Ups and downs in rural Javanese industry: the dynamics of work and life of small-scale garment manufacturers and their families

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Chapter Three

The Socio-Economic Transformation in Kalitengah

1. Introduction

In this chapter I would like to set the scene by describing the socio-economic profile of Kalitengah. The description will focus particularly upon how the process of economic transformation has taken place in Kalitengah village, illustrating the change it has undergone from being a mainly agricultural village to one which relies more heavily on industry. In doing so, I would like to give a general background picture of why non-farm activities, particularly the garment industry, have become the main pillar of economic activity in this village. To give more depth to this chapter I will illustrate that the garment industry not only provides employment for hundreds of people in Kalitengah, but that it is also an instrument of upward mobility for them. Since the first tenuous beginnings of the garment industry in the village, many successful entrepreneurs have emerged from the ranks of this business. Later, the emergence of the entrepreneurs also stimulated changes in various aspects of the means of livelihood which have long existed in that village, such as the standard of living, the life-style, and the level of education including indicators about who is rich and who is poor, which in the past was determined inexorably by landownership. Undeniably, the garment industry has brought about sweeping socio-economic changes in the livelihood of the people in Kalitengah.

To give a clear description of how the economic transformation has been taking place in Kalitengah, this chapter will be broken down into several sections. After this introduction, in the second section I will describe the history of Kalitengah, including a hypothesis of why entrepreneurship has flourished in this village. The third section draws a general picture of Kalitengah village on the basis of several selected characteristics of its hamlets and its inhabitants, including socio-economic development, religion, and politics. In section four I will discuss the agricultural activities in this village. The purpose of this section is to give some background about how pressure on land started to occur in the pre-colonial era, continued to mount during the colonial time and into the present. This section is also designed to demonstrate how rice farming has become a less interesting economic
activity for the people in Kalitengah over time. Section five describes the economic transformation from agriculture to non-farm activities in Kalitengah and how this shift is situated in the wider context, namely the economic transformation in Klaten district where Kalitengah is situated. Section six discusses various non-farm activities in Kalitengah, particularly the dominant sectors and the characteristics of the people who are involved in these sectors. Section seven discusses the implications of non-farm activities, particularly the garment industry, which is becoming the main pillar of the village economy nowadays, for the social stratification in the village. The garment industry has enabled the landless to enjoy upward mobility as juragan without possessing a single rice-field. This implies that the old social stratification that was previously based on landownership has become less relevant in Kalitengah. The last section is the conclusion.

2. The History of the Village of Entrepreneurs

Kalitengah literally means the river in the middle (of the village). Through Kalitengah flows a river named the Ujung. This river divides Kalitengah village into two parts (see Map 2), Lor Kali (north of the river) and Dul Kali (south of the river). Historically, the name Wedi (the popular name for Kalitengah village used by people outside this village) is related to the legend of Kyai Ageng Pandanarang. The oral history, which was documented by Soewignja (1938), recounts that Kyai Ageng Pandanarang is believed to have been one of the sons of Brawijaya, the last king of the Majapahit kingdom, who ruled between 1453-1478. After the Majapahit kingdom collapsed, Kyai Ageng Pandanarang fled to Semarang. He eventually became the head of the district (adipati or regent) of this city. One day, after having held this position for several years, he was ordered by Sunan Kalijogo (one of the nine saints or Wali Songo who are said to have brought Islam to Java) to free himself from material things and to study and propagate Islam (berdakwah) throughout Java. Sunan Kalijogo ordered him to walk in a south-easterly direction in order to find a place named Tembayat or Bayat (Bayat is a sub-district located to the east of Wedi sub-district). After making a long journey from Semarang, Kyai Ageng Pandanarang finally arrived at a place located in between Klaten and Tembayat (now known as Kalitengah village). Here, he lived in the house of an old widow named Nyai (Mrs) Tasik, a food-seller, who adopted him as her son (The place where Nyai Tasik lived is now called the Kauman hamlet, one of the twenty-five hamlets which compose Kalitengah village). During the time he lodged with Nyai Tasik, Kyai Ageng Pandanarang was entrusted with the task of cooking the rice every day. Early one morning when he wanted to cook rice, he found that the rice stock had run out. Nyai Tasik ordered him to buy rice immediately. In obedience to Nyai Tasik’s order, he went out and stood at the side of the road waiting for someone who wanted to sell rice at the market to pass by. After he had waited for a while, he saw a man carrying a sack of rice on top of his head. Kyai Ageng asked that man: “Kang sampeyan mbeto nopo niku, yen mbeto uwos mang kendel kulo tumbase (“Brother, what are you carrying on top of your
head, if you are carrying rice I would like to buy some”). However, that man did not stop, perhaps because he was afraid of being robbed. Not pausing in his journey to the market that man replied to Kyai Ageng: “Kulo mboten mbeto uwos, sing kulo sunggi niki wedi” (“I am not carrying rice, this is just sand”). Kyai Ageng said nothing when he heard this answer. Soon after, that man arrived at the market and was shocked when he opened his sack and found that his rice had turned to sand. Since that incident, the hamlet where the market (Wedi market) is now located, has been called Wedi (sand). This story has been very well known in Wedi as well as throughout Java since the mid-seventeenth century (De Graaf and Pigeaud, 1985). There are various other versions of the story of the journey of Kyai Ageng to Tembayat. Pertinently, these stories usually have the same purpose, such as recounting instance of the supernatural power possessed by Kyai Ageng. One respondent told me that Kyai Ageng could make fire with his hands when the firewood in Nyai Tasik’s kitchen had run out and he was in a hurry to cook rice.

