

ENTREPRENEURIAL PRACTICE IN TRADING ON JAVANESE-MUSLIM ETHNICITY AND CHINESE-CONFUCIAN ETHNICITY IN KANOMAN MARKET CIREBON CITY

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Abstract

In the practical realm, the market always provides room for contestation for the entrepreneurs involved in it. Likewise, in Kanoman Market, Cirebon City, this ethnic entrepreneurial contestation was represented by the two so-called ethnic groups, namely the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity and the Chinese-Confucian ethnicity. The contestation in the entrepreneurial field at Kanoman Market shows the dominance of confident entrepreneurs. For example, service entrepreneurs (corporate entrepreneurs) of Javanese ethnicity and entrepreneurs of essential commodities (trading entrepreneurs) are generally ethnic Chinese. The purpose of this study is to analyze the entrepreneurial contestation of Javanese-Muslim ethnicity and ethnic Chinese-Kunghucu at Kanoman Market, Cirebon. The research uses qualitative methods with an anthropological-economic approach. They are then equipped with data analysis to answer research questions. This study found that the entrepreneurial contestation of Javanese-Muslim and Chinese-Kunghucu ethnics in Kanoman Market, Cirebon City, the economic practices of the two ethnicities were carried out and shaped by the belief system of the community, whether influenced by the religious belief system adopted or the belief system sourced from ethnic values and the ethnic belief system. For this reason, in economic practice, especially in the contestation taking place in the market, the belief system forms its influence in accepting the Javanese-Muslim and Chinese-Kunghucu ethnicities on matters relating to the belief system they believe in. In their entrepreneurial practice, the two ethnic groups involve social capital and mystical capital, such as a network of associations and professional organizations, as well as mystical elements, such as prayer rituals and amulets of sellers.

Keywords: Kanoman Market; Economy; Entrepreneurship; Culture; Ethnicity and Belief System

I. Introduction

The ethical spirit in an ethnic group is believed to influence the formation of identity and entrepreneurial activities that are carried out because the ethical spirit is something that is accepted as part of the self-

formation is considered as a driving force for entrepreneurial activities that are carried out because this entrepreneurial activity is specifically related to what is practiced in entrepreneurship. Ethnic identity is also clearly seen in the efforts to form

entrepreneurs that are carried out. The general practice emphasizes that ethnic entrepreneurship cannot be separated from the ethnic identity in it. Hence, efforts to link ethnic ethics with entrepreneurial practices are certainly something relevant because ethnic identity in entrepreneurial practice tends to form an entrepreneurial identity, both from the ethical code that is believed to be also the spirit of entrepreneurship formed from the fundamental values believed by the ethnic group (Kuncono, 2015).

Although not seen directly, the relationship between ethnic ethics and entrepreneurship, ethnicity as a system of "devices" that shape identity certainly influences entrepreneurial practices carried out by certain ethnic groups (Wijaya, 2008). Ethnic ethics as something inherent in the self-entity will significantly affect every activity carried out, whether related to ethnicity itself or others, including economic practices on the road (Sholihah, 2020). Therefore, every ethnic group will always be connected with the element of ethnicity inherent in themselves. The so-called ethnicity element in entrepreneurship will always appear, especially in the form of ethnic language or culture, which is an inherent part of entrepreneurial practices developed by certain ethnicities. For this reason, the relationship between ethnic ethics and entrepreneurship is an inseparable

part. After all, there is a connection between entrepreneurial practice and the activities in it, especially in the effort to manage entrepreneurship, the element of ethnicity is always an integral part of entrepreneurial practice, including utilizing entrepreneurial social capital in strengthening entrepreneurship because ethnicity is not only in the form of ethics and culture. However, it also forms social relations that are connected through ethnicity with the same ethnic group (Pieterse, 2003).

In general practice, it is found that the elements of entrepreneurial character are not only developed based on market trends, but still, the general character of ethnicity becomes a separate part to form ethnic-based entrepreneurs. In the practice of ethnic entrepreneurship, there is something related to entrepreneurship that is developed on the element of ethnicity as an entrepreneurial commodity (Rauch and Trindade). Likewise, the use of ethnicity elements in strengthening entrepreneurial practices belonging to these ethnic groups, especially making ethnicity a strategy to maintain and develop ethnic-owned entrepreneurs involved in entrepreneurial practices, takes place in the economic space, such as the market as a place for economic transactions to take place and at the same time a space for contestation between entrepreneurs who run their respective economic fields. The market

as an economic space is usually called the use of elements of ethnicity as part of an effort to win the ongoing economic contestation because this market also forms a social element used for entrepreneurial expansion.

Demography Cirebon is one of the cities in Indonesia that is the choice of various ethnicities as a place of urbanization. Of course, the choice of urbanization is related to the belief that cities can provide hope for a better future of economic life (Jones and Dauglass, 2008). Based on this fact, Cirebon City is like other cities as part of the economic activities of its people. The city of Cirebon can be called Pasar Kanoman as an old market which is not only part of the Cirebon City entity itself, but the market is also part of the representation of the identity of the Kanoman Palace, formerly known as one of the places of economic activity on the island of Java (Hamdani, 2012).

Kanoman Market is different from other markets because apart from being an economic activity, it is also still related to the cultural identity of the City of Cirebon. After all, the position of Kanoman Market is part of the Cirebon Kanoman Palace, the formation of Kanoman Market as an economic activity for the community is still

explicitly related to the cultural system of the people of Cirebon City, in particular. Related to the Kanoman Palace is considered the identity of the Cirebon people. Seeing economic activity in Cirebon City in the perspective of economic activity that takes place at Kanoman Market is undoubtedly an effort to see the economic activity of the people of Cirebon City as a whole because the economic activity that takes place is a representation of the economic activity of urban communities, especially the middle-upper class community, some of whom choose economic activities by entrepreneurship.

