IJHS, e-ISSN 2597-4718, p-ISSN 2597-470X, Vol. 9, No. 1, September 2025, pp. 41-54

International Journal of Humanity Studies
http://e-journal.usd.ac.id/index.php/IJHS
Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

WARUNG MADURA IN DKI JAKARTA: A PUBLIC MANAGEMENT CASE OF MIGRATING MADURESE TRIBE

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https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v9i1.11990
received 23 March 2025; accepted 11 July 2025

Abstract
For the Madurese tribe, one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, DKI Jakarta Province has become one of the destinations for people to migrate in the hope of improving their economy. It is done by creating various new businesses, one of which is Madura Store or *Warung Madura*. However, this creates new problems in the economy as its non-standard operating hours certainly increase competition in the same type of business. A qualitative method using a descriptive-narrative approach was used in this study. The results show that the Madurese have social capital that can be utilized to support national development. Through bonding, they can unite in one tribal group due to the similarity of characteristics, language, culture, religion, and even the same fate abroad. Then, the bridging aspect supports them in having a community that organizes various communications and maintains the solidarity of every Madurese migrant in DKI Jakarta, thus they can build networks vertically and horizontally. Moreover, the linking aspect allows them to create a wide relationship and social network without having to form a concrete community.

Keywords: economy, Madurese, migrants, social capital, *Warung Madura*

Introduction

The migration of the Madurese ethnic group is characterized by distinct motives shaped by environmental and economic factors. Madura Island is widely regarded as having less fertile land compared to other regions in East Java Province, prompting many Madurese to seek more economically viable areas to settle. As noted by Jafar & Hakim (2020) the island's reliance on dryland farming, limited rainfall, and low soil fertility significantly reduces agricultural productivity. Furthermore, certain parts of the island are deemed unsuitable for cultivation (Lubis & Rohmatillah, 2021). According to data from the Regional Development Planning Agency (*Bappeda*) of East Java Province, by 2017, approximately 75% of the Madurese population had migrated beyond the island (Anshori, 2017). One of the main destinations for this migration is the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (DKI Jakarta), where a significant Madurese community has established itself.

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According to the 2010 Population Census, approximately 79,925 individuals identified as Madurese were residing in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta (DKI Jakarta), accounting for about 0.57% of the total population. One of the most prominent representations of the Madurese presence in Jakarta is the *Warung Madura,* a small, merchandise-packed convenience store characterized by traditional management practices and built on trust-based relationships with customers (Antara, 2024). These shops are typically managed through familial systems and emphasize mutual assistance among fellow migrants (Wafiruddaroin & Rezeky, 2022).

Despite their cultural and economic significance, *Warung Madura* has also been viewed by some as a source of social tension. In certain regions, such as Klungkung Regency and Denpasar in Bali Province, local authorities have restricted 24-hour operations of *Warung Madura*, citing frequent employee turnover and the lack of proper population registration (ADIL News, 2024). Additionally, these shops are perceived by some as competitors to major national retail chains, leading to accusations that their existence undermines large-scale commercial enterprises (Rediko, 2024; Siregar, 2024).

Intense competition among *Warung Madura* owners has, at times, resulted in interpersonal conflicts, especially when communication and trust among Madurese traders break down (Puspitasari & Fauzi, 2023). Negative perceptions and stigmas continue to affect the Madurese business community, particularly related to unregulated population administration and the perceived social disruption caused by 24-hour service operations. These challenges pose not only reputational risks but also threaten the sustainability of the economic systems built by Madurese migrants (Riyadi, 2024). Nevertheless, effective self-governance and mutual trust among Madurese entrepreneurs could serve as a valuable form of social capital, as theorized by Fukuyama (2002).

