Cultural contact, cultural values, and education for life and work as predictors of future orientation in the Baduy community

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Abstract—Future orientation is a cognitive construct that explains the future orientation of individuals, especially the younger generation, to anticipate general events. Because education is responsible for the foundation of a sustainable future in a society, government and society need to prepare their younger generation through formal education. But this is not the case with the Baduy indigenous people. Although the government provides formal education for every ethnic group in Indonesia, the Baduy community rejects it. The cultural values of the society do not provide space for formal education. Customs prohibit formal education, and customary leaders hand out severe punishment to members who violate the prohibition. Education provided by custom is not formal, but is education for life and work. With this education, the Baduy community can survive and at the same time maintain its cultural values. These cultural values can affect future orientation. However, due to population growth, the available land area for farming is limited. As a result of this situation, Baduy people have pushed themselves to make cultural contact with the outside world. The purpose of this study was to examine variables, namely education for life and work, cultural contact, and cultural values as predictors of the future orientation in Baduy’s younger generation. This study involved 169 respondents from Baduy’s younger generation aged 11–21 years. With a survey research approach, this study uses dual language questionnaires, namely: An Education for Life and Work Scale to measure education for life and work, a Cultural Contact Scale to measure cultural contact, a Cultural Value Scale to measure cultural values, and a Future Orientation Questionnaire to measure future orientation. Result show that three variables were found to have an influence on future orientation (F = 8.935, p <.001). It can be concluded that education for life and work, cultural contact, and cultural values influence the future orientation of Baduy’s younger generation. The theoretical and practical implications of this finding are discussed.

Keywords: education for life and work, cultural contact, cultural values, future orientation, Baduy

Introduction

Future orientation is an oriented construct cognitive of the future (Trommosdoroff, 1983; McCabe & Barnett, 2000; Seginner, 2010). According to Seginer, future orientation is a tendency to think about the future and consider how action from the present effects in the future (2003). Future orientation is a complex motivational cognitive phenomenon, namely the anticipation and evaluation of oneself to interact with environments in the future (Trommosdoroff, 1983). McCabe and Barnett stated that future orientation is an idea of the future formed from a group of attitudes and assumptions in the past, interacting with information from the environment to build the future hope, establish a goal and aspiration and to give a personal meaning to some events in the future (2000).
Some teenagers develop their long future vision, in which they may think, dream, and plan their future (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006). They may anticipate a general event, especially in settlement education (Nurmi, 1989; Crockett & Bingham, 2000). Since education is a major foundation of a sustaining community, the community needs to prepare its youth successfully to face uncertainty and insecurity in the future. Based on that situation, adequate training skills and competence are the important things at this stage (Horváth & Nováky, 2016).

On the other hand, indigenous people, in general, lack attention in pursuing education. The National Development Planning Agency (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional) or Ministry of The National Development Planning Agency (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional) noted that there are a lot of factors which prevented some people in Indonesia from getting their formal education (2013). The first was the cost constraint to pay the school tuition in the formal school. The second was access, a place for living as their nomadic way of life becomes one of the obstacles to following the formal school route. The third factor was a lack of facilities and teachers. Besides, a lot of educational facilities are usually at the center of the village, which can be far away from indigenous people’s settlements.

Among the three obstacles above which prevented the indigenous people from getting formal education, none seem to apply to the Baduy community. The Baduy community is located in the village of Kanekes, Leuwidamar district which is relatively close to the Capital City (65 km) even from the Capital City of Jakarta (170 km). The location is not remote as it borders directly with other villages in the Leuwidamar district. In these villages, the majority of its inhabitants are Moslem and they have found formal schools and access to an Islamic boarding school (pondok pesantren).