The author's initial observations on Kanoman Market show that ethnic identity is very clearly visible in the field of entrepreneurship developed by the entrepreneurs involved in the market, especially the religious identity or beliefs that entrepreneurs believe in. In this regard, it can be stated, for example, that religious identity, such as attributes that emphasize certain religions, can be seen in the field of business development. In this case, Muslim entrepreneurs are seen displaying their religious identity in the form of symbolic identities, such as Arabic writing or calligraphy, which Muslims believe to be not only an element of artistic value in it but also a belief value (Yudhy, 2021). On the

other hand, the religious identity of other entrepreneurs is also seen in the presence of incense in front of the place of business which is the identity of Confucians. The so-called religious identity is then strengthened by ethnic identity, another part of the entrepreneurial entity that ethnicity runs in Kanoman Market. In general, experiencing ethnic identity in specific belief systems is generally accepted in society. In this context, the identification of Javanese ethnicity in Islam is a general identification that applies, although, of course, this identification is not generally accepted because many Javanese ethnic groups have religions other than Islam. Likewise, the Chinese ethnicity, which is connoted to the Confucian belief system, is also a very general identification because the Chinese ethnicity is always identified with the Confucian religion in a general sense.

Ethnic identity in the context of Kanoman Market can be seen from the dominance of confident entrepreneurs, for example, for service entrepreneurs (corporate entrepreneurs) in Javanese ethnicity and entrepreneurs of staple foods (trading entrepreneurs) are generally dominated by ethnic Chinese. This type-based division of the entrepreneurial field based on ethnicity confirms that market contestation has taken place between ethnic groups involved in their respective

entrepreneurial fields. Of course, mutually beneficial reciprocal relationships also occur because every entrepreneur cannot close themselves to other fields, then the interaction Ethnic externalities also cannot be ignored for entrepreneurial practices that are carried out. In terms of ethnic entrepreneurship, in practice, it involves elements of ethnic organizations because almost all ethnic groups have organizations based on certain ethnicities. For this reason, in the case of Javanese ethnicity, for example, it was found that there was an association organization that connected ethnic groups among others. Likewise, the Chinese ethnicity is also connected between ethnic groups in ethnic-based organizational relations. This ethnic-based organization is essential because the contestation of ethnic-based entrepreneurship is expressed by utilizing the spirit of ethnicity in supporting the entrepreneurship that is run.

In the practical realm, as in general, the market space always provides space for contestation for the entrepreneurs involved in it. In the context of the people of Cirebon City, the contestation of ethnic entrepreneurship is represented by the two so-called ethnicities, namely the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity and the Chinese-Confucian ethnicity. These two ethnicities are seen as the two most prominent forms of ethnic entrepreneurs from other ethnic

entrepreneurs. They are looking more deeply at the contestation of the two ethnic entrepreneurs in "conquest" the market, which is seen as an economic space (Kwartanada, 2002). For this reason, as a market contestation, efforts to outperform each other is a practice that cannot be avoided, so efforts to strengthen ethnic identity are part of one that has emerged. The entrepreneurship contest referred to here refers to the function of the market, which is understood as a flexible economic space that attempts to survive in the market struggle requires a strategy to attract the sympathy of the public as a consumer group (Anwar et al., 2020).

In the case of urban society, it is a society that continues to experience changes, especially those who live in a very pluralistic reality. Of course, the identity displayed is also undergoing negotiations with the ongoing situation. Ethnic entrepreneurial identity will tend to strengthen in a pluralistic society situation so that market contestation is part of entrepreneurial activity to make it survive and thrive in an unavoidable reality. Realizing what was stated, it is essential to conduct an in-depth study of the entrepreneurial contestation among the Javanese-Muslim and Chinese-Confucian ethnicities at Kanoman Market, Cirebon

City. Thus, the urgency of this research is as an effort to contribute to the field of economic science, especially in ethnic entrepreneurship, because this so-called field is part of the entrepreneurial development that develops in the community as one of the potentials for strengthening the community's economy.

Method

This study uses an inductive qualitative approach to provide a clear picture following the facts found in the field. To complement the qualitative method, an economic, anthropological approach is used, which seeks to find and explain economic phenomena that indicate the existence of social interactions in them. The economic anthropology approach is used because the object studied is specifically directly related to anthropology and economics, namely an effort to answer what will be sought for answers through research related to market contestations at Kanoman Market.

The data source comes from the ethnicity that has been determined in the study because this research focuses more on ethnicity or community groups concerning entrepreneurial activities carried out by these ethnic groups. To facilitate, the data sources will be grouped into 2 (two) forms, namely primary data and secondary data.

The two data that have been grouped will be classified based on the elements that distinguish them from the aspect of function and position. The primary data used in this research are Javanese-Muslim and Chinese-Confucian ethnic entrepreneurs active in Kanoman Market. Secondary data is not a primary source or a source not from the first hand but the second hand. Secondary data is needed to complement and strengthen the findings from the primary data. Secondary data is obtained from the collection of written or documented materials about the object under study either in printed or electronic form, such as books, journals, papers, proceedings, workshops, newspapers, websites, blogs, pdfs, and others explicitly considered related to research.

Technical data collection is done by following some general steps that have been used in qualitative research. All data collected will be arranged systematically based on the need for presentation and discussion. Technical data collection is carried out in several steps: exploration, observation, interviews, and documentation.

