

Social Resilience of Street Vendors at Gading Serpong Real Estate Area, Tangerang, Indonesia

Aryaning Arya Kresna^{1*}, Pamerdi Giri Wiloso², Wilson Therik², Willi Toisuta²

¹Pradita University
²Satya Wacana Christian University

*Corresponding author's email: arya.kresna@pradita.ac.id

Article history: Received: 2 February 2023 Received in revised form: 10 September 2023
Accepted: 26 September 2023 Published online: 31 December 2023

Abstract

This study investigates the social resilience of street vendors in Gading Serpong Real Estate development in Tangerang as an urban area specifically in terms of its social network, access to resources, and culture shaped as social resilience of street vendors and takes a closer look at how this resilience affects their capability to encounter challenges and stressors interrupting businesses. In addition, this study also aims to contribute recommendations intended to help improve the resilience among street vendors as a marginalized community to ensure that they can establish a better resilience and capability to develop amidst this ever-changing and dynamic social environment. This research employed a qualitative analysis technique on a social network and obtained data from in-depth interviews to reveal social resilience. The research results reveal that the *induk semang* is deemed to have a central role in the networks of street vendors in the real estate area, Gading Serpong. The *induk semang* with its ethnic ties is believed to have the capacity to hamper conflict arising between street vendors and locals. The presence of *induk semang* holds the right to access resources and can create a market space for street vendors, people in general, and the government, allowing them to establish a partnership and collaboration for more harmonious development of real estate area.

Keywords: Induk Semang, social resilience, street vendor, Real Estate.

© 2023 Penerbit UTM Press. All rights reserved

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Urban housing has become the need and market demand among those migrating into urban areas or other peri-urban spots. The areas existing around the metropolitan city of Jakarta (Tangerang, Bogor, Bekasi, Depok) are the areas where massive housing development has taken place, contributing to the increasing development of independent cities. The 2011 data reported there were about 60 thousand hectares of land in Jakarta acquired and developed by non-government companies. Sinarmas Land, for instance, developed BSD city on a six-thousand-hectare land (Firman, 2004). Other mega housing development projects soon followed and have been in progress up to now. The development of satellite cities such as Bogor, Bekasi, Tangerang, and Depok have been in the spotlight amidst the growing property in the last two decades. However, this mega-development has marginalized certain community members. Like in Asia, Africa, and the US, economic development, often followed by the erection of buildings, has put the locals as aggrieved parties affected by such development (Blackburn, 2014).

The availability of infrastructure, space, natural resources and their management, and housing areas is increasing along with informal economic activities at which conflicts are easily ignited between new residents and a marginalized community. At this stage, people resilience is put to the test to see how they create opportunities and maintain harmony between the marginalized community and the residents of big houses and how respectful they are to one another. This indicator should serve as a recommendation for situations when the growing large-scale housing development keeps going along with migration, urbanization, exclusivity, and marginalization of certain community members (Soliman, 2021).

Real estate development has given significant contributions to the life of street vendors operating around these areas (Akinyemi & Taiwo, 2019). On one hand, this development is positive for the livelihood of street vendors. On the other hand, this progressing development can also grab away the space which their livelihood relies on and put their existence at stake. Within this context, it is essential to evaluate the impacts of real estate development on street vendors, understand the challenges and probabilities that they have to face, and improve inclusive and sustainable strategies to facilitate their presence and contributions to urban life (Deore & Lathia, 2019). In recent decades, studies on the impacts of real estate on street vendors have been the trend attracting more scholars and practitioners to investigate more. Street vendors have been part of urban life, but they have been vulnerable to the impacts left by real estate development that has been aggressively massive (Haryanto, 2019). Eviction, rising rent prices, and plummeting public spaces are common problems affecting street vendors.

Notwithstanding measures that have been taking place to make them more recognized and integrate them into a wider social structure, there have been many challenges they have to take into account to achieve their goals. The government's role is one of the challenges in real estate issues in policy-making to facilitate the integrating process for street vendors. The government has to work together with real estate developers to ensure that relevant policies intended to tackle the issues faced by street vendors are justly and appropriately implemented without overlooking the needs and rights of citizens. Moreover, social and legal policies governing street vendors must adjust to real conditions. This will certainly ensure that street vendors will not feel that they are marginalized and unfairly treated. Furthermore, skill and education improvement should also become the priority to help them improve the quality of life of the street vendors and adapt to increasingly complex urban surroundings. Wider public involvement in dealing with poverty in urban areas is vital. By involving the public to formalize street vendors, we can raise awareness and gain wider support to tackle this issue. This approach allows street vendors to be more effectively integrated into a wider urban structure while poverty can be alleviated.

However, some studies report that some street vendors could make use of opportunities resulting from real estate development where additional services can be made available for construction workers or real estate investors (Anand & Jagadeesh, 2022). The government and organizations have initiated programs aiming to help increase social resilience for street vendors in facing the impacts of real estate development, but there are still more issues to come and they need to be tackled to strengthen the existence and contribution of street vendors during real estate development. Therefore, studies on the impacts left by real estate development on street vendors are important to conduct to help us understand the challenges and probabilities faced by street vendors amidst real estate development. It is also expected to give better knowledge about strengthening social resilience in the time to come.

Recently, some studies have discussed more social resilience among street vendors. This research pays attention to how street vendors can face social, economic, and political pressure that threaten their existence (Bong, 2019). This research shows that street vendors demonstrate excellence in adapting to challenges and the capability of making use of their social network to cope with hindrances. This research also investigates how street vendors could serve as an agent of social and economic changes in their community. In this context, studies on social resilience among street vendors become essential to help fathom how street vendors remain in existence and give positive contributions to society. Studies concerning the social resilience of street vendors also look at how important it is for the government and the members of the public to recognize and support the presence of street vendors as an integral part of urban life. The government can help improve the social resilience of street vendors by giving them access to education and business training and strengthening their rights. On the other hand, the public can also give contribution by buying the products sold by street vendors and by giving moral support needed to reinforce their social network (Pinheiro & Pinheiro, 2019).

