

## Sedao Capitalism: Growth of Sakai Entrepreneurs in Duri Riau

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### Abstract

*This study concerns the growth of Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu Village, Duri, Riau. It is the only study that discusses the customary-law community growth in Indonesia. Thus, it has an extremely strong novelty. Since the reformation, the Sakai tribes in Pematang Pudu have owned 21 contracting companies that worked on the projects of PT. Chevron Pacific Indonesia. Then, they also had an integrated agricultural complex that was modernly managed by involving a college and the government of Bengkalis district. This study used an ethnographic design where the researcher was on the research's site for more than two months and lived with the community. The researcher was also involved in in-depth observations and interviews with informants who were selected based on their positions in GAPENSI, integrated agriculture, and traditional leaders. Data obtained were validated and decoded. And they were analyzed qualitatively and written descriptively. This study found that Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu were grown by Chevron through the LBD program like affirmative action, and the growth of these entrepreneurs was based on kinship, so that entrepreneurs came from a big family. It could be said that Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu were sedao capitalism or close relative capitalism. This study contributed to economic anthropology by introducing the concepts of sedao capitalism and development anthropology that stated social planning was necessarily involved the wider community in the decision-making. This study can be used by the government and companies related to CSR programs while carrying out social planning for the community.*

### Keywords

management accounting Sakai entrepreneurs; sedao capitalism, LBD; and social planning



## I. Introduction

The Sakai tribe as an indigenous tribe or customary law community is often referred to as an underdeveloped indigenous community or an isolated tribe. The Sakai tribe as an isolated and underdeveloped community, the general association that develops in the Sakai community is a society that is uneducated, poor, slum, unsociable and tends to be scary (Muttaqen & Bosniar, 2013: 1-3). The general community association was almost non-existent for the two months I was in the research area of Pematang Pudu Village, Mandau Bengkalis District, Riau. Pematang Pudu is located on the outskirts of the city of Duri and deserves to be called a suburban. This condition of the Sakai Tribe is understandable because the Sakai Tribe has come to the oil industry since 1942, and the pulp industry in the 1980s and then followed by the palm oil industry (Purba, 2011; 235) which built road infrastructure, education, hospitals, and

brought in many people from outside so that it grew urban areas in areas that were formerly a customary forest belonging to the Sakai Tribe.

The Sakai tribe who live in Pematang Pudu Village are generally located in RW 01 totaling 297 families (heads of families) living side by side with people from other tribes, be it Malays, Javanese Bataks and other tribes from all over Indonesia. The people of the Sakai tribe in everyday life also mingle with these tribes. The picture of the daily life of the Sakai tribe in Pematang Pudu is like everyday life in small towns throughout Indonesia.

The Sakai tribe in Pematang Pudu can not only be seen from daily life which is proper for the general public. The Sakai tribe in Pematang Pudu Village has an integrated agricultural center known as KPTMSPP (Sakai Pematang Pudu Community Integrated Agriculture Group), the Sakai people call it a field. All activities in the fields are managed by Sakai residents. In the fields there are plantation and fishing activities which are all managed by young people from the Sakai Tribe with support from PT Chevron and other institutions in Riau. This field is also the center of the offices of companies belonging to the Sakai Tribe as well as the secretariat of GAPENSUS (Sakai Tribe Entrepreneurs Association) which is an organization of entrepreneurs of the Sakai Tribe. The Sakai tribe who act as contractors in multinational and government companies that join Gapensus. In Pematang Pudu Village, there are 21 entrepreneurs in 2021. Apart from that, there are also Sakai entrepreneurs who are engaged in plantations and agriculture who are graduates from Ladang and SMEs are engaged in shops, culinary, and handicrafts from rattan.

Gapensus as an organization of entrepreneurs in the field of contractors in private and government companies can be seen as successful in growing Sakai entrepreneurs. In 2007 there were only 10 Sakai ethnic entrepreneurs, growing to 15 entrepreneurs in 2012, and growing to 21 entrepreneurs in 2021. The development of Sakai Tribe entrepreneurs or entrepreneurs is what attracted me to research this theme, because I wanted to know how social engineering (interventions) created by Gapensus to grow Sakai entrepreneurs. In addition, the success of Gapensus can be an example for other communities in growing their entrepreneurs.