The data analysis carried out tends to be explanatory by trying to find answers or convincing explanations about the object under study following the data found because all the data found are believed to be

not always following what is desired. To find data that is genuinely believed to be accurate, the explanatory process is carried out. Technically, the analysis is carried out by examining anthropological and sociological factors related explicitly to the source of the data collected. Then it will be interpreted based on the theoretical framework that has previously been used as part of the framework of thinking and efforts to connect with theories that have been or are considered to be established, directly related to the research theme.

II. Discussions

Ethnic Identity in Kanoman Market

Ethnic ethics in the form of ethnic identity will be seen in the ongoing experience of the two ethnic groups directly involved in Kanoman Market, especially in efforts to develop their respective entrepreneurs. Ethnic identity referred to in this study can be seen in 2 (two) things, namely indigenous and non-indigenous belief systems, and discourses.

Ethnic Belief System in Kanoman Market

The belief system cannot be separated from a person's life, whether the group is obedient to what is believed or the group that lacks or does not carry out the belief system adopted, but only gives space to the belief system (Putra, 2012). For this

reason, the belief system becomes part of the identity attached to community groups because the belief system grows in a person. After all, it is influenced by the environment or the education system received. In this case, the belief system is an ethnic identity that always influences every community's activity, including in the economic area. The belief system becomes a separate part of shaping the views and behaviors practiced, especially the belief system that has been assimilated with other belief systems in religious doctrine. Which then experience harmonization in the culture of society (Rosana, 2011). In terms of ethnic ethics in the ongoing market contestation, the belief system has its role in shaping how the contestation runs and is carried out because the belief system's sentiment will usually influence determining how economic practices are developed.

In general, the economic practice of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity in the Cirebon City community is carried out by the ethnicity formed by the belief system of the community, whether influenced by the religious belief system adopted, or the belief system originating from the value of ethnicity, which is the ethnic belief system (Geertz, 1956). For this reason, in economic practice, especially in the contestation taking place in the market, the belief system

forms its influence in the acceptance of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity on matters relating to the belief system that is believed to be, even though the relationship between ethnicities is in the experience of the people of Cirebon City, especially in Kanoman Market. is a relationship that has been going on for a very long time in the bonds that connect existing ethnic groups (Tirtosudarmo, 2010). However, in the market contestation, this belief system has its influence on entrepreneurs, especially groups who are obedient to their religious principles. In many ways, interaction efforts in entrepreneurship are also consistently associated with elements of the belief system they believe in. Likewise, to bind the relationship between entrepreneurs and customers, it is also always connected with a trust system, even though the relationship is still called running on economic interests. However, efforts to "maintain relationships" intensely between fellow entrepreneurs will always try to build relationships connected with a trust system. Likewise, the relationship between entrepreneurs and customers is connected because a trust system is a separate part of binding the relationship between each other. After all, the bond of a belief system can connect and at the same time "bind" between the two to have each other.

Market contestation involves this belief system, and it can be seen that entrepreneurial practices are carried out constantly trying to be associated with elements related to the belief system, such as greeting greetings that have elements of their belief system or displaying belief system attributes in the form of symbolic piety, such as hajj. This becomes a separate part of the effort to "bind" the relationship between entrepreneurs and customers because the bond of a belief system will form a symbolic thing to become a separate part of the establishment of "intimate relationships" between people who have a belief system (Subijanto, 2012). For this reason, in practice, it is found that some entrepreneurs display elements of symbolic piety in economic or social relations that can attract the "sympathy" of customers always to be connected in all relationships, including in economic relations, which of course has implications for the choice of customers to remain part of the "loyal customers" in the economic relationship between the two.

In another context, it was found that the use of ethnic language is also a strengthening of the element of ethnicity in the ongoing interaction because the ethnic bond originating from the belief system will strengthen the relationship between the two. The belief system is a separate part of the

market contestation effort based on ethnicity, especially to "attract the sympathy" of customers as it is called (Wibowo, 2001) because this is the central part of the ongoing market contestation by positioning the customer as the main element to get success. Entrepreneur. Practically, the belief system is a market contestation strategy. However, in practice, it is not used as part of market contestation, but in practice, it takes place, especially among Javanese-Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs who are obedient in carrying out a belief system. This element is part of the contestation strategy. The market practiced in the Kanoman Market can "keep" customers always be consistent in the economic relationship that connects the two.

The belief system in this market context is reinforced by the view that in the belief system it is believed, both entrepreneurs and customers that shopping to others is part of a strategy to strengthen the bond of trust system relations, it is said to show that in the practice of market contestation, the belief system becomes something that is directly involved in the market competition. The belief system is not only able to connect the relationship between entrepreneurs and customers in the bond of a belief system, but the belief system has its role to be understood by the group of adherents as part of a trusted

doctrine, so the participation of the belief system in market contestation does not only take place in economic relations as the practice is called but normatively found legitimacy in practice. For this reason, the market contestation that has occurred, especially involving the belief system, has formed a mutually "tied" relationship between entrepreneurs and customers tied in the same trust system relationship, so that the relationship is not only one-way, but both are complementary, both entrepreneurs and customers together in a bond of belief system, there is mutual support in the process of economic practice in the experience of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity in Kanoman Market.

In the same context, the Chinese-Kunghucu ethnic also utilizes a belief system as part of a strategy to survive in the ongoing market contestation, because as it is said, the belief system is something that cannot be separated from certain ethnicities. In the same connection, the Chinese also use a belief system to "get" their customers who have the same belief system. Efforts to strengthen entrepreneurship by utilizing this belief system are carried out, apart from being a form of self-expression in the belief system adopted and building peer relations in economic ties. This belief system will be seen in the customer community with the

same elements, ethnicity, and belief systems. However, in other contexts, especially when connected with other groups, the element of the belief system is not always used as an effort to connect relationships because the difference in belief systems between entrepreneurs and customers will not only hinder economic practices from being carried out but can also be part of the effort to break economic relations.