■ 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Street Vendors as a Marginalize Community

Street vendors represent a cultural practice in urban areas where they serve as a trading center in the informal sector (Al-Jundi, Al-Janabi, Salam, Bajaba, & Ullah, 2022). Their existence, however, presents a dilemma due to traffic congestion and the complicated urban life they have caused, while they also contribute to the economy of those in middle and low economic status (Daeng, 2020). The rejection of their existence has been a social issue in Indonesia as a developing country. The presence of street vendors has been triggered by the limited access to economy and government support that has only reached out to formal sectors. Thus, densely populated areas such as office buildings, housing areas, shopping centers or malls, hospitals, and places of worship have been their nest in which they earn money. They sell either goods or services consumers can enjoy by moving from one place to another while their capital is very limited, not enough to gain formal legality to run their businesses. The term street vendors (*pedagang kaki lima* in Bahasa) departs from the situation of selling goods along sidewalks or roadsides with space as wide as five feet (*lima kaki* in Bahasa) or 1.5 meters between vendors. Another definition defines street vendors as those offering goods and services to the public along the sidewalks and roadsides. This definition also applies to those selling goods from door to door (McGee & Yeung, 1977). In terms of their characteristics, street vendors tend to be disorganized; they are not reached by local government regulations; they use small-scale tools, and their financial flow is not well kept in bookkeeping; they do not refer to any banking or credit systems and their circle of customers is restricted to those of middle and lower social status.

Street vendors often use pushed carts to sell their goods, usually with or without a small roof. Those selling food like *soto*, *meatballs*, *satay*, *cilok*, and many more on pushed carts often move from one place to another. They also sell coffee, *ronde*, and other kinds of iced drinks on pushed carts. Those placed in a semi-static position selling food usually equip their pushed carts with tarpaulin sheets with which they form a small cubicle for diners to dine in and signboards. This setting is usually common among those selling *pecel lele Lamongan*, fried rice, and coffee. Some other vendors use two baskets attached to each end of a bamboo stick balancing on one of the seller's shoulders. This setting is common among mobile hawkers or semi-static vendors selling drinks. This setting is intended to allow for easier movement. It is usually equipped with a woven mat or a cloth for diners to sit on. These sellers can be categorized as semi-static vendors. In terms of how they sell their goods, street vendors can be divided according to their distribution patterns: random, grouping, and elongated patterns. The first pattern is often found in mobile hawkers that move around housing areas independently offering food, goods, or services. The second pattern refers to those selling in one place in groups with similar or slightly different products that are supplementary to one another. The elongated pattern refers to those selling their products along roadsides for high flexibility to reach customers passing by. This pattern is common among those selling clothes, fruit, medicine, and the like (Setyaningrum, Pandelaki, & Suprapti, 2021).

As a marginalized community, street vendors have been treated discriminatively and unjustly, and they have been facing some legal and regulatory issues hampering their access to better places to run their businesses. This discrimination also comes from those with power or other surrounding communities, especially rich society, including the residents of luxurious housing complexes of Gading Serpong. Street vendors are seen as a threat to security and social order (Cuvi, 2016). A marginalized community is defined as a group of people

living in peri-urban areas or outside of the majority of communities (Devlin, 2020). They always encounter difficulties gaining access to resources and opportunities, not like the majority of people. This marginalized group has also faced social and economic injustice and they are prone to being involved in problems since they have no access to proper legal protection (Reyes, 2013). Despite being marginalized, street vendors are given relaxation in dealing with the existing problems. For example, they are involved in creating more space that allows them to earn more amidst the existing hurdles that threaten their existence (Graaff & Ha, 2015). Street vendors find strategic locations where they could start trading and build connections with their regular customers and other related parties that make this trading opportunity possible (Forkuor, Akuoko, & Yeboah, 2017). Amidst economic and legal issues, they keep moving on to survive and earn more to supply their daily needs.

The marginalized community has been stigmatized over time in terms of how they adapt to social, political, and economic changes. Several studies show that this stigma and exclusiveness against street vendors did not arise along with the neoliberal spatial planning, but rather stems from a deeper cause (Morange, 2015). First, the biopolitical idea was used as a reference to shape and direct their actions by dismantling the environment in which they often run their businesses. This tendency has sparked the creation of a market outside of acceptable space and centralized and closed market space. This principle indicates that social control depends on the control over physical space (Cross, 2000). Second, there is a strong belief in the effectiveness of direct social control that leans towards decision-making of trading which limits the access of street vendors. This trend is supported by the perspective believing that street vendors need to be organized to ensure that “public order” is maintained and to avert any negative perspective that sees them as an undisciplined community that has problems adapting. This stigmatizing process aims to create public support for measures taken by the government as the authority that controls street vendors (Schindler, 2014).

A study describes marginalized street vendors as ‘unseen businessmen’ operating around the markets of Delhi (India) and Phnom Penh (Cambodia) (Sekhani, Mohan, & Medipally, 2019). This study looks at the vital role of street vendors in the local economy although their existence has been overlooked by the government and society. Street vendors help provide access for people to their daily needs and jobs for the locals. They play an important role in the life of individuals in developing countries such as Cambodia, India, and Indonesia, thereby making this practice essential. The presence of street vendors gives more color to the food paradise and culture of a region. They are often found selling traditional food that is probably not common in other regions. This diversity in food certainly attracts local and foreign tourists. Street vendors can also serve as an agent of social and economic change although they are mostly seen as invisible entrepreneurs due to the informal status attached to them. In the urban economy, they may deserve a closer look. There is a perspective believing that informal economic sectors are wider and more important, especially when a state is no longer capable of protecting its people from economic risks (Castells & Portes, 1989). Those involved in informal sectors have been forced by the condition of being marginalized by surrounding society, leaving street vendors with only limited options (Roever, 2014). This tendency renders the street vendors reluctant in doing their informal activities, and they take these activities as nothing but a way to survive. Another study shows that there is a symbiotic connection between the ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ sectors in the urban economy (Morris & Polese, 2015). This dependency is obvious in economic exchange in the markets studied. These markets not only serve as the venues for informal traders to trade, but they also significantly contribute to formal traders such as shops and restaurants in surrounding areas. These two sectors are related and give significant contributions to the urban economy. The urban ecosystem includes the needs and contributions of street vendors, and this inclusivity is important for a holistic perspective regarding life harmony among street vendors in urban areas.