Future orientation of Baduy teenagers seems to be much more influenced by their cultural values. Pikukuh is also the basis for religious activities and daily life of the Baduy community. Most of what is contained in pikukuh is prohibition (taboo) which is not recorded in text form but inherited through oral culture. This is then manifested in the daily interactions of Baduy people with one another and the natural environment. The cultural values are pikukuh, namely, customary law (hukum adat) meaning “no change.” Apparently, these values do not allow for future orientation, especially in preparing formal education for Baduy teenagers as the sanction given to offenders. Instead, of formal education, the indigenous education for life and work for the Baduy community has existed previously. It is skills-based education to survive, for example, in farming, the slash and burn system transmitted from parents to their children. This education not only ensures that the Baduy community survives materially, but also maintains its cultural values (Mulyadi, Prabowo, & Citra, 2018).

The Baduy are divided into two regions according to law-abidance level, namely Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy. The Inner Baduy is higher than the Outer Baduy. The Inner Baduy or tangtu is defined as a place and also predecessor or the origin, both in ancestry and by the founder of the settlement. The Outer Baduy (Baduy Luar) or Panamping, originates from the term “tamping” meaning “throw away”; thus, Panamping means ‘disposal’, a place where Baduy
residents are exiled and expelled due to violating the customary law (Permana, 2009). The sanction for the Baduy community who violate the customary law is exile from society or called alienation which is the circumstance or experience of being alienated (Wahid, 2012). For most people, alienation is such a severe punishment that they will try avoid it. Even others think that the alienation precisely creates the creativity.

The population of the Inner Baduy community is generally relatively unchanged from year to year. However, relatively high population growth occurred in the Outer Baduy population, which resulted in less available land to farm. As a result of this situation, the Outer Baduy developed a form of indigenous entrepreneurship through farming, in the same way as before, but carried out in areas outside the village of Kanekes. In addition, the Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy people also sell forest products like honey, bananas, durian and wood outside the cities, such as Tangerang, Jakarta, Depok, Bogor and Bandung. To reach these cities, the Inner Baduy people walk, while the Outer Baduy people use public transport. They can make a useful business network with tourists who have visited the Baduy region. These tourists are used as customers, and as a place to stay for a while.

**Education of life and work and future orientation**

A number of correlational studies on the relationship between future orientation and academic achievement have been conducted, among others, by De Volder & Lens, who found that students who had high average grades (GPA) and high learning persistence had a higher attachment to goals in a distant future, and perceived hard learning as a way to achieve future goals, than students who have low GPA and low learning persistence (1982). Students at an Iranian female high school, were found to have a future orientation and a positive relationship between future orientation and academic achievement (Hejazi, Moghadam, Naghsh, & Tarkhan, 2011). Brown and Jones found a relationship between Future Temporal Orientation and academic performance in African American students (Brown & Jones, 2004). DeDonato conducted research on Latino students, white students and ethnic group students in several high schools in Texas, which showed that factors closer to students, such as having at least one parent who had studied after high school, encouraging parents who urge them to go to college, and having more than three friends who plan to go to college in the second year, are strong predictors of future college preparation behavior and college applications in the following year (DeDonato & Edward, 2014).

Although the above studies measure future orientation in academic settings, researchers believe that future orientation can also be found in non-academic education settings, namely education for life and work. Future orientation is shared not only by students in formal education institutions, but also by the younger generation of Baduy, who get informal education in farming as a form of education for life and work.

**Cultural contact and future orientation**

When cultural contact occurs, individuals begin to understand new values outside of the values in their own society, and then may go on to internalize and develop them in behavior (Ikeguchi, 2008). When individuals are nurtured in one culture and then migrate to another, it
is present in situations where two or more heterogeneous internal positions (e.g., I as a Baduy and I as a non-Baduy) interact with the many heterogeneous external positions. Such positions (for example Baduy versus non-Baduy) can be perceived as conflicts, or they can coexist in a relatively independent and recurring way, so that combinations form multiple identities (Hermans & Kempen, 1998).