People told me that the supernatural power with which Kyai Ageng was endowed was very important in helping him to carry out his duties, particularly in trying to convince people about his mission to introduce Islam. Little by little, people in the Kauman hamlet and surrounding areas converted to Islam after they had listened to Kyai Ageng’s lessons. Since the Kauman hamlet was the first place where Islam was introduced in this village, even today people in this hamlet are known as the most militant and devout Muslims in Kalitengah. To illustrate this, when everybody was afraid to show their direct support for any political party except Golkar during the New Order period, people in the Kauman hamlet still boldly stood behind the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, United Development Party), the Islamic political party that strongly opposed Suharto’s domination. It was also only in this hamlet that Golkar was defeated by the PPP in every general election (a further discussion on this issue can be found in the following section).

After living in the Kauman for several years, Kyai Pandanarang continued his journey to Tembayat, where he received a revelation from God. He earned the title of Sunan Bayat and became a spiritual leader for the rest of his life in 1537. Meanwhile, with the support of Kyai Ageng and his wife during their stay in Kauman hamlet, Nyai Tasik eventually became a successful trader (juragan). As the first successful juragan, Nyai Tasik is considered by people there to be the pioneer of entrepreneurship in Kalitengah or Wedi. People in the Kauman believe that several of the successful entrepreneurs there are the descendants of Nyai Tasik. Nowadays, people who want to ask for a spiritual blessing to speed them towards success as a successful businessperson like Nyai Tasik often come to visit her grave in the Kauman hamlet.
3. General Description of the Village

3.1. Geography and Socio-economic Characteristics

Kalitengah village is situated in the heart of Kecamatan Wedi (Wedi sub-district), about 5 km from the main town of the district of Klaten. It is located in the northernmost part of the sub-district, very near the main road that links Yogyakarta, Klaten, and Solo (see Map 1). In fact, Wedi is also the name of one of the twenty-five hamlets in Kalitengah village where the Wedi sub-district office is located. So, to some extent, Kalitengah is the “capital town” of Wedi sub-district where public facilities such as the market, retail shops, banks, Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Puskesmas, Community Health Centre), post office, and warung telekomunikasi (Wartel, phone shops) are located. Therefore it is not surprising that Kalitengah is also the centre of the political and economic activities of the population.

As a sub-district centre, Kalitengah village has acquired a more urban appearance than the other sixteen villages in the Wedi sub-district. The main road linking the village to Klaten and its neighbourhoods such as the sub-districts Bayat, Jogonalan, Ganti Warno, and the districts Wonogiri, Sukoharjo and Gunung Kidul is asphalted. Transport to and from the village presents no problems. Commuter services are offered by minibuses and Daihatsu that operate from morning to evening, in addition to the more traditional modes of transportation such as becak (pedicab), andong (horse-carts), and ojeg (motor-bike taxi).

Table 3.1 Means of Transportation Ownership per Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Transportation</th>
<th>Average Ownership per household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor bike</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Household Survey 2001
N=295

Although public transport is easily accessible, most people in Kalitengah prefer to use private transport. Table 3.1 shows that bicycles and motorcycles are the most popular modes of transportation, but private cars are also very common in the village. This accessibility makes it easy for people in Kalitengah to integrate their economic activities with the larger economies of nearby cities such as Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang and their environs. Suwondo (1997: 40-41) mentions that the strategic position of Klaten (and its villages including Kalitengah) between the important cities in Java has provided a wealth of economic benefit for the people in this district for centuries.
Map 2. Kalitengah Village

Source: Adapted from Map of Kalitengah Village, 1938
Kalitengah is made up of twenty-five hamlets. In 1999, this village was inhabited by 5,710 people --2,801 males and 2,909 females-- organised into 1,299 households (Kecamatan Wedi Dalam Angka 1999: 9). Therefore, on average, each household in Kalitengah consisted of 4.3 people. No different from the other villages in Java, the population density of Kalitengah is very high, reaching 4,326/km² in 1999; making it a high-density region if one uses 3,000-persons/km² as a standard measurement (Bintarto, 1977: 26). Compared to the other village, which average only 2,174/km² (Kecamatan Wedi Dalam Angka 1999: 17) this density is the highest in Wedi sub-district. Although the population density is already very high, in the last two decades Kalitengah has experienced quite a steady population growth. If in between 1960-1980 the average of population growth was 0.5 per cent per year, in between 1980-1999 the population growth fell to only 0.2 per cent per year¹ (see Figure 3.1 below).

Figure 3.1 Population of Kalitengah Village, 1960-1999

The high population growth between 1960-1980 can be attributed to two factors, namely: the decrease in the mortality rate as the impact of the improvement in health facilities and the increase in the fertility (cf. Röll, 1983: 10-11). Quite clearly, after the family planning programme became more effective in the 1980s, the population growth tended to decline. Besides this, out-migration has perhaps also played an important role in the decline of the population growth in this village.

¹ The population growth is calculated by using the exponential formula \( P_t = P_0 \cdot (1+r)^t \) (Mantra, 1985).
This high-density village is located 113 m above sea level in an area covering 132.5 hectares. The area has a monotonously flat lowland relief with 53.6 ha for dwellings, 70.9 ha under rice cultivation, and 3.65 ha for industry and trade. The remainder is used for public infrastructure such as village offices, roads, cemeteries, mosques, churches, sports halls and the like. The village lies a fertile region for agriculture. Besides its fertile soil that allows for agricultural development and diversification such as the growing of sweet potatoes, watermelons, tobacco and other such crops, the area is also supported by a well-organized irrigation infrastructure. Of the 70.9 ha occupied by rice cultivation, 42.3 per cent of it (30 ha) has technological irrigation, 25 ha are under semi-mechanized irrigation and the remainder is served by simple irrigation technology.