2.2 Social Resilience of a Street Vendors

This research referred to the theory of social resilience defined as an ability of an individual or a group to encounter pressure, challenges, and changes in their social surroundings (Connor & Davidson, 2003). This theory considers factors such as social support, social participation, and resources owned by individuals or a group amidst continuous scarcity (Fraser, Galinsky, & Richman, 1999). Many studies have been carried out to define social resilience, one of which is the study by Longstaff (2005), arguing that social resilience represents the ability of individuals or a group, or an organization to remain in existence when facing certain stressors. Another definition is believing that social resilience can be seen from the capacity of individuals or a group to foster, get involved in, and maintain positive social relationships, and withstand and recover from stressors and social isolation (Cacioppo, Reis, & Zautra, 2011). Crossa (2009) argues that “resilience” and “toughness” hold diverging concepts, where the former represents the dynamic responses of an individual to biological, psychological, social, and environmental factors, while the latter refers to consistent personality. However, these concepts have been studied from varied scientific perspectives defining resilience as the ability to cope with considerable challenges in life (Duchek, 2018).



Figure 1 Social resilience framework
(Source: Berkes & Ross, 2013)

Berkes sees social resilience as a ‘cyclone’ pattern whose structure consists of ecological, psychological, and close relationships between communities to keep the system stable (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Ensuring that the community and people can keep existing and operating is the main objective of social resilience in this context. With the networks built within society, a model of community resilience was established in United State of America for International Development (USAID, 2006). This model consists of four resilience dimensions at the center: 1) individuals who support the attitude of “this can be done”, as reflected in a proactive attitude towards changes; 2) social and economic development that disseminates information and involves people in a sustainable recovery and development program and other parties; 3) resources that need analyses and to be used appropriately to reach long-term goals of the community; 4) the community process used to see the local plan, participation, and an implementation process; this plan is included in an organizational work involved in planning consisting of strategies that amalgamate social and economic problems and their solutions; long-lasting community holds a wider view about the future. All these four dimensions are related to one another. Available resources for community development are described in the first three dimensions, while the method and structure available for the community to organize and utilize the resources are in the fourth dimension.

Social resilience among street vendors can be understood as the capability of street vendors to survive socially amidst economic hurdles in either the short term or the long term (Ahmed & Ahmed, 2020). Factors contributing to the social resilience of street vendors include social, economic, political, and cultural aspects, and one of the most significant factors affecting the social resilience of street vendors is the social environment (Pinheiro & Pinheiro, 2019). A good social environment and bold solidarity among street vendors can help improve their social resilience, and so can access to the social network and organizations coordinating street vendors that can give support and protection.

Good social surroundings involve support from the members of the public, the solidarity of street vendors, and a good connection between governments as stakeholders and related organizations (Mitra, Dey, and Dhar, 2017). Support from the public can help reinforce self-assurance and motivate street vendors in running their small businesses. Moreover, moral support shown by buying the products that the street vendors sell can help increase income and the continuity of their businesses. The solidarity among street vendors is essential in improving their social resilience since it can encourage them to help each other to face problems and challenges (Sultana & Haque, 2017). Moreover, such solidarity can strengthen their position in the negotiation with governments and property developers as stakeholders. Access to a social network and organizations of street vendors can also affect their social resilience (Osman, 2018). The social network also enables street vendors to gain access to information and resources needed to keep their businesses running. The organizations concerned also provide support and assistance in facing related issues (Bong, 2019).

Figure 1 illustrates how social networks are important in creating social resilience in communities. In his study, Michele L. Barnes gave an idea that the role of social networks and socio-ecological networks (human and natural) provides the power to adapt to environmental change. The Social Network has great potential to reveal how these social relationships contribute to trade practices, as well as how these networks change over time. The social network based on its level is divided into three levels (de Oliveira Gobbo, Mariano, & Gobbo Jr, 2021), which is at the micro, meso and macro levels. At the micro level consider the interaction of individuals on their structures that are shown at the level of activity as well as the social impact that is generated. On the meso level relates to the similarity of information grouped into a community and demonstrates their role in the greater social impact around them (Gupta, Singh, & Cherifi, 2016). Whereas at the macro level, the social network at this level takes into account the power of influence that it has to determine whether a person tends to have greater societal influence than others in its network structure, in this level shown by the magnitude of the centrality of the node that it possesses (Li, Zhang, & Huang, 2018). In this study, it is important to understand that the five-foot merchant is not an isolated entity, but rather an integral part of the wider urban society. They're in contact with customers, peers, and even the authorities. Social networking allows us to dig these connections, gain insight into how information, support, and resources move within this five-foot merchant network (Otte & Rousseau, 2002).

Apart from environmental and social factors, an economic factor also plays a role in improving the social resilience of street vendors. As businesses running in an informal sector, street vendors often face issues in accessing financial resources and unstable markets (Peláez-Higuera, Calderón-Hernández, & Serna-Gómez, 2023). Street vendors capable of appropriately managing their businesses and having access to financial support will manage to survive amidst economic hurdles. The availability of capital and access to loans serves as an essential factor in helping street vendors to better their production capacity and develop their businesses. Adequate financial sources will help them mitigate economic risks such as decreasing market demand or the rising cost of raw materials (Martinez & Estrada, 2017). The presence of stable and proper markets also plays a vital role in increasing social resilience among street vendors because this condition helps them sell their products at fair prices and guarantee stable supplies of raw materials. A good market will also minimize the risk of unfair competition or business seizure by another party. Both political and cultural factors also affect the social resilience of street vendors. Regulations and policies supporting the existence and rights of street vendors also contribute to social resilience (Mitra et al., 2017). Moreover, the culture as part of the social life of the vendors will also improve their social resilience.

