

Embeddedness of Economic Actions in the Social Network: Study among of Local Genuine Entrepreneurship in Cirebon, West Java

Haryono Haryono,^{1*} Mukhtar Mukhtar,² Titik Sumarti,¹ Didin S. Damanhuri,³
Sofyan Sjaf¹

¹ Department of Communication and Community Development, Faculty of Human Ecology, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor – Indonesia, ² School of Mathematical Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang – Malaysia, ³ Department of Economics and Environmental Resources, Faculty of Economics and Management, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor –Indonesia

Abstract

Economic activities in a social context can not be separated from social networking, for example, the networking between business actors. This study aims to find out the time-term of the businessmen's work, with whom they worked; and the impact of their networking. This research was conducted in Cirebon Regency West Java Province, Indonesia, for 6 months, from May to October 2019. Applying the qualitative method, this research found that: local entrepreneurs in the rattan business sector have been running for a long time. As a result of historical formation, there is a wide network between entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs with certain institutions and community structures. The map of economic network attachment in social networks shows the diversity of attachments between economic networks and social networks.

Aktivitas ekonomi dalam suatu konteks sosial tidak dapat dipisahkan dari jejaring sosial, sebagai contoh adalah jejaring antar para pelaku usaha. Tujuan penelitian ini, untuk menganalisis keterlekatan tindakan ekonomi dalam jaringan sosial di kalangan entrepreneur Cirebon Jawa Barat Indonesia. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Kabupaten Cirebon, Propinsi Jawa Barat, Indonesia dengan waktu 6 bulan, dari bulan Mei sampai Oktober 2019. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif ditemukan bahwa pengusaha lokal dalam bidang usaha rotan telah berjalan sangat lama. Akibat bentukan sejarah mengakibatkan adanya jejaring yang luas baik antar entrepreneur maupun antar entrepreneur dengan kelembagaan dan struktur masyarakat tertentu. Peta kelekatan jejaring ekonomi dalam jejaring sosial menunjukkan adanya keragaman kelekatan antara jejaring ekonomi dengan jejaring sosial.

Keywords: Cirebon; social network; embeddedness of economic actions; entrepreneurs

*Corresponding Author: Haryono Haryono (haryono_sakayi@apps.ipb.ac.id) Faculty of Human Ecology, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Jl. Kamper, Babakan, Bogor, Jawa Barat 16680 Indonesia.

Introduction

Decisions of economic actions taken by business actors are influenced by social networks, for example related to cooperation between business actors (Czernek-Marszałek 2020). Attachment of economic actions that occur in business actors can occur in the form of groups or community entrepreneurs who are supported by social networking ties (Alexandrescu et al. 2016). This happened among rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon. Social networks and economic forms can also occur in rural communities, which have stronger family ties than urban communities (Tregear and Cooper 2016). Local entrepreneurs are able to compete in the economy while maintaining the characteristics of the rural economy with the wisdom values they possess (Bosworth and Turner 2018). The attachment of economic actions develops and grows in small businesses in rural areas (Greenberg, Farja, and Gimmon 2018). Practices of attachment of economic actions carried out by local entrepreneurs in their social networks occur in communities in the City of Cirebon, West Java, Indonesia. Cirebon City is one of the "cities" that historically has connected countries in the west and the east, known as the "Silk Road". Cirebon is developed from a local port, then becoming a regional and international port. The impact of the Cirebon port development is the growth of the city of Cirebon as a political, economic, and socio-cultural center (Islamic religion). Cirebon, which was originally known as *dukuh* (village), turned into a big city (Islamic sultanate) which served as a center for regional and international cultural gatherings.

Cirebon society, is a society that inherits the noble values of Islamic religious leaders in Java, namely Syarif Hidayatullah/Sunan Gunung Jati (1448-1568) (Abbas 2015). Islamic civilization

contributes to the formation of the perspective of the people of Cirebon in facing their social and religious life. The legacy of local wisdom of Sunan Gunung Jati continues to be preserved among the people of Cirebon today. His success in propaganda and socio-cultural activities in the 17th century has established him as a sacred figure who bequeathed the noble values that became the local wisdom of the people of Cirebon.