Despite what has just been said it would not be fitting to label the village and its inhabitants agricultural and traditional, and to assume that there are inadequate public service facilities, perhaps below the par of what might have been expected in Kalitengah. Incontrovertibly its location means that it possesses some urban characteristics, including its economic activities, the livelihood of its inhabitants, social interaction, public service facilities, population mobility, level of education and so on. Perhaps it would be better to label it a rural town (World Bank, 1978: 15) since its characteristics are neither perfectly rural nor perfectly urban.

The concept rural town here does not necessarily reflect a place where the inhabitants are tied to the agricultural sector for their economic productivity. In fact, industrial activities have already been begun here, including agricultural processing as well as other small-scale cottage industries. Notwithstanding these reservations, this description has to be adopted cautiously because the economic character and the location of the village are heterogeneous. The depth of the adoption of urban culture (especially by those living along the road) diminishes in the areas to the south and west because of the location of the rice-fields. In the southern region aspects of traditional village life are more conspicuous in the form of the various agriculture-related economic activities undertaken by the inhabitants. The survey also indicated that a high proportion of those owning rice-fields is found in the southern hamlets such as Kalitengah and Slegregan. Out of the 102 families owning rice-fields, 39.8 per cent are in fact resident in these two hamlets, while the remainder are spread throughout the other twenty-three hamlets.

On the basis of its geographic, social and economic characteristics, Kalitengah village can be divided into three broad regions, namely north, central, and south.

The northern region\(^2\) which borders Pakahan village (part of Jogonolan sub-district) up to the main road linking Kalitengah and Ngering village (part of Jogonalan sub-district) and contains hamlets such as Dalangan, Klumutan, Trimasan, Kenteng, Tanggul, Bendan, Kauman, and Garuman is a region pervaded by an urban atmosphere. Physically, it appears

\(^2\) For the people outside Kalitengah, this northern region of Kalitengah is usually associated with Wedi, a region where wealthy people live.
more developed than the other two regions. The inhabitants are permanently settled in good quality building structures. Some of those houses owned by the garment dealers have a distinctive appearance because of their large size, spacious courtyards, and modern architectural design. All the families have access to electricity and telephones. The environment appears clean because all the pathways are cemented. Other items of public infrastructure such as the mosques, social halls, and security posts are well maintained.

Kalitengah north is famous for its rich inhabitants. The majority of the garment dealers lives there, especially in the hamlets of Dalangan, Klumutan, Kenteng, and Trimasan. Given the presence of a large number of garment dealers, the majority of inhabitants here have automatically turned to sewing and cloth selling. If the season is busy, or during a good month (especially the new school year or towards the Idul Fitri holiday), the noise of sewing machines blankets the region making it difficult to sleep.

The central region covers the area to the south of the road up to the rice-fields and includes the hamlets of Wedi, (n)Jeron Bata, Mlayan, Kebonduren, Murukan, Buntalan, Karang, Gambiran, Ngirosaran, Ngrau, Beji, Singogalan, Dawung, Pundung and Gatak. This region is heterogeneous in character. Its eastern side shows signs of being a “slum area” since it borders Wedi market. Its pathways are damp and stinking. The houses are small in size and narrow. The majority of its inhabitants work in the market. There are also immigrants who work as porters in the market, drinks sellers, or laundry workers. Capjiki (a gambling game which is said to predict the future whose origin is associated with Chinese card games) is widely played in this region. The security post found at one corner of Wedi market is a famous meeting place for gamblers anxious to be informed by the picture cards of what they will purchase later with their winnings. With such a heterogeneous population this area is relatively prone to incidences of theft. Stolen bicycles and motorcycles are commonly reported. Conditions in the village improves as one moves westwards. The majority of the houses are permanent with sizeable cemented pathways. Again, some of the garment dealers’ houses stand out from the others in terms of size, structure and/or facilities. Most conspicuous are those houses of the owner of Rapi Garments. On the whole, the central part of the western area constitutes a transition zone from the garment industry in the north as one heads towards Kalitengah’s southern region. In the west-central region the occupations of the inhabitants are very mixed varying from garment dealers, sewing workers, farmers, rice-field owners, and/or office workers.

The southern Kalitengah region, covering Kalitengah and Slegrengan hamlets, is an area of agricultural hamlets. In contrast to the central and northern regions, this part is relatively underdeveloped. Although permanent, the houses still have a simple appearance. The road linking Kalitengah and Slegrengan hamlets is still unmad, often making it impassable during the rainy season. The condition of the road southwards from Slegrengan leading to the asphalt road from Pesu village to Gantiwano sub-district is still very poor. The majority of the inhabitants of these two hamlets depend on agriculture either as casual labourers or as farmers themselves.
3.2. Religion and Politics

3.2.1. Religion

Kalitengah is a Muslim village. This is not simply because the number of the Muslim population of this village stands at 86 per cent of the total population (Kalitengah Dalam Angka 1999), but also because the eagerness of the Muslim community in the village to observe the *rukun* Islam (five pillars of Islam) in their daily lives. The majority of the Muslims in this village pray five times a day, fast during Ramadan and pay the tax (*zakat*) one day before celebrating *Lebaran* (the end of Ramadan celebration). As part of their obedience to observing the *rukun* Islam, many *juragan* in Kalitengah also make the pilgrimage to Mecca (see more detail in the discussion on this issue in Chapter Five section 3.1).