■ 3.0 METHODOLOGY

This research took five months from February to July 2020. This research employed Social Network Analysis (SNA) with a qualitative approach involving in-depth interviews with participants revealing the social resilience built by street vendors. Social Network Analysis (SNA), seen from a qualitative perspective, can discover, enrich, and explain the dynamic of research in a complex pattern involving cultural and social regulations and reciprocal deeds in the phenomenon observed (Laghradat & Essalih, 2023). Social Network Analysis (SNA) can identify the dynamic, structure, pattern, and change in a social group and its interaction (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2018).

The first step of this research involved the thorough identification of relevant actors within the network studied, including street vendors, security guards, housing complex management, and other entities having a role in the context studied. This step was then followed by the type of relationships analyzed, such as interaction, friendship, collaboration, and dependency. The next step is data collection from in-depth interviews of 11 informants (street vendors, security guards, housing complex management, and *induk semang*). Samples were collected based on a snowball sampling technique to reveal details gained from informants and relational points among actors within a structure of a social network. The data obtained were used as the basis for forming matrices or a network diagram describing the connection among actors. This step was followed by data processing, where raw data were converted into a relevant format for an in-depth analysis. This step could involve data normalization, weighing relationships, or transformation of other data relevant to the need of the analysis.

The final analysis involves the interpretation of results within the context of research and the evaluation of the implication of the structure and the dynamic of the network, providing recommendations for further research or practical actions (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The data analysis process also refers to the interactive model introduced by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) which interactive model consists of three stages: (1) data condensation, (2) data presentation, and (3) conclusion. In all these steps of analysis, understanding both social and cultural contexts is essential simply because it affects how the connection is established and developed. The analysis results contribute profound insights regarding interaction, impacts, and role in a more extensive social network for street vendors in the area of Gading Serpong residential complex in Tangerang, Indonesia.

4.0 RESULTS & DISCUSSION

4.1 Social Network of Street Vendors in Real Estate Area

Research result reveals that street vendors form a pattern of relationship or a network representing the resilience of economic sustainability. The concept of a network reveals the fact where an individual is connected to another individual with his/her attitude to have the quality of a reciprocal deed with each other or with others (Tsvetovat, & Kouznetsov, 2011; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The focus of SNA analysis in this research aims to find the nodes involved, the strength of the relationship, relationship types, relationship quantity, distance, and the span between nodes, bottlenecks, key players, and the dynamics of the networks of street hawkers selling coffee (commonly referred to as *starling*). Figure 2 explains that all actors are connected to and have strong influences on *induk semang* because they come from the same regions or because of other factors such as friendship and kinship that play a central role. The *induk semang* intended in this study refers to a person who provides all the facilities, including the roof and main ingredients. The *induk semang* is responsible to guarantee the business operation and provides financial support for street vendors. Moreover, *Induk semang* also organizes activities among street vendors to ensure that things go well.

The pattern among mobile hawkers selling coffee in the area of Gading Serpong shows that the social network formed by cultural factors has managed to build trust, norms, and economic networks in a trading process (Dubos, 2017). Moreover, the coffee sellers seem to be able to remain in existence amidst the conflict with the local government of Tangerang city since they have the trust in the *induk semang* who holds a central role in forming networks connected to the management of Gading Serpong and security guards allowing them to sell around the area. Another finding also reveals that the social network of street vendors within the area centralized to an *induk semang* as a broker who is responsible to provide capital and connect vendors to the management of Gading Serpong in terms of providing places for street vendors to sell their goods is similar to the social network of other sellers within the same area of operation.

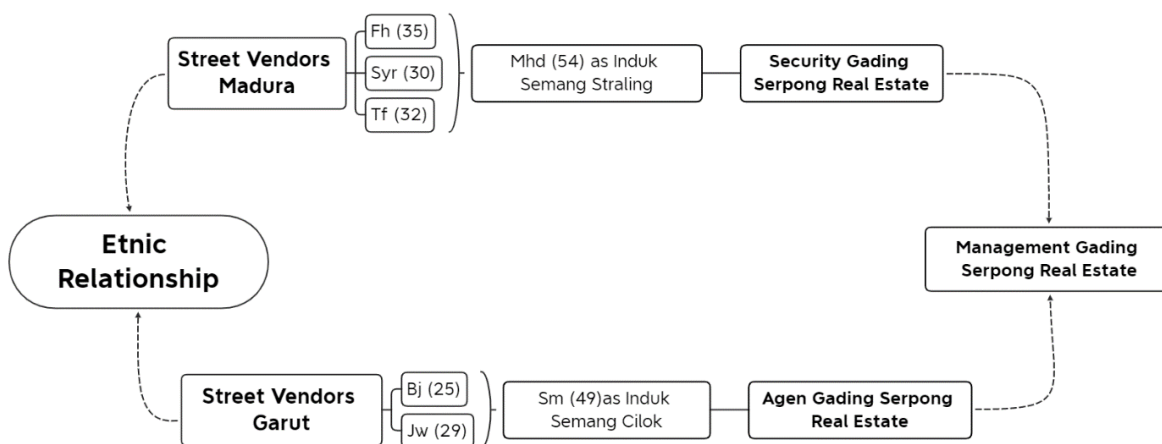


Figure 2 Networking pattern among Street Vendors at Gading Serpong Real Estate

Without the coordination of the network of *induk semang*, it is hard to deal with both horizontal and vertical conflicts with policymakers (Cross, 2000). *Induk semang* also established a relationship in advance with the management of housing development or security guards in the area of Gading Serpong Tangerang. *Induk semang*, in terms of the connection among street vendors, serves as an agent or a spearhead of the distribution of instant drinks in sachets, a leader of the community, a protector, and a provider of the areas for vendors to rent to sell goods. Trust is built under a partnership system between *induk semang* and his subordinates who are from the same

region. They share profit with their boss, and hawkers are facilitated with, for instance, vacuum bottles, hot water, motorbikes, and other needed tools. Research finding reveals that the closeness is built because they come from the same ethnicity, where *induk semang* usually exempt them from the same ethnicity from paying the rent while they still get protection in case of safety issues in Gading Serpong Tangerang. Some sellers like Taufik, Fahrul, and Ricky, starling hawkers from Madura selling their goods at Gading Serpong areas (Summarecon mall, UMN campus, and Bethsaida hospital), gain profit ranging from Rp. 250,000 – Rp. 500,000 for selling 50 to 200 coffee sachets (and other drinks) with a net profit of Rp. 50,000 per day, and this condition also contributes income to the *induk semang*. They could even spend up to 200 to 300 sachets, making them gain more income ranging from Rp. 300,000 to Rp. 450,000 during weekends or when buyers are at their peak. This amount is after the profit share with the *induk semang*.