Several studies have highlighted the importance of regional identity and kinship networks among Madurese migrants, emphasizing their inclination to assist fellow migrants (Fatoni, 2020; Wispandono, 2019), their cooperative entrepreneurial spirit (Bahagia et al., 2022), and their relatively simple work patterns (Agustina, 2020). Other research has explored broader themes, such as the Madurese diaspora's socio-economic practices (Firmansyah et al, 2022; Widowati et al, 2023). In contrast, scholars such as Minamoto (2010), Pham & Mukhopadhaya (2022), Saptutyningsih et al, (2020), Surjono et al, (2015) have focused more on structural issues such as climate change, poverty, gender, and social justice.

Despite various previous studies on the Madurese diaspora, none have specifically examined their presence through the lens of public management using a social capital approach. Therefore, this research introduces a novel perspective by analyzing the Madurese diaspora through the theoretical framework of social capital as formulated by Putnam (1995), which consists of three dimensions: bonding, bridging, and linking. Social capital theory serves as a critical element in human resource management, particularly within the discipline of Public Administration, where effective governance is oriented toward achieving shared objectives.

Social capital plays a central role in uniting members of society and is a determining factor in the success of collective action. This study seeks to address

key issues related to the Madurese community, particularly through an analysis of the *Warung Madura* business practices in DKI Jakarta. The selection of the Madurese ethnic group is based on their strong internal cohesion and deeply rooted sense of communal attachment. Thus, this study offers a conceptual innovation by applying social capital theory to the context of *Warung Madura*, contributing a new dimension to the understanding of migrant entrepreneurial behavior within the framework of public management.

Method

This study employed a qualitative research method using a descriptive-narrative approach to explore the social dynamics of Madurese migrants operating *Warung Madura* in DKI Jakarta. The objective was to understand and investigate their social lives from their perspectives. Data were collected primarily through interviews with three *Warung Madura* owners residing in DKI Jakarta, who met the criterion of having established and managed their own businesses. These individuals were selected based on the high adaptability of the Madurese people, both culturally and economically. Additionally, structured interviews were distributed via a Google Form link to supplement the in-depth interviews and provide a broader content analysis. All participants gave their informed consent before participating in the study. The research was further supported by a documentation review of relevant previous studies and official documents related to the Madurese community.

This method aimed to enrich the understanding of *Warung Madura* traders, local communities, community leaders, and local government officials regarding the behaviors, values, and interactions among individuals and groups. The study elaborated on Putnam's social capital theory, focusing on its three core dimensions: bonding, bridging, and linking. These indicators served as analytical tools to interpret key findings that emerged during the research. The discussion was directed toward the context of *Warung Madura*, which evolved as a result of insights obtained through interviews with informants. These interview findings provided the empirical foundation for the study's conclusions, highlighting how social capital shaped the development and sustainability of *Warung Madura* in DKI Jakarta.

For data analysis, the study employed a source triangulation technique, as outlined by Sugiyono (2020). To validate findings through multiple data sources, including interviews and document analysis. Data analysis was conducted manually, as the research questions had been designed in a structured format. Secondary data were also gathered from reputable local newspapers to serve as valid sources of information. The study maintained content validity by utilizing a variety of data sources, informants, documentation, and interpretative strategies, consistent with a pluralistic approach. An interactive method, as proposed by Miles & Huberman (1994), was used to present the findings narratively, ensuring clarity in the research flow and in illustrating the outcomes of the study.

Findings and Discussion

Public management

Public management in the context of migrant governance refers to an approach that emphasizes how governments and relevant institutions manage and support migrants across various aspects of life, including economic, social, and

cultural dimensions. In this study, migrants are defined as individuals who have left their places of origin in search of improved living conditions and better opportunities.

The "Bharenteng alakoh" culture of the Madurese tribe

The culture of *Bharenteng alakoh*, a Madurese term meaning "actively working," reflects a deeply rooted value in Madurese society. Historically, this cultural principle has been shaped by the intersection of Madurese traditions and Islamic teachings, becoming a guiding philosophy for daily life. This was also explained by Informant UAP, a *Warung Madura* trader in the West Jakarta area, who stated that:

> "…that everyone is obliged to meet their basic needs, and as Muslims, they should take responsibility by working. Moreover, Madurese men are expected not to be lazy" (interview, November 12, 2024).