Cirebon people's view on life is the implementation of customs based on the translation of the Hadith and the Qur'an. The presence of various folk craft centers in Cirebon is inseparable from the efforts to spread the Islamic religion of Sunan Gunung Jati. Ki Tegalmantra as his follower, taught weaving to the people of Cirebon, especially the Tegalwangi community and is now famous as the center of the largest rattan handicraft industry in Indonesia. According to Sandee et al. (2003) commercial rattan businesses on a large scale had begun in Tegalwangi around the 1930s, starting from making simple mats and blinds from rattan. The first rattan mat made by craftsmen is called *kelasa* or *lampit*. *Lampit* in religious and traditional societies is an important need (mat seat, place of worship, and house decoration) so that it has a fairly broad market reach at that time for the inhabitants of villages and cities around Cirebon such as Indramayu and Sumedang. Furthermore, many rattan craftsmen began to make rattan furniture and the famous one at that time was a form of rattan furniture similar to *gentong* (barrel) then referred to as a *gentong* chair.

Yip et al. (2018) distinguished forms of attachment as relational attachment and structural attachment. Jamilah et al. (2016) mentioned that the attachment of Islamic ethics and Sundanese

to economic actions in Tasikmalaya embroidery entrepreneurs are divided into three types of entrepreneurs, i.e., Islamic-Sundanis, Sunda-Islamic, and Sunda Capitalist. This study aimed to explore the rattan entrepreneur in Cirebon in the perspective of time, social networkings among the rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon, and the map of economic networks and social networks. These questions were based on the assumptions that by the time the activities of the entrepreneurs are mold in the dialectic of the value and the conditions that they faced.

This research was conducted in Cirebon Regency, Tegalwangi Village, Weru Subdistrict, and Karang Mulya Village, Plumbon Subdistrict with a period of 6 (six) months in May, June, July, August, September, and October 2019. This research was a continuation of the author's research on his thesis. The reason for determining Cirebon Regency as the research location was due to several factors, including: 1) Rattan industry in Cirebon Regency is the largest in Indonesia and internationally, 2) 85% of handicrafts and rattan furniture in this world are originated or supplied from Cirebon Regency, Cirebon Regency has a culture and history in the development of the rattan industry, 4) The people of Cirebon are very much protecting the cultural heritage of their ancestors of Sunan Gunung Jati. Therefore, the issue of establishing genuine local entrepreneurs in rattan entrepreneurs as a political economy phenomenon in Cirebon Regency, West Java Province, was very appropriate to be conducted.

This research used constructivist paradigm, which is a paradigm that considers subjective interpretation not as a biased source, but it will help researchers in understanding how people and society participate in building social reality. The choice of paradigm above clearly directed this research to the practice of a qualitative

approach, even though the data used were qualitative and quantitative data derived from secondary data. Considering the choice of paradigm and the form of research questions, the most appropriate approach for this research was a case study. The use of case study strategies, approaches or qualitative research that allows researchers-actors dialogue, interaction between and within researchers and actors (constructivism), can be combined with the expression of emic views (post-positivism) (Chamberlain-Salaun, Mills, and Usher 2013).

Considering this topic, this research is an actual reality that is sociological, but basically the problem is actually the result of a historical process. Therefore, it cannot be assessed solely from an actual present perspective but also approached with a historical perspective. This approach provides a tool for conducting an explanation of the question "how" the process of an actual reality occurs.

This study used primary data and secondary data. Primary data was collected through participant observation, structured interviews and unstructured interviews with informants, and focus group discussions (FGD) to each element of informants. Secondary data was obtained from official documents or available literature and from general mass media reports, journals, books, papers and research reports that are relevant and related to the research topic. Informants was determined purposively, where each of them was chosen according to the purpose of the study and understanding of the subject related to the problem to be studied. Table 1 showed the informants, the numbers, and the kinds of information needed from them.

For the research topic of establishing genuine local entrepreneurs, the sources and data collection techniques including the required data elements are shown in Table 2.