The historical background of Kalitengah, particularly Kauman hamlet as the place from which Islam started to be propagated throughout this region) to some extent can help us to explain the eagerness of the Muslim community in Kalitengah to observe Islamic doctrine in their daily lives. In the past, it was only the people of Kauman hamlet who had the reputation of being devout Muslims. Recently, a strong motivation to become a good Muslim and observe the *rukun* Islam is no longer confined to the Kauman Muslims but has also spread among other Muslims all over the village. The upsurge in the motivation of the Muslims in this village to study Islam and to strengthen their religious ties is made very obvious by a number of factors, such as the building of new mosques (and *langgar* or small mosques), the growth in the number of *pengajian* associations (recitation of the Qur’an and religious gatherings to study Islam), and the mushrooming of *Yassinan* associations (religious gatherings to recite what are known as the *Yassin* verses) in Kalitengah, to which I shall return in a moment.

The building of new mosques in virtually every hamlet in Kalitengah can indubitably be attributed to the generosity of the *juragan* in this village, who donate their money to erect these mosques. This is bolstered by the strong support from central and the local government for the building of mosques through various *yayasan* (foundations) such as the Yayasan Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila chaired at one time by Suharto.

A *pengajian* association has now been established in almost every *Rukun Tetangga* (RT, the Neighbourhood) by the *bapak-bapak* (married men), the *ibu-ibu* (married women), and the *remaja* (teenagers). These *pengajian* associations promote various activities, of

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3 Officially there are four religions in Kalitengah. Those are Islam (86 %), Roman Catholic (9.4 %), Protestant (2.5 %), and Hinduism (1.8 %) (Statistics of Kalitengah village 1999).

4 Because the majority of the Muslim population in this village (particularly in the north) is considered to have a sufficiently high standard of living, the *zakat* (the rice) --which is collected a day before the *Lebaran* celebrations from the Muslim community in Kalitengah -- is distributed to the Muslim community in other villages outside Kalitengah. When I was in the village, the *zakat* was sent to one village in the poorer Gunung Kidul District.
which the most important is to invite an *ustadz* (Islamic preacher or teacher) to deliver a sermon every month about how to become a good Muslim. The bigger *pengajian* are usually held under the aegis of the *pengajian* association at the village or sub-distRICT level and it is to these a famous *ustadz* is invited. The *pengajian* associations at sub-DISTRICT level even routinely hold *pengajian* every Sunday morning in the sub-DISTRICT mosque in the main settlement of Wedi.

The function of the *Yassinan* association is not very different from that of the *pengajian* association. Its main purpose of is to teach the people to read and understand the Qur'an. The *Yassinan* is conducted by reciting the *Surah Yasssin* (Yassin verses) in unison. This activity is usually held once a week (most often on Thursday evening or *Malem Jumat*) in the mosque or at the house of one of the members of the group. The *Yassinan* is usually also followed by a short sermon or a discussion about the content of the Qur'an.

The *pengajian* and *Yassinan* associations are not in fact purely religious organisations running religious activities, they also perform a social function. During *pengajian* and *Yassinan* the members of these groups are usually asked to donate some money voluntarily (*infaq*) to these organisations. The money collected is used for social purposes like helping the members of the *pengajian* or *Yassinan* who happen to be ill or need some pecuniary help of a particular purpose. Inexorably, as a consequence of the emergence of new mosques and the mushrooming of groups of *Pengajian* and *Yassinan*, nowadays, people in Kalitenga are becoming more religious (at least at the formal level), piously observing the five principles of Islam and taking part in voluntary religious services (*ibadah sunat*) such as: praying five times a day; attending Friday prayers; fasting during Ramadan; paying Islamic alms tax or *zakat*; performing *qurban* (slaughtering a goat or cattle and distributing the meat to the poor), making the pilgrimage to Mecca; the wearing Muslim dress for Muslim women and the like.

Taking stock of their school of thought or *aliran*, the Muslims in Kalitenga can be classified into three different groups, namely: Muhammadiyah (Reformist Muslim organisation); Nahdatul Ulama (NU, traditional Muslim organisation); and a more militant Muslim group sponsored by *Lembaga Dahwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (LDII, Indonesian

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5 People in fact are not particularly happy with the establishment of the sub-DISTRICT mosque—which was funded by the Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila Foundation (one among hundreds foundations chaired by Suharto)—because this mosque is associated with Golkar. People prefer to attend Sunday morning *pengajian* which are held in the PPN X (tobacco plantation) front courtyard.

6 The amount is 2.5 Kg of rice or some money equal to the price of the amount of the rice per person in every family/household. This tax should be paid a day before the *Lebaran* celebrations in order for it to be distributed to the poor people.

7 On the basis of the research survey conducted by the Institut Agama Islam Negeri (Islamic State Institute) Syarif Hidayatullah in sixteen provinces in Indonesia, it was found there is a tendency among a growing number of Muslims in Indonesia to endeavour to become a good Muslim by practising the *rukun* or *syariat* Islam in their daily lives. This research also confirms that the number of the *abangan* Muslim who still offer sesajen and visit the grave of a person reputed to possess supernatural powers has decreased very substantially (Tempo No. 43/XXX/26 December 2001-1 January 2002).
Islamic Propagation Institution) (cf. Abdullah, 1994: 80; Nakamura, 1976). The majority of Muslims in Kalitengah are Muhammadiyah supporters. In contrast to the NU, which is quite tolerant in adopting the local traditions and aspects of culture in their religious practices, for instance paying visits to the graves of the religious leaders, holding kenduri and the like, the Muhammadiyah encourages its followers to adhere to a form of Islam based purely on the Qur'an and the Hadits. Apart from these two well-established schools of thought, recently, the number of LDII members has also grown quite significantly, after this organisation had succeeded in gaining the support of several big juragan who have provided enough funds to support such activities as building its own mosque, holding weekly pengajian, establishing a sembako (basic necessities) cooperative, and providing jobs for its members. Among these three aliran, LDII is the most exclusive and its members are prohibited to attend other religious activities held under the auspices of the Muhammadiyah or the NU.