The researcher also analyzed the statements of Informant UAP, particularly his reference to the Qur'an, Surah At-Taubah, verse 105, which explicitly emphasizes the importance of work. Accordingly, working is considered an obligation for Muslims. The philosophy of *Bharenteng alakoh* contributes to the strong work ethic of the Madurese people. Another relevant cultural philosophy is "*Bhume Songennep ta'abingker*", which means that the Madurese are inclined to migrate. This combination of a high work ethic, strong determination, and religious values has led to the Madurese being highly respected in the regions to which they migrate. These characteristics enable them to recognize and seize available opportunities more effectively. Based on these findings, the researcher also drew comparisons with another informant from East Jakarta. Referred to as Informant P, who explained that:

> " As long as the work is *halal*, we will continue to do it. We are not afraid of losing material possessions, because those can always be regained. What we fear more is losing our work " (interview, November 15, 2024).

Therefore, a strong work ethic, grounded in a well-established philosophy of life and deeply influenced by Islamic values, motivates the Madurese to be highly active in their work. Engaging in *halal* employment not only shapes their behavior and lifestyle but also transforms their daily habits. Many *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs believe that entrepreneurship is the key to improving their lives, as trading is regarded as a *halal* profession and is endorsed within Islamic teachings.

On the other hand, the researcher also explored why, to this day, there has been no formal organization specifically representing *Warung Madura* traders. This was further explained by the informant, who stated that:

> "...the lack of coordination among *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs has resulted in the absence of a dedicated organization for these business owners. Existing groups are generally formed based on shared origins

> as Madurese migrants, rather than professional affiliation as entrepreneurs" (interview, November 15, 2024).

This condition represents an important finding in the study, highlighting the absence of a dedicated organization specifically for *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs. Currently, the only existing organizations for the Madurese in DKI Jakarta are broader community groups that include individuals from various professional backgrounds. Indirectly, this collective mindset fosters a distinctive character among the Madurese people, encouraging them to work following their skills and backgrounds, without attempting to force themselves into roles beyond their capabilities.

Migration as identity

The reluctance to remain in their hometown has contributed to the widespread perception of the Madurese as resilient individuals who often migrate to other regions in pursuit of a better life. Economic factors serve as the primary driver behind this migration, encouraging many to leave their place of origin and seek alternative paths to prosperity. One prominent destination is DKI Jakarta, which has become a preferred location for many Madurese migrants due to its perceived opportunities. This was also explained by Informant F, who stated:

> "..... Jakarta is indeed the choice of many people. Many from our village are now in Jakarta. Some used to go to Surabaya and Bandung, but they weren't so fortunate there. In the end, they settled in Jakarta and have been here for more than 15 years, running this stall, which operates 24 hours a day" (interview, November 15, 2024).

The decision to migrate is not arbitrary. Educational background plays a significant role, as the majority of Madurese migrants possess only elementary or secondary education. This limits their access to formal sector employment, making informal or physically demanding jobs more viable. One of the most prominent options is operating a *Warung Madura*, which has now become a distinctive marker of Madurese identity.

By capitalizing on the opportunities available in the informal sector, the Madurese have carved out a niche that sets them apart from conventional stall businesses. *Warung Madura* offers a wide range of necessities and operates 24 hours a day, fulfilling the needs of the surrounding community with consistent service. The values of trust and round-the-clock availability not only enhance customer satisfaction but also foster a sense of familiarity and comfort. Furthermore, the communal nature of Madurese culture is reflected in the way *Warung Madura* employees are treated like family members, reinforcing social cohesion within the workplace.