Table 1
Informants and the Methods of Data Combining

No.	Informants	Number	Methods of Data Combining
1.	Rattan Entrepreneur	5	Structured and Unstructured Interviews, and FGD
2.	Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of Cirebon Regency Industry and Trade Office • Village head 	3	Unstructured interviews and documentation
3.	Other Actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious figures • Cirebon Sultanate • HIMKI (association) • Academics • Cirebon Cultural Practitioner • Cirebon Community 	20	Structured and Unstructured Interviews, and FGD

Table 2
Data Sources and Collection Techniques

Research Objective	Data Collection Technique	Data Source	Data Analysis	Output
To study and analyze how the local genuine entrepreneurship (LGE) economic action is attached in social networks.	Observation and Interview	The daily life of local entrepreneurs in running businesses and developing their businesses.	Qualitative Analysis	Form of embedded in the economic actions of rattan entrepreneurs in social networks
	Secondary Data	Articles, news, documents and books related to the topic of economic actions embedded in social networks		

Local Genuine Entrepreneurship (LGE) Economic Actions in Cirebon Indonesia in the Perspective of Time

In the 1950s, the original inhabitants of Tegalwangi began mass-making rattan chairs and sold them to local consumers. The business is a family-based group of businesses (Harms 2014; Dana dan Ramadani 2015). At that time the request came not only from local residents, but also the people of Cirebon City which were

dominated by the Dutch, Chinese traders and a little from the nobles of Cirebon. The rattan handicraft market was still local, and the business was still monopolized by a certain group of people who had large capital and means of production. Along with the large demand from outside Cirebon, the availability of local raw materials was inadequate. Support for raw material sources from other regions was needed. The desire to gain great profit motivates craftsmen to resign from the workshop and

created their own business. The process of demonopolizing skills has shifted from abilities that only Dutch entrepreneurs and Chinese traders have towards indigenous people.

The first rattan business recorded in the history of the rattan handicraft industry in Tegalwangi was the "Semaun" rattan business, which was established in the mid-1930s. The "Semaun" status was a furniture component supplier for large workshops in the city of Cirebon. Large workshops that have their own company names and are known as four original companies owned by Tegalwangi natives, namely CV. Ali, CV. Senta, "Bumi Rotan" and "Cahaya Rotan". The rattan handicraft industry in Cirebon has raised rattan entrepreneurs as genuine local entrepreneurs. This local entrepreneur is presented as a potential social force in the context of transforming Cirebon society from an agrarian society to an industrial society through local values embedded in social networks. The process of emergence shows aspects of the origins of the establishment of entrepreneurs and social forces that embody social status as entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, the entrepreneur's sustainability process is closely related to other social forces.

Before 1986, Indonesia was the largest exporter of rattan raw material in the world, while the national rattan processing industry was still underdeveloped. Since 1986, in the period of Minister Rahmat Saleh as Minister of Trade, Minister of Trade (1986) concerning a ban on the export of rattan raw materials was issued. the national rattan processing industry was experiencing very rapid development.

Meanwhile, rattan processing industries abroad (Taiwan and Europe) whose raw materials rely on supplies from Indonesia were bankrupt and shifted their businesses to Indonesia.

The rattan handicraft industry in Cirebon Regency has been a supplier for most of the world markets, especially countries in Europe. This industry is included in the strategic category for West Java. In 2002, this industry absorbed approximately 200 thousand workers, the country's foreign exchange income in 2003 was US \$ 122 million and increased in 2004 to US \$ 135 million (BPS Kabupaten Cirebon 2009; BPS Kota Cirebon 2009). In the period of 2001-2004, the number of companies, production, exports and employment in the rattan processing industry sub-sector in Cirebon was increased, where the number of companies was increased from 923 business units to 1,060 business units, production was increased from 62,707 tons to 91,181 tons, exports was increased from 32,871 tons (worth US \$ 101.67 million) to 51,544 tons (worth US \$ 116,572 million) and employment was increased from 51,432 people to 61,140 people.

