

Brokerage and social segregation: a case study of cluster housing environment in Gading Serpong, Indonesia

Brokerage and
cluster housing
environment

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Abstract

Purpose – The paper aims to see why social conflict caused by class segregation did not occur in Gading Serpong? What factors prevent conflict from occurring? This research seeks to find the causes of the nonoccurrence of social conflict due to class segregation in the Gading Serpong cluster area and explore the factors that restrain conflict there.

Design/methodology/approach – This research is qualitative research with data collection techniques through in-depth interviews with several parties identified as brokerages in the research object area. In this context, one of the media and analytical tools is to recognize agents or brokers who connect two groups of people. Brokerage occurs in sectors, patterns or forms of informal, personal relationships; to understand it, one must pay close attention to micro-level relationships and social psychological processes. However, brokerage can have a significant impact on macro-level social relations, as it is generally associated with social integration processes.

Findings – The lack of involvement of developers in overcoming social conflicts that occur between Gading Serpong natives and migrants in Gading Serpong housing has given rise to new actors. These new actors are what we can call brokers, where they have a role as brokers who are able to connect between migrants and natives in the Gading Serpong area. The broker phenomenon is actually familiar in academia, where in practice the broker acts as someone who is able to find solutions to problems. The broker is the reason even social segregation is created between migrant citizens and native citizens in Gading Serpong but never becomes a conflict between them.

Research limitations/implications – Even if the brokerage phenomenon is the reason why there is no conflict over social segregation brokerage is not the only factor in this nonconflict segregation. Therefore, to cover the larger area of these suburban segregation problems, there must be further research on this topic.

Practical implications – The practical implication of this research is to encourage the housing developers that create urban housing, such as clusters or other gated communities, to evaluate the social factors, such as potential segregation and conflict management. Also to encourage the developers to get involved and create some social engineering systems, like brokerage, market and other social agents, to create some nonconflict segregation or even more inclusive communities.

Originality/value – This research is uncovering the main reason why social segregation between migrant and native people in Gading Serpong, which could potentially lead to conflict, is never a conflict. The main reason is social actors like brokerage.

Keywords Social segregation, Brokerage, Cluster housing, Suburban, Inclusivity

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Humans migrate to a new place or settlement based on certain awareness, goals, and desires or motivations (Desmet & Fokkinga, 2020). These are called placemaking strategies that

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create new neighborhoods and communities. Placemaking makes a community in an institutionalized environment with a culture and identity politics that is a paradox of urban spaces. The consciousness that is built is based on reasons for security or a sense of security, such as feelings of worry, the formation of a settlement identity, racial and ethnic similarities, neighborhood security systems and structures and others. In a large-scale settlement, there are separate clusters that are further divided based on the type, model and price of the house, with a layered security system that includes the installation of cameras (cctv) or identity checks for every guest who comes (Prastowo, 2016).

Gated communities are residential areas with limited access, building security through control, surveillance and limited entrances. For gated communities, the fence creates a boundary or demarcation that prohibits unwanted access due to fears of others outside the community, anxiety about possible violence by others and fear of poverty. Gated communities bring disadvantages to local (ethnic) residents, cause differentiation and emphasize injustice in the community, neglect social integration and weaken local government. Gated communities seek to foster a sense of community, build exclusivity, enforce exclusion (ejection or expulsion), privatization and stability, establish social identity and share territory, especially social participation, including identity, values, desires and common goals as well as maintaining social order. Private developers invade suburban areas that are home to local communities, namely ethnic Betawi and Sundanese, who are local residents in the Bogor, Tangerang, Depok and Bekasi areas (Firman, 2004).