In addition, in Pematang Pudu Village, there are 6 people who have graduated from various universities in Riau and 2 people are still studying, there are 35 scholars from the entire Sakai Tribe in Riau. There are also Sakai tribes who have held the positions of Bengkalis Regent, members of the Riau Provincial DPRD and Bengkalis Regency DPRD. This picture proves that the Sakai Tribe is not like the associations that develop in society in general.

The transformation of the Sakai Tribe above is an interesting phenomenon to study because there are no reports of indigenous tribes in Indonesia transforming into entrepreneurs and building entrepreneurs' organizations which at the same time encourage the emergence of new entrepreneurs from the Sakai Tribe. In addition, in general, efforts to grow entrepreneurs are the domain of the government. Meanwhile, in the case of the Sakai Tribe, the Sakai people show a progressive effort to grow entrepreneurs from the Sakai Tribe. This effort prompted us to conduct research on the theme of growing Sakai entrepreneurs.

Theoretically, the results of Rante's research (2010:139-140) in Papua show that ethnic culture that emphasizes traditional interests and togetherness in business has a less significant impact on the growth of entrepreneurs in Papua. The results of this research have a very strong relationship with the Sakai Tribe who still emphasize togetherness and traditional interests in everyday life in the midst of the crush of the oil, palm and HTI industries. As an indigenous tribe, growing Sakai entrepreneurs based on academic theories as conveyed by Nurseto, (2004; 104-105) must graduate from college is impossible for Gapensus to do. Therefore, it is important to explore the Gapensus strategy in growing Sakai entrepreneurs. Therefore, this study asks the question "what strategy is applied by Gapensus for the growth of Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu?" at this writing.

## II. Review of Literature

Entrepreneurs, according to Sanusi's opinion, quoted by Firmansyah and Roosmawarni (2019: 3) are people who have a value which is manifested in behavior that is used as a resource, driving force, goals, tactics, tips, processes, and business results. A person can become an entrepreneur because, as stated Nurseto, (2004; 104-105) one of them is because he graduated from college. Nurseto's opinion was strengthened by the opinion Dharmawati (2016:147), namely because of education and training, forced circumstances, conducive relationships, and a committed and independent personal spirit. This opinion is an early indication that the Sakai Tribe entrepreneurs grow because the community is educated and experienced so that they have entrepreneurial abilities, or at least the growth of Sakai entrepreneurs is spearheaded by someone who is educated. These pioneers are the patrons for other Sakai residents to become part of the Sakai Entrepreneurs Movement, both those who have joined the Gapensus and those who have not.

Entrepreneurship is a creative and innovative ability that is used as the basis, tips and resources to find opportunities for success. Several management literatures provide three basic dimensions of organizational tendencies for entrepreneurial management processes, namely the ability to innovate, the ability to take risks, and the proactive nature (Weerawardeena, 2003, p. 411; Matsuno, Mentzer and Ozsomer, 2002). Entrepreneurship is known as a new approach in updating company performance. Entrepreneurs are referred to as spearheads to realize sustainable and highly competitive company growth. (Fitriyadi, et al. 2021)

The education factor is certain to play an important role in efforts to start creating new economic sources to get out of economic subsistence in the midst of the loss of the function of the forest as a source of livelihood for the Sakai people. Education also opens awareness of their rights as indigenous peoples who have affirmative rights from the products of the 1945 Constitution and other laws. In addition, education also provides space for Sakai residents to build networks to various parties, build social capital and awareness of environmental pollution. The birth of educated Sakai citizens who are aware of their rights both as citizens and as customary law communities is very possible because since 1942 they have interacted with the oil industry.

Luong (1999; 406-425) describes that the ceramic industry in Bat Trang Village, North Vietnam, was originally only a small household business. This ceramic industry then developed and was followed by many residents thanks to the experience of one of its residents working in a ceramics company in another province. His work experience was put into practice in his village, and then many other ceramic entrepreneurs imitated him. According to Luong, entrepreneurship in Bat Trang Village was really born which actively involved women. Although the context is not very appropriate for Sakai entrepreneurs, Luong's findings reinforce Dharmawati's opinion that experience and training play an important role in the development of entrepreneurs.