The eagerness to put Islam according to the Qur'an and Hadits into practice in their daily lives prevailing among the Muslims in Kalitengah inevitably to some extent affects the cultural practices of the village. It is obvious that although life-cycle ceremonies are still conducted in the village, the way people hold kenduri and various selamatan differs enormously from how this was done in the past. Kenduri—which are influenced by Hinduism are held to commemorate the third, seventh, fortieth, hundredth, and thousandth day after the death of a person-- are now gradually being replaced by the Yassinan. Nowadays, when a person dies in the village, the bereaved family will hold a Yassinan for seven consecutive days (mostly) without a kenduri. The other commemorations are still held, but usually also by holding a Yassinan. The selapanan, the ceremony which is held to mark the thirty-fifth day after the birth of new-born baby, is slowly but surely being replaced by kekahan which has been adopted from Islamic tradition. This consists of slaughtering one or two goats (one if the baby is a girl two if the baby is a boy). The gulai (the savoury stew made from the goat meat) and the other side dishes such as rice, vegetables and other condiments are placed in a box (ker dus)—which is distributed to close neighbours and relatives without holding a kenduri first (cogently, this practice has become more common among the juragan or the wealthy inhabitants). Wedding ceremonies in Kalitengah now also tend to be held in a more "modern" way. In the past, people holding a wedding ceremony were obliged to follow a number of rituals. Nowadays, people in Kalitengah pay more attention to how the party afterwards should be held, inviting the orkes keroncong or campur sari (the Javanese music orchestra), rather than preoccupying themselves thinking about the rituals.

3.2.2. Politics

Generally speaking, the people of Kalitengah are not interested in politics and political activities. The apathy displayed by Kalitengah inhabitants towards political activities to some extent is ineluctably attributable to two important events. The first was their traumatic
experience of the social and political disorder before and after the failed attempt of Indonesian Communist Party coup d'état, best known as the G-30-S PKI affair, in 1965. The second is the still enduring impact of the depoliticising of the people at the village level (grass-roots level) through the introduction of “floating mass” policy (kebijakan masa mengambang) by the Indonesian New Order Government in the 1971 elections (Suryadinata, 2002: 27-31; Suwondo, 1997: 38).

Prior to the G-30-S PKI affair, in accordance with the policy of liberal democracy adopted by the Old Order government, the villagers in Klaten District were overwhelmingly divided among several political affiliations. The political constellation of Klaten District assumed a more sharply delineated form after the first Indonesian general election held in 1955. In this district --which had enjoyed a widespread reputation as part of the PKI “triangle stronghold” in Central Java in which it joined Boyolali and Solo (cf. Ransom, 1975)—the PKI won with 51 per cent of the total votes. At that time, the Islamic party (Masyumi) and the Nationalist Party (PNI) gained only 12 per cent and 25 per cent votes each (PPSK, 1982: 101). The success of the PKI in winning the support of the people of Klaten District in the 1955 general elections was indubitably caused by the ability of the PKI to exploit two important issues simultaneously: the land reform (the implementation of Law No. 5/1960) and, concomitantly, the chronic problem of the landless in Klaten District (cf. PPSK, 1982; Padmo, 2000).

The strongest support for the PKI in Klaten District at that time came largely from the sub-districts which were located in the northern and eastern parts of the district, close to Boyolali and Solo. Conversely, in the sub-districts which were located in the centre and in southern parts of the district --where the influence of the PNI and the Masyumi was still quite strong (cf. Suwondo, 1997: 34)-- the PKI gained less support. In Wedi sub-district -- which was located in the southern part of Klaten District-- the PNI and the Masyumi could provide some serious competition for the PKI, the PNI and the Masyumi gaining 34 per cent votes and 11 per cent respectively (PPSK UGM, 1982: 101). Even so, this result indicates that the PKI was still quite dominant in Wedi, including in Kalitengah village, with 39 per cent votes (PPSK UGM, 1982: 101).

The people of Kalitengah also admit that their village, particularly the northern region (lor kali), was a stronghold of supporters of the PKI. One of the religious leaders in Kaliengah told me that the confrontation between the PKI and other political parties, particularly the PNI and the Masyumi, had been escalating prior to the G-30-S PKI affair. He told me that at that time the PKI supporters had marked the houses of the PNI and Masyumi supporters with red paint several days before the affair erupted. At this tense period, as one category of tujuh setan desa (seven village devils), the juragan in

