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THE BUSINESS ETHICS OF KOTAGEDE'S SILVER ENTREPRENEURS FROM THE KINGDOM TO THE MODERN ERA

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ABSTRACT

The silver business since the reign of Sri Sultan HB VIII has gained its position in driving the economic progress of Kotagede's people. The silver industry, besides its economic values, is also a cultural asset of the people of Yogyakarta. From 1935-1938, there were more than 78 silver entrepreneurs with a total annual production of 25 tons of silver. This study aims to determine and to analyze the history of the silver business in Kotagede and the values inherited from the kingdom period to the modern era. This research used the historical method by describing data on the development of silver business in Kotagede in a descriptive, chronological manner combined with a phenomenological approach. This research shows the success of the silver industry in Kotagede from the kingdom to the colonial era. It is supported by the collective power of the craftsmen community and silver entrepreneurs. It was also encouraged by the local government which helped to open the silver market network both at national and international levels. During the old order until the new order, the role of business actors in each founder of the silver business in building marketing networks both nationally and internationally became one of the main factors in running the silver industry in Kotagede. Third, the ethics inherited include honest, patient, simple, clean, neat, conscientious, healthy intentions, innovative, hard work.

Keywords: Ethics, Business, Silver Entrepreneur, Value Inheritance

ABSTRAK

Bisnis perak sejak era pemerintahan Sri Sultan HB VIII telah mendapatkan posisi tersendiri dalam mendorong kemajuan ekonomi masyarakat Kotagede. Industri perak selain bernilai ekonomis tinggi dan potensial di pasar domestik maupun mancanegara juga menjadi aset budaya masyarakat Yogyakarta. Sejak 1935-1938 terdapat lebih dari 78 pengusaha perak dengan total produksi tiap tahun 25 ton perak. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengetahui dan menganalisis sejarah perkembangan bisnis perak di Kotagede beserta nilai-nilai yang diwariskan dari era kerajaan sampai era modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan memaparkan data-data perkembangan bisnis perak di Kotagede secara deskriptif, kronologis yang digabungkan dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa temuan sebagai berikut. Pertama, kesuksesan perkembangan perak di Kotagede pada era kerajaan sampai kolonial selain ditopang oleh kekuatan kolektivitas komunitas pengrajin dan pengusaha perak juga didorong oleh pemerintah lokal yang membantu membuka jejaring pasar perak baik level nasional maupun internasional. Kedua, pada masa orde lama sampai orde baru peranan aktor-aktor bisnis pada masing-masing pendiri usaha perak dalam membangun jaringan pemasaran baik tingkat nasional maupun internasional menjadi salah satu faktor utama dalam menjalankan roda bisnis perak di Kotagede. Ketiga, etika yang diwariskan dalam bisnis perak diantaranya adalah: jujur, sabar, sederhana, bersih, rapi, teliti, niat kuat, inovatif, kerja keras.

Kata Kunci: Etika, Bisnis, Pengusaha perak, pewarisan nilai.

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INTRODUCTION

Multiple parties have widely studied the influence of ethics and cultural spirit in driving social change, both from economic, sociological, cultural, historical aspects and even from religious aspects. These aspects are interrelated with one another. However, various parties have tried to approach the extent of the relationship between ethical power and socio-cultural change in a mono-disciplinary society. It can be seen in the study of Max Weber (2005) first published in 1930, which has dared to formulate a causal relationship between the cultural values of some European populations with economic progress. Weber (2005), in his classic work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, has succeeded in showing a robust theoretical framework connecting the rationality motives of social action with cultural values originate from religious teachings. It is capable of arousing the progress community economy in Europe.

Max Weber's findings automatically refute Karl Marx's earlier theoretical conception states that socio-economic changes in Europe occur because of the structure of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat in controlling the factors of production and able to accumulate capital accumulation. Karl Marx previously stated that the development of the economic system of capitalism in Europe was due to material factors, one of which was the exchange of values of value change (Marx & Engels, 1989; Sayers, 2003; Creaven, 2001; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Ritzer & Smart, 2008). If Karl Marx focused more on material factors, Max Weber argued that the progress of European society in the economic field was one of which was determined by cultural factors that stem from the values of Protestant Christian religious teachings.