In ethnic Chinese, the belief system is not very prominent to customers with different belief systems because the number of customers of ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs is more than those of other ethnic groups, so the relationship is more focused on the social aspect. For this reason, the use of the belief system in market contestation is only carried out in a limited community, so efforts are more flexible in terms of the belief system to be more open because customers are involved in the ethnic, economic relationship. However, it was found more in other ethnic groups outside the Chinese ethnic group. For this reason, the belief system as part of market contestation only applies to the same community, so the element of the belief system in the practice of ethnic entrepreneurship is not very visible because the strategy of utilizing a belief system in the

context of market contestation can result in losses to the ethnic group, so in terms of the use of belief systems cannot be fully used as part of a strategy to maintain ongoing economic relations.

In practice, customers understand that there are differences in belief systems with ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs. However, it does not significantly influence the relationship between the two because other elements are not always related to the belief system but rather to economic interests (Sumarti, 2007). For this reason, the relationship between ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs and customers with different belief systems continues to maintain economic relations with a position of mutual respect. However, for others, especially militant customers, in understanding the trust system of relationships with ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs, it is a separate part not to build economic relations, even though in practice, economic orientation always gives customers their own choice to conduct economic relations with groups with different belief systems. Therefore, the belief system in the experience of ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs is not always used as part of a market contestation strategy because identity strengthening is said to tend to be detrimental to entrepreneurs, so as a consequence, the ethnic Chinese must only make the belief system in certain groups that

have closeness or similarities. The belief system, whereas in different customer relationships, the element's belief system is not used as a strategy for inter-ethnic market contestation that takes place at the Kanoman Market.

In another context, the Chinese ethnic belief system in particular objects believed to bring good is a form of actualization of the belief system owned by this ethnic group (Aguilar, 2001). This belief system in terms of market contestation is not seen directly, especially in relations with customers. However, the belief system in "good luck" involves the element of belief in the ongoing market contestation. The belief system in various objects is a form of effort to develop entrepreneurial expectations better than before. This belief system will have implications for the formation of confidence in the optimism of entrepreneurial success so that it will have implications for entrepreneurial development, both related to the management system or marketing strategy. In terms of the belief system that continues in the inter-ethnic market contestation space at Kanoman Market, even though the contestation is not directly related to economic practices, it becomes a solid inspiration for developing entrepreneurship to be more advanced than before.

Indigenous vs Non-Indigenous on Kanoman Market

The grouping of indigenous identities with non-natives is intended as part of the market contestation between Javanese-Muslim ethnicities and Chinese-Kunghucu. The two ethnic groups are said to be part of the Cirebon City community, distinguished from this grouping because they both have different identities. Indigenous groupings with non-indigenous people appear to distinguish themselves between ethnicities and at the same time strengthen their respective ethnic identities. In practice, indigenous and non-indigenous identities are not visible on the surface. However, in ongoing practice, these groupings remain part of the ongoing market contestation. In general, a contestation will always bring up an element of sensitivity to "seize" the market by certain groups so that identity grouping becomes an inseparable part of ongoing economic practice. For this reason, the grouping of ethnic identities between natives and non-natives becomes an inseparable part of market contestations that involve elements of ethnicity in them.

In the context referred to, the Javanese-Muslim ethnic group is categorized as indigenous because this so-called group is part of the indigenous people

of the Cirebon City community. The Javanese-Muslim ethnic group of entrepreneurs are not all groups born and settled in Cirebon City. This is because some of them come from other regions, but the grouping of natives in the context of market contestation is seen in the economic practices carried out at the Kanoman Market. Although a small part of this group of Javanese-Muslim entrepreneurs come from other areas, the grouping as natives is an inseparable part because this so-called group is part of the indigenous community and has an element of ethnicity with the "native-local" residents of Cirebon City. In the practice of market contestation, utilization as an indigenous group becomes part of its strategy to "grab the heart" of customers from the same ethnicity who are the biggest customers of other indigenous groups. Indigenous people as ethnic identities become a separate part of the current market contestation at Kanoman Market. Apart from grouping the type of entrepreneurship, it cannot be separated from efforts to maintain customer "loyalty" into this grouping to strengthen ethnic entrepreneurs.

Indigenous identity in this market contestation can be seen in the narrative that has been developed that other groups, including ethnic Chinese, are outsiders who

are rivals in the economic aspect. The group referred to is always positioned as an "outside" group that does not have a solid commitment to the progress of society. Strengthening indigenous identity is used as a form of strengthening entrepreneurial strategies developed by developing opinions among fellow entrepreneurs or to customers that advancing the economy by being actively involved in economic transactions is developed by local communities themselves because local-indigenous communities are part of the customers themselves so that the choice to transact with fellow natives is a form of joint commitment to fight "economic hegemony" by other parties. Although it is not done openly in the context of the so-called indigenous identity, it becomes part of the strategy developed by ethnic Javanese entrepreneurs to "seize" the market in terms of economic development.

In the ongoing interaction, between Javanese ethnic entrepreneurs and their customers, especially in responding to various things that took place in Kanoman Market, it was found that a narrative was developed, that indigenous groups were the majority group that tended to be economically "controlled" by minority groups so that everything that could harm customers was always connected with the ethnic Chinese minority group which is

positioned as a "price maker" group and the availability of goods in the Kanoman Market. The development of indigenous issues as a majority group that must "submit" to the power of minority groups is used as part of a form of resistance to inevitable ethnic domination, so efforts are made to make indigenous elements in market contestation a form of resistance between Javanese ethnic groups and Chinese ethnic groups who constantly seek to seize influence on customers to sustain the developed entrepreneurship. Therefore, indigenous and non-indigenous elements are always used to seize the market, especially to build relationships with customers who are positioned as part of the indigenous group, which is also controlled by a minority in the economic aspect.