The way in which cultural influences related to their attitudes and academic achievements has been studied in young people from immigrant families in the United States. Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia found that the strength of ethnic identification of adolescents is more relevant to their academic adjustments than the specific labels they choose, and the most important thing is the extra motivation needed for ethnic minority students to achieve the same level of academic success as colleagues from European-American ethnicities (2005). Zarate, Bhimji, & Reese found that cultural dimensions of ethnic identity and multiple cultural identities emerged as significant predictors of academic performance (2005). However, there is no single ethnic label that has a definitive relationship with academic performance. Guan and Dodder examined the relationship between cultural contact and changes in values in students who experienced cross-cultural contact (Chinese students studying in the United States) with students who did not experience contact with other cultures (Chinese students studying in China) (2001). The results show that students who experience cultural contact assume that conservative cultural values are less important, than students who do not experience cultural contact.

Cross-cultural contact also causes cultural values in individuals who experience contact and they will experience that change in line with continuous interactions with the new cultures and environments where individuals are located (Hull, 1978; Brislin, 1981; Furnham, 1988; Kim & Ruben, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990). Based on previous studies, individuals who adapt their cultural values to the new cultural environment in which they are located will function better in new places and cultures that individuals move to. This study seeks to explore the cross-cultural contact process and its impact on changes in cultural values and identities. Intercultural communication will be effective depending on the amount of information exchange and the existence of mutual understanding between individuals and their original culture; and individuals and their new culture (Martin, 1984). Delgado-Gaitan found that the young generation of Hispanic immigrants in California could increasingly use the language, concepts, and strategies learned at school, while retaining their own cultural values (1991). At the same time, their parents learn through the values, knowledge, and behavior patterns which children bring home from school.

We found a similar phenomenon in the Baduy community (Mulyadi, Prabowo, & Citra, 2018). The cultural contact of the Baduy with non-Baduy people can influence future orientation, because it can motivate Baduy people to compare themselves and their tribes with people from different cultures. This social comparison can influence how Baduy people evaluate themselves and their people and how to achieve their future.
Cultural value and future orientation
Culture plays an important role in shaping the beliefs, roles and patterns of expectation and attitudes of someone who can develop their perspective that can then influence their behavior and that of others (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). Cultural values are described as shared, encompassing what is considered good, right, and desirable in a community group (Williams, 1970). Cultural values tend to have an impact on individual values that ultimately affect the behavior of individuals in the group (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, Verkasalo, Antonovsky, & Sagiv, 1997). The Andermans’ research results explain the striking differences in academic achievement in American youth with Latino students, where education expectation in adolescents can predict their educational outcomes (Anderman & Anderman, 1999). In Latino teenagers who have more future goals than adolescents from other backgrounds, such as having a family or a romantic partner, this goal also directly affects achievement in education. Having a goal can direct the stage of development in certain ways that reflect cultural values or norms (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). For example, Latino adolescents are reported to have more obligations to their families than white students (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005), which in turn can affect their decisions in pursuing education (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995) and jobs (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). Another consideration is how realistic individuals are in projecting themselves. Black students have a lower likelihood of education than white students to pursue higher education, and this is one of the factors that contribute to their achievement. In addition, Powell also explained that culture and values are important components of society, but cultural values are not static; they evolve over time (2009). Culture is about creativity, inheritance, knowledge and diversity, where these values are intrinsically connected with human development and how they maintain their environment (Opoku, 2015).

The younger generation of Baduy get their cultural values from their parents. The values consist of concern for the natural environment and morality to maintain proper human behavior. These values were taught by parents to children and affect children’s future orientation. As Seginer wrote, parenting styles and beliefs can influence the future orientation of their children (2003).

Research Method
A. Study Purpose, Research Question, and Hypotheses
This research aims to investigate the influence of education on life and work, cultural contacts, and cultural values on future orientation. Therefore, the main problem of the research is to establish if there are any influences of education for life and work, cultural contact and values on future orientation in the youth of Baduy. Meanwhile, the hypothesis of the research is that education for life and work, cultural contact and value mutually influence future orientation.