Ministry of Trade of Indonesia (2005) concerning Provisions on the Export of Rattan, which allows the export of raw materials for rattan and semi-finished rattan. The policy caused the Indonesian rattan industry to deteriorate, both production, export and employment in the rattan processing industry sub-sector that experienced a significant decline According to the Ministry of Industry statement on 2013, in 2005 Indonesia ranked third (7.68%) in the trade of rattan chairs and rattan furniture in the global market after China (20.72%) and Italy (17.71%) (Maulana, Nurmalina, and Suharno 2017). Rattan processing industry in competing countries, especially China and Taiwan is growing rapidly, thus seizing market share and export market potential of rattan products from Indonesia. The export of Chinese

rattan products in 2002 was still in balance with Indonesia at US \$ 340,000, but in 2006 it had increased 4-fold; while Indonesia as a producer of rattan raw material, the exports of rattan products was decreased. The export volume of processed rattan was decreased from 193,078 tons in 2003 to 172,782 tons in 2006 or decreased by an average of - 3.63% per year. The number of declining is shown in the Table 3.

Meanwhile, with this policy, some rattan furniture producers in Cirebon experienced a

decline in production, including those who were able to export as many as 120 containers per month, then they were only able to export 15-20 containers, and some were no longer producing. Approximately 30% of entrepreneurs went bankrupt, turnover of entrepreneurs dropped and 50,000 rattan workers were unemployed and some changed professions. This was due to the difficulty in obtaining quality rattan raw materials.

Table 3
Data on Number of Business Units and Workers in Rattan Industry

Year	Business Unit		Worker	
	Rattan Furniture Industry	Rattan Processing	Rattan Furniture Industry	Rattan Processing
2006	300	68	38.670	7.575
2007	305	40	36.885	2.756
2008	287	38	35.246	3.582
2009	281	27	30.279	2.266
2010	220	27	26.813	2.697

Table 4
Furniture Export Volume and Value of Cirebon Regency Year 2004 -2010

Year	Volume	Value (US Dollar)
2004	17.334	135.864.065,34
2005	16.113	130.231.772,67
2006	12.881	116.800.092,02
2007	12.490	115.202.546,83
2008	13.541	130.726.869,14
2009	-	96.851.365,66
2010	9.113	129.669.992,22

In 2005, the export value of rattan products was decreased from US \$ 347 million to only US \$ 138 million. The growth rate of the export volume of rattan handicrafts in Cirebon Regency from August 2005 to July 2006 was decreased,

while the projected growth in the export value of rattan handicrafts in Cirebon Regency from August 2005 to July 2006 was decreased by - 0.0089% (Hidayanti 2006). According to Central Bureau of Statistics, in terms of export volume

and export value from 2004 to 2010, Cirebon has decreased in value. This is presented in Table 4.

In the era of Trade Minister Gita Wiryawan, the Minister issued the (Menteri Perdagangan RI 2011) concerning provisions on the export of rattan and rattan products which prohibited the export of raw rattan and had re-established the rattan industry in Indonesia. Processed rattan was able to contribute the largest foreign exchange from non-timber forest products in the amount of USD 286.72 million in 2012. However, in 2014 and 2015, the value of processed rattan exports was decreased by USD 214.33 million and USD 149.23 million due to the global economic crisis (Data from Ministry of Industry 2016, in Anwar 2021). In 2012, a year after the export ban on rattan raw materials, it was put into effect the volume of Indonesian rattan furniture products was above China. This was caused by the cessation of the rattan raw materials supply to the country. Comparison of the value of rattan furniture exports in 2012 was Indonesia of 115,680,093 USD and China of 53,869,286 USD in the international market (BPS Kota Cirebon 2012).

The jump in the sale of rattan furniture in Cirebon Regency indicated an increase in the concentration of rattan products from Cirebon. From 2009 to 2011, Cirebon was responsible for 55% of Indonesia's total rattan furniture production which reached 62% in 2011. In 2012, that number rose to 73%. Trade data shows that the trade in rattan had increased after the ban. It was increased from \$ 11.3 million to 35.7 million or an increase of 216% (BPS Kota Cirebon 2012).

Data shown by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Cirebon Regency shows that of the 9 (nine) categories of industrial groups, the rattan handicraft industry with the highest number of business units reached 1,398 business units in 2017 and it was spread among households in villages, especially Tegalwangi village as the center of rattan crafts in Cirebon. Table 5 shows that an increase in the value of investment in 2014 amounted to IDR 215,110,199,000, was increased each year, and in 2017 it reached IDR 252,010,199,000. This shows that with the increase in the investment value, it indicates that the rattan handicraft industry has become a mainstay and a livelihood for the people of Cirebon.