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8 At the national level PKI with 16.4 per cent of the votes came fourth after PNI (22.3%), Masyumi (20.9%), and NU (18.4%) (Suryadinata, 2002: 22).
9 Organised by the Klaten branch of the PKI, several months prior to September 1965, the PKI held a meeting in Klaten. This meeting was attended by representatives of twenty-three other branches. One of the resolutions carried during the meeting was to urge all classes within society in Klaten to eliminate what the
Kalitenga also became one of the targets of the PKI attack. Mbah Parjan (78), an ex-sewing worker, told me that when the PKI supporters sang the "Genjer-genjer" song (the most popular contemporary PKI song), they often twisted the lyrics to launch a verbal attack on the juragan by saying "genjer-genjer juragane pating keleler" (genjer-genjer the juragan are sprawled over all in disarray). In response to the PKI provocations, the Masyumi and PNI supporters of Kalitenga joined the Barisan Serba Guna (All Purpose Brigade) and Pasukan Banteng Serba Guna (All Purpose Wild Bulls Unit) which were formed by young Islamic and nationalist party supporters in Klaten District (PPSK UGM, 1982: 66). Eventually, when the G-30-S PKI affair finally erupted, the massive killing passed Kalitenga by the most dramatic incident in the village, which is still vividly remembered by the people today, was the assassination of Sutris (a Kalitenga policeman who people said was a member of the PKI). Pak Kantar, one of the PNI supporters who joined the Pasukan Banteng Serba Guna, told me that only because of the kind-heartedness of the people of Kalitenga—who were willing to protect their relatives and neighbours by not telling the Indonesian army that among them were in fact PKI members/supporters—that the number of PKI supporters in Kalitenga who were detained or executed by the Indonesian army was relatively small. In conversations with me, various ex-PKI prisoners argued that in fact they knew nothing about the PKI but, nevertheless, they had to spend several years behind bars simply because they attended cultural activities organised by LEKRA (Lembaga Kesenian Rakyat or People’s Cultural Association affiliated with the PKI). They also told me that during the PKI affair several people made use that opportunity to further their own interests by slandering their enemies (for example neighbours) by claiming that they were PKI supporters/members.

Pertinently, although the PKI affair had happened around thirty-five years ago when I carried out my research, people in Kalitenga still had difficulty in speaking openly about this tragedy. My efforts to revive this issue in various forms of informal discussion, when I took part in the night-watch (ronda), during the jagongan (chit-chat at a life-cycle ceremony) and on several other occasions, it quite often generated tension between the Islamic supporters and the ex-PKI prisoners who were daring to speak quite openly after the fall of New Order Government. After the “discussion”, the Islamic supporters who were reluctant to argue openly with the PKI supporters in public would usually approach me and rebut what the PKI supporters had said, saying that they did not believe that these PKI supporters were as ignorant about the PKI as they claimed. One Islamic supporter put his

PKI called as “Tujuh Setan Desa” (“Seven Village Devils”). These devils were: (1) tuan tanah (landlords); (2) golongan penghisap (usurers); (3) penebas (rice harvest traders); (4) tengkulak (middlemen); (5) bandit desa (rural bandits); (6) pedagang jahat (rogue traders); (7) kapitalis-birokrat (bureaucratic capitalists) (PPSK UGM, 1982: 63). See also Padmo (2000: 115).

10 Based on the village statistics, the number of ex-PKI prisoners in Kalitenga consists of fifty persons, of whom three are classified in the ex-prisoner category B (who were involved indirectly in the G-30-S PKI affair) and forty-seven persons are classified as ex-prisoner category C (sympathisers of the PKI) (Statistics of Kalitenga Village, 2000: 7).
case to me as follows: "[...] wong PKI yo mbelo PKI. Ngomonge ora ngerti...ning janne nggih ngertos. Wong melu organisasi koq ora ngerti ki yo ora nalar". ([...]) The PKI supporters will always defend the PKI. [They] say they know nothing [about the PKI]...but in fact they do. How come [one] can support an organisation, but [he] doesn't know [about it]? [It] doesn't make sense"). Several Islamic supporters were also invariably critical if they found out that the ex-PKI prisoners had behaved what they considered to be improperly in public, by speaking provocatively to other persons, saying: "Wong PKI niku nggih ngoten niku Mas" ("the PKI people are always behave like that, brother").

Still troubled by their traumatic experiences during the PKI affair, the majority of the people in Kalitengah are not interested in politics. In fact they often try to discourage this. The lor kali people (the people of the northern part of Kalitengah) have an agreement that nobody in their neighbourhood is allowed to hoist political flags and display other political attributes during the general election campaign, in the interest of maintaining neighbourhood harmony. This fairly entrenched political apathy deepened greatly after the Indonesian New Order Government introduced the "floating mass" policy in 1971. Under this policy, Indonesian political parties were only allowed to maintain branches at the district level. Consequently, political parties were prohibited to conduct any political activities at the village level.

After the "floating mass" policy was implemented, the political activity of the people of Kalitengah had practically been confined to one occasion every five years; they cast their vote in the general election. As in all other villages all over the country, during the New Order era every villager in Kalitengah was also asked to support Golkar. Despite the pressure, the efforts of the government to fabricate a Golkar victory in this village in the 1971 and 1977 general elections were fruitless. In those first two general elections under the New Order government, the PNI --which became the PDI after the reduction in the number of political parties to three, namely: the Islamic political party (PPP), the nationalist party (PDI), and Golkar as regulated by Law No. 3/1975—consistently defeated Golkar and PPP. The victory of the PNI and the PDI in Kalitengah in the 1971 and 1977 general elections was not really all that surprising because, as already mentioned before, this village had been a strong supporter of the PNI in the past.

The efforts of government to have Golkar win in Kalitengah were finally realised after an army official (Captain Munawar of Kauman hamlet), who had the support of the local government, won the village head election in 1977, when he replaced Pak Sastro Suparno. Under the leadership of Pak Munawar, Golkar invariably won in the general elections in Kalitengah village, in 1982 and 1987. The next change in the village leadership in 1989, when Pak Munawar (military) was replaced by Pak Siswanto (a civilian of Dalangan hamlet) did not in fact affect the political constellation in Kalitengah. Under Pak

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11 The exact figures of the results of the 1971 general elections in Kalitengah are not available either in the archives of the Kalitengah village, of Wedi sub-district, or of Klaten District. The village secretary --who is also the son of the former village head of Kalitengah who was in charge during the Old Order period, the late Pak Sastro Suparno)-- could only give me the information that the PNI won the general elections in 1971.
The Socio-economic Transformation

Siswanto's leadership, Golkar still won in the 1992 and 1997 general elections. The exception perhaps was the Kauman. As I already mentioned in the previous section, in this hamlet --which is famous for its Islamic militancy-- Golkar always had to cede to the PPP in every general election. The fact that many Muhammadiyah leaders come from the Kauman means the people in this hamlet are different from the other people of Kalitengah village in general. People of the Kauman are very keen to be actively involved in politics, including proving their courage by showing their resistance to the government pressure to vote for Golkar every time there were general elections.