The analysis presented earlier indicates that street vendors in Tangerang area manage to survive amidst the vertical conflicts with the local government of Tangerang City simply because they are supported by the social network with their *induk semang* and the management of Gading Serpong. However, this strategy is not without a problem. First, sellers depend too much on the social network, and support from one another can be too risky simply because hawkers can lose their resources and support for their businesses when such a connection is broken. Therefore, street vendors in the area have to find another way to gain alternative support and varied resources to keep their businesses sustainable (Wang, Fang, Cao, & Luo, 2023). Second, relying too much on a dominant social network centralized in one or two parties can trigger injustice and abuse of power. In this case, the *induk semang* as the boss and the management of Gading Serpong can abuse power and influence others to gain greater profit from street vendors in the area. Therefore, the street vendors in the area need to take into account the fact that their connection with their boss and the management of Gading Serpong is mutual, and it does not harm other parties within the social network (Viswanathan & Aiyar, 2018). Third, such a social network does not always go as expected since conflicts and competition can arise among street vendors or between street vendors and the *induk semang* or the management of Gading Serpong. In this case, street vendors in this area need to ensure that the mechanism to settle an issue or a conflict within the social network is available (Boonjubun, 2017).

We also need to take into account whether street vendors rely on a social network to keep their businesses running in the long run to earn enough profit. If the street vendors manage to achieve this goal, this strategy will depend on the social network that is deemed effective in helping the street vendors in the area to help them exist and keep growing. However, if the street vendors are facing problems in maintaining their businesses or losses, this strategy needs evaluation and improvement. In this case, the street vendors will need to find out the cause of the failure and the solution to the problem. Other factors affecting the strategy may also depend on the social network of street vendors in the area. The environment where the businesses take place is one of the factors since this factor always changes, and so do the regulations or technological development (Hsieh, 2017).

4.2 Ethnic Bond Strengthening the Resilience of Street Vendors

The analysis result of the social network as above indicates that the bond of Madurese ethnic (Figure 2) contributes to the establishment of the network of street vendors living in another area far from their hometown. This tendency represents one of the patterns of resilience stimulating economic sustainability in an informal sector. This ethnic is also known for their nomadic life and diaspora in other regions. The biggest diaspora of Madurese ethnic has reached out to East Java: Surabaya, Malang to the Tapal Kuda (literally meaning horseshoe) regions in East Java, including Pasuruan, Bondowoso, Situbondo, and Banyuwangi. However, Madurese people have also spread across the Nusantara in big cities or relatively small towns. Ecological (natural), geographical, cultural, and economic factors and identity have stimulated them to spread across the archipelago. Ecologically, Madura Island does not give any agrarian and economic potential to its occupants. Nature tends to be arid with low rainfall, which is not good for agriculture. Salt farming and fish farming are not quite lucrative in the area as well, failing to bring welfare to the people. This failure has encouraged Madurese people to seek economic opportunities beyond the island by migrating to other regions (Hidayatullah, 2019).

Inadequate food sources in Madura have stimulated Madurese people to work harder and strongly keep their kinship. They also tend to be selfish. These characteristics are reflected in the philosophy and the way Madurese people think. A Madurese adage says “*abantal omba, asapo angin*” (resting on a pillow of sea wave and under the blanket of wind). This adage indicates that they are hard workers and robust. The religious factor also contributes to the establishment of the mentality of Madurese people who are mostly Moslems. Madurese people are often linked to their strong adherence to the principles and cultural values of Islam. The Islamic identity and their faith in a *kyai* (a religious leader) strengthen their kinship. Some customary values and habits of Madurese people also raise the likelihood among Madurese people to migrate across regions. *Toron* (returning to hometown) is common among Madurese people to reunite with their family members and relatives. During this moment, they often share their success stories and the experience they gain when they are away from home.

The term *Ongha* (leaving Madura) is another contributing factor to migrating to other regions to earn more income and seek welfare. Emotional bond, commonly called *patobin*, strengthens kinship, solidarity, and networks among them. This bond is also linked to custom, which is known as *balah karabah*. Other obvious traditions in the community also involve wedding ceremonies, Ied day, hajj events, and visiting the cemetery to pray for their ancestors. Dignity is another factor stimulating the hard work of Madurese people. They strongly believe that migrants must share their success stories later when they go *toron* or when they gather in a traditional ceremony. Madurese people also believe in the term “*tambano todus mate*” meaning that “you’d better die or be ashamed”. This shame is linked to unsuccessful life when they stay in another city as migrants (Djakfar, 2011).

The ethnic bond among Madurese people forming strong social resilience stimulates the establishment of a network of businesses in the informal sector (Roosli, Osman, and Ismail, 2018). The bond of Madurese people in establishing the network can be seen as strong social resilience to help street vendors, most of whom are Madurese, to survive in an informal sector. A strong ethnic bond can help them gain access to resources and information they need, including access to supplies, market information, and customers. This bond also helps

reduce economic pressure and crisis such as intense competition, unstable market prices, and regulations. In this situation, Madurese Street vendors can rely on their ethnic bond from which they gain support and help.