The rapid development of the Gading Serpong area has triggered the growth and increase in property prices outside the Gading Serpong “ghetto” area. Land prices soared, and the construction of middle-class properties also increased. As a result, the number of people in lower middle-class level (low-income societies) increased. They become a marginalized group that is outside the gated boundaries and can become a potential problem due to the gap in spatial segregation. If the area built by this developer becomes the economic center, then they are on the edge, playing on the periphery. Gated communities or clusters give birth to spatial systemic segregation through critical discourse and economic segregation of development, not because of residents’ preferences (local vs cluster communities); incompatibility between the two parties triggers conflict; interests and road access (Yandri, 2015). The main problem is residential housing and inequality, both income and social and cultural.

The various conflicts that have arisen as a result of a shift in local communities that have begun to alienate the region require maximum solutions. In this mechanism, the research provides space for such solutions by taking into account the role of brokers that can bridge between local residents and residents. The brokers who play in this area must be the ones who have had full access; where the one who can be the controller is the security guard, who works to keep access safe and out into the big wall that makes space segregated. In this study, brokers give their part to the motivation that is inherent in them. Various hidden motivations are capable of shaping behavioral change, given that the profits generated can make them someone who is not limited to financial gain but more than that directs to social status, power and prospects in the future. Some similar literature has been extensively studied by various scientists around the world. The first was research carried out by Morales, where the scientific contribution produced is physical segregation that has shifted with the existence of social fragmentation online (Morales, Dong, Bar-Yam, & Pentland, 2019). Furthermore, this study emphasizes the existence of virtual space as a reflection of a geographical space where it is physically capable of creating proximity and uniting an idea. Furthermore, a study conducted by Kusumah emphasizes the segregation of polarized cultures in Jakarta, which is more influenced by the similarity of religiosity (Kusumah & Wasesa, 2023). Through this mechanism, society is not subject to economic differences or social status. However, more than that, the formed polarization directs to the realm of religious belief. Next, Maloutas’s research focuses on the polarization that occurred in

Athens City in 1991–2011 (Maloutas & Botton, 2021). The scientific contributions shown in this article point to the segregation that occurs among the residents of central cities who are increasingly excluded due to the growth of the poor population that acts into cities massively.

Some of the above studies suggest that social segregation can happen in the case of indigenous peoples in some places. This is largely influenced by various factors, including social, economic, religious beliefs and even online segregations that form a new geographical community to develop ideas. The social segregation studies carried out in serpents with various factors are not a major study that contributes to explaining the polarization of indigenous societies replaced by immigrants. However, more than that, this study opens a new path in terms of the role of brokers capable of mediating in solving the social conflict in Gading Serpong, Tangerang.

Based on the background above, the problems in this research are: Why did social conflict caused by class segregation not occur in Gading Serpong? What factors prevent conflict from occurring? This research seeks to find the causes of the nonoccurrence of social conflict due to class segregation in the Gading Serpong cluster area and explore the factors that restrain conflict there.

Literature review

Segregation and polarization

In developing countries, the growth of suburban areas is not matched by planning. This creates tensions and gaps that have the potential to trigger conflict between groups separated by spatial segregation. Conflicts between urban–rural communities in suburban areas can take place simultaneously, spatial segregation is growing; examples of conflicts that often occur include the closing of access to urban housing areas by rural communities for access to public spaces, this creates feelings of insecurity. Vigilant behavior (coercive behavior such as coercion to be employed in projects or manufacturing, services in suburban areas, etc.). These local conflicts are part of the generalized class struggle in capitalist societies (Winarso, Hudalah, & Firman, 2015).

The characteristics of development in suburban areas are more focused on providing security and comfort at very high prices, which can only be reached by the upper-middle class around Jabodetabek. This creates a gap with the surrounding rural communities, which can trigger social conflict between the two communities. Each settlement offers its own color, identity and facilities, which certainly affect the price variation. This in turn creates a migration of people based on economic ability and certain classifications, which then form new communities in these settlements. Social segregation is inevitable with the creation of boundaries and gaps between people who can afford to buy and live in new settlement areas and people who are forced to live outside the boundaries of large settlements (Siregar, 2012). People who previously owned land controlled by large developers were automatically excluded from the area. The process of marginalization occurs not only in people but also in space (spatial segregation) and culture (cultural segregation).