How was the entrepreneur formed? Referring to the theory developed by Yoshihara (1990: 3-5) who introduced the concept of pseudo-capitalism, namely capitalists who were formed not like the capitalists who grew up in Europe, the United States and Japan, which grew because of private ownership and free business and were responsible for business competition. But it is substitute and inferior capitalism. Businesses that are built are very dependent on capital and technology on patrons who act for certain interests rather than patrons. His business will experience a shock when there is a shock to his patron. The position of these capitalists is to become agents of the interests of their patrons. Therefore, this entrepreneur does not appear alone but is created and even run by his patron, this is due to the lack of capital, technology and human resources.

The need for patronage is not solely related to the need for business, but as stated by Amady, (2014: 102-104) that farmers on the periphery of the industry face enormous pressure from social structures. Farmers face such great pressure to make four adjustments, namely first, deepening of local forms of self-help business in the form of swapping plant species to labor-intensive transitions and shifting to commercial crops; Second, relying on the non-agricultural sector, in the form of attacking the money economy by going to the city looking for job fragments in the city; Third, relying on the forms of patronage and support from the state in the form of state projects in the form of food subsidies and in the form of assistance for areas stricken with hunger. Fourth,

Yoshihara's theory can be adapted in this study, especially regarding the process of the emergence of these entrepreneurs because of affirmative policies that are protected by law, so it is not an illegal act. Yoshihara's theory must be juxtaposed with the sandalwood capitalism theory (President Suharto) which forms family capitalism (Amady, 2014: 16) but still needs to be adapted to different sources of business activities. In Cendana Capitalism, the Cendana family (Soehatorto) does business without capital by relying on his father's power, getting projects from all governors and regents and other officials. Capitalism in Sakai in Pematang Pudu Village builds a family business of children, wife, nephew and in-laws with the project source from affirmative policy mechanisms and close relationships.

### **III. Research Methods**

This research uses ethnographic method. The ethnographic method is carried out by researchers to focus on in-depth observations so that this study can comprehensively explain the culture of a society, tribe, and nation as a whole based on the results of direct field research.

Like ethnographic research, this research studies cultural representations and systems of social groups, explores historical aspects, socio-cultural interactions and practices of people's daily lives. This research was conducted for 2 months, starting from August 13, 2021 - October 20, 2021 in Pematang Pudu Village, Mandau District, Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province. The researcher made observations, involved observations, in-depth interviews and discussions with informants and the Sakai entrepreneur group to find out in detail related to this research.

Researchers obtain information through internet media references and secondary data related to research that has been done by previous researchers and community reports. The initial step taken by the researcher was to collect and review the findings of data on the internet to be a reference for finding more in-depth data when in the field. The second step, the researchers stayed in the fields and in the meeting houses of Sutan Batuah, Pematang Pudu Village, Mandau District, Bengkalis Regency by following all key informant activities to conduct observations involving in-depth interviews, village observations, agricultural activities carried out by Sakai entrepreneurs, community social activities and direct discussions with informants and the local village community.

The data taken are village profiling, ethnography of the Sakai tribe, forerunners of Sakai entrepreneurs, dynamics of Sakai entrepreneurs, political economy analysis of Sakai entrepreneurs, and an integrated farming group of the Sakai community in Pematang Pudu Village. Researchers set Mashuri and Mus Mulyadi and Mashuri as key informants because he is the chairman of GAPENSUS (Sakai Tribe Entrepreneurs Association), besides Bathin Betuah, Panglimo Sakai, Chair of KPTMSPP (Integrated Agricultural Group of Pematang Pudu Sakai Community), Head of Village and Secretary of Lurah Pematang Pudu for knowing the socio-cultural life of the Sakai tribe as an informant looking for information related to the beginning of the history of the Sakai tribe until the formation of the Sakai entrepreneur

organization. All results of observations, discussions and each interview were written in the form of field notes.