Market contestation by strengthening the ethnicity element in indigenous discourse is a form of "hidden resistance" carried out by the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity against the Chinese ethnicity in ongoing economic relations. However, practically the relations between the two ethnicities run in the relationship of entrepreneurial partners to complement each other, but in a contestation between the two ethnic groups. Market efforts to differentiate between ethnicities are seen in economic practice because, in this market contestation, the "seizure" of customers is an inseparable

part of ongoing economic practice. In the context of market contestation involving elements of ethnic identity, it becomes an inseparable part because ethnic identity emphasizes differences in identity and attempts to "seize" the market between the two different ethnicities in many ways. In this market contestation practice, the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity also positions the Chinese as partners in the effort to sustain entrepreneurship and "opponents" in the struggle for influence in the Kanoman Market, whether in economic interactions with customers or by strengthening other elements of identity. After all, It was found that in this market contestation, the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity also opened up to other ethnic groups who had similarities in the aspect of identity by positioning the Chinese as the opposing group because the latter ethnicity was a non-native ethnicity.

In this regard, the market contestation for strengthening indigenous identities with non-natives is not always successful in influencing customers because, in economic practice taking place in Kanoman Market, rational choices about price become the central part of customers in making choices in shopping to meet their needs (Yahya, 2016). For this reason, indigenous identity as a contestation strategy developed by several Javanese-

Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs does not always influence in shaping the economic choices of customers, because as stated that the relationship between Javanese ethnicity and Chinese ethnicity has been going on for a very long time, the element of subjectivity, especially the experience of interacting between ethnicities has its influence in determining the economic choices of customers. However, the indigenous identity developed by these Javanese entrepreneurs still influences specific customers, who also have experience of interacting with ethnic Chinese. For this reason, ethnic identity in terms of natives becomes a separate part of the ongoing contestation. Although indigenous issues are not clearly and unequivocally developed, in the context of entrepreneurial relations, by constantly trying to distinguish themselves from Chinese ethnicity, it can be understood as a form of strengthening indigenous issues in market contestations that took place in The Kanoman Market (Amaruli and Utama, 2015).

In general, the Chinese ethnic strategy in market contestation tends to avoid conflict with specific community groups and seeks to support all existing policies as long as they do not "threat" the ethnic entrepreneurs. In another context, the strategy is carried out by ethnic Chinese in

market contestation with other ethnicities by positioning themselves as "Cirebon people" and avoiding elements of ethnicity in every entrepreneurial activity, so that interactions with customers become more open because other groups see the Chinese as an ethnic minority. Able to adapt to the local community, the strategy of "becoming Cirebon" can avoid indigenous and non-native discourses and build a joint commitment between the Chinese and other ethnic groups so that entrepreneurship can run as it should. To strengthen this "part of Cirebon," several ethnic Chinese are involved in entrepreneurship that involves elements of Cirebon in it, such as the typical Cirebon food entrepreneur mentioned in the previous discussion. Of course, most of the others are involved in various entrepreneurial fields. For this reason, in terms of culinary entrepreneurship developed by the Chinese, it is emphasized as a form of acceptance of the Cirebon people towards the existence of the Chinese.

Socio-Mystical Capital in

Entrepreneurship Practices in Kanoman Market

Market contestation involving Javanese-Muslim ethnicity with Chinese-Kunghucu ethnicity involves elements of their respective ethnic identities and makes social-mystical capital part of efforts to

strengthen entrepreneurship. Social capital is understood as a form of effort to utilize social elements to strengthen entrepreneurial development. The two ethnic groups do this because social capital is a separate part integrated with ethnic entrepreneurial activities, which are also part of the ethnic community itself. For this reason, social capital is seen in the market contestation at Kanoman Market by utilizing elements that are considered capable of being part of facilitating entrepreneurs to run. In addition to social capital, another capital involved in the market contestation of the two ethnic groups is called mystical capital. Mystical capital is an integral part of ethnicity, thus making this element part of entrepreneurial development efforts considered necessary because the two ethnic groups involved in Kanoman Market have mystical capital involved in market contestation.

The market contestation at Kanoman Market between the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity and the Chinese-Kunghucu ethnic group also involves elements of social capital belonging to each ethnic group. Social capital for each ethnic group is essential because ethnic groups can be interconnected and intertwined in their activities (Kimbal, 2015). In terms of market contestation involving elements of ethnic, social capital, it is something that cannot be

separated from the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity, because as a group involved in confident entrepreneurs, and at the same time as part of the Javanese-Muslim ethnic community, of course, the social elements form a connection with the same ethnic group. Able to support the success of entrepreneurship developed by the ethnic group. In the context referred to, social capital is an element of "social glue" that has implications for entrepreneurship implementation. As economic activity in entrepreneurial practice, it cannot be separated from the social elements in it because it is said to support the implementation of confident ethnic entrepreneurs so that that ethnic entrepreneur can survive and at the same time grow because it is supported by social capital (Rianti, 2013). Therefore, social capital becomes a separate part of strengthening entrepreneurship in the Javanese ethnic experience because social capital can connect entrepreneurs with other ethnicities, either as partners or customers.