Table 3.2. Results of General Elections in Kalitengah, 1971-1997 (In Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of General Election</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>Golkar</th>
<th>PDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987&lt;sup&gt;13&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The political constellation in Kalitengah eventually changed after the reformation era swept over Indonesia. Under the multi-party system --after new political law, Law No 2/1999, was promulgated to replace Law No 3/1975-- forty-eight political parties were permitted take part in the 1999 general election. In this last general election, for the first time since its consecutive victories in the last four general elections, Golkar, which gained only 6.5 per cent votes, was defeated by the PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) and the PAN (National Mandate Party),<sup>15</sup> which gained 53 per cent and 27 per cent votes each<sup>16</sup> (Statistics of Kalitengah village, 2000). The defeat of Golkar in Kalitengah in the 1999 general election had in fact been predicted ever since the very beginning, namely after the village head --as the prime vote gather for Golkar-- lost his political influence with the fall of New Order government. Not only was he powerless to influence the general public in his efforts to win support for Golkar, he even lost his capacity to persuade his official helpers (the perangkat desa or the village apparatus) to

<sup>12</sup> 1 % votes were not valid
<sup>13</sup> 1 % votes were not valid.
<sup>14</sup> 2.5 % votes were not valid.
<sup>15</sup> In 1999 election, the supporters of the PPP of Kalitengah, particularly from the Kauman hamlet, shifted their allegiance to the PAN which was perceived by the people in Kalitengah to be the Islamic party affiliated to Muhammadiyah. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the majority of the Muslims in Kalitengah are Muhammadiyah followers.
<sup>16</sup> The other party, which gained quite a significant number of votes, is the PKB (National Awakening Party, the political party which is affiliated with the NU) with 4.7 per cent of the votes. The rest (including PPP) gained less than 1 per cent of the votes.
maintain their loyalty to Golkar. At that time I could see that only the village head himself was still loyal to Golkar, while all his helpers openly expressed their support of PAN. Since the reformation movement had shown it could restore freedom of political expression in Indonesia, the village head could do nothing to curb the defiance of his helpers, but had to accept the reality that the oppressions, intimidations, and other illegal means employed to win Golkar support in the past had already become history. Despite the change, although the reformation era has engendered new political life in the village, the people in Kalitengah are not as strongly divided as they were in the 1960s when politics was part and parcel of everyday life. There are several explanations which may be suggested to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon. First, the adoption of the multi-party system -- similar to the one that had been used in 1955-- will not in fact automatically restore Kalitengah people’s interest in becoming active in politics. After almost thirty years having been disengaged from politics under the “floating mass” policy and given wider opportunities to enjoy the fruits of development, the people in Kalitengah nowadays prefer to turn their attention to economic activities rather than to be involved in politics. The political scandals which can be followed on television by the villagers (with the advent of the era of the freedom of press) have made people in Kalitengah even more fed up with politics. Second, the majority of political parties in Indonesia do not play their role, to articulate and to defend the interests of their constituents as the political parties in the 1960s did, properly. Nowadays, it is only when these political parties need the votes of their constituents that they start to lend them an ear. Sad to say, after these parties have won the votes and eventually got the seats in the parliament (DPR and DPRD), they simple abandon their constituents again. Reason enough there are virtually no political activities at the village level after the general elections are over. Only when general elections are scheduled to take place will the political activities (to win the people’s votes) be revived again.

4. Agricultural Activities

4.1. Land Ownership

Agricultural activities and the availability of the farmland are indissolubly linked. Historically, people in Kalitengah did not have any authority to possess land. In the era of the Javanese kingdoms, land was controlled by the king. Farmers, therefore, were only cultivators of the land or ngadah lagungan dalem. Padmo (1994: 90) has described the system used to regulate the landownership in the Surakarta Kingdom --where Kalitengah is situated-- as an apanage system. This system was introduced after the division of the Mataram kingdom into Surakarta and Yogyakarta in 1757. Under the apanage system the Sunan (the king of the Surakarta kingdom) was regarded as the ultimate owner of all land in Surakarta. Conscient that it was the main source of livelihood, the Sunan then allotted land to the royal family members and royal officials for levies. Because of a putative resemblance to the feudal system in Europe, these lands have been labelled apanage lands.
by Western scholars. In Javanese the holder was called a patuh (see also Röll, 1983: 49-53).

In accordance with the regulation decreed by Sultan, the patuh was supposed to act as the Sultan’s representative and to exercise control over all the economic and social activities carried out on the land allotted to him. However, since most of the patuh lived in the capital city, in reality those tasks were then transferred to the bekel (village headman). The main task of the bekel was to recruit farm labourers (kuli) to cultivate the apanje held land. Those kuli who were given permission to cultivate land, subsequently had a duty to pay taxes to the apanje holder via the bekel (Padmo, 1994: 45-46).