Socio-historically, what happened to economic progress and capitalism in Europe also occurred in Indonesia, especially in Javanese society. Geertz's study (1983) in his work *The Religion of Java* that analyzing cultural values in Javanese *priyayi* life found a Tesa that Javanese society is

divided into three typologies, namely *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan*. The *santri* community in Java which is one of Geertz's studies, is the most successful in building a collective base of economic power in the Modjokuto area. Ethical values contained in Islamic teachings can support the economic drivers of society, especially the *santri*. Besides that, most of the students are affiliated with *puritan* organizations. Unlike the *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan* groups are less able to develop a base of economic forces in the lower classes of society. Both of them apply the concepts of life and religion that tend to be syncretic, which is thicker with the teachings in the old Hindu-Buddhist tradition or often referred to as the understanding of *Kejawen*.

According to Clifford Geertz (1983), Javanese society is divided into three dichotomies of social groups namely *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan*, each of which has different roles and representations. *Priyayi* represents the environment tradition of the palace, while the *abangan* group represents the tradition of ancestral belief. At the same time, the *santri* group represents the *pesantren* tradition that adheres to Islamic teachings. The findings from Geertz above then open up a wide range of studies on values, ethics, and mentality in Javanese culture. Geertz's conclusions were later refuted by various groups afterward. Geertz is considered by multiple scientists after that to over-simplify the religious values adopted by Javanese society by only dividing three groups, namely *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*. At the same time, the reality that occurs in Javanese society is that it continues to experience rapid development, especially in terms of social mobility, which significantly influences and enables the movement of a person from one community to another. The group's disputes are caused by the social mobility factor, which often changes in a short period. For example, a *priyayi* can someday move to become a *santri* and an *abangan* can be a *santri* or *priyayi*, this adjusts the position and role and social status inherent in each individual. Thus the hard work

that Geertz had built, which constructed the religious conditions of the Javanese community by only dichotomizing three communities such as *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan* were considered too generalizing to the social and cultural conditions of the existing Javanese community.

Socially, Geertz also studied the value construction when they come face to face with established Javanese cultures. The structure indeed also has undergone a long study from the perspective of shari'ah as well as in cultural studies, likewise, from the *priyayi* and *abangan* communities who have their construction in understanding their religious and cultural values.

Several parties also conducted the study of relationship between *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*. Salim's research (2013) on "Javanese Religion, Islam or Syncretism Comparing Woodward's Islam in Java and Beattys Varieties of Javanese Religion." Mukaffa (2017) and Burdah (2017) studied Islamic politics in the Sultanate of Mataram during the Sultan Agung era. Both discovered that since the age of Sultan Agung, the concept of cultural values originating from Islamic teachings and Javaneseism had been symbolically integrated through tradition and local culture. Even since the 15th century, Islam entered Java with tolerance and friendly to the local culture. Therefore, if at the applicative level, the values contained in Javanese Islamic culture are more visible in syncretism because they have been mixed with local traditions and rituals such as the *selamatan* ceremonies and the like which represent substantially pre-Islamic cultural symbols. When, in fact, what appears is the values of local customs which have experienced what is then called Islamization.

Sulistiyono's study (2016) on the "Common Identity Framework of Cultural Knowledge and Practices of Javanese Islam" and Burhani (2017) in his research entitled "Geertz Trichotomy of *Abangan*, *Santri*, and *Priyayi* Controversy and Continuity" found that in its development the *priyayi*, *abangan* and *santri* communities

always experienced a dialectical process with the social environment around them. The three groups, in reality, still experience what is called the inclusion process in each social class. However, in several studies, there were also groups of students who participated in what was called exclusion. They show their identity as a group of reformist *santri* who then struggle in economic terms so that they become rich and able to make social changes in the surrounding community. They bring up the banner of Islam as a basis for social action (Castle, 1982). Likewise with the study of Nakamura (1983) who discovered the economic progress of the community, especially in the Kotagede area of Yogyakarta in the field of economics and the empowerment of the vulnerable community because of cultural values derived from reformist Islamic teachings as well as influential *puritan* organizations' participation. Even so, some of the *santri* groups who were successful in running businesses were inspired by the perspective of reformist and modernist Islamic thought. The findings of Khanafi & Sumaningsih (2012), in research entitled "Mysticism in Batik Industrial Relations The Study of Trust Achievement on The Survivability of Small-Medium Batik Industry at Pekalongan City" found that the muslim batik craftsmen in Pekalongan can improve their work performance and productivity. It is because of the experience of the mystical spirit of Islam, one of them through rituals *Manakiban*, *tahlilan*, *mauludan*, and *haul*. By carrying out a series of rituals, they feel more robust in the face of various competition in the batik industry both locally and nationally.