The concept of social resilience is also within the scope of government policies and programs in supporting the development of the informal sector, including those as street vendors (Cross, 2000). The policies to consider ethnic and cultural factors in forming a business network in the informal sector can help the social resilience of street vendors and the informal sector as a whole. As a result, social resilience is not only useful during crises or economic tension faced by street vendors, but it is also useful in assisting the growth of the informal sector in a long term. The strong ethnic bond reinforces the capacity and competitiveness among street vendors in the informal sector. An ethnic bond, for example, can help street vendors gain access to business capital and training needed to improve their skills and experience in the business. This ethnic bond also gives contribution to their business growth in collaboration with several resources and cooperatives. In this case, the government plays a significant role in supporting the development of business networks in the informal sector, including training programs, business financial aid, or street vendor-friendly facilities (Berkes & Ross 2013). In addition, the government can also initiate a dialogue and collaboration involving street vendors and all other parties represented by local people, finances, and other stakeholders (Hsieh, 2017).

Although this ethnic bond can give benefits and help reinforce the capacity and competitiveness among Madurese Street vendors, their existence can leave negative impacts such as exclusiveness and discrimination against street vendors from other ethnicities. The street vendors of another ethnicity may not get access like those from Madurese ethnicity, leading to restricted business development. This issue will certainly spoil diversity and creativity in an informal sector and restrict the growing potential in the sector concerned. A strong ethnic bond can also interrupt business continuity in this informal sector because the ethnic network built may not consider wider business factors such as innovation, market development, and changing demands. This issue will certainly get the Madurese community trapped in the same business circle, making them incapable to respond to unstable market conditions. Despite these negative aspects, it is important to bear in mind that the ethnic bond of Madurese people in forming the network in a city where they migrate also represents social and cultural values. This ethnic bond can help maintain the traditional and cultural values of the Madurese people in their new neighborhood, and their ethnic identity is well protected amidst a diverse population. Thus, it is important to find the balance between establishing a strong ethnic bond to assure business continuity in an informal sector and promoting diversity and inclusivity in the sector concerned.

4.3 *Induk Semang* Creating the Harmony in Market Space in Real Estate Area

Theoretically, *induk semang* can open market space for street vendors and serving as a mediator in settling conflicts sparked between hawkers and housing developers, and the government. First, *induk semang* can help street vendors find a strategic location in a real estate area that gives huge potential to draw customers. Giving potential locations can help brokers increase the exposure of the products sold, and it can also open a chance inclusively and continuously and to shapes social networks (Moyal, Tan, & Halevy, 2023). Second, they also can provide facilities that allow hawkers to communicate with the real estate agent to come to an agreement and reach mutual benefits (Holan & Cotten, 2003). The *induk semang* can help street vendors gain a permit allowing them to sell their products at the housing complex and ensuring that street vendors comply with all the current rules and provisions. Third, brokers can help street vendors promote and market their products, specifically by helping them set effective marketing strategies and introduce their products to the public.

Some people serving as *induk semang* were interviewed to gain information on how social networks were built in connection with the security guards and real estate development. The data gained from the interview indicate that those becoming *induk semang* were initially street vendors who migrated to the area and decided to sell products earlier in the time the real estate was developed in Gading Serpong. They expanded their businesses while establishing a social connection with security guards and builders (including coolies). When their businesses were in progress and grew bigger, some *induk semang* bought houses near the area to be part of the real estate residents. This was taken as a strategy to ensure that their businesses kept running. Some *induk semang* lobbied the developer to provide spaces for street vendors. They even provide an empty lot for them to sell their food. When they managed to gather power and form authority, it starts to draw other members from the same ethnicity interested in becoming street vendors in the area. This pattern has been maintained, reaching out to other real estate areas.

The social resilience and the role of *induk semang* in real estate areas are connected to the role of street vendors in building social and economic sustainability in the housing complex. With the support, street vendors can sharpen their business skills and earn more money. This strategy can also alleviate poverty in the area and encourage independence in the community (Dima, 2021). By increasing income and encouraging economic independence, street vendors can help increase social resilience. It also helps the street vendors gain access to food sources and other products that help reduce hunger and malnutrition. Street vendors can serve as sources contributing to social support for those who are in need. The help given by *induk semang* also improves the independence of the people concerned (Osman, 2018), making them stronger in dealing with unwanted situations. However, some criticism regarding this relationship also needs to be taken into account.

First, although the strategy above can help with economic independence and give a better quality of life, it still has some issues. The presence of street vendors causes traffic congestion and environmental pollution, but this problem seems to have always been overlooked by *induk semang*. Thus, stricter supervision of the operation of street vendors needs to be considered by *induk semang* to ensure that their presence does not harm other residents living nearby (Demirer, 2020). Second, there has been some criticism encouraging *induk semang* to build trust between street vendors and the residents living in the area. Moreover, facilitators responsible for street vendors seem to focus on their interests, probably contravening public interest. This shows that supervision and transparency from *induk semang* are needed (Bloch & Okine, 2002). Third, it is important to remember that the existence of street vendors does not always increase the welfare of the people as a whole. There is a possibility that only a few of street vendors succeed in their businesses by earning more money, while others are still living in poverty (Peláez-Higuera et al., 2023). Therefore, there should be some measures taken to improve the quality and skill of the street vendors to ensure that they gain access to opportunities through their *induk semang*.

5.0 CONCLUSION

This research aims to analyze social resilience among street vendors operating in the real estate of Gading Serpong, Tangerang City. This can be realized through social networks gained from the results of interviews with some street vendors in the area. We are fully aware of the essence of this research, considering that some studies did not perform in-depth analyses regarding the resilience of street vendors operating in real estate areas especially when it is seen from their social network. This understanding is required to settle conflicts arising between street vendors, the government, and a real estate developer. This research has found that this network is dominated by the roles of *induk semang* as part of the social resilience of street vendors. *Induk semang* strongly adhering to an ethnic bond with street vendors are capable of serving as facilitators that give access to resources, capital, and security to ensure that they can keep their businesses running around the real estate area. *Induk semang* also plays an important role in opening market space to assure mediation between the government and the real estate developer. The collaboration among *induk semang* can guarantee a more harmonious connection among all the related parties in property businesses. In this case, *induk semang* is also believed to serve as a catalysator leaning more towards a mutual agreement for all parties involved.