B. Setting and Participants
This research was conducted in several hamlets in Kanekes village on holidays and farming days in the Baduy community. It was conducted on holidays (Friday and Sunday) from morning to evening. On farming days, the research was conducted in the afternoon, while on
holidays, the researcher collected data in two locations, namely Kaduketug and Cisadane. By enlisting the help of the local people as mediators, the respondents were asked to come to the researcher’s location to complete the questionnaire. Meanwhile, on holidays, the researcher directly visited some Baduy hamlets assisted by local guides. Through the northern area Baduy (Kaduketug hamlet), the researcher collected data from Kaduketug and other hamlets such as Marengo, Babakan, Balimbing, and Gajeboh. From the southern Baduy, the researcher collected data in Cisadane, Batu Beulah, and the Cipondok hamlets.

C. Instrumentation
The research employed a bilingual questionnaire (Indonesian and Sundanese language) and was completed orally, as the respondents are functionally illiterate and lack formal education. The questionnaire consisted of four scales, namely: Future Orientation Questionnaire (FOQ), Education for Life and Work Scale (ELWS), Cultural Contact Scale (CCS), and Cultural Value Scale (CVS). This questionnaire was written in Indonesian and Sundanese languages, because the majority of the respondents could not understand the Indonesian language. The researchers helped them by reading out all items in the questionnaire and we recorded their oral answer on to the answer sheet of the questionnaire.

Researchers did a try out to measuring the questionnaires and results of the try-out are as follows:

1. Future Orientation Questionnaire (FOQ) consists of two indicators, namely education and entrepreneurship[15]. This scale consists of seven items with Alpha reliability = .96
2. Education for Life and Work Scale (ELWS), with domains in the form of cognitive, intrapersonal and numerical interpersonal [40]. This consists of 11 items and an Alpha reliability = .87
3. Cultural Contact Scale (CCS), with some indicators: trade, ceremony, and recreation [41]. Recreation includes leisure time, intercommunication, childhood technological usage, and tourism. It consists of 13 items and an Alpha reliability = .92
4. Cultural Value Scale (CVS), with some aspects: the values of the natural environment and the values of morality are to maintain proper human behavior [11]. It consists of 15 items and Alpha reliability = .77.

D. Procedure
Those four scales completed by respondents from the younger Baduy generation made up a total of 169 respondents, with details: age range 9–21 years old, 114 male and 55 female, 60 people from the Inner Baduy (Baduy Dalam) and 109 people from the Outer Baduy (Baduy Luar). The researcher employs the enumerator method in dictating the questionnaire to respondents as Baduy community are not able to read or write. The result of four variables was analyzed using multiple regression assisted by SPSS statistics 21.
Results

The result of multiple regression analysis shows that there is a highly significant influence of education for life and work, cultural contact and value on future orientation ($F=8.935; p<.001$).

Table I. Model Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of Estimate</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.374</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>1.127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predictors: (Constant), education fL&WX3, cultural valueX2, cultural contactX1

Table II. Coefficient

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.712</td>
<td>.519</td>
<td>3.302</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural Contact X1</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural Value X2</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education fL&amp;W X3</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Future Orientation

The contribution of these three independent variables, education for life and work, cultural contact, cultural value toward the future orientation is 14%. However, education for life and work hold an influence on future orientation merely ($\text{Beta} = .223; p <.01$). While the other two variables do not make a significant contribution ($\text{Cultural contact: Beta} = .059; p >.01$; cultural value: $\text{Beta} = .163; p >.1$).

Discussion and Conclusion

This research examined the effect of education on life and work, cultural contact, and cultural values on the future orientation of the young Baduy. Those variables turned out to have an exceedingly significant influence on future orientation in the young Baduy. However, education for life and work has a very marginal influence on future orientation. Although the education for life and work variable used in this research is customary education instead of formal education, the result of this study supports several previous studies using education for life and work in the context of formal education, where education for life and work affect future orientation (De Volder & Lens, 1982; Brown & Jones, 2004; Hejazi, Moghadam, Naghsh, & Tarkhan, 2011).