Bonding analysis from the Madura tribe

The presence of the Madurese ethnic group in DKI Jakarta has not been officially recorded in government archives. However, according to the General Chairperson of the Madurese Family Association (*Ikatan Keluarga Madura* or IKM), the earliest Madurese settlements were established in the Tanah Abang area

of Central Jakarta. A shared sense of hardship within the diaspora has fostered mutual support among Madurese migrants, particularly in Jakarta. The economic stagnation in parts of Madura Island, where not all land is fertile, has driven many to migrate to Jakarta, Indonesia's economic and administrative capital. As of 2018, DKI Jakarta contributed 17.34% to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), with a labor-intensive economy dominating sectors by 20–70% (Nur & Rakhman, 2019). According to Ulhafiah & Arianti (2023), key factors influencing Madurese migration to Jakarta include broad employment opportunities, the highest minimum wage in the country during the 2011–2021 period, and the accessibility of informal sector jobs that suit their skills and education levels.

These migration patterns have fostered strong **bonding** social capital based on shared ethnicity, language, and cultural identity. Such bonding strengthens their sense of solidarity within the diaspora. Over time, local identity may evolve into a recognizable brand or symbol of ethnic particularism (Nurislaminingsih et al., 2022). The identity of Madurese migrants in Jakarta can be observed in their daily language, social habits, and occupational tendencies, particularly through the widespread presence of *Warung Madura*.

Research findings indicate that *Warung Madura* establishments tend to share similar physical features. They include similar building structures, types of goods sold, and the inclusion of retail gasoline sales, including bottled fuel and mini gas stations. As Mahdi (2022) notes, solidarity among Madurese migrants sustains the existence of *Warung Madura* in Jakarta, forming one of the largest migrant business communities in the region.

Moreover, through the Madurese Family Association (IKM), migrants from Madura Island have access to a community platform that reinforces social cohesion and cultural identity. Drawing on Putnam's theory of social capital, identity here is shaped by shared experience and group-specific characteristics. Accordingly, *Warung Madura* embodies the concept of **bonding social capital** for the Madurese diaspora in DKI Jakarta not only through the name but also through the distinctive physical attributes of these stalls (see Figure 1).

On the other hand, the researcher also found potential for collective power within the Madurese community, specifically, the capacity to establish a dedicated association of *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs. Such a group could serve as a platform to streamline communication and facilitate the flow of information among Madurese business owners. However, the researcher's investigation did not uncover any formal initiatives or agreements aimed at forming such an organization. Currently, the community relies solely on the *Ikatan Keluarga Madura* (IKM) as the main forum for coordination and support.



Figure 1. *Warung Madura* in the South Jakarta area (left), West Jakarta area (right)

As illustrated in the figure above, the majority of *Warung Madura* outlets share a similar layout and offer nearly identical types of goods. This uniformity reflects a collective identity, though not necessarily a formal organizational affiliation. According to Poortinga (2012) trust and cooperation are key components of social capital. Similarly, La Ola et al. (2020) emphasize that strong social bonds within a community are essential prerequisites for building social capital. The cultural ethos of the Madurese, especially the concept of *Bharenteng alakoh* (active work), serves as a foundational element of their migration culture and work ethic. The presence of the *Ikatan Keluarga Madura* (IKM) in DKI Jakarta further supports the community's capacity to organize effectively and to stand on equal footing with other ethnic-based communities in the capital.

Norris (2004) explains that bonding social capital refers to close-knit, exclusive relationships within a particular group. Even when individuals engage in similar activities, such as operating *Warung Madura*, they may not necessarily be considered part of a cohesive community unless a deeper, shared connection exists. The findings of this study reveal that *Warung Madura* functions more as a symbolic "brand" of Madurese identity than a formally coordinated network. Nonetheless, the spiritual and cultural philosophy of "*Bhume Songennep ta'abingker,*" which emphasizes the importance of migration, fosters a sense of mutual obligation and solidarity among Madurese migrants. These strong communal bonds, supported by the large-scale organization of IKM, demonstrate that this is not merely a migrant association but a deeply rooted cultural community.

In the most recent IKM meeting held in August 2024, the community reaffirmed several core values: respect for local customs, maintenance of solidarity among fellow Madurese, obedience to parents and religious leaders, and a commitment to Islamic teachings. These principles reflect the high degree of emotional solidarity within the Madurese diaspora, which has helped it become the largest ethnic migrant community in DKI Jakarta.