In line with Burhani's findings (2017), Sirait's study (2016) on "Religious Attitude of Theological Traditionalists in The Modern Muslim Community Study on Tahlilan in Kotagede" found that the Muslim community in Kotagede, both from *priyayi*, *santri* and *abangan*, had a high tolerance attitude. Especially in terms of values of harmony and mutual respect between one another. It can be seen in *tahlilan* ritual ceremonies in each village.

While the results of Amin Abdullah's study (2017) entitled "Islam A Cultural Capital in Indonesia and The Malay World: A Convergence of Islamic Studies, Social Sciences and Humanities" and Maftukhin studies (2016) on "Javanese Islam In Diaspora and Questions Locality" seems to reinforce previous studies which state that culturally the Islamic community in Indonesia has a pattern of inclusiveness, open mind and has the character of a humanism attitude as well as harmony.

It is different from the study of Geertz (1983) and Burhani (2017), who question the taxonomic relationship of the Javanese trichotomy, namely *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan* dialectically. Kuntowijoyo (2016) in one of his books entitled "*Raja, Priyayi and Kawula*" observes the ethics of the Javanese *priyayi* elite explicitly in Surakarta Sunanate regarding the dualism mentality of the king Sri Pakukubowo X. Kuntowijoyo explained that on the one hand the king was highly sacred with various cultural accessories in Surakarta Sunanate regarding the dualism mentality of the king Sri Pakukubowo X. and a series of magical symbols of authority. On the other hand, when the king was together with colonial officials held a party together while dancing and drinking with *priyayis* and royal servants while watching the performing arts *tayub*. When compared to other Javanese rulers such as Mangkunegaran, the king Sri Pakubuwono X did not have a robust Javanese ethic. Sri Pakubuwono X could not speak Dutch and could not count even in practice, often squandering royal cash for party ceremonies with Resident officials, *priyayi*, and his subjects. Character and ethics in leading are so weak that almost the king does not have any authority whatsoever because it is confined under the shadow of the domination of the Dutch colonial government. Above all, the king must look for other preoccupations to fill his spare time as a ruler, one of which is to embed political symbols.

Kuntowijoyo (2006) found that Javanese *priyayi* ethics, especially in Surakarta Sunanate during PB X, was considered to be very weak. Then the results of the Wasino study (2008; 2012; 2014), which examined the ethics of the Javanese *priyayi* elite in *Mangkunegaran praja* showed far different results from *Kasunanan*. Wasino found that the success of the Mangkunegaran cadre in modernizing the economy, especially in the Mangkunegaran cadre, the role of the reforming elite was significant, especially in terms of structuring the social structures and systems of society which at that time were still traditional.

The success of the Mangkunegaran Praja in managing the Praja economy is strongly influenced by the ethics and values of the *priyayi* Mangkunegaran Wasino family (2014). These values are the principles of effectiveness, discipline, innovative, economical, and careful in acting. Whereas in the case of moral ethics that are applied in *Mangkunegaran praxis*, there are humans with the moral code of *Satria Penandhita*, a ruler who has the soul of a Brahmin, that is, a human being who is responsible for the future of his servants in the midst of Western colonialism that binds the independence of kings in Java.

In line with the results of the Wasino study (2014), Birsyada et al. (2016) also found that economic and business progress in the Mangkunegaran municipality was one of the main factors because of the cultural and ethical values of Mangkunegaran Java. Likewise, with the results of Birsyada et al. (2017), who examined the business behavior carried out by KGPAA. Mangkunegara IV produced findings that Mangkunegaran's business ethics had a significant influence as the driving force of Mangkunegaran's pre-economic activities, one of which was based on Sufi teachings and ethics. If during the reign of KGPAA. Mangkunegara IV Mangkunegaran region experienced economic progress and prosperity, so in Suharso et al. (2018), about the lifestyle of the middle-class economy in the *priyayi* group in Yogyakarta, the opposite happened. The Yogyakarta *priyayi* group has experienced many shifts. Among these