Table 5
Development of the Rattan Industry in Cirebon Regency
Year 2014 - 2017

	Rattan Furniture/Crafts			
	2014	2015	2016	2017
Business unit	1.331	1.370	1.362	1.398
Worker	57.102	59.712	59.763	60.455
Investment Value (IDR. Thousand)	215.110.199	236.560.199	244.860.199	252.010.199
Production Capacity (tons)	75.085	98.485	101.940	104.917

Rattan handicraft industry business, especially in Tegalwangi Cirebon is supported by small businesses in the procurement of components in large quantities. The pattern of sub-contract work is often carried out by entrepreneurs exporting rattan furniture. The existence of this sub-contracting pattern will have many advantages including: a steady and harmonious order turnover, procurement of small capital assets, increased quality control and efficient technology transfer. Employment relations system among export entrepreneurs, craftsmen (sub-contractors) and wage craftsmen is shown in Figure 1.

The presence of the rattan handicraft industry in Cirebon Regency especially since the past years and 1980s as a sociological phenomenon was to bring up the indication of rattan entrepreneurship or rattan entrepreneurs. Rattan entrepreneurs emerge at the level of business life as a form of manifestation of local values contained in the people of Cirebon. Rattan entrepreneurs as a social group are very strategic for the people of Cirebon. This group is a group of potential social forces in transforming the Cirebon society from an agrarian society to an industrial society. Throughout its development, the industry experienced fluctuation as a result of

the scarcity of rattan raw materials. Rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon are very dependent on raw materials from outside Cirebon, especially from Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Rattan trade policy greatly affects the sustainability of the rattan industry and the presence of rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon.

Social Network in Cirebon West Java

The values of local wisdom owned by the people in Cirebon are an important part in following the social network described by (Granovetter and Swedberg 2011). Historically, Cirebon was controlled by the Dutch in 1681 and the sultanate of Cirebon came under pressure from the Dutch colonialists, especially in the political and economic fields. The Sultanate and its leaders lost power in the political and economic fields. This had a wide-ranging impact on the socio-economic life of the people, because from that time until the early 20th century, the Dutch government exploited the land by opening sugar cane plantations and setting up sugar factories in the Cirebon Residency area. Community land ownership rights were certainly increasingly deprived and communities were in poverty.

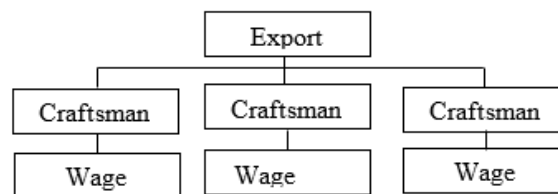


Figure 1
Employment Relations System

One of the values in Cirebon society is Islamic values. There are many bright, clever or intelligent muslim groups who have strong influence on religious and economic matters. Rustandi *et al.* (2019) mentioned them with the term of 'Muslim middle class'. Some *Kyai* (Muslim clerics) and *santri* (Muslim student) from *pesantren* (religious school) who specialize in religious activities, also has a wide attention on the economy of the *ummah* (Muslim society). This group is considered as a pioneer in improving the ummah's economy. The santri merchant group had the potential to develop into capitalist entrepreneurs in the forefront of their business base in markets, shops and small businesses, while the *priyayi* (nobles) group had the potential to generate professional and incorporated capitalist entrepreneurs as it has been in Europe.

The rattan industry in Cirebon was originally developed and taught by followers of Sunan Gunung Jati who spread religion and opened villages in Tegalwangi under the name Ki Tegalmantra. Until now he is considered by the community as a religious figure who built the village of Tegalwangi. The loss of the influence of the Cirebon sultanate in the fields of politics and economics, which at that time was controlled by the Dutch, did not dampen the enthusiasm to improve the fate of its people by shifting leadership under the religious leaders in each village. Religious and economic activities carried out by the *Kiyais* and their students were also the expression of the concern in the side of the royal family towards indigenous communities. One of the informant stated that the emergence of Muslim entrepreneurs has become a wind of change for indigenous people who are able to become social movers and modifiers of their social status (agency).