Spatial segregation is characterized by the creation of territorial boundaries in the form of high walls that separate large settlements from village areas. The creation of green open spaces, roads, parks and tourist attractions in residential areas contrasts with the absence of these spaces in village areas outside the wall. Cultural segregation is marked by, among other things, the contrasting differences between the identity of the new settlements, the background, lifestyle and behavior of their residents and the habits of the villagers. The culture of the people in the villages is almost marginalized by the residents of the new settlements, who erode and do not practice the original culture of the community. The identity and color of the settlements are very different, for example, the color of European architecture or almost a uniform and regular color identity, marks the space of

difference. The residents of the new settlements, who are economically different, automatically exclude themselves and create structures, patterns and styles that contrast with the village community.

The spatial segregation created can be in the form of self-segregation or voluntary social segregation. Self-segregation is separating oneself from other communities and creating space or distance for various reasons. Voluntary social segregation is also done due to conscious self-interest and usually for reasons of safety, comfort and a better social and environmental life by creating or living in new suburban areas.

Spatial segregation in urban areas is the occupation of land by diverse social groups that are not homogeneously (fairly) distributed. Instead, they restrict themselves based on status, ethnicity and origin. In a broader context, spatial segregation is about residential differentiation or social division of space. According to Bourdieu, cited by Barbosa, the idea of segregation is difference, which separates and is the basis of the idea of space creation (Barbosa, 2001).

Hilary Silver inclusivity

Inclusion is the process of building social relationships and respecting the diversity of individuals and communities so that they can participate fully in decision-making, economic, social, political and cultural life and have equal access to and control over resources (to meet basic needs) in order to enjoy a standard of well-being that is considered appropriate within the community concerned (Kusumawiranti, 2021).

There are three prerequisites for improving social inclusion, namely the full involvement of excluded groups, equal distribution of services by the government and recognition of excluded groups. The assumption is that marginalized groups have self-defense capabilities, service providers pay attention to the special needs of excluded groups and there is respect for the dignity of excluded groups. All three become channels of action to open up opportunities for everyone to take part in or participate in society (Williams, 1989).

As quoted by Byrne, social exclusion is a multidimensional process that includes the inability to participate in decision-making and politics, not only access to employment and material resources but also weak integration in cultural processes (Byrne, 2005). If these phenomena occur simultaneously, there will be a very acute exclusion.

“Social exclusion is defined as a multidimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighborhoods.”

The development of social exclusion thinking, according to Hilary Silver in Rodger, cannot be separated from three paradigms, namely the solidarity, specialization and monopoly paradigms, each of which has a different perspective on seeing the phenomenon of social exclusion (Rodger, 1995). In this case, social exclusion is always associated with the role of the state. The solidarity paradigm emphasizes social exclusion as a break in social ties between individuals and society. In this case, the state is obliged to protect society from individuals acting liberally and protect individuals as part of society from poverty caused by the industrial society system. In contrast, the specialization paradigm sees democracy and equal opportunity as social mechanisms that ensure social integration. Social exclusion occurs due to market failure and discrimination. In other words, social exclusion occurs because individual freedom does not occur, so there is discrimination. For this reason, this paradigm considers the importance of state guarantees of individual freedom and the avoidance of discrimination. Meanwhile, the state is only there to help those who need support.

Methodology

Research approach

Data collection techniques. Observation. Observation is described as a method of collecting data by directly observing the object of research. The observation process is carried out by observing the interactions that occur in the Gading Serpong area.