shifts is the change in Javanese ethical values. The *priyayi* in Yogyakarta is, in practice, less able to develop Javanese cultural, ethical values, especially in business terms. In short, culturally, the development of economic progress in middle-class *priyayi* families is not matched by the strengthening of a strong cultural and value base. The life of the middle-class *priyayi*'s in Yogyakarta at this time tends to be more modernist and consumptive. Yogyakarta, which holds the treasury of Javanese culture at this time, has shifted a lot both in terms of norms, values, and ethics as well as in terms of lifestyle. The mushrooming of hotels, malls, places of entertainment, and tourism, as well as the increasingly high level of social mobility, shows that it often causes new social problems.

The latest study on ethics and values of community life in Yogyakarta in terms of socio-cultural aspects carried out by Birsyada and Syahrurah (2018) resulted in the finding that Yogyakarta at present has changed a lot because of several factors including external and internal factors. Internal factors are the social control of the community, which began to weaken. Second is the factor of increasing the social mobility of the people. The difference of this research with previous research is that if in previous studies discussed a lot of causality between economic progress and religious values, this research focuses more on the process of inheriting the ethics of education and business culture values on economic actors, especially on silver artisans in Kotagede. This research specifically wants to find out while discovering the importance of business education inherited from the Kotagede silver business venture.

The difference between this research and previous research is that if in previous studies discussed a lot of causality between economic progress and religious values, this research focuses more on the ethical process of inheriting business culture on economic actors, especially on silver artisans in Kotagede. This research specifically wants to find out at the same

time finding business ethics inherited from generations of silver business ventures in Kotagede.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. This research is a narrative study that focuses on stories or descriptions of a series of events related to social phenomena based on the life experience of a person or a community as a whole that is presented in a narrative descriptive manner. Collecting data through in-depth interviews such as reporting on individual experiences of Kotagede silver business practitioners, including among them the Kotagede silver entrepreneurs group incorporated in KP3Y and the Kotagede silver entrepreneur community which then results of in-depth interviews arranged chronologically on the meaning of the experience of using life stages course stages). In-depth interview sources used apart from silver business entrepreneurs are also conducted in-depth interviews with workers, including workers and their families. In this study, researchers became and made their research instruments.

The journey of life in this research, which is the focus of the study is the phenomenon of the success of silver businessman entrepreneurs in Kotagede. Besides this research in data collection using in-depth interviews, literature studies such as relevant books, journals, documentation, videos, and web. Based on the above explanation, to collect stories from one individual to another individual, researchers use a restoring approach that is the process of reorganizing stories into several types of general frameworks. The general framework of the story can be compiled through story collection, analyzing it to find important elements of the informant's story and then rewriting the story in a chronological sequence (Creswell, 2015, p. 102). The life journey of the silver handicraft businessman in Kotagede, which is the focus of this research, will be compared with the results of relevant research studies, which are then compared with

theoretical studies.

This research uses descriptive verification analysis with the following stages. First, data reduction, in this case, is the process of grouping selected data to answer the problem being investigated around the history of the development of the silver business in Kotagede. In this study, the authors collected as much information from research informants, using data collection techniques, then the authors grouped the information obtained as needed. The information that will be obtained is through in-depth interviews about the behavior of Kotagede silver handicraft entrepreneurs. As for the main theme of the interview that will be carried out the process of categorization, it includes family life history, history of silver handicraft business development, silver handicraft products, marketing management, Kotagede silver business network.

The second step, display data, in this case, is the presentation of data and information that has been collected in the form of a matrix or description that provides convenience in providing the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking the necessary actions. At this stage, the researcher groups the field findings, which are then categorized according to the instruments that the researchers have compiled so that they can see the findings in the field. The third step, drawing conclusions (verification), the process of searching for meaning/meaning from the data collected, provides notes of regularity, patterns that can be used to explain, configurations that might be used, cause, and effect flow, and propositions. In drawing conclusions, researchers use triangulation techniques, which include triangulation of sources, similar research, and theory. The findings were analyzed again concerning the idea of values and culture and previous research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Silver Business Ethics in the Kingdom and Colonial Period