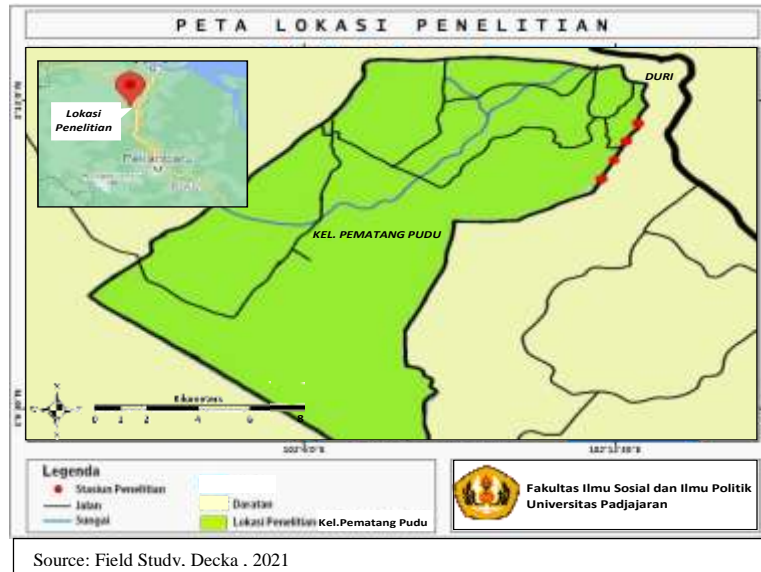
The verification and data validation mechanism is carried out by reviewing data obtained from literature studies and the internet to examine the similarities and differences in information obtained by researchers when they go directly to the field. The secondary data obtained by the researcher is also an initial guide for obtaining data sources. The researcher verified the data at the Pematang Pudu sub-district office related to village profiling and secondary information for the Sakai tribal community, then validated the data through field observations, in-depth interviews, discussions, and looked for at least 2 comparison informants to make sure the data was true and valid. . After going through several stages of the validation, the final data will be used by researchers to write this research report.

Researchers processed the data using descriptive analysis methods and supporting theories. There are several stages to carry out data analysis, namely: first, the data is compiled systematically and then the results from field notes, interview transcripts, and references to some secondary data are also analyzed holistically. Second, researchers pay attention to the relationship between one data and other data to obtain research patterns and systems. And the third step, the data is built by considering, reviewing, and discussing the theory written in the research report.

## **IV. Result and Discussion**

### **4.1. Overview of Research Locations**

Pematang Pudu Village was a division of Air Jamban Village in 1980. Its area is 25,000 km. Pematang Pudu is bordered to the north by Balik Alam, Babussalam, Air Jamban, and Batang Serosa. To the south it is bordered by the King's Hall and the Pinggir Village. To the west, it is bordered by the Farmer's Village. While in the east it is bordered by Talang Mandi (Source: Monograph Data of Pematang Pudu Village, 2021) Pematang Pudu Village started from the Isolated Community Development (PMT) program by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1977. In 1977 the Ministry of Social Affairs relocated 13 Sakai tribes in Bengkalis Regency. The Sakai residents who live in Pematang Pudu Village come from 75 families who were relocated from various regions in 1977 from the first three places, from Sutan Batuah who is the owner of the land area where the relocation is located; Second, from the inner stone that comes from Tasik Serai; and third, from two families from the Jurong river. (Suhardi, Interview, August 20, 2021). The 75 families combined into one location, precisely in RW 01, Pematang Pudu Now Village. Pematang Pudu is now developing into a sub-district located on the outskirts of the city of Duri, with a population of 297 Sakai families from 2515 families.



Economically, the residents of Pematang Pudu Village work as oil palm farmers with a total plantation area of 531 hectares, of which there are 64 hectares of oil palm plantations belonging to the Sakai Tribe for 297 families or 684 people, of which 478 are not in school, 125 have graduated from elementary school, 45 graduated from junior high school, 24 graduated, 12 graduated from college. In addition, in Pematang Pudu there are 21 companies owned by the Sakai people who are engaged in contractors, which employ Sakai residents.