Interview. An interview is a process of question-and-answer interaction between researchers and research subjects. Through interviews, researchers try to get information related to the research focus. Interviews can be divided into two types, namely structured interviews and unstructured interviews. In structured interviews, questions have been set in advance. Whereas in unstructured interviews, interviews are more informal and flexible (Moleong, 2012). In this study, unstructured interviews were conducted with informants who had been determined in accordance with the research objectives. The interviews were conducted between August 2022 and September 2022. The interview stages were conducted as follows:

- (1) Conducting interviews with security units.
- (2) Conducting interviews with household assistants in the city cluster housing environment.

Based on the results of interviews with informants, consisting of three Chief Securities in three different clusters, namely the Agnesi cluster, Pascal cluster and Garnet cluster under the Summarecon Serpong developer, it is known that they act as brokers between cluster residents and native residents outside the cluster fence. The following is the profile of each cluster:

- (1) Cluster Agnesi Symphonia: is one of the outermost clusters around the southwest of the main Summarecon Serpong development area. It intersects with two villages: Kampung Medang in the southwest to the north and Kampung Cijantra in the southeast. To the west are TPU Carang Pulang and KSO Biomass Processing. In the south of the cluster, there is also another cluster, the Baroni Summarecon Serpong Cluster, which divides the two villages of Medang and Cijantra. The head of security at Agnesi cluster is Saka Permadi, a native of Cijantra village. He is 46 years old, married, and has two children.
- (2) Cluster Pascal: is a cluster surrounded by other clusters, namely Cluster Newton and Cluster Angelonia to the north, Cluster Darwin to the west and Scientia Residences apartments to the southeast. Cluster Pascal does not have direct contact with the indigenous population, but since the development of Cluster Pascal coincided with Cluster Newton, more or less everything that happens in Cluster Newton has an impact on Cluster Pascal. The head of security in Cluster Pascal is Dodo Pratama, a native of Curug Sangereng village in the north of Cluster Newton. He is 39 years old, married but divorced (widower), and has one child.
- (3) Garnet Cluster: located in the west of Pondok Hijau Golf Area, Summarecon Serpong. Cluster Garnet is directly located next to Curug Sangereng village, which is surrounded by two clusters: Cluster Ruby to the west and Cluster Garnet to the east. The Head of Security at Garnet Cluster is Kurnia Ramadan, a resident of Curug Sangereng village. He is 42 years old, married and has two children.

Documentation

Documentation is a data collection technique that involves quoting and examining documents, records and archives in order to support the implementation of research by collecting articles and news related to activities in Gading Serpong.

Data analysis technique

The data analysis technique used in this research is the interactive model proposed by [Miles, Huberman and Saldana \(2014\)](#). This interactive model consists of three stages that must be carried out, namely (1) the data condensation stage, (2) the presentation stage and (3) the conclusion drawing stage. The three stages continue throughout the research process. The steps in analyzing the data are as follows:

- (1) Analyzing and understanding data in the form of documents obtained from various media sources. From this process, the meaning and intent of the data can then be known.
- (2) Analyzing and understanding observational data related to interactions that occur in Gading Serpong. From this process, the meaning and intent of the data can then be known.
- (3) Analyzing and understanding the results of interviews that have been conducted with various informants related to interactions that occur in the Gading Serpong area. From this process, the meaning and purpose of the informants' answers can then be known.
- (4) Combining the various analyzes and understandings that have been obtained, a conclusion can be drawn about the series of interactions that occur in Gading Serpong.

Result

The lack of involvement of developers in overcoming social conflicts that occur between Gading Serpong natives and migrants in Gading Serpong housing has given rise to new actors. These new actors are what we can call brokers, where they have a role as brokers who are able to connect between migrants and natives in the Gading Serpong area. The broker phenomenon is actually familiar in academia, where in practice the broker acts as someone who is able to find solutions to problems. The broker mechanism itself is also formed on the transactions of both parties with a wage system where the wages are obtained either material or nonmaterial when all forms of cooperation have been well established. Thus, brokers are synonymous with loyalty towards clients for profit ([Umanailo, Asmawati, Tawakkal, & Muadi, 2020](#)). Becoming a successful professional broker requires readiness, both internally and externally. Without good preparation, becoming a professional broker does not provide optimal results. Until the services of a professional broker are always needed, as long as humans still need a place to live, the services of a professional broker will also be needed.