In the XVI century, the kingdom of Mataram was established with a center in Ko-

tagede, which was formerly called Alas Mentaok by Ki Ageng Pamanahan, who was once the warlord of the Pajang Kingdom of Central Java. Ki Ageng Mataram was Panembahan Senopati's biological father, who would later be crowned the first Islamic Mataram king who died in 1584 AD buried in the tomb complex of the Kings of Mataram Kotagede. Then, Panembahan Senopati passed away in 1601 AD and was buried next to his father's grave (Nakamura, 2017, p. 20). At the end of the XVII century, Kotagede had acquired two main characters who continued to reign in people's memories. The first is the cultural center of Java, Yogyakarta, because it is the forerunner to the founding of the Islamic Mataram kingdom founded by Panembahan Senopati and Ki Ageng Pamanahan. Second, the Kotagede region was from the beginning of the economic center of the community because it was located in the heart of the kingdom of Mataram. The central location of the kingdom later became the center of the local community trade industry.

Kotagede is the center of the Mataram kingdom, which in the past was called *Kota Gedhe* where Javanese Ngoko is known as *Kota Ageng* or *Kota Besar*. At present, most of the Kotagede area is a part of Yogyakarta, while the rest is a part of the Bantul Regency and as its center, which is located in the Jagalan village. The Gajah Wong River, a tributary of the Opak River, forms a natural boundary between the old city of Yogyakarta and Kotagede. The difference between the city center in the early days and now is in the market where the surroundings are now densely populated settlements. To the west of the Kotagede market, there is a burial complex of the Mataram royal family marked by a large banyan tree (*waringin senuh*), or people often refer to the old banyan.

Geographically, the area of Kotagede Sub-district is located on the outskirts of the city with boundaries: North Side: Banguntapan Subdistrict, Bantul Regency. Eastside: Banguntapan District, Bantul Regency. Banguntapan

Subdistrict, Bantul Regency border the south. Umbulharjo District borders the Westside. On the other hand, the geographical condition, in general, is Kotagede sub-district, which is a low-lying area, which is crossed by the Gajah Wong River. Land height from sea level: 113.00 m, while the distance from the Sub-district office to Prenggan Village is 0.5 Km - Purbayan Village: 1.00 Km, while Rejowinangun Village: 1.00 Km (*Kotagede dalam Angka 2018*). The center of shops that sell silver handicrafts is on two streets, namely Jalan Packaging and Jalan Mondorokan. The name Mondorokan according to the traditions of the surrounding community, is taken from one of the terms of the *Patih* of the Mataram Kingdom, namely Ki Ageng Mondorokan, or often called Ki Ageng Jurumartani. At the Kotagede Center, there is the Gede market as the economic center of a densely populated community. At night, the Gede market is crowded with food vendors and various kinds of children's games (Birsyada & Permana, 2019, p. 41).

Socio-culturally, business or trade for the Javanese is a part of the struggle for family life for their economic existence and sustainability. It also refutes some Javanese philosophical assumptions "*mangan ora mangan waton ngumpul.*" The Javanese, in essence, interpreting life in their estranged family, is in the realization of the harmony of life and soul. To achieve that goal, the Javanese people live their lives through business channels. It is through the business path that the outward and inner obligations of the family are expected to be fulfilled by the Javanese, who call it "*mukti.*" Sri KGPA Mangkunegoro IV said that Javanese people must have at least one case to be the one who holds life, namely *Arta*, or can be interpreted as the sufficiency of property. It is found in the sentence "*Uripe lan tri prakara, Wirya Arta tri Winasis*" (Mangkunegoro IV, 1926). There are four cultural values applied by the *priyayi* elite as a basis for guiding the kingdom. The four ethics are: the principle of

effectiveness, discipline, and accuracy in acting (Wasino, 2014)

Historically, business actors in Java are not dominated by men. Still, most of the roles of women have a central position in assisting and encouraging the success of their family business. In some cases, such as counting women's trade-in practice, it turns out to be more thorough and resilient in the face of ups and downs in business. Not only as a business partner, but Javanese women in the XVIII-XIX century were also able to become warriors whose abilities were not inferior to male soldiers at the time (Carey & Houben, 2016, p. 37). Nyai Ageng Serang and Dewi Matah Ati are among the Javanese women who are formidable in their role as actors who have strong Javanese characters. Besides that, batik traders in Lawean are mostly run by women. Likewise, in the Kotagede area, most silver companies on a large scale are managed by women as the owner of the company.