In this village, two multi-national companies operate, namely PT Chevron Pacific Indonesia which operated from 1951 to August 2021, which was later replaced by PT Pertamina Hulu Rokan (PHR) and PT Arara Abadi, a company engaged in Industrial Plantation Forests (HTI). The data obtained are only 2 people who work at PT Chevron/PHR (Pertamina Hulu Rokan), while no one works at PT Arara Abadi. However, in this village there is an Integrated Agricultural Group for the Sakai Community which is called a field. This business manages integrated agriculture, namely fisheries and young plant plantations. In this field there are Gapensus offices and the offices of 5 companies owned by Sakai residents.

#### 4.2. Pioneer

Entrepreneur Sakai started from the LBD (Local Business Development) program or Local Business Development from PT CPI (Chevron Pacific Indonesia) which was launched in 2001. This programThe goal is to build local community entrepreneurs.This program is intended for all small businesses in the company's operational area, including the Sakai tribal community. The LBD program for the Sakai Tribe started in West Minas Village in 2003. The Sakai community inRumbai, Minas, Petapahan, Bekasap, Dumai, Pinggir, Tanah Putih/Bangko, Jurong, Rantau Kopar, and HOOU (Happy Oil Operation Unit)invited to join the LBD program on the condition that they establish a company. At the same time as the LBD program was running, the people who were initiated to form their companies were merged into the Sakai Entrepreneurs Organization (Gapensus) byparty PT. CPI represented by Deswandi and Sakai people represented by Bagindo, Tarmizi, and H. Bastian. Through this program, Sakai residents can be involved with projects at Chevron, especially those that are labor intensive.

Copying the implementation of LBD, especially in Minas, PT Chevron in 2007 implemented the LBD program in Pematang Pudu. PT Chevron recruits people who want to be

involved in this LBD program on condition that they have a company. It was found that 10 residents of Sakai Pematang Pudu founded a company, then these 10 companies joined the Gapensus Minas. According to Mus Mulyadi (Interview, 2 September 2021). PT Chevron Pacific Indonesia asked the people of Sakai to establish a company, and PT Chevron fully assisted everything regarding the implementation of the company. On April 6, 2007, the LBD program plan was initiated in Pematang Pudu which was attended by Chevron by H. Darmalis and Deswandi, as well as representatives of GAPENSUS Minas Bagindo. The meeting was held at the Posyandu Building, Pematang Pudu Duri Village, Mandau District, Bengkalis Regency. This event aims to suggest helping a forum to become a partner of LBD PT.CPI. H. Darmalis (ex employee of PT.CPI), Deswandi (employee of PT.CPI in Minas area) and GAPENSUS representative in Minas, Bagindo, motivated the Sakai people in Pematang Pudu Duri to progress and develop.

The above meeting resulted in the formation of GAPENSUS Duri Branch with members of 10 newly formed companies, namely 1.) CV. Ms. Puan Sakai (owned by Gustati Murni), 2.) CV. NJ Sakai (owned by Nanang Junaidi), 3.) CV. ENJ Sakai (owned by Job Sociawan), 4.) CV. Tepak Sakai (owned by Syahril), 5.) CV. Pernalzu Zaka Malakhi (owned by Fauyandri), 6.) CV. Bina Sakai (owned by Abdul Aziz), 7.) CV. Dindakoe (owned by Mus Mulyadi), 8.) CV. Elfira (owned by the late Hendriyadi), 9.) CV. Buah Sehati (owned by Iwan Basri), and 10.) CV. Pitalo Bumi (owned by Dino). Elected as chairman of the Gapensus Duri Branch is Iwan Basri the director of CV Buah Sehati. Nine companies were formed by the nephews of Bathin Batuah and 1 company from Sutan Batuah. Interestingly, there are four companies with offices in KPTMSPP (Sakai Pematang Pudu Community Integrated Agriculture Group) totaling 4 companies, namely: PT. Aka Mulia Sukses (owned by Mus Mulyadi), PT. Ms. Puan Sakai (Ema Gustati Murni), Kop.