Based on the description of one informant related the style of Cirebon's entrepreneur in managing their working spirit as:

"Cirebon society is a very rational society and has the courage to take risks to meet their needs when a new culture comes. They try to invest their culture, knowledge, and even their wealth for the purpose of improving their lives. This was shown by the students who are supported by the owners of the pesantren (*Kyai*) or educated-class in the society or the so-called Muslim middle class to develop the industry in Cirebon. The *kyai* helped their santri to develop the local industry." The other informants told that beside the support of society and religious leaders *papatah pepitih* (advice) from Sunan Gunung Jati also engraved in the behavior of entrepreneurs in Cirebon. One of for example of the advice is *aja akeh kang den pamrih* (do not expect much of return). The support of the royal family was also important that made the community's economy survive to become sustainable towards the local wisdom of Cirebon. So it can be concluded that the development of Cirebon entrepreneurship was formed not only by local values, but also society and political power.

The value that spread out among the entrepreneurs in Cirebon, according to some informants the value of Islam in Cirebon which has a distinctive nuance. Islam in Cirebon is Islam that already in contact with its locality context. Such an Islam is Islam that accommodates local traditions, does not eliminate local traditions as long as they do not conflict with pure Islam and still have relevance to the Islamic great tradition. The relationship between Islam and local culture is acculturative-syncretic patterned as a result of joint construction between agents (local elites) and their communities in a continuous dialectical

process (Said 2015). The strengthening of Islamic teachings is through the process of continuous transformation (Nuruddin 2018). The processes of legitimization of the teaching is based on the interpretations of local elites. The legitimization of local elite produce social constructs about local Islam (Lenggono 2018). The Islamic values spread out in all of the social activities, included the economic activities.

In managing the economic activities, some informants underlined some principles in Islam that they implement in their life. Some of the principles that the informants hold in their life are halal life, the orientation for getting God bless, mutual willingness as the principle of exchange, and the spirit of giving and care. These are in line to the requirement of making a living in the perspective of Anwar Abbas (2013) According to (Abbas 2015), one must pay attention to halal livelihoods. There are three types of halal livelihood sources. First, the effort and work are in the way of God blessing. Second, trading, selling and buying activities must be performed in mutual willingness, no elements of cheating or coercion, free from elements of fraudulent or vanity and coercion or usury, and no speculation and gambling. Third, gifts are given voluntarily. There is a principle in Islam that the hands above (giving) are better than the hands below (receive).

The above values are used by the entrepreneurs in Cirebon as the sources of

general concepts about the world, self, and the relationship between the two aspects. Some of the informant in the side of entrepreneurs said that they are sure that religion can provide an ethos for deciding their way and achievement of life. Another informant stated that the understanding of entrepreneurs regarding the religious conception of economic action is closely related to the behavior of entrepreneurs in Cirebon. According to them, their business growth is not only due to the humanitarian desires of the entrepreneurs but more likely to be caused by the local cultural wisdom of indigenous peoples in responding to the various pressures of their socio-economic life, but also the religious spirit to try their best. According to the Ash'ariyah school, human beings are able to choose in their actions. Where these actions depend on human will and choice. These will and choice, according to Ash'ariyah, are originated from God.

Some other informants stated some local values that they held in their life activities. The values are described in the Table 6.

The four principles put forward by informants, namely Honesty, *rame ing gawe*, *wirang*, and sincerity are very important principles, not only in the world of entrepreneurs but also in life in general. Honesty is an attitude that dares to tell the truth. This attitude is very important in the world of entrepreneurs, and will open up success in his business. This is because

Table 6
Local Values of Cirebon Communities

No	Local value of Cirebon communities and their implementation in their business
1	Honesty; In running a business, it becomes an important point
2	<i>Rame ing gawe</i> , always work hard in running a rattan business
3	<i>Wirang</i> , shame if we become losers
4	Sincere, accepting what has been received

honesty will produce trust among consumers. Rame ing gawe, is a principle that emphasizes the importance of always working hard in running a business. Even if this principle is implemented, it will produce success in business, because there is no success without hard work. Wirang, is an attitude of shame if we become losers. If this attitude is applied, it will bring up strong self-integrity that will lead to trust among customers. The last one is Sincerity, which is accepting what has been received, and not wanting what others get without personal effort.