Historically, Kotagede experienced significant progress in terms of silver business in the era of Sri Sultan HB VIII. The silver craft at that time was able to become the main export commodity of the citizens of Kotagede, Yogyakarta. Interested in silver handicrafts is not only a background of *priyayi*, but Dutch workers and families residing in Yogyakarta are very interested in the various ornamental designs of Kotagede silver. Usually, the Dutch, when they return to their country, bring various silver handicrafts as souvenirs there, which are considered to have a high value. The success of the silver business in Kotagede is also inseparable from bureaucratic interference, especially the Sultanate of Yogyakarta Palace, who participated in helping both materially and non-materially to advance the Kotagede silver handicraft business. One of the things done to assist the business development of perk is to subsidize silver craftsmen in Kotagede. At this time, in the Kotagede area besides silver craftsmen, there were also other craftsmen such as brass, copper, and bronze. Some of its flagship productions are the kris and its scent.

In the colonial period until independence, the success of the silver business in Kotagede was also inseparable from interfering with the local bureaucracy, especially the Sultanate of Yogyakarta Palace, who participated both materially and non-materially to advance the Kotagede silver handicraft business. One thing to do to help the silver business progress is to subsidize silver craftsmen in Kotagede. Another assistance in addition to subsidies is to provide exhibition space for local products, especially Kotagede silver, as well as linking it with international trade networks. In 1935-1938, there were 78 silver companies, which in one year could produce 25 tons of silver (Nakamura, 1983). With a massive amount of production, the turnover from the sale of silver can significantly grow the economy of the people in Kotagede. In short, based on the above explanations, it can be concluded that the progress of the silver business in Kotagede in the kingdom and the colonial era was because one of them was supported by the ethics of the artisans' lives, such as collectivity, innovation, and hard work. The policies of the Sultan also endorsed it.

Silver Business Ethics from Independence Until the New Order

Economically, the development of silver business in Kotagede has dramatically increased despite the uneven distribution of their business ventures. Small-scale entrepreneurs are embodied in the Selaka Kotagede silver craftsmen community. Meanwhile, large-scale entrepreneurs are accommodated by KP3Y's operations. Some of the silver village centers in Kotagede, one of which is located in the Sayangan hamlet, is located north of the Kotagede Mataram Mosque and into the village alleys. Many domestic and foreign tourists who come directly to the location of the craftsmen then order souvenirs made of silver according to their taste. Usually, foreign tourists prefer forms of silver handicrafts whose colors are somewhat faded or dull as classic or antique looks (Listiani, personal communication,



Figure 1. Mr. Darwin, Silver Craft Leader in Sayangan Village Working on Silver Ring Orders

April 2, 2019).

Besides, they also asked silver craftsmen to make various silver handicrafts according to their orders at prices according to the complexity of the motives and the length of the process of making the silver handicrafts in the message (Darwinto, personal communication, July 10, 2019). Thus, the selling price of Kotagede silver handicrafts is very dependent on the level of complexity and motives. Besides, the price of each silver craft also depends on the time of manufacture and the level of expertise of the craftsmen in designing various shades of orders from the buyer. Because the silver craftsmen have their respective expertise in producing silver in which between one another complementary and collaborate.

Based on the picture above, it can be explained that the silver craftsmen in Kotagede, especially those who belong to the Selaka Kotagede community, develop the home-scale silver industry with a monthly net turnover of around 2-3 million / month with the production of 1-15 rings, necklaces or silver earrings. Technically, each craftsman has expertise in producing silver handicrafts so that one must cooperate and collaborate. There are at least three types of silver craftsmen found in Kotagede with expertise specifications, including dependable silver craftsmen, vilgri silver, and silver inlay. All three work together and are specific in their re-

spective fields so that one is related to each other. The small-scale silver craftsmen association, which is incorporated in the Selaka Kotagede container, always holds a gathering about once a month in their respective homes. Selaka Kotagede itself was established in 2014, which at the beginning of its establishment collaborated with the airline company Air Asia (Air Asia Foundation). With this cooperation, in addition to getting training from the airline, they always get silver orders from the airline.