This observation is supported by Haris (2021), who notes that the bonding capital of the Madurese is comparable to that of other prominent ethnic communities, such as the Minangkabau from West Sumatra and the Bugis from South Sulawesi, both of whom are also increasingly influential in Indonesia's informal sector economy. The widespread presence of the Madurese across Indonesia enables them to maintain communication, reinforce inter-migrant ties, and uphold a high level of mutual support and solidarity.

Bridging analysis from the Madura tribe

In clarifying the concept of bridging within the framework of social capital theory, Bakker et al. (2019) define it as the interaction and collaboration between different communities or groups. Putnam (1995) further argues that weaknesses within a community can serve as the foundation for collective strength, enabling the development of networks that bridge members together. Similarly, Claridge (2018) views bridging as a form of relationship characterized by connection, communication, and cooperation among members of a broader community. Drawing from these perspectives, bridging can be understood as a relational dynamic that strengthens social capital through inter-member collaboration and shared experience.

In the context of this study, the Madurese migrants who operate *Warung Madura* in DKI Jakarta demonstrate clear elements of bridging. Their relationships are manifested in various forms of ongoing communication and mutual support. One notable example is the cultural and religious ritual of *Rokat Tase'*, a traditional *slametan* (communal feast) that symbolizes gratitude and solidarity. This ritual is often performed collectively by Madurese migrants and serves as a means of strengthening their social ties in Jakarta. Another cultural practice, *toron,* the annual return to their ancestral land in Madura, also reinforces emotional and social bonds within the migrant community. It is not uncommon for individuals who return to Madura to encourage relatives and acquaintances to join them in the *Warung Madura* business.

Ahmad et al., (2023) note that communication plays a foundational role in fostering bridging social capital, while Antoni & Grimalda (2024) argue that visible forms of accommodation and interaction are necessary indicators of this concept. Despite these theoretical strengths, the research findings indicate that while Madurese migrants are supported by a large and active community organization, the *Ikatan Keluarga Madura* (IKM), there is no specific association dedicated to *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs. This absence of professional clustering contrasts with other migrant groups, such as the Minangkabau, who have established the *Ikatan Keluarga Minang,* a formal association of Padang rice (*Nasi Padang*) traders founded in 2017. The Minang association plays an active role in maintaining trader solidarity, regulating competition, and even issuing licenses to prevent non-Minang individuals from operating *Padang* restaurants based on preserving culinary authenticity (Anjelina & Afifah, 2024).

By contrast, while *Warung Madura* lacks a formal trader association, nearly all of its operators remain under the broader umbrella of IKM. This structure does not appear to hinder business performance; in fact, one notable advantage observed by the researcher is the near absence of conflict among *Warung Madura* traders. This cooperative spirit is rooted in shared experience, cultural solidarity, and a collective work ethic that emphasizes familial relationships. Within the *Warung Madura* business model, employees are commonly treated as family rather than subordinates, reinforcing horizontal relationships that are uncommon in many other ethnic-based businesses.

The findings of this study suggest that, within the framework of bridging social capital, the Madurese migrant community in Jakarta effectively maintains cohesion and resilience through IKM, despite the lack of a specialized *Warung*

Madura association. Their ability to avoid internal conflict, support one another, and preserve cultural identity contributes to the sustained relevance of *Warung Madura* amid competition from larger retail outlets and minimarkets. Although imitations of the *Warung Madura* model exist, they often fail to match its level of success largely because they lack the embedded cultural, relational, and communal capital that the original Madurese entrepreneurs possess.

