Resilience and livelihoods: Bringing together two approaches to explain social capital in kampung kota communities

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Abstract. Resilience integrates the relationship between mitigation, adaptation and innovation processes. Resilience is also closely related to the strength of social capital of a community. In Indonesia, strong social capital is found in a social community of kampung kota. Social capital is also related to the livelihoods theory approach. Livelihoods also view that a community has social capital that can overcome threats and pressures. So the two approaches have the same object of study, namely the ability of social capital to deal with threats and pressures. This study aims to find out how the concept of resilience and livelihoods can explaining social capital that is formed in kampung kota communities. This study uses a case-study methodology by conducting exploration using in-depth interviewing techniques from important various sources. Kampung Laweyan is a traditional batik village that has passed the ups and downs to be able to survive until now. Meanwhile, Kampung Sudiroprajan was a Chinatown village that had faced social conflict. Finally, this study found a close theory that could complement each other on how resilience and livelihoods could explain social capital in kampung kota. Resilience is a more effective approach to process while livelihood is a more focused approach to actors.

1. Introduction
Indonesian people have traditionally gathered and settled to form a system of settlements known as kampung or villages. Kampung is not only synonymous with rural areas but urban areas also still use the term of Kampung. Kampung in urban areas became known as Kampung Kota. Each Kampung has its own face that is different from other kampung. The identity and uniqueness of kampung kota represent the history, abilities, effort, struggle and soul of its citizens [1]. So, even though there are physical qualities and character differences between kampung in rural areas and urban areas, kampung kota communities also still have social values as a community that is capable of being social capital in facing various threats and pressures. Threats and pressures will always be present in a social community, especially in an ever-evolving world. Social communities must have prepared abilities to deal with threats and pressures. A social community that is able to deal with threats and pressures can then be said to be resilient.

In the city of Surakarta, Indonesia, there are two kampung that can be used as a case study of how a social community is able to deal with threats and pressures to then survive and develop. First,
Kampung Laweyan has experience facing threats and pressures in the economic field. Second, Kampung Sudiroprajan has experience facing threats and pressures in the social field.

This interpretation of the resilience of the social community has a close relationship with the meaning of the concept of livelihoods [2]. OECD [3] explains resilience is the ability not only to survive but also rise, rebound and turn stronger than before. When viewed from the perspective of the process, resilience is a system consisting of mitigation, adaptation, and innovation processes [4]. Meanwhile the Department for International Development (DFID) [5] explained that Livelihoods are the ability of a system to manage assets to deal with vulnerabilities for the proper running of activities. So integrating the concepts of resilience and livelihoods in explaining the social capital formed in Kampung Kota community in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan can open new avenues of thought.

2. Literature review

Resilience comes from the Latin term resi-lire meaning to ‘spring back’ [6]. Resilience is a terminology used in many disciplines [7]. Psychology and disaster science were the first to use this terminology [8]. Today, the concept of resilience is increasingly developing and used in terms in social science [9,10] and also economics, especially related to the ability to withstand economic threats and pressures [11,12]. Resilience is the ability of a system to prepare itself, deal with, and recover from threats and pressures in better condition than before.

The author collects several notions of resilience from various sources and then divides based on the language approach using subjects, predicates, objects and adverbs. The division is done to make it easier to understand the perpetrators, goals, and objectives of understanding resilience.

| Subject           | Predicate       | Object            | Adverbs         |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| System            | Absorb          | Threat            | Sustainability  |
| Community         | Hold on         | Pressure          | Recover         |
| Social Entity     | Resolve         | Threats and       | Get moving      |
|                   |                 | Pressures         |                 |
| City              | Minimize        | Danger            | Better Condition|
| Facing            |                 | Uncertainty       |                 |
| Last              |                 | Change            |                 |
| Respond           |                 | Disturbance       |                 |
| Restore           |                 | Disaster          |                 |
| Change            |                 | Shock             |                 |
| Cope              |                 | Instability       |                 |
|                   |                 | Stresses          |                 |

Furthermore Roychansyah [4] explained that resilience consists of mitigation, adaptation, and innovation processes. Mitigation is an effort to reduce risk before threats and pressures occur according to the capacity of the object. Adaptation is an effort to adjust to the existence of risk. Finally, innovation is a development effort to be able to rise from previous conditions. Meanwhile, resilience system fluctuations include growing conditions that is, before pressure is affected, declining when the system is under pressure, recovery is when the system starts to move, and resurrection when the system is in a better condition than before.
Interpretation of resilience in the realm of social community has a close relationship with the meaning of the concept of livelihood [2]. Meanwhile, the Department for International Development (DFID) [5] explains that Livelihoods are the ability of a system to manage assets to facilitate the activities carried out properly. Losses come from various things that can involve challenges, trends or fluctuations in consideration. Livelihoods also use external factors from the structure of policies and institutions that will assist the process of moving livelihoods themselves. Livelihood assets consist of five main assets namely human capital, social capital, physical capital, natural capital, and financial capital. Based on the concept of livelihood social capital is one of five capitals. This means that social capital alone is not enough to sustain a social community. If you have this capital, then a resilient system is provided.