Acknowledgement

This research would not have been possible without the support from the Dean of Interdisciplinary Studies, Titi Susilowati Prabawa, who allowed me to research this subject. My gratitude also goes to my writing coaches, Professor Aldi H. Lasso and Professor Charanpal S. Bal. With their passion and patience, I can learn and practice more useful features which enrich my writing skill. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Pamerdi Giri Wiloso, Professor Wilson Therik, and Professor Willi Toisuta, my research supervisors, for their guidance, enthusiasm, encouragement, and valuable critics. Professor Pamerdi stimulated my thoughts brilliantly and made me read more about Habermas's and Janoski's concepts of the public sphere. Professor Wilson Therik criticized my writing by proofreading my article and reminded me from time to time of the mistakes I made in my writing. Also, I would like to thank Professor Willi Toisuta for positively criticizing my article, especially about the brokerage and Hillary Silver's theory of social exclusion.

References

- Ahmed, I., and A. Ahmed. 2020. "Exploring the Resilience of Street Vendors in the Context of Natural Disasters: Evidence from Pakistan." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 48:1016–1032.
- Akinoyemi, O. O., and O. J. Taiwo. 2019. "Street Trading and Real Estate Development in Lagos, Nigeria." *Journal of Property Investment & Finance* 37(1):75–91.
- Al-Jundi, S. A., Al-Janabi, H. A., Salam, M. A., Bajaba, S., & Ullah, S. (2022). The impact of urban culture on street vending: a path model analysis of the general public's perspective. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 831014. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2021.831014.
- Anand, S., & Jagadeesh, K. (2022). Neighborhoods and their impacts on the informal food economy of Bengaluru. *Cities*, 126, 103672. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2022.103672.
- Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2013). Community resilience: toward an integrated approach. *Society & natural resources*, 26(1), 5-20.
- Blackburn, C. (2014). *The Indigenous Space: Marginalized Peoples and the United Nations*. Jens Dahl. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 298 pp.
- Bloch, R., and J. O. Okine. 2002. "Brokerage and the Urban Informal Sector: A Study of Street Vendors in Accra, Ghana." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26(2):354–373.
- Bong, J. 2019. "The Resilience of Street Vendors in South Africa: A Case Study of the City of Johannesburg." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 54(5):653–668.
- Boonjubun, C. (2017). Conflicts over streets: The eviction of Bangkok street vendors. *Cities*, 70, 22-31. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2017.06.007.
- Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2018). *Analyzing social networks*. Sage.
- Cacioppo, J. T., Reis, H. T., & Zautra, A. J. (2011). Social resilience: the value of social fitness with an application to the military. *American Psychologist*, 66(1), 43.
- Castells, M., and A. Portes. 1989. *The Origins, Dynamic, and Effect of The Informal Economy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkin University Press.
- Connor, K. M., & Davidson, J. R. (2003). Development of a new resilience scale: The Connor-Davidson resilience scale (CD-RISC). *Depression and anxiety*, 18(2), 76-82.
- Cross, J. (2000). Street vendors, and postmodernity: conflict and compromise in the global economy. *International journal of sociology and social policy*, 20(1/2), 29-51.
- Crossa, V. (2009). Resisting the entrepreneurial city: street vendors' struggle in Mexico City's historic center. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 33(1), 43-63.
- Cuvi, J. (2016). The politics of field destruction and the survival of São Paulo's street vendors. *Social Problems*, 63(3), 395-412.
- Demirer, H. 2020. "Understanding Brokers in the Informal Sector: A Case Study of Street Vendors in Istanbul, Turkey." *Urban Studies* 57(8):1649–1665.
- Deore, P., & Lathia, S. (2019). Streets as public spaces: Lessons from street vending in Ahmedabad, India. *Urban Planning*, 4(2), 138-153.
- Devlin, R. T. (2020). A focus on needs: toward a more nuanced understanding of inequality and urban informality in the global North. In *The Aesthetics of Neighborhood Change* (pp. 5-27). Routledge.
- Dima, N. 2021. "Brokers and Street Vendors: An Exploration of the Informal Economy in Bucharest, Romania." *European Journal of Economic Studies* 26(2):238–253.
- Djakfar, M. (2011). Etos bisnis etnis madura perantauan di kota malang: memahami dialektika agama dengan kearifan lokal. *IQTISHODUNA*. doi: 10.18860/iq.v0i0.1739.
- Dubos, R. (2017). *Social capital: Theory and research*. Routledge.
- Duchek, S. (2018). Entrepreneurial resilience: a biographical analysis of successful entrepreneurs. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 14(2), 429-455.
- Firman, T. (2004). New town development in Jakarta Metropolitan Region: a perspective of spatial segregation. *Habitat international*, 28(3), 349-368.
- Forkuor, J. B., Akuoko, K. O., & Yeboah, E. H. (2017). Negotiation and management strategies of street vendors in developing countries: A narrative review. *Sage Open*, 7(1), 2158244017691563.
- Fraser, M. W., Galinsky, M. J., & Richman, J. M. (1999). Risk, protection, and resilience: Toward a conceptual framework for social work practice. *Social work research*, 23(3), 131-143.
- de Oliveira Gobbo, S. C., Mariano, E. B., & Gobbo Jr, J. A. (2021). Combining social network and data envelopment analysis: A proposal for a Selection Employment Contracts Effectiveness index in healthcare network applications. *Omega*, 103, 102377. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.omega.2020.102377.
- Graaff, K., & Ha, N. (Eds.). (2015). *Street vending in the neoliberal city: A global perspective on the practices and policies of a marginalized economy*. Berghahn Books.
- Gupta, N., Singh, A., & Cheriff, H. (2016). Centrality measures for networks with community structure. *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and its Applications*, 452,

