includes "Ngaseuk kegiatan yang penuh makna religiusitas khas masyarakat agraris, dimana dalam praktiknya banyak dirangkai oleh ritual upacara adat...(Activities in the Ngaseuk ritual are full of religious significance typical of an agrarian society, whose lives are entwined with many traditional ceremonial rituals...)" and "Ngadurukan adalah merupakan bagian dari tahapan pengelolaan sistem pertanian masyarakat Baduy (Ngadurukan is part of the stages of the agricultural management system of the Baduy people)."
The success of the publication signifies the success of power. The Baduy tribe is very strict with custom rules, including farming rituals. Previous research such as; kehidupan masyarakat Kanekes (1986), saatnya Baduy Bicara (2010), dan Konsep ruang dalam kehidupan orang Kanekes (2010) have not described the rituals in detail and explicitly. Most of them only describe the situation and the environmental conditions of the Baduy community. Therefore, this publication is quite bold when viewed from aspects of custom rules that they have. There is no information that mentions the retraction of this news, which is possible because there is a government role in it (publication of this article). It would be better if the private space like this could be made into a manuscript or a personal documentation of the Baduy community.

Modernization is also happening in Baduy community. This is demonstrated through the article ‘Meretas Mimpi Dengan Memanfaatkan Teknologi (Hacking dreams by utilizing technology)’. This article discusses the Baduy people who follow the development of information and technology. The sentence "Warga Baduy luar, Desa Kanekes Kec. Leuwidamar Kabupaten Lebak, Banten saat ini sudah memanfaatkan teknologi dan informasi dengan teknologi digital". (artikel tanggal 28 sept) (The residents of outer Baduy, Village Kanekes, Kecamatan Leuwidamar, Lebak District, Banten, is now using technology and information with digital technology)", ""Penggunaan teknologi dan informasi tersebut untuk menjual dan mempromosikan hasil produk/kerajinan warga melalui aplikasi website desa, media sosial seperti facebook, WhatsApp, twitter, BBM, line dan yang lainnya". (artikel tanggal 28 sept)(The use of such technology and information to sell and promote the products/crafts made by the Baduy people through village website applications, social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, BBM, Line, and others)” (an article dated 28th Sept) indicates the bluntness of the Baduy community that is beyond the limits of the customary law they hold.

The "Desa Kanekes" website becomes the frame of the Baduy identity. The life of the community, which used to be very anti-publication, is changing slowly. Narratives and opinions are created to produce the latest Baduy image. This website is a form of government justification in contributing (power) to the Baduy tribe by lifting their economic life.
COMMODIFICATION OF THE BADUY TRIBE ON THE DESA KANEKES WEBSITE.

Based on the excerpt of the article dated 1st Nov that conveys that "In general the existence of Baduy Customary community has been recognized in the Lebak Regulation No. 13/1990 concerning the Training and Development of Baduy Customary Institution in the Regency of Lebak, and the Local Regulation No. 32/2001 on the Protection of the Ulayat Rights of Baduy" becomes the entry point for the government to participate in the life of the Baduy people. The phrase "Training and Development of Baduy Customary Institution" became a means to mobilize a society that was previously oriented only to the fulfillment of the necessities of life by farming, and it is now shaped into a productive society within the framework of the creative economy.

The publication of Baduy existence through its unique weaving creativity becomes the main theme of most of the articles on the website. Besides an agrarian society, the Baduy people are also known as producers of woven fabric made by Baduy women. Increased production of weaving continues to be encouraged by the government to improve the economy of the Baduy people. Publications on the website and the Baduy Festival activities become a space for the government to expand the Baduy identity.

The government is able to enter the sacred realm of the life of the Baduy community through their weaving practice. As stated in the article ‘The guardian of the natural colors of the Baduy weave’ (30th October), there are several rules that must be followed in weaving and to become a weaver. The strong presence of the government in realizing the image of Baduy through weaving plays a dual role for the Baduy community. Firstly, the economic life of Baduy people increases along with the increase of weaving sales as most of the Baduy people, especially the outer Baduy, started to work as weavers (craftsmen and traders). Their homes are made as a place of business with the visitors who want to buy woven clothes. However, beyond that, the sacredness of their dwelling and their weaving practice is diminishing. It is important to note that the outer and inner Baduy weaves are produced with different tools and materials. This point does not appear on the website. The concern is that the readers might generalize all forms of activities on the website without understanding the existence of customary territories created to distinguish the inner Baduy (tangtu) and outer Baduy (panamping and dangka). These territorial restrictions are important because they form the basis of all forms of publications that are based on their lives.

CONCLUSION

The very convincing identity framing within the "Desa Kanekes" website is created in the form of arguments and expositions. Statements contained in most articles are derived from local government officials, village heads, and civic organizations. The news coverage on the website reinforces two aspects of their lives that are strongly supported by the government, i.e. the increased production and marketing of weaving, as well as the naivété of the Baduy people to change and develop. The creation of social spaces such as the Baduy Festival, the productivity of Baduy weaving, modernity life, and the farming rituals are broadcasted through this media. These spaces indirectly reshape a future for the agrarian and traditional Baduy
community to craftsmen and modern community. In addition, the exposition of the weaving tradition emphasized on this website illustrates the economic expansion of the Baduy community that has never been exposed before. The government's concern for the sustainability of the weaving craftsmen and their marketing are indicators of the bargaining position given by the government to cooperate with the Baduy community for an economically mutually beneficial situation. Unconsciously, the creation of this new identity leads to a fundamental change in their lives. Their daily farming life (farming by men and women) decreases because it was replaced by weaving activities. Nowadays, weaving is done by women. Those shifts automatically change their structure of men and women’s responsibility in the family. This situation highly affected their future life.

The power possessed by the "Desa Kanekes" website is able to provide a new perspective on the socially isolated Baduy tribe. The readers are invited to know more about the Baduy tribe with different viewpoints. The government-created culture space, which is the Baduy Festival and modernization, is able to conjure up the Baduy tribe in taking part in the shifts. The connotation created represents the government's success and is embodied in this website to transform the agrarian Baduy tribe into a community of craftsmen through the commodification of their weaving culture. Home production of the woven clothes highlighted on this website is used as the image of the Baduy tribe that is very supportive of their economy. The Baduy tribe is made to look like a money-oriented tribe (for profit). With the luxury of technology today, it will be very easy to have different forms of publication, especially related to ethnicity. The government has a stake in the process. If the cultural transformation of the Baduy tribe succeeds, then it is not impossible could happen to other indigenous tribes in Indonesia.

In addition, the party to be harmed is the Baduy tribe that has originality (Inner Baduy) which is the real Baduy tribe. The "Desa Kanekes" website is silent about or does not include the activities of the villagers who are not from the Baduy community. This is necessary because the Kanekes Village is inhabited by natives who are not always members of the Baduy tribe. The natural harmony between the Baduy and other ethnic communities needs to be highlighted to show that they are not physically isolated, but they live under strict traditional rules. The opinions and folklore of the Baduy people or Kanekes Village can be put to better use as the sources of the articles to display the image of the community in Kanekes Village with a win-win collaboration from Baduy people and the local government.

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