In the Javanese ethnic community, this social capital is formed due to ethnic ties that connect fellow ethnic groups, either in the form of language or culture that makes Javanese ethnic groups feel "own" with each other (Mudana, 2012). In the implementation of social capital,

entrepreneurship is said to support the success of these ethnic entrepreneurs. Some of these elements of ethnicity, such as language and culture, will strengthen if ethnic groups have migrated from their area of origin, or in the social structure of a plural urban society, ethnicity elements tend to be strengthened between ethnic groups. In the experience of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity, Kanoman Market is used as capital to strengthen the existence of ethnic entrepreneurs by utilizing social capital. The social ties formed from this ethnic element in the Javanese-Muslim community can foster mutual trust between one another. In market contestation, social ties can facilitate the development of ethnic entrepreneurship by utilizing ethnic ties in interactions between fellow ethnicities, so that between ethnic groups will lead to mutual trust in entrepreneurial relationships, or other social interactions, thus facilitating entrepreneurial management because of the moral support of fellow ethnic groups (Pranadji, 2004). In addition, this ethnic bond can connect between ethnic groups to support each other's economic praxis developed by each, so that the relations bound by ethnic ties become social capital to strengthen the existence of these ethnic entrepreneurs.

In the context of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity, this ethnicity bond also

opens a broader space for efforts to help each other because of its ethnicity so that entrepreneurs who are already economically established will help groups that are just starting or are facing problems in their business entrepreneurship so that all economic constraints can be helped and entrepreneurship can be resumed. For this reason, the strengthening of ethnic-based entrepreneurship is a separate part of strengthening the ongoing market contestation. The market is an economic space where economic transactions take place, so that strengthening material capital and entrepreneurial development strategies is an absolute must. Muslims can survive and participate in the ongoing market contestation. In addition, social capital support for the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity can dominate in specific entrepreneurial fields. Although the dynamics in entrepreneurial development cannot be avoided, this ethnic group of entrepreneurs can solve all things that hinder their entrepreneurial development. For this reason, social capital that connects fellow ethnic groups has supported the successful implementation of ethnic entrepreneurship. In the market contestation, the Javanese ethnicity can maintain its entrepreneurship and dominates in various types of entrepreneurship as a form of affirmation that Javanese ethnic entrepreneurs are

successful in maintaining the existence of entrepreneurs in the market contestation.

Ethnicity ties that become social capital are also strengthened by ties of ethnic organizations in the form of associations that connect and at the same time bind fellow ethnic groups (Klinken, 2008). This ethnic association has an essential role in supporting the success of ethnic entrepreneurs because through this ethnic organization, and all Javanese ethnic groups live in one unit, subject to the social structure within the organization so that strengthening relations and interactions can take place in it. Ethnic connection through this organization is another part of the choice to take sides in economic interactions. Organizational ties also reflect on professional ties between ethnic groups to mutually strengthen entrepreneurial practices carried out by each other. In practice, this ethnic organization connects all interests based on ethnicity. It grows a value system about love and preservation of ethnic culture, which opens up efforts to help each other in ethnic ties, including economic practices developed by the ethnic group, which bind each other to advance the field of entrepreneurship jointly. For this reason, the ongoing market contestation can be "won" by utilizing the social capital so that all interests related to entrepreneurship can be carried out more quickly, so efforts to

"generate" militant customers are widely open.

In the experience of the ethnic Chinese-Kunghucu, the use of social capital as part of the market contestation by taking advantage of the relations between the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity and the Chinese-Kunghucu who have existed for a very long time. Social capital in the form of an "intimate relationship" between the two ethnic groups in the people of Cirebon City becomes a separate part for the Chinese in strengthening the existence of the ethnic group in all activities carried out, both in terms of social and economic relations, elements of the "meeting point" between ethnic Chinese and Javanese. Become social capital for the Chinese to survive and thrive in the social practice of society (Counihan, N. A., Kalanon, M., Coppel, R. L., & de Koning-Ward, T. F. 2013). In the context of social capital entrepreneurial activity, the historical meeting point of ethnicity is said to make the ethnic Chinese not only able to carry out their entrepreneurial activities but also to develop them well, so that entrepreneurs managed by ethnic Chinese can run until now. This entrepreneurial practice of ethnic Chinese is generally an entrepreneur that their predecessors have pioneered, and the current generation generally maintains and develops it, so it can

be understood that the practice of various entrepreneurs owned by ethnic Chinese is part of the past itself, which at the same time emphasizes that inter-ethnic relations in terms of entrepreneurship have also been going on for a long time.

The interaction between ethnicities in entrepreneurship is built with social capital as fellow entrepreneurs or strengthened by the existence of ethnic cross-marriage ties or neighbors that form "intimate relations" between ethnic groups. In their entrepreneurial relationship, they try to complement each other because cooperation between entrepreneurs is unavoidable. After all, every entrepreneur needs partners who can strengthen each other's existence. For this reason, the social capital of fellow entrepreneurs who are tied into "social knots" provides easy access to increase entrepreneurship so that everything related to entrepreneurial activities can be carried out optimally and adequately. On the one hand, ethnic entrepreneurs are connected to strengthen their respective positions in the market contestation because it is realized that the relationship between entrepreneurs, both ethnic and non-ethnic, is something that cannot be ignored for strengthening entrepreneurship. It is said that market contestation does not always manifest to "conquer" each other but is also

displayed by being connected and complementary among fellow entrepreneurs. Therefore, involvement in ethnic associations becomes social capital for the Chinese to strengthen the network and is used as part of a strategy to "win" the ongoing market contestation. With inter-ethnic connectedness through associations, everything related to ethnic entrepreneurship will be easier to develop. Because of the strengthening of the community network, there will always be particular groups who have closeness in terms of entrepreneurial relations, and this will make it easier for the ethnic group to maintain the smooth running of their entrepreneurship.