Map of Economic Actions in Social Networks

Based on the informant's explanation, the economic actions that appear among rattan entrepreneurs are based on the breadth of individual networks. This network of individual entrepreneurs is commonly found among rattan entrepreneurs in rural areas. Many of the relationships among entrepreneurs in rural areas are based on family relations. In addition to individual relationships, there are other relationships among entrepreneurs, namely the relationship between individuals and certain institutions or structures, or relationships between institutions or structures that result in extensive relationships. Granovetter and Swedberg (Granovetter 2005) in this context explain that economic action in society occurs in the range between underembedded (weakly embedded) and overembedded (strongly embedded). Hence, economic action occurs on a continuum between the strongly entrenched and the strongly entrenched poles (Granovetter 2005). Granoveter (2005) also distinguishes two forms of embedded, namely relational embedded and structural embedded. The two forms of embedded are explained as follows: First,

Relational Embedded is an economic action that is socially stratified and embedded in a personal social network that takes place between actors. Second, Structural Embedded is embedding that occurs in a wider network of relationships. The wider network of relationships can be institutions or social structures.

Regarding the formation of networks, several informants said that the relationship between entrepreneurs and between entrepreneurs and other parties is not something that is formed by itself. The long history of rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon has shaped the dynamics of relations among these entrepreneurs, between the entrepreneurs and the existing institution and also social structure. Granovetter (2005) explored the idea of the influence of social structures, especially those who are formed based on social networks on economic benefits regarding the quality of information. He further explained the four main principles underlying thought about the relationship between social networks and economic benefits, i.e., 1) Norms and Densities of Network; 2) The Strengths of Weak Ties, or economic benefits, which apparently tend to be obtained from the fabric of weak ties. For this reason, Granovetter explained that at the empirical level, new information, for example, would tend to be obtained from new acquaintances compared to close friends who generally had almost the same insight as individuals, and new acquaintances relatively open the horizons of the external world of individuals; 3) The Importance of Structural Holes, i.e., the role of structural holes outside of weak and strong ties which in fact contribute to bridging individual relations with outsiders; and 4) The interpenetration of economic and non-economic action, i.e., the existence of non-economic activities carried out in an individual's

Table 7
Social Networks in Economic Benefits

Norms and Densities of Network	The Strength of Weak Ties	The Importance of Structural Holes	The Interpenetration of Economic and Non-Economic Action
Islamic values that have been entrenched in the people of Cirebon are manifested in the economic activities of their rattan businesses for generations.	Entrepreneurs attend exhibitions both at domestic and abroad to open new customers or buyers	The role of the government in opening exhibitions both at domestic and abroad and facilitating local artisans by creating training and showrooms	Opening rattan tourism aims to introduce the rattan industry to local communities as well as to open up opportunities to get new customers or buyers

social life which apparently affect his economic actions. In this case, Granovetter called it the delay of non-economic actions in economic activities as a result of social networks. The embedded of economic actions related to social networks among the local economy of the Cirebon people is described in Table 7.

Based on the above data, it was shown that in the perspective of Granovetter (2005) what are observed among rattan entrepreneur may be mapped and summarized as in the Table 7. The table showed the interconnectedness between the availability of local entrepreneurs in Cirebon and the orientation toward the success in developing their business.

Conclusion

Rattan entrepreneurs in Cirebon, West Java have been formed for a very long time. At least in the historical record of entrepreneurs, rattan has existed since around the 1950s. A period that is enough to make the business mature. The long process of growing and developing local businesses in the field of rattan handicrafts has formed a strong economic network. The economic network that is formed is strongly influenced by the social network of the Cirebon

community. If the economic network is mapped in social networks, it shows that there are various maps of social attachment. This diversity is determined by the process undertaken by each business.

This research has a novelty in relation to the specifics of studies in economic networks in the context of social networks that do not seem to have been found in previous studies. However, this study still leaves limitations, namely related to the scope of focus and locus, and of course this opens up opportunities for further studies.[]

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