Various models of silver handicrafts made by Kotagede silver craftsmen dominated by leaf motifs. The silver handicrafts are then distributed to large silver shops such as HS Silver, Narti Silver, Anshor Silver shops located west of the Kotagede bridge, and silver shops along Mondorakan Street, Gendu Tegal and Packaging Street. At the same time, silver entrepreneurs on a small scale do their production and marketing promotions by waiting for orders from buyers directly. Small-scale silver entrepreneurs can also be seen in silver shops along the road to the Kotagede market, including along the Jalan Packaging and Mondorakan with the center in the village of Jagalan. When viewed in quantity, silver companies on a small scale or at home mostly join the Selaka Kotagede community. At the same time, silver companies, on a large scale, joined KP3Y. Apart from the strength of a strong silver community network, the participation of the Yogyakarta City Government in assisting MSME craftsmen and silver entrepreneurs is taken seriously so that both the quantity and quality of silver handicrafts processed each year increases. The forms of silver crafts include ring and leaf motifs.

Post-New Order Silver Business Ethics

In Kotagede, the silver business is mostly dominated by the role of women. Large scale silver companies in Kotagede such as HS. Silver, Narti Silver, and Anshor Silver are among the ones behind those who are tough women who have a trade ethic and high spirits. In the silver company HS

Silver, for example, there was Mrs. Suharto, who since pioneered the silver business by selling around in the Beringharjo market in Yogyakarta. Mrs. Suharto is the forerunner of the greatness of the HS company's silver business, Silver Kotagede. The silver business has so far snowballed and has branches in various provinces in Indonesia. The business network reaches the United States, the Middle East, and Europe (Listiani, personal communication, April 2, 2019).

Historically, in the early 19th century, the Beringharjo market was the economic center of the lower middle class. According to Carey and Houben (2016), the owners of trade stalls in the Beringharjo market are not only from the middle to upper class but also many of the Yogyakarta aristocratic Kraton also has several stalls that are operated for trading. It turned out to be not only a trading habit of the Yogyakarta court aristocrats, but in the Surakarta Mangkunegaran cadet, this also happened. Business conducted by the Mangkunegaran *priyayi* family not only improves the family's standard of living but the community at large (Birsyada et al., 2017).

Other actors engaged in developing the silver business in Kotagede are the Selaka Kotagede silver craftsmen association. This association, in terms of numbers, are approximately 15-20 silver craftsmen. Some of the business they do is from family hereditary. In the 1980s to 1998, these small companies had experienced glory with daily net income of not less than Rp. 500,000.00 (Darwin, personal communication, July 10, 2019). There are three types of silver craftsmen found in Kotagede, including solid silver craftsmen, vilgri silver, and silver *tatah*. All three work together and are specific in their respective fields so that one is related to each other. The small-scale silver craftsmen association, which is incorporated in Selaka Kotagede, always holds a gathering about once a month in their homes.

The group of silver entrepreneurs who are incorporated in the Selaka Kotagede container structurally and cultural-

ly has the same vision and mission in developing and advancing the silver handicraft business in Kotagede. Their enthusiasm and hard work were inspired by one of them to preserve the business culture of the citizens of Kotagede, that is by continuing to build a marketing network of silver production of their handiwork. The silver business network of the Selaka Kotagede community has begun to expand its marketing cooperation with various hotels and Yogyakarta tourism offices. Besides, they also began to develop silver-making classes in their respective work homes so that many local and foreign tourists who want to learn to make silver crafts. Most of them left their silver handicraft business to their children.

When viewed culturally, the silver business in Kotagede, on average, all started from small businesses. Usually, the place where the entrepreneurs are used as a gathering point (*ngayoh*) the results of the production of small craftsmen around Kotagede (Listiani, personal communication, April 2, 2019). In general, most of the silver business ventures in Kotagede were initially home-based businesses. According to Nakamura (2017, pp. 118-120), in the 19th century, the silver business in Kotagede had gained a new market share, one of which was beside the collective strength among the network of silver business craftsmen as well as support from the local government of Yogyakarta. Since the 1980s until before the 1998 monetary crisis, the silver marketing strategy usually started from the production of home-made silver and then entrusted to collectors and then sent to the market or the customer. Therefore, the home-made silver craftsmen usually submit their work to the silver collectors and then send it to the market or order (Darwinto, personal communication, July 10, 2019). In the 1980s, Kotagede experienced triumphant silverware. At that time, silver craftsmen in Kotagede were flooded with silver orders from both local and foreign countries. Besides, the government often organizes various exhibitions of local handicraft products on a national and international scale. It is

where the Kotagede silver business began to stretch again.