Cultural value does not affect future orientation. It is presumably due to the fact that the Inner Baduy residents have different values from the Outer Baduy society, where the Inner Baduys’ cultural values are more sacred than the Outer Baduys’. According to Permana, the restrictions applied to the Inner Baduy community are more than on the Outer Baduy community.
(Permana, 2009). In addition, the number of respondents from Inner Baduy (60 people) more than from Outer Baduy (109 people).

We can compare this result with the other tribe community in Indonesia, such as Kajang community, South Sulawesi province, which is divided into Inner Kajang and Outer Kajang. While Inner Kajang is a place holding on to traditions, Outer Kajang is a place where its inhabitants accept change and modernity (Tyson, 2011; Syamsurijal, 2016). Those who live in Outer Kajang may pursue their formal education as provided by the government (Danasasmita, 1984; Arifin, Osman, & Wunas, 2013). Thus, it may affect their future orientation more than those who live in Inner Kajang.

Cultural values of the Baduy community seem to be maintained still, with social sanctions for those who violate them. According to Danasasmita, this sanction has three levels, such as being set aside from the daily environment, downgraded from citizenship status (from the Inner Baduy to the Outer Baduy) and direct punishment of violators (1984). These cultural values hold an intrinsic feature of an indigenous Baduy community’s effort to maintain their environment. Fithian & Powell (2009) stated that cultural values are the most important component in a society. However, they are changeable and evolve over time. The cultural values of the Baduy community seem to be changeable, as is proved by how they survive. Although they apply a new way to survive, Baduy inhabitants maintain their cultural values. In fact, when it comes to agriculture, the Baduy inhabitants apply the same system as their ancestors did, the difference being in the location. Since there is a land limitation problem in their territories, Baduy people may have to grow crops outside their territory to survive. As a result, the researcher hypothesizes that these strong cultural values give no effects on how they see the future.

Cultural contact has no influence on future orientation either, because the Baduy community conduct their cultural contact with non-Baduy community over a very limited spectrum of matters. When they interact with the non-Baduy community, they remain outside Baduy lands for a short time just to fulfill their economic needs, and do not engage in intense communication with others. Therefore, the communication exchange does not entirely work between Baduy people and their neighborhood. This result accords with Martin’s finding, that cultural contact will be effective if there is intense communication between migrants and hosts; conversely, if there is no intense communication, cultural contact is not effective (1984).

When it comes to cultural contact, some of their cultural values change continuously along with the interaction between their own culture and the new environment (Hull, 1978; Brislin, 1981; Furnham, 1988; Kim & Ruben, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990). People who adapt their cultural values to their new cultural environment where they now live, function better in their new places and cultures (Martin, 1984). Baduy’s cultural contact in their neighborhood villages (to farm) and outside the town (to trade) is a way to maintain a life temporarily, rather than migration, as Baduy people who have migrated and settled in a new place are considered to be out of customs.
Implication

The government needs to make and implement a non-formal education policy based on Baduy’s cultural values, so that future orientation of the younger Baduy community increase and they are able to live in prosperity and equality with other communities in Indonesia.

The importance of the government’s role in enhancing the future orientation of Baduy community can be seen from the results of this research. The results show that the contribution of independent variables (cultural contact, cultural values and education for life and work) to the future orientation is only 14%. The remaining 86% may be determined by external factors, especially the role of government in the form of education policy.

The indigenous vocational education for the Aboriginal tribes in Australia may function as a lesson learned for the Indonesian government to develop the vocational education for the Baduy community. Billett found that since the 1980s, indigenous vocational education has changed in Australia as it has involved the government (2004), then called Vocational Education and Training (VET) which provides skills and knowledge to work (Serena, 2018) with the aim of providing a more productive and skilled labor force (Eichhorst, Rodriguez-Planas, Schmidl, & Zimmermann, 2012). Behrendt et al. found that VET has dramatically increased Aboriginal participation in the labor market (2012), because VET has been able to meet their community needs and they became more independent and empowered.

Acknowledgement

The researcher presents his sincere appreciation to Karlina Adikusumah and Jacobus Belida Blikololong, as informants.

References