Linking analysis from the Madura tribe

In the context of social capital, linking refers to relationships that extend beyond the immediate community and involve connections with external actors or institutions. According to Khalil et al. (2021), linking involves vertical relationships that reach beyond one's group. This idea is supported by Custers & Engbersen (2022), who argue that such ties are not limited to horizontal networks but also involve hierarchical or institutional connections. These types of relationships become particularly valuable when different groups possess distinct resources, making inter-group collaboration mutually beneficial (Ahmadi, 2017; Vermeulen et al, 2016). As Small (2009) suggests, not all organizations inherently constitute social capital, but the ideas and bonds they foster can nonetheless represent valuable social capital assets.

This theoretical framework is highly relevant to the case of the Madurese migrant community in DKI Jakarta. Their ability to foster close internal relationships while simultaneously engaging with actors outside their ethnic group demonstrates both horizontal and vertical network-building capacity. These linking relationships extend beyond cultural solidarity and include strategic alliances with broader social and political groups. For example, national media reports have highlighted cooperation between the Madurese community and the *Forum Betawi Rempug* (FBR), particularly in solidarity events and political discussions in Jakarta (Ramadhan & Carina, 2024). Such partnerships are facilitated by the spatial clustering of Madurese migrants, which strengthens their collective identity and bargaining power.

Comparable patterns can also be observed among Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, who have formed cohesive communities that promote a shared cultural identity and cultivate an "Indonesian brand" in the host country (Utama et al, 2020). Similarly, *Warung Madura* traders exemplify the dynamics of *linking* social capital through their ability to maintain customer loyalty, form strategic relationships with external actors, and adapt to competitive market environments. As noted, Azad & Pritchard (2023) linking is one of the key factors in successful adaptation to new environments. In this regard, the Madurese community's migration behavior, guided by deep-rooted philosophies, strong interpersonal trust, and a collective willingness to embrace change, has helped construct a positive image of the Madurese as industrious and adaptive migrants. Their active engagement both within and beyond their ethnic group underscores the strength of their linking social capital and its role in shaping social mobility and economic success in urban diaspora settings.

Conclusion

Using social capital theory, which comprises three key dimensions: bonding, bridging, and linking, this study finds that the Madurese community in DKI Jakarta

exhibits all three forms distinctively and cohesively. Consequently, the Madurese should be recognized as a strategic group, particularly concerning their human capital and contribution to the urban informal economy. **Bonding** social capital is evident in the internal solidarity among Madurese migrants. Shared experiences of economic hardship and common goals for upward mobility serve as unifying factors. The unfavorable agricultural conditions in parts of Madura Island have led many to seek alternative livelihoods elsewhere, including migration to Jakarta. In this diaspora setting, strong kinship ties and emotional trust among fellow migrants foster a close-knit support network, enabling cooperation and resilience.

Bridging is reflected in the operational dynamics of the *Warung Madura* business, which is predominantly managed by Madurese migrants, particularly those from Sumenep. These entrepreneurs maintain consistent communication and engage in information-sharing practices regarding business operations. This reciprocity and collective engagement create a sense of friendship and mutual respect, even without a formal organizational structure. Interestingly, despite the lack of a dedicated association, *Warung Madura* operators maintain healthy competition and display minimal conflict, an indicator of successful informal bridging among micro-entrepreneurs within the same ethnic community. **Linking** social capital is demonstrated through the Madurese community's ability to engage beyond their ethnic boundaries. The community consistently emphasizes hard work, adaptability, and integration into the wider social environment. One institutional representation of this vertical relationship is the *Ikatan Keluarga Madura* (IKM), which brings together Madurese migrants from diverse economic sectors. Through IKM, they establish connections with local stakeholders and other ethnic organizations, positioning themselves as equal partners in Jakarta's multicultural urban fabric.

This study, however, is limited in scope, focusing specifically on the *Warung Madura* phenomenon and employing social capital as its primary theoretical lens. Future research could broaden this inquiry by incorporating the role of IKM more comprehensively and examining its potential in fostering organizational development and ethnic entrepreneurship. Additionally, further studies should explore the feasibility and impact of establishing a dedicated association for *Warung Madura* entrepreneurs, a step that could enhance business coordination, collective bargaining power, and long-term sustainability within this vibrant informal sector.

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