As one of the ethnic groups, the Javanese ethnicity has a particular affinity for mystical elements because the elements of belief and the ethnic view of life are always related and associated with magical things. For this reason, the mystical element in the ethnically developed economic practice is a separate part that cannot be separated. Indeed, based on research findings, Javanese-Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs always have a relationship with the mystical element (Ricklefs, 2014). In the experience of Javanese ethnicity, matters relating to mysticism are a separate part of entrepreneurial activities carried out because economic practices are believed to

be a form of material value transactions and have a connection with mystical elements. The relationship between economic practice and mysticism is found in carrying out certain rituals or installing amulets or similar elements at the place where entrepreneurship is carried out, which is believed to be something that will bring good things to the implementation of ethnic entrepreneurship. In ethnic Javanese society, the tendency to mystical fields is common for entrepreneurs, although this is not always seen in entrepreneurial practice.

Based on research findings, in general, Javanese-Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs always visit places considered sacred or sacred, or certain people who are believed to have advantages over ordinary humans (Ali, 2015). The purpose of visiting the place is said to be in the interest of strengthening entrepreneurship developed so that it can run successfully and have a positive economic impact on the entrepreneur. Based on the sources, it was found that every entrepreneur has a specific "spiritual figure" from the Kyai or Habaib to ask for his prayers so that all entrepreneurial activities carried out can be successful as expected. The technical implementation of visiting or connecting with spiritual figures is carried out in various ways. Namely, some are involved every Sunday or once every two weeks in various religious activities

carried out by the said figures, so to strengthen entrepreneurship, Javanese-Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs will always ask for blessings on the community. Entrepreneurship is owned so that everything is made more accessible. The practice of visiting spiritual figures is believed by ethnic Javanese-Muslims that prayers belonging to a holy person or spiritual figure will be more readily granted because a group is a person who has a special closeness to God, so connecting to that person will speed up the fulfillment of all wishes.

In connection with these spiritual figures, apart from asking for prayers for entrepreneurial success, entrepreneurs will usually be taught various doctrines and rituals that are considered capable of facilitating sustenance in entrepreneurial practice. The doctrine that is taught usually contains that God has determined everything, so in addition to trying as much as possible, everything must be left to the Giver of Sustenance. This doctrine is also carried out by reading various Salawat, remembrance, prayer, and others every day in daily practice. Technically, the doctrine taught by specific spiritual figures is equipped with carrying out various special rituals when starting or ending entrepreneurial activities because it is

believed that by carrying out doctrines and rituals to strengthen ethnic entrepreneurship as a form of hope that everything can go as planned. Desired, and at the same time to avoid all bad things that can hinder entrepreneurial activity. Therefore, doctrines and rituals are activities commonly carried out by Javanese-Muslim ethnic entrepreneurs in carrying out economic activities. As mentioned, for ethnic Javanese, doing doctrines and rituals is vital to support the ease of entrepreneurial practice.

Another expression about Javanese ethnic entrepreneurship with mystical elements also found the use of amulets or installing specific readings or photos, whether they were used in personal or entrepreneurial places. The use of talismans for the Javanese is not always related to the entrepreneurial element but as a form of effort to avoid all forms that can harm oneself or so that all desires can be easily achieved. For this reason, the talisman is essential in the life of the Javanese ethnicity, including in the field of entrepreneurship that is carried out that the talisman is positioned as a form of self-effort always to be protected from all things that can harm. Likewise, in the use of specific readings, which are usually in Arabic text or pegon, they are used to protect themselves or

entrepreneurs from all things that can have a destructive impact.

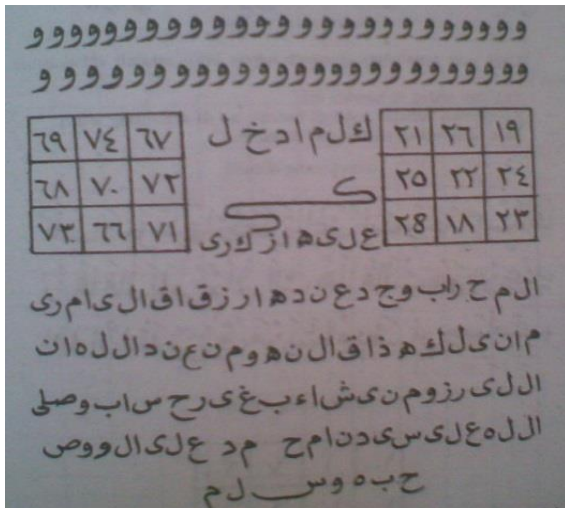


Figure 1, Amulet of Javanese-Muslim Ethnic Sellers

The use of specific readings is said to be installed in an entrepreneur's place or in a private house which is believed to be part of an effort to bring positive things to oneself or one's family, so the use of these readings becomes a separate part of strengthening the ongoing market contestation, because with the availability of various types of readings. These objects will make it easier for entrepreneurial activities to be carried out (Mujahiddin, 2016).

In another context, the Chinese ethnicity is an ethnic part that has a connection with mystical elements because, in the belief system and life activities, it is always connected with things related to the mystical. In practice, this ethnic economy also cannot separate the mystical elements

because the Chinese's belief system and way of life are always explicitly related to mysticism. In the experience of ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs in Kanoman Market, they make mystical as part of strengthening entrepreneurship owned by the ethnic group. In the world view, the ethnic Chinese-Kunghucu life must be balanced between life on earth and life in the sky because the two lives are a fact of life that cannot be separated. The life of the world is understood as a form of actualization to work hard in carrying out all activities in order to get good results, while the life of the sky is interpreted as a form of the existence of other lives that are still directly related to life activities so that the harmonization of the two lives is an ideal form of life being lived (Hartoyo, R. K. T., & Ong, M. F. K., 2013). For the context of life, a sky is a form of abstract life that will determine success in the practice of life in that world.