Since 2007 until now, the 10 companies have taken turns receiving projects from PT Chevron, this year 5 companies the following year 5 more companies in the field of reforestation, PT.CPI housing maintenance, sewer cleaning, tree planting, and cutting grass. Both Mus Mulyadi and Mashuri claim they all employ young people.

In 2012, the number of companies from 10 companies became 15 companies that joined the LBD from 21 companies in Pematang Pudu Village. In addition, several CVs turned into cooperatives to obtain funds for the LBD project from PT Chevron, and CVs turned into PT because PT Chevron required PT and cooperatives to be involved in the LBD program. The increase in quotas for Sakai resident companies in Pematang Putu is one of the results of mediation and conflict resolution with PT Chevron in 2007 which was only realized in 2010. Including additional scholarship programs for students and integrated agriculture.

Since its establishment in 2007, Gapendus has changed its management four times, the first board was for the period 2007-2012 with the chairman Iwan Basri, the second period for 2012-2016 (2018) was chaired by Mus Mulyadi, this is because Mus Mulyadi resigned as chairman because he got a project outside LBD. The 2016-2021 period was chaired by Mashuri, in the fourth period 2021-2026 it was again led by Mashuri. Although in this fourth period there was dualism, each Mashuri and Mus Mulyadi both claimed to be the chairman of Gapensus.

### 4.3. Field

Field is the term used by the manager of KPTMSPP (Sakai Pematang Pudu Community Integrated Agriculture Group) – for the next term used is field. Ladang is an agricultural activity

that includes plantations of young plants and fisheries which is an integral part of the resolution in the mediation process for the 2007 conflict. In 2010 PT CPI through its CSR program provided fish breeding assistance to Jhon Kenedy but was deemed a failure because the results were not optimal. Then Mus Mulyadi together with Jhon Kennedy offered the KPTMSPP (Sakai Pematang Pudu Community Integrated Farming Group) concept and offered 13 hectares of agricultural land, with a group of 19 heads and 14 daily workers. PT CPI responded positively to the proposal from Mus Mulyadi and Jhon Kenedy,

The 13 hectare land was leased by Chevron to Jhon Kenedy for 10 years, in an office building which includes office space, meeting rooms and bedrooms for the building guards. Activities in this field include, firstly, the fish pond in this integrated farm covers an area of 4 ha, with a total of 16 ponds consisting of: Gourami (1 pond), tilapia (2 ponds), catfish (3 ponds), fish catfish (1 pond), baung fish (1 pond), and goldfish (1 pond). Second, agricultural cultivation activities include planting vegetables such as: kale, spinach, chili, long beans, cucumber, eggplant, and bitter melon. Third, there are fruit planting activities including the following: watermelon, durian, rambutan, matoa, papaya, yam, cassava, lime, and cucumber. Fourth, there are also several live pharmacy plants grown in integrated agriculture for traditional medicine, namely: lemongrass, turmeric, ginger, vetiver, and galangal. And fifth, there is broiler and layer chickens farming activities that are carried out in integrated agriculture but have stopped.

To realize integrated farming activities, PT CPI provides assistance in the form of fish and plant seeds, assistance and training, as well as integrated agricultural equipment such as hoes, sickles, machetes, hats, soak tanks, tangguk (to lift the soil) and mahogany tree plants. Assistance is provided by CPI through third parties, namely the University of Riau, Lancang Kuning University, and the Bengkalis Regency Agriculture and Plantation Service. This field was accompanied by 4 people from various institutions such as UNRI, Lancang Kuning, and the Bengkalis Regency Agriculture Plantation Service, covering the fields of fisheries, animal husbandry, and agriculture. Meanwhile, the training carried out includes training on nursery care to harvesting. Yields from the total plantations and agriculture in KPTMSPP before 2016 were Rp. 6,000,000-Rp. 8,000. 000 per month. While the harvest from fisheries in KPTMSPP is carried out every 3 to 4 months and gets a turnover of Rp. 64,000,000.00 from 16 pools. The profit sharing system is 60% for employees and 40% for further development in the form of KPTMSPP business capital. The profit-sharing scheme is obtained after working capital is issued or profit-sharing, 50% for farmers, 30% for groups, 10% for land owners and 10 percent return on capital.