The real context that can be realized from broker loyalty is the ability to recognize situations that can be used as benefits that can be generated to provide broker privileges that can be recognized and utilized by anyone ([Asmawati, Tawakkal, & Muadi, 2021](#)). Brokers with professional skills will still prioritize financial rewards, where they are important. When a broker is faced with a situation that provides options for little financial reward and is considered unfavorable, the broker will move to look for other opportunities with better financial rewards ([Aspinall, 2018](#)). Thus, it can be concluded that the working mechanism of brokers in providing loyalty is faced with a situation of dominant financial rewards.

The context of brokers in this study emphasizes individuals who have an interest. Brokers come from workers in Gading Serpong, who are security guards recruited by Gading Serpong management and come from the Gading Serpong area itself or from workers outside Gading Serpong. However, in this case, what holds dominance regarding the involvement of brokers in Gading Serpong is brokers who come from residents of the Gading Serpong area, where it is influenced by brokers who come from the Gading Serpong area being able to understand

grassroots communities where they have gone through daily activities such as “cangkru`an” (a Javanese expression) mingling with each other with residents of the village. This factor makes them understand the background and concerns of the indigenous people of the Gading Serpong area. In contrast to brokers who come from other areas where they do not know and know well the people in the Gading Serpong village area. This does not mean that brokers who come from outside the area do not have a role, but they take a small role as brokers in the Gading Serpong residential area.

The head of security, who is a native of the surrounding village, indicates that there is an attempt to compromise between the residents of the new neighborhood and the native residents, facilitated by the developer. This security party was initially an external party, then hired as project security in charge of safeguarding the assets of the developer and project contractors. The characteristic of the recruited native is someone who has influence in his village. After the cluster is completed, the head of security recruits several other natives as security personnel and jobs in other supporting sectors, such as workers for house renovations, electricity, landscaping workers, animal handlers, drivers and so on. The head of security becomes a broker for service providers, who come from the native villages around the cluster; a mediator in case of conflict, which is very rare, such as the problem of smoke from burning garbage from the villages into the cluster environment or the problem of theft. Other than the head of security, there are other brokers, namely household assistants. The author also interviewed two household assistants, who are related to the head of security. Mrs Ratih Suryatmi, age 36, a cousin of the head of security of the Garnet cluster, Mr Kurnia Ramadan; and Mrs Ayu Wahyuni, wife of Mr Dodo Pratama, head of security of the Pascal cluster. Both of them work as domestic assistants and also provide information if anyone needs baby massages, babysitters and other domestic assistants.

The Curug Sangereng settlement is directly adjacent to the Newton and Pascal Summarecon clusters. [Plate 1](#) showed that one of the walls of the cluster is used by Curug Sangereng residents to burn garbage. This should create conflict between Curug Sangereng residents and cluster residents. What happens behind the Newton-Pascal cluster wall is that the trash can in front of the owner of the food stall, who is usually called “bu Haji,” has never become an open conflict. According to the interviews with the Newton-Pascal cluster security, the conflict can be muted because the security is able to mediate the potential conflict: residents burn garbage at certain hours when cluster residents are not at home. What the security forces do is a manifestation of the role of the broker. Security as a broker cannot be achieved without certain conditions. These conditions relate to certain personal qualities and demographic aspects. In [Plates 2 and 3](#), the security guards, who also come from the local community, have a special affinity with both parties in different ways. His relationship with cluster residents is a professional one, while his relationship with local residents is a family-like relationship. Without the role of a broker, the different approaches to communication,



Source(s): Authors’ observations

Plate 1.
Trash burning’s bin
outside the cluster wall

along with the previously existing social segregation, have the potential to become an open conflict between local residents and cluster residents. On the other hand, with the presence of brokers, local residents and cluster residents do not need to interact with each other and continue to carry out their respective activities without sacrificing any conformity. The broker acts as a bridge, even though both communities are in asymmetrical positions, and both communities can exist in their own realities.