3. Research methods
In this study researchers used a case study research type. The case study approach in this case is a research approach that views case studies as a research method not just as a research location. This type of research was mainly adapted from Robert K Yin's model case study approach. Case studies according to Yin [20] try to explain how or why research that focuses on contemporary (current) research phenomena in real-life contexts without the intervention of researchers towards the object of research.

This study uses in-depth interviews with purposive sampling and then snowball sampling. In this
study, primary data is the main source of information. Primary data obtained through a process of in-depth interviews face-to-face to meet with speakers who are considered capable of understanding and mastering the information needed.

Table 2. Research resources.[21]

| Aspect              | Kelurahan Laweyan                                      | Kelurahan Sudiroprajan     |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Institutional       | Forum Pengembangan Kampoeng Batik Laweyan (FPKBL)      | Persatuan                   |
|                     |                                                        | Masyarakat Surakarta (PMS)  |
| Society / Performers| 13 Batik enterpreuner                                  | 14 Head of RT/RW, Heads Of Organization PMS, |
| Bureaucracy         | Kelurahan Office                                      | Kelurahan Office           |

Analysis activities in multi-cases are carried out in parallel with all data collection activities. That is because the case study research process is cyclical or always requires reciprocity from every process both from the theoretical proposition to the process of drawing conclusions.

4. Resilience processes in Kampung Laweyan and Kampung Sudiroprajan

The difference in the resilience process in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan exists because there are certainly different forms of threat, pressure and community conditions. If grouped through the stages of growth, decline, recovery, and revival of the resilience process in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan can be seen below.

The resilience process in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan is an attempt to carry out a qualitative construction in describing the conditions of ups and downs in the face of threats and pressure. The resilience process was carried out by looking at the historical process or evolution of the two kampung from a much earlier period. This is done in order to understand how the socio-cultural conditions can be formed. The author then tries to make an abstraction of evolution across the two kampung using diagrams. The starting point for development is obtained from in-depth interviews with respondents explained in the previous section.

The resilience process in Kampung Laweyan is illustrated from the initial process of kampung formation in the 17th century. Then Kampung Laweyan began to grow into a batik entrepreneur village and became one of the indigenous aristocratic classes. The glory of Kampung Laweyan reached its peak in the early 20th century when groups of Kampung Laweyan merchants fought very broadly in the community, one of which was able to establish the Islamic Trade Union (SDI) in 1908, which became one of the pioneering organizations in the Indonesian independence movement at the national level. However, in the 1970s the batik industry experienced a very sharp decline due to the attack on batik printing products from China. The author designates this as a point when the Kampung Laweyan experienced sizeable threats and pressures. This condition then lasted long enough until in the early 2000s, when Kampung Laweyan experienced a turning point with the resurrection of the batik industry in Laweyan and added a new branding namely Kampung Batik Laweyan.

Meanwhile, the resilience process in Kampung Sudiroprajan was also described from the beginning of the formation of the kampung in the 18th century. Kampung Sudiroprajan was a place where ethnic descendants and immigrants from China lived at that time. The socio-cultural condition of the community in the Kampung Sudiroprajan was strongly influenced by government policy. The people in the Kampung Sudiroprajan had contact with the royal government of Surakarta, from the Dutch Colonial period and the early period of Indonesian independence to the Orde Baru era and the reformasi era. The author translates the threats and pressures that hit Kampung Sudiroprajan due to discriminatory policies towards ethnic Chinese descendants from the Dutch Colonial era, the early...
period of Indonesian independence, and its peak in the Orde Baru era. At that time, the community in Kampung Sudiroprajan was able to survive because it mainly had the ability to mix and even intermarried with the local community. This shows that there was a high value of openness and tolerance in the Sudiroprajan community. So, even though formally the community experienced discrimination from the government, informally the life of the community is able to continue positively. Eventually these conditions could end when the reformasi era and the government of President Abdurahman Wahid revoked the discriminatory policy of Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 concerning Chinese religion, beliefs and customs. Since then the Sudiroprajan community and the people of Chinese descent in general in Indonesia in general are able to express culture freely and avoid discrimination. This point is what we call the turning point of the Sudiroprajan village community.

5. Resilience concept in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan

If the resilience concept in Kampung Laweyan is seen more deeply it can be described that mitigation in Kampung Laweyan is shown by the readiness to maintain the existence of batik which has become a strong identity in the community of Kampung Laweyan. Furthermore Adaptation in Kampung Laweyan is shown by managerial ability in managing a business or industry. Finally, innovation in Kampung Laweyan is shown by the efforts made in reviving the existence of batik which had declined. Efforts are made by utilizing internal capabilities and external support.