Field leadership in the first period in 2013-2018 Ladang was led by Mu Mulyadi with secretary Ismatullah, consisting of 19 families. In the second period in 2018-2023 the chairman was held by Alfinda with his deputy Abdul Fais with the permanent secretary Ismatullah, with a total of 10 KK members. There was a decrease in activity because the fields were affected by the 2016 flood, with a total of 10 daily workers who also double as employees of 4 companies with offices in the Ladang office building. (Mulyadi, Interview, September 2021)

Even though the fields are not directly tied to the business of growing entrepreneurs, through this field the introduction of agricultural technology in this case plantations and fishery farmer groups in the fields opens the discourse of the Sakai community in Pematang Pudu about market-oriented plantations and fisheries. Apart from being the head office for integrated agricultural activities, since 2013 it has also been the office of 4 companies, PT. Aka Mulia Sukses (owned by Mus Mulyadi), PT. Ms. Puan Sakai (Ema Gustati Murni, wife of Mus Mulyadi), Kop. Kesumbo Ampai (Owned by Saparudin, Mus' nephew, Buluh Kasap Cooperative (owned by Syafrizal, Mus' nephew). The use of integrated agricultural office buildings or fields helps facilitate and expedite the business activities of the four companies.



#### 4.4. Sedao Capitalism

The reforms opened up space for indigenous peoples, including the Sakai Tribe. After the reformation of PT Chevron in 2000, efforts have begun to encourage small business development efforts with capital-intensive packages for SMEs. In 2003 Chevron started the LBD program for the development of small businesses in the company's operational areas, including the Sakai tribe. The LBD program was the starting point for the growth of Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu in 2007. In 2007, PT Chevron had grown 10 entrepreneurs through this LBD, as a concrete form of the company's affirmative action. The 10 entrepreneurs are the Sakai community, 9 from Bathin Batuah and 1 Sutan Batuah, who do not have a background as entrepreneurs and do not have a company. LBD establishes corporate companies, ministers to their companies and gives them projects on a labour-intensive basis.

**Table 1.** Companies of Sakai Residents, Pematang Pudu Village

NO	Nama Perusahaan	Pemilik	Relasi Sedao		Keterangan
			MM	MS	
1	Koperasi Batihi Batuah	MM		v	1. Koperasi dibuat
2	Koperasi Sakai Sukses	EW		sepupu	khusus untuk job LBD
3	Koperasi Suluk Bingkal Sakai	NJ		sepupu	2. Jenis Koperasi
4	PTAzizi Karya Mandiri	FY		sepupu	adalah koperasi
5	Koperasi Anak Sakai	RA		sepupu	untuk produsen
6	Koperasi Gapensus	LY		sepupu	penyediaan barang
7	Koperasi Talang Sundik	SF		sepupu	
8	PT Cadas Sakai Duri	YRS		sepupu	
9	Koperasi Titi Jangka	KSB		paman	
10	PT Atmayuda	PL		sepupu	
11	PT Lantang Zia Perkasa	SD		Ponaan	
12	PT Cikpuan Sakai	GM	isteri		
13	PT Dafa Darussalam	JS	Sepupu		
14	PT AkaMulia Sukses	MM		v	
15	PT Dui Giam Satu	AA	Ponaan		
16	Koperasi Sakai Bertuah	AW	Paman		
17	Pt Alvina Anugrah Sakai	MFA	Ponaan		
18	Koperasi Buluh Kasap	SF	Sepupu		
19	PT Biduk Ai Lokuk	AF	Ponaan		
20	PT Lusaka Keramat Utama	MFA	Sepupu		
21	Koperasi Buluh Kasap Jaya	MSA	Ponaan		

Sumber : Studi Lapangan, Decca, 2021

The companies that were founded in 2007 come from a big family of Inner Betuah, one person from Sutan Sovereign also has a kinship with Inner Fortune. In 2012, the number of companies increased to 21 companies, and only 15 companies were included in the LBD. Table 1 follows the list of companies in Pematang Pudu Village;