The involvement of brokers in mediating between residents of housing clusters and natives of Gading Serpong makes it clear that their role as determinants that intertwine mobilization with each other is important to solving social conflicts that occur. As a result of the broker's role in mediating social conflicts, it can be seen from the openness of the natives to provide their services in order to get money as a form of reciprocity obtained from Gading Serpong housing residents. In this case, a mutually beneficial relationship is a significant factor in demonstrating the success of the broker's role. Moreover, this is facilitated by the acceptance of cluster residents, who provide space for them to be able to work in their environment. The interaction pattern of the broker's, as also shown in [Figure 1](#), is as follows:

Motivation basically leads to the work itself, which must provide sufficient variety, sufficient complexity, sufficient challenge and sufficient skills to engage workers' abilities ([Asmawati, 2021](#)). In this case, the broker's ability is required to be able to answer all the complex challenges in Gading Serpong, where it is intended to get a reward. It can be said that motivation is formed to carry out work for profit. This is played by the broker as much as possible to carry out his job as a broker in connecting the network between the residents of Gading Serpong village and the cluster residents to be able to connect with each other.

Brokers as intermediary actors certainly have an interest when they decide to take a stand in helping mediate social conflicts that occur where they will be oriented toward long-term and short-term benefits. They see from the increasingly complex phenomenon that interdependence between humans makes them think of finding a middle ground in seeking profit. Thus, they decided to contribute as mediators so that they would feel dependent on

Plate 2.
Banana's field and
wood sacks behind
Agnesi cluster

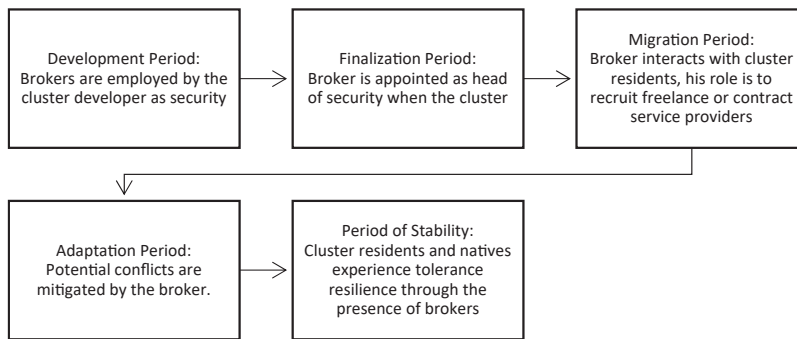


Source(s): Authors' observations

Plate 3.
Resident's security
post outside Garnet
cluster



Source(s): Authors' observations



Source(s): Authors' observations

Figure 1. Stages of broker's interaction pattern

each other. Some of the factors that are reasons why brokers choose to act as brokers include the following factors (Towar *et al.*, 2017).

a. Power

Brokers who are actually natives of Gading Serpong have an important influence on the connection between the natives and residents of the Gading Serpong cluster, where they have a relationship with each other to fulfill their needs. In addition to financial rewards, of course what brokers want to achieve is social status in the eyes of Gading Serpong natives, where they are considered to be someone who is able to influence the sustainability of the economy in Gading Serpong. They will be considered someone who is able to have a good impact on the region because they are able to contribute to the welfare of the population there, even though they only act as a bridging intermediary.