This ideal concept of life balance, according to Chinese ethnicity, is represented by belief in gods who are believed to have an essential role in human life. One of the gods is believed to be closest to human life, namely the god of the earth (Julianto, E. N., 2015). For this reason, belief in this god is always associated with matters relating to the blessings of life that are carried out. In the view of the Chinese, to obtain this blessing, various rituals are

carried out that can connect humans with the earth god. In the context of being accepted by the Chinese, that in the economic context, belief in feng shui is a significant part of the formation of mystical beliefs in every economic activity that is carried out, because feng shui is a blessing and luck in life is very dependent on the belief system (Liem and Sugianto, 2016). The actualization of belief in this mystical element, the ethnic Chinese always try to perform various rituals, such as giving offerings to gods and ancestral spirits to facilitate all affairs, including sustenance carried out at certain moments. This ritual activity for ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs is intended to be able to provide a positive impact on the entrepreneurial activities carried out. The implementation of these various rituals is another part of the efforts of the ethnic Chinese to survive in the ongoing market competition by trying to always ask for the best in economic activities.

The general practice, carried out by ethnic Chinese, especially the devout group, in carrying out ancestral beliefs, worship activities are essential, both for the sake of safety in life or so that everything related to economic activities is always carried out. For this reason, for the Chinese, although not all, the practice of worship at the temple

is something that is always done in order to gain benefits and at the same time avoid all the bad things in life. In addition, an essential element for the ethnic Chinese is to perform rituals by burning candles and paper while praying with the aim that all wishes can be achieved, especially concerning the smooth running of entrepreneurship that is developed to obtain maximum results. To strengthen the success of these ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs, most of them also carry out daily rituals before opening and closing entrepreneurs by burning incense while praying at the entrepreneur's place. In this practice of praying, when starting entrepreneurial activities, prayer will usually be carried out in the hope that everything related to economic activities can provide maximum results while also avoiding all things that can harm entrepreneurship. While in practice, prayer before closing the entrepreneur is done as a form of gratitude for all the sustenance obtained.

The ritual and prayer activities in the practice of Chinese entrepreneurship emphasize that things related to the mystical element of entrepreneurship cannot be separated. Therefore, this mystical Chinese ethnic social capital is part of the strategy to get maximum entrepreneurship results. The practice of rituals and prayers that are

continuously carried out as part of the efforts of the ethnic Chinese to strengthen the existence of entrepreneurs by constantly trying to connect their entrepreneurial activities with the mystical elements (Kustedja et al., 2012). In the context of market contestation, based on the general practice of the Chinese, they believe that strengthening entrepreneurship can not only be done by increasing the strategy to attract genuine customer sympathy, but by connecting themselves to the mystical aspect as well as strengthening themselves to win market contestations with other ethnic groups by utilizing social capital. Mystical.

Another mystical element related specifically to ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs is found using amulets as "travelers" to obtain maximum profits from these ethnic entrepreneurs. The use of talismans in the Chinese experience is a common practice found in Chinese entrepreneurs, whether in writing or particular objects that are replicas of various types of animals, which are believed to be something that can influence entrepreneurial success (Chen, 2007).



Figure 2, The Amulet of the Chinese-Kunghucu Ethnic Selling

The use of this talisman is related to entrepreneurial interests, and, as believed by the Chinese, these objects can also function as a means of dispelling negative things that can harm entrepreneurial activities owned by the ethnic group. For this reason, this talisman is essential in ethnic entrepreneurship because it is specifically related to the mystical element, which is believed to increase the results of ethnic entrepreneurship. In the context of the so-called belief in talismans, although it is not the only determinant of success in the economic aspect of the Chinese ethnicity, it can be understood that social-mystical capital is a separate part of the entrepreneurial practice carried out by the ethnic group, which is also directly related to market contestation at Kanoman Market because Entrepreneurship can not only be focused on aspects of entrepreneurial strategy but connects the mystical element

as part of strengthening entrepreneurship so that it can survive and develop.

III. Conclusion

In general, the economic practice of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity in the Cirebon City community is carried out by the ethnicity formed by the belief system of the community, whether influenced by the religious belief system adopted, or the belief system is originating from the value of ethnicity, which becomes the ethnic belief system. For this reason, in economic practice, especially in the contestation taking place in the market, the belief system forms its influence in the acceptance of the Javanese-Muslim ethnicity on matters relating to the belief system that is believed to be, even though the relationship between ethnicities is in the experience of the people of Cirebon City, especially in Kanoman Market. is a relationship that has been going on for a very long time in the bonds that connect existing ethnic groups. However, in market contestation, this belief system has its influence on entrepreneurs, especially groups who are obedient to their religious principles. In many ways, interaction efforts in entrepreneurship are also consistently associated with elements of the belief system they believe in. Likewise, the relationship between entrepreneurs and

customers is connected because a trust system is a separate part of binding the relationship. After all, the bond of a belief system can connect and at the same time "bind" between the two to have each other. Market contestation involving Javanese-Muslim ethnicity with Chinese-Kunghucu ethnicity involves elements of their respective ethnic identities and makes social-mystical capital part of efforts to strengthen entrepreneurship. Social capital is understood as a form of effort to utilize social elements to strengthen entrepreneurial development. The two ethnic groups do this because social capital is a separate part integrated into ethnic entrepreneurial activities, which are also part of the ethnic community itself. For this reason, social capital is seen in the market contestation at Kanoman Market by utilizing elements that are considered capable of facilitating entrepreneurs to run. In addition to social capital, another capital involved in the market contestation of the two ethnic groups is called mystical capital. Mystical capital is an integral part of ethnicity, thus making this element part of an entrepreneurial development effort, something that is considered essential because the two ethnic groups involved in Kanoman Market have mystical capital involved in market contestation.

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