In Kampung Sudiroprajan, mitigation is formed from the values that exist within each individual of the Chinese Ethnic community namely overseas, entrepreneurship, and shared identity. Furthermore, cultural assimilation is a form of adaptation of the Chinese Ethnic community to the local community and culture. The last innovation was shown from the increasingly recognition of the Chinese Ethnic culture by the surrounding community by holding various joint activities such as Grebeg Sudiro Festival. The concept of resilience in Kampung Laweyan and Sudiroprajan can be
seen in more detail in a table as follows:

**Tabel 3.** The difference of resilience concepts in Kampung Laweyan and Kampung Sudiroprajan [21]

| Aspek              | Kampung Laweyan                                                                 | Kampung Sudiroprajan                                      |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Threats, Pressures | Market competition                                                             | External Social and Political Conditions                  |
|                    | Economy Crisis                                                                 | The exclusivity of the social community                    |
|                    | Mental uncertainty lies in the realm of industry                                | Social inequality                                          |
|                    | Unpreparedness towards modernization and change                                  | Social jealousy                                             |
| Vulnerability       | Lack of ability to understand the tastes of the market                          |                                                            |
|                    | Disconnected regeneration                                                       |                                                            |
|                    | Lack of belonging to batik                                                       |                                                            |
| Process             | Mitigation                                                                      | Mitigation                                                 |
|                    | Adaptation                                                                      | Assimilation                                               |
|                    | Innovation                                                                      | Innovation                                                 |
|                    | Individuals                                                                     | Individuals                                                |
| Actors              | Community                                                                       | Community                                                  |
|                    | Organization                                                                     | Organization                                               |
|                    | Government                                                                       | Government                                                 |
| Livelihoods Assets  | Human Capital, Social Capital, Financial Capital                               | Human Capital, Social Capital, Financial Capital, Physical Capital |
|                    | A sense of belonging                                                             | Persistent                                                 |
|                    | Tolerance                                                                       |                                                            |
| Characters          | Persistent                                                                       | The ethos of hard work                                     |
|                    | Creative                                                                         | Independent/autonomy                                       |
| Resilience Factors  | Organization – Community – Individuals - External                               | Individual – Community – Organization – External            |

6. **Resilience and livelihoods**

Resilience in Kampung Laweyan is formed from the existence of human capital, social capital, financial capital and physical capital. First, human capital is more about the ability or expertise in becoming an entrepreneur in dealing with every possibility. Second, social capital in Kampung Laweyan is more about the existence of awareness and identity towards Kampung Laweyan and its batik industry. Batik is not only considered as a commodity but also a cultural and heritage product which must continue to be preserved. Third, financial capital in Kampung Laweyan is in the form of production and marketing assets that have been previously owned. These assets become capital to survive when the stretching conditions of the batik industry are in decline. Fourth, physical capital is in the form of the existence of heritage building of batik merchants (large and luxurious houses). The building is a potential attraction when developed and able to sustain the batik industry.

Meanwhile, resilience in Kampung Sudiroprajan was formed from the existence of human capital, social capital, and financial capital. These three capitals are enough to form resilience in Kampung Sudiroprajan to face every threat, disaster and threats and pressures that has ever happened. Human capital in Kampung Sudiroprajan is more of an inner awareness of the paradigm of persistence and a hard work ethic. This paradigm is able to make the Chinese Ethnic community resilient individually in facing any limitations. Furthermore, social capital in Kampung Sudiroprajan was formed more to a sense of understanding differences so as to form closeness, cohesiveness and eliminate barriers between ethnic groups. Finally, the capital owned by the Sudiroprajan community is financial capital.
owned financial capital in the form of high economic capacity of the Chinese Ethnic community. This economic capability is the result of persistence and hard work in trying to make it easier to hold social activities like Grebeg Sudiro Festival.

Based on the previous explanation, Social capital is the main driver for the formation of resilience in the Kampung of Laweyan and Sudiroprajan. Social capital can become ‘a glue’ for other assets to be able to work together. Social capital is transformed into an organizational form which is a place for the community to agree and determine a shared vision.

Figure 4. Comparison of livelihoods concepts by theory (left) and concept findings resilience Kampung Laweyan (blue) and Sudiroprajan (yellow). [21]

7. Conclusion
The concept of resiliency in Kampung Laweyan is an expression of cultural enterprise resilience in preparing itself, facing, getting around and remediing threats, disasters, or economic threats and pressures. The term ‘Cultural Enterprise’ is based on batik as an industry based on cultural products so that in managing the industry it is not necessarily just an industrial commodity. Meanwhile, the concept of resilience in Kampung Sudiroprajan is an expression of reconciliation resilience in preparing themselves, facing, dealing with and recovering threats, disasters, or social threats and pressures. The term ‘reconciliation’ is used based on efforts to prepare themselves, face, deal with and restore what is done in the form of acts of reconciliation and mutual understanding between social communities.
Thus, the author concludes that the concepts of resilience and livelihoods are closely related. Resilience is an approach that is more focused on the process, while livelihood is an approach that is more focused on the actor. So that the resilience level of Kampung Kota is greatly affected by assets livelihoods (human capital, social capital, physical capital, natural capital, and financial capital), so that they are able to prepare themselves, face, deal with and recover from threats and pressures in better condition than before in their own ways.

Both of these cases can be used as a model of how variations in the process of a community, especially in dealing with threats and pressures. In addition, we can understand the character, factors, actors and what assets can be developed in the process of community development in general and specifically when a society is experiencing pressure and threats, especially in the economic and social fields.

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