The strength that he has as a broker becomes one of the representations that in him is identical to the recognition of his influence in an environment (Asmawati, 2022). This mechanism emphasizes the presence of self-esteem allocated to those known as someone who has power and is recognized in the social order (Towar *et al.*, 2017). So that they will be strong enough to maintain the power they have so that they are always recognized (Asmawati, Tawakkal, Muadi, & Umanailo, 2020). This mechanism occurs in the brokers played by the satpam who are in the serpent's homestead, where their presence always leads to public recognition related to their role in the social order that has benefits for their surroundings.

Full autonomy as security in the Gading Serpong area does provide benefits for the security guards who work there. They are synonymous with power and discretion to give permission to the entry and exit of mass mobilization around housing. This is used by brokers so that they are able to contribute to their area. The respect given by the residents of Gading Serpong village to the security guard who acts as a broker is one of the turning points of the broker's satisfaction in being able to influence the interests of others.

The existence of brokers will indirectly be recognized by people in the Gading Serpong village area as a form of respect for being able to give them access to the Gading Serpong residential area, where without brokers they would not be able to access the area due to various factors. Thus, it can be concluded that brokers have power, which is one of their turning points, so that they can be respected and given respect by people in the village area because their role is to contribute to the economy in the Gading Serpong area.

b. Broker as landlord

One of the other factors played by brokers is profit, which is pursued in several ways. Brokers act as actors who are able to employ people in their area in order to boost the economy and

profits. Usually, this role is played by brokers who come from outside the Gading Serpong area, where they recruit residents in the village of origin to be able to sell in the Gading Serpong area, but the broker acts as the head who owns the business. Thus, the broker benefits from the sales made by the workers.

The actions taken by brokers as landlords certainly contribute well to the community in their area of origin, where they are able to get income from the work done. Of course, this has an influence on the economic improvement obtained by workers and brokers. Not only that the broker is but also considered someone who is able to contribute services, whereas without the role of the broker, there would be no local people who are able to access Gading Serpong housing to increase the economy. Thus, it can be concluded that brokers have full control over the continuity of the relationship between natives and cluster residents to carry out transactions that benefit each other.

c. Future prospects

Brokers seeing future opportunities is also one of the motivations for brokers to become intermediaries to connect between village communities and cluster residents. This is based on broker motivation that leads to future prospects where brokers see that developments in the Gading Serpong area will always grow rapidly. When brokers play their role as brokers in connecting village residents and cluster residents, the prospects that will be obtained in the future are a benefit that is not only obtained for now but also will continue in the future. This becomes additional income for brokers when they play their role in such a way as to increase the prospect of future profits.

The benefits of future prospects are also felt by brokers when they run relationships with Gading Serpong housing residents. This can be seen from the phenomenon where brokers can be utilized when cluster residents consider them competent in finding reliable workers. This is certainly a mechanism that can shape the brokers' relationships in the future, where brokers will be easily recognized and recommended by several cluster residents because of their expertise in recruiting competent workers. This will certainly trigger their increasing income.

A form of consideration that can be sold by brokers from the stigma that can make them known to benefit both now and in the future is loyalty. In this context, loyalty is considered an important component so that relationships can be well established. Mutual trust between each other can grow when the loyalty shown by brokers is not only limited to receiving material but also being ignorant when there is constructive criticism. With the full attention shown by the broker's loyalty, the situation can improve and the broker's desire to achieve his personal goals can be maximized.

Future prospects are not only felt by brokers but also brokers make a full contribution to the economic progress in Gading Serpong village, where they will easily get material to meet economic needs. This is not only felt in the present by the residents of Gading Serpong village but also have long-term prospects in the future. Thus, a relationship based on long-term prospects will produce good results for various interested parties.

The concept of profit in the future refers to a study submitted by Asmawati in which the study emphasizes the full effort made by a broker to be able to make greater profits, not just reflect on the profit nowadays. However, more than that could emphasize long-term benefits for him (Asmawati, 2021). Mechanisms like this are reinforced by motivation that can change behavior (Gillison, Rouse, Standage, Sebire, & Ryan, 2019). Practically, it can be seen how the broker, who originally acted as a shift guard, performed his role as a broker, which improved services for the environment he occupied.