The table above shows very clearly the sandalwood family capitalism theory (Soeharto) where all the 21 entrepreneurs have close kinship relations. There were no other entrepreneurs who came from outside the MM and MS families. MM and MS are also close family. So MM and MS coordinated their relatives to be involved in this program by establishing a company. Not only that, MM and MS also added 11 companies to be involved in the LBD program and only 5 were accepted, so there are still 6 more companies that have not yet entered the LBD program, waiting for LBD to open the Return program to add 6 more companies.

MM and MS are patrons for their close relatives to enter the LBD program through the establishment of a company mentored by Chevron. These two patrons are important figures for Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu to build access to companies and government. MM and his brother JK built an integrated farm that became a place for PT Chevron. The position played by MM and MS illustrates the position taken by farming communities who are experiencing enormous pressure from the social structure. Temporary Yoshihara was very clear that these companies were only pseudo-companies because MM and MS played a very big role for the

companies. These companies were formed as a strategy for the two patrons so that the projects awarded by PT Chevron through LBD remain under the control of the two patrons.

Yoshihara through his pseudo-capitalism theory and sandalwood family capitalism was able to be present in the practice of growing Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu Village. Although both pseudo-capitalism and Cendana family capitalism need to be adapted or operationalized to see the practice of capitalism growth in Pematang Pudu Village. The pseudo-capitalism that is present in the Sakai tribe in Pematang Kudu Village must be seen on two levels. The first level is entrepreneurs, as according to the concept described by Yoshihara, which is actively taking advantage of affirmative opportunities to obtain business opportunities by utilizing affirmative policies but weak in knowledge and technology. The second level is the entrepreneurs formed by the first level entrepreneurs with the aim of strengthening the position of the first level entrepreneurs.

Moreover, this first-level group of entrepreneurs builds indigenous people-based organizations to strengthen their position. The organizations established after 2012 are the Riau Sakai Council which was established in 2016, the Riau Sakai Traditional Institute which was established in 2018.

The practice of growing Sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu Village can be referred to as brother mara capitalism, or in the language of Sakai capitalism Sedao. The capitalism that emerged was not capitalism in Europe that emerged independently and independently and was responsible for the business it runs, but capitalism that was formed by the LBD and highly dependent on the LBD program which only involved close friends or relatives in an effort to control the projects given by the LBD. .

However, other factors are also very influential on the growth of Sakai entrepreneurs, namely, first, the educated Sakai community who go to high school and graduate school. Mashuri is a scholar while Mus Mulyadi is also a scholar; Second, the company's ethical politics is caused by affirmative political pressure by the international community, national governments and local governments; Third, the changing environment, Sakai is in the middle of urban and industrial periphery while borrowing Furnival's opinion (2009; 426) Sakai is still living with a subsistence economy and in poverty.

## V. Conclusion

This study concludes that the growth of sakai entrepreneurs in Pematang Pudu Duri Riau is a pseudo-entrepreneur, as Yoshihara's theory is built based on affirmative policies for indigenous peoples and close relatives. Sedao's capitalism is deliberately created by actors who position themselves as part of 19 entrepreneurs out of 21 Sakai entrepreneurs.

The position of patron played by two actors against 19 other entrepreneurs in an effort to strengthen the position of the two actors in interacting with PT Chevron, and at the same time as a project control mechanism so that it remains with the two patrons. In the long term, Sakai entrepreneurs will find it difficult to maintain their sustainability if the patron is no longer able to carry out his role. Including if the company as the project provider ends its operations.

This study is a very important study because it is the first time it has been conducted for indigenous peoples in Indonesia, and further studies need to be carried out in the same place and across all indigenous peoples in Indonesia. This study contributes to economic anthropology, especially in studying the practice of growing capitalism in indigenous and tribal peoples. Likewise, this study contributes to the anthropology of development, especially in terms of social planning for indigenous and tribal peoples.

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## Secondary Data

- 1 Monograph Data of Pematang Pudu Village in 2021