- 46-59. doi: 10.1016/j.physa.2016.01.066.
- Haryanto, J. 2019. "Exploring the Relationship between Real Estate Development and Street Vendors in Jakarta, Indonesia." *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning* 10(1):1–11.
- Hidayatullah, P. (2019). Madurese Soap Opera: An Industry and Madurese Culture Migration of Situbondo People. *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, 19(1), 84-97. doi: 10.15294/harmonia.v19i1.14951.
- Holan, K. S., and S. R. Cotten. 2003. "The Influence of Local Market Space on Residential Property Values: A Study of the Greater Phoenix, Arizona Metropolitan Area." *Journal of Real Estate Research* 25(2):147–66.
- Hsieh, J. 2017. "The Social Network and Informal Governance of Street Vending in Hanoi, Vietnam." *Geoforum* 86:89–98.
- Peláez-Higuera, J., Calderón-Hernández, G., & Serna-Gómez, H. M. (2023). Social, commercial and economic diversity. Poverty and expectations among street vendors in Florencia, Caquetá, Colombia. *Cities*, 140, 104448. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2023.104448.
- Laghradat, C., & Essalih, M. (2023). A Set of Measures of Centrality by Level for Social Network Analysis. *Procedia Computer Science*, 219, 751-758. doi: 10.1016/j.procs.2023.01.348.
- Li, K., Zhang, L., & Huang, H. (2018). Social influence analysis: models, methods, and evaluation. *Engineering*, 4(1), 40-46. doi: 10.1016/j.eng.2018.02.004.
- Longstaff, P. H. (2005). Security, resilience, and communication in unpredictable environments such as terrorism, natural disasters, and complex technology. *Center for Information Policy Research, Harvard University*, 3, 1-7.
- Martinez, L. M., & Estrada, D. (2017). Street vending and informal economy: Survey data from Cali, Colombia. *Data in brief*, 14, 132-137. doi: 10.1016/j.dib.2017.06.047
- McGee, T. G., & Yeung, Y. M. (1977). *Hawkers in Southeast Asian cities: Planning for the bazaar economy*. IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. 3rd.
- Mitra, S., A. Dey, and S. Dhar. 2017. "Resilience of Street Vendors in India: The Role of Legal Recognition." *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development* 9(1):1–13.
- Morange, M. (2015). Street trade, neoliberalisation and the control of space: Nairobi's Central Business District in the era of entrepreneurial urbanism. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 9(2), 247-269.
- Morris, J., & Polese, A. (2015). Informal economies in post-socialist spaces: between illegality and extendedness.
- Moyal, A., Tan, J. C. Y., & Halevy, N. (2023). Brokering in hierarchies versus networks: How organizational structure shapes social relations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 109, 104515. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2023.104515
- Osman, A. 2018. "The Resilience of Street Vendors in Khartoum, Sudan." *The Journal of Development Studies* 54(7):1236–1251.
- Otte, E., & Rousseau, R. (2002). Social network analysis: a powerful strategy, also for the information sciences. *Journal of information Science*, 28(6), 441-453. doi: 10.1177/016555150202800601.
- Pinheiro, R., and E. Pinheiro. 2019. "The Resilience of Street Vendors in Brazil: The Role of Social Support Networks." *Journal of Rural Studies* 70(5):9–16.
- Reyes, R. M. (2013). Crime, street vendors and the historical Downtown in post-Giuliani Mexico City. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 2, 186-198.
- Roever, S. (2014). Informal economy monitoring study sector report: Street vendors. *Cambridge, MA, USA: WIEGO*, 1-72.
- Roosli, R., R. Osman, and R. Ismail. 2018. "The Influence of Madurese Migration in the Development of Social Capital in Malaysia." *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 34(2):408–21.
- Daeng, A. (2020). Analisis Kualitatif Keberadaan Pedagang Kaki Lima di Kota Mataram. *Elastisitas-Jurnal Ekonomi Pembangunan*, 2(2), 169-179. doi: 10.29303/e-jep.v2i2.29.
- Schindler, S. (2014). Producing and contesting the formal/informal divide: Regulating street hawking in Delhi, India. *Urban Studies*, 51(12), 2596-2612.
- Sekhani, R., Mohan, D., & Medipally, S. (2019). Street vending in urban 'informal' markets: Reflections from case-studies of street vendors in Delhi (India) and Phnom Penh City (Cambodia). *Cities*, 89, 120-129. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2019.01.010.
- Setyaningrum, W., Pandelaki, E. E., & Suprapti, A. (2021). Karakteristik Pedagang Kaki Lima (PKL) Di Pusat Kota Pekalongan. *Sinektika: Jurnal Arsitektur*, 18(2), 160-168. doi: 10.23917/sinektika.v18i2.15327.
- Soliman, A. M. (2021). Social Exclusivity versus Inclusivity, Marginality, and Urban Informality. In *Urban Informality: Experiences and Urban Sustainability Transitions in Middle East Cities* (pp. 223-247). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Sultana, N., and M. Haque. 2017. "Factors Influencing the Resilience of Street Vendors: A Study of Selected Areas in Dhaka City, Bangladesh." *Journal of Environmental and Social Sciences* 4(2):82–90.
- Tsvetovat, M., & Kouznetsov, A. (2011). *Social Network Analysis for Startups: Finding connections on the social web*. "O'Reilly Media, Inc."
- USAID, United States Agency for International Development. 2006. *Concept and Practices of Resilience: A Compilation from Various Secondary Sources*. Bangkok: IOTWS.
- Viswanathan, P., and A. Aiyar. 2018. "Social Networks and Informal Finance in Urban India: A Study of Street Vendors in Chennai." *Journal of Development Studies* 54(6):1027–43.
- Wang, P., Fang, D., Cao, G., & Luo, Q. (2023). Does information sharing affect the regulation of street vending: An analysis based on the dynamic tripartite evolutionary game in social networks. *Cities*, 141, 104494. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2023.104494.
- Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: Methods and applications*.