It can be concluded from the future prospects established by brokers for other actors, where the actors are residents of Gading Serpong, that loyalty is one of the keys to the existence of brokers can be maximized.

d. Social reputation

The underlying motivation for brokers to help connect village residents and cluster residents is social reputation (Michael Auerbach & Thachil, 2020). Brokers, with all their loyalty, are able to help mediate on the basis of social status (de Jong, 2023). The gap between cluster residents and village residents is an important agenda item that not limited to the economic gap between residents of the Gading Serpong area. More than that, the broker has an important stage where his role can make himself a social status that is respected by the residents of the village because he has services as a liaison who can provide jobs to the village community just to make a living. When the broker is able to provide jobs to the residents of Gading Serpong village, the broker's position will automatically be high in the eyes of the Gading Serpong village residents. So important is the social status that the broker wants to achieve that, with all his loyalty, the broker is able to take the time to find jobs that can be done by the residents of the village. This was well received by the cluster residents, who also needed workers who were able to do manual labor, namely cleaning houses, gardening and so on. This opportunity can be utilized by brokers to raise their social status. The social status possessed by the broker will certainly foster a reluctant attitude from the residents of Gading Serpong village toward the broker, even though the broker is a security guard for Gading Serpong housing. However, the reluctance obtained is not easily obtained where the broker must pay full attention to the existing fraud in the Gading Serpong area. The reluctance shown by the residents of Gading Serpong village toward brokers is a form of high respect for brokers where this position is obtained for their loyalty as intermediaries.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the research above, the conclusion from this research is that there is social segregation as a consequence of the formation of a gated community. There are two separate communities that form different social realities, namely cluster residents who come from urban communities who migrate to suburban areas where the cluster settlement is located and the original residents of the village whose existence was long before the cluster settlement was built. Social segregation has the potential for conflict between the two communities, but such social conflict does not occur in Gading Serpong. The cause of the absence of conflict due to social segregation is the existence of brokers who existed long before the cluster settlement was created.

These brokers are respected parties in the original neighborhood where the cluster settlement is located, recruited by the area developer as project security to oversee the developer's assets since the construction period. When the cluster development is completed, these project security officers are recruited by the developer as the head of security and from there, local residents can enter the cluster neighborhood as neighborhood security staff and other service providers, such as private drivers, landscaping and plantation workers, document and letter processing services (domicile transfer letters, ID cards and so on), renovation services and additional installations at home, moving services, household assistants, baby sitters and so on.

The existence of brokers means the two parties that have the potential to become segregated and polarized, which has the potential to become a conflict, have never occurred since the first development of housing clusters. The two parties are cluster residents and natives of the villages around the cluster. Cluster residents who need a lot of services to tidy up their newly completed houses (the finishing stage towards being inhabited) can be fulfilled by the existence of service providers provided by brokers, who actually come from the natives of the villages around the cluster. Meanwhile, the natives are greatly helped by the existence of brokers because, through broker information, they get income as service

providers for the cluster environment. The coexistence situation built through the existence of brokers begins with building exposure through the exchange of needs so that cluster residents and natives can get to know each other and, from there, conflicts due to social segregation can be avoided.

Thus, conflict becomes maximally confined where the implications are effectively heard by the broker's role and their existence becomes a form that is promoted by various reasons, namely the power that a broker possesses so that their presence can be taken into account. Besides, in terms of the profits they earned, they were able to raise their own economy individually, along with the economies of the poor in the slum region. In terms of future prospects, it is also a mature calculation for brokers where they're trust-oriented to boost their economies in the future. Lastly, in terms of social reputation, where they are able to carry out their mandate and loyalty as job brokers. Given that this research is limited to optimizing the broker's role as one way to avoid conflict caused by social segregation without further explaining broker life faced with uncertainty, further research is needed.

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