In addition to running a silver business in Kotagede, business people also have their ethics, which serve as a benchmark for work and daily life. In the business family HS. Silver, for example, the founder of the company, has its character compared to the others. The modest figure of character is the most striking that is practiced every day by Ibu Suharto as the founder of HS. Silver. In addition to the modest values and ethics practiced by Suharto, she is thorough and neat in everything, especially in managing the silver handicraft business (Listiani, personal communication, April 2, 2019). Meanwhile, according to one of the workers in the HS silver repair section, silver explained that the founding family of HS instilled the ethics that were practiced at the same time. Silver includes being conscientious, patient, and honest. Honesty ethics is one of the most basic in running a business and everyday life. It was also accompanied by behavior concerns (Sadikir, personal communication, April 11, 2019).

Another figure that can be seen values and ethics in the silver business is Mr. Darwin, whose house is behind the Kotagede tomb complex in the village of Sayangan Jagalan Kotagede. He was pursuing a silver-handled business from his grandfather, who used to make silver and brass *keris* containers. Net turnover per day is currently around Rp. 250,000. With his income like that, he was able to send his children to college. His son, who studies at the Stipram hotel, is now helping his father develop the home-based silver business. For one month, Mr. Darwin worked on a silver ring of no less than 20 seeds for Rp. 250,000. His son, Wily Sanjaya, helped his father in marketing. With the spirit of diligent hard work, his silver business is always visited by many customers, including tourists from abroad. The community recognized Darwin in designing silver in the form of rings among Kotagede silver craftsmen. In 2014, the inauguration of Jagalan Tlisih, together with silver craftsmen from Kotagede, received

an honorary guest with Sri Sultan HB X to jointly open the event in collaboration with Air Asia Foundation. Hard work is one of the most striking values found in you. Darwin said “*Nek ning Kotagede kowe ora kerja keras ora bakal maju. Kerjo sing keras sing penting halal.*” (Darwin, personal communication, July 10, 2019)

Based on the above explanations, it can be concluded that the whole family of Kotagede silver businessman have an ethic of self-defense in maintaining their business ventures. One of the main factors behind them is because they want to preserve the culture of silver craft that has been built for generations by their ancestors in Kotagede.

CONCLUSION

Historically, the silver business since the reign of Sri Sultan HB VIII has gained its position in driving the economic progress of the people of Kotagede. Silver business is a cultural asset of the Yogyakarta. The success of the silver industry in Kotagede is supported by the collective strength of the community of craftsmen and silver entrepreneurs. It was also driven by the local government, which helped to open the silver market network both at national and international levels. The role of business actors in each of the founders of the silver business in building marketing networks both nationally and internationally is one of the main factors in running the silver business in Kotagede. There are nine ethics inherited in the business of silver entrepreneurs in Kotagede, including honest, patient, simple, clean, neat, conscientious, strong will, innovative, hard work. The results of this study have implications for developing Max Weber's findings on religious ethics that can build economic progress in European society. Besides, this study also produced the results of Nakamura, who mentioned that economic progress in Kotagede was partly due to the infiltration of puritanical Islamic religious ethics. In the context of this study, there is a causal relationship in the development of economic progress in Kotagede, especially in the silver business

influenced by Javanese cultural ethics (Javanese ethics), which has long been entrenched and passed down from generation to generation in Kotagede silver craftsmen. Besides, the economic progress of the people in Kotagede, especially in the group of silver handicraft entrepreneurs, is influenced by a strong network (business network).

The suggestion of this research is to further researchers to explore further about the symbols and processes of inheriting cultural values practiced by Kotagede silver craftsmen and entrepreneurs in the family. Second, tracing deeper into the business network of Kotagede silver entrepreneurs that have been built so that maps and patterns are obtained in a structured manner. Third, to the local government, they should focus more specifically on the silver business assistance to the Selaka Kotagede community group, which is currently growing and developing. Fourth, Kotagede silver entrepreneurs should strengthen their collectivity with fellow entrepreneurs while building broader cooperation with various parties, especially in terms of marketing both at national and international levels.

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