The apanje system persisted until a land reorganisation --best known as the Complex-Reformen according to Röll (1983: 54)-- was implemented in 1917. This reorganisation removed the patuh’s right to exercise control over his allotted land and consequently also vitiated the bekel’s authority as well. As compensation, the patuh was paid a monthly salary and the bekel was given pension land for life or salary land (lungguh). The former apanje land was given to the kuli. Consequently, under this system of land reorganisation, the rights of the peasants to the land they cultivated strengthened enormously and most importantly the land now could be inherited (Padmo, 1994: 107-111).

Under this system, every kuli kenceng17 in Kalitengah received one stat or around 0.5 ha of rice-fields in glebakan A (area A) and another in glebakan B (area B).18

Nowadays, the farmland Kalitengah covers 70.9 ha. The great bulk of this farmland is located in the southern region of this village; stretching between Karang and Slegrengan hamlets. On the basis of on its access to irrigation, the farmland in this village can be classified into three categories: well irrigated; semi-irrigated; and simply irrigated. Accepting these categories, 30 ha of the total farmland falls into the first category, 25 ha is classified in second category, and 15.9 belongs to the third classification (Kalitengah Dalam Angka, 1999).

Inexorably, the number of kuli kenceng households possessing 0.5 ha or more of land has been decreasing over time. This is because the population and also the households of

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17 According to Soepomo (1927), quoted in Padmo (1994: 99), “the kuli kenceng were those who first settled the land, and who had a right to cultivate it and the land on which dwellings were built (pekaranagan). The other settlers, who came later and were not able to acquire either agricultural land or land to erect dwellings, were called kuli pengindung or indung templek”. Other names for kuli kenceng are cacah, bumi, and gogol. For more discussion on this issue see, e.g., Breman (1980; 1983), Wolters (1994), and Röll (1983).

18 The rice-fields in Kalitengah village are divided into two areas, A and B blocks. These two blocks are separated by the street connecting Beji hamlet in the northern part of the village and Slegrengan hamlet in the southern part of the village. A block comprises the rice-fields to the east of the street, while on the opposite side is B block. Historically, this division of the rice-field was affected by the presence of the plantation estates in this region, among them tobacco, sugar cane, indigo. According to Breman (1983: 49) the glebakan system was the circulatory usage of village land by sugar estates (in principle one-third of all rice-fields). This system is aimed to reconcile the need for land on which plantations can grow commercial crops on one hand and for the farmers to pursue their rice farming on the other. On the basis of this idea, therefore, the rice-fields were divided into A and B blocks or F, G, and H blocks where the estates were only allowed to rent one block in every planting year. This regulation has been in effect since the Dutch colonial time and continues up to the present (see also Röll, 1983).
Kalitenga are increasing, which renders the land pressure more acute from one generation to another (see Figure 3.1). The ownership of rice-fields per household in Kalitenga is, on average, 0.05 ha. This ratio is lower compared to the ratio of rice-fields per household in both Wedi sub-district and Klaten District in general. Table 3.3 shows that the percentage of households which still possess rice-fields of approximately 0.5 ha and above is only 0.5 per cent, while the majority of the households (89.5 per cent) fall into the category of landless peasants. Besides population pressure, the splitting up of the land when it is inherited and rice-land trading has also contributed to the decreasing rice-field ownership of *kuli kenceng* households in Kalitenga.

### Table 3.3 Distribution of Landownership in Kalitenga Village, 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Landownership</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Total area owned (in hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large landowners (owning more than 2.5 ha. of rice-field)</td>
<td>1 (0.1)</td>
<td>3 ha (10.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich and middle peasants (owning 0.5-2.5 ha. rice-field)</td>
<td>4 (0.4)</td>
<td>3.7 ha (10.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small peasants (owning 0.25-0.5 ha. of rice field)</td>
<td>75 (7.7)</td>
<td>21.1 ha (74.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal peasants (owning less than 0.25 ha. rice-field)</td>
<td>19 (1.9)</td>
<td>1.1 ha (3.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>871 (89.5)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>973 (100)</td>
<td>28.9 ha (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Household Survey 1999

The description above indicates that the land scarcity in Kalitenga is acute. It has to be said that this finding is not surprising since it reflects the general picture of land ownership in the Klaten District. Padmo (2000: 44) found that 71 per cent of the peasants in five villages in Klaten District where he carried out his research were landless. Confirming this trend, Suwondo (1997: 80) mentions that 65 per cent of the households in his research village, also in Klaten District, were landless. As the impact of the increase in land pressure in Klaten District, Röll (1983: 38) mentions that the ratio land/population in Klaten had decreased quite sharply from 0.13 ha in 1920 to 0.06 ha in 1971.

The inevitable impact of the land pressure in Kalitenga village is that agricultural activities lose their importance as a source of employment for the population. Little by little the agricultural labourers --who are pushed out of agricultural activities-- have to find other sources of employment in the non-agricultural sector. A more detailed discussion of this issue will be given in another section of this chapter.

19 For comparison, the ownership of rice-fields per household in Wedi sub-district is 0.14, the same as the ownership of rice-fields per household in Klaten District.

20 The landownership classification here is based on Hüsken’s (1984: 9) classification.
4.2. Rice Farming

Rice farming is one of the most important agricultural activities in Kalitengah. In this context it is important to remember that for centuries Klaten District has been the biggest rice supplier for the population of Java. Schweizer (1988: 1) mentions that in former times the Klaten area was the main rice producer for the Surakarta and Yogyakarta courts. The fertile soil of the Klaten rice-fields and the presence of a good irrigation system throughout the villages in this region proved to be an efficacious combination which provided Klaten with the opportunity to gain its reputation as the biggest rice supplier in Java.

People in Kalitengah told me that in the past, before the people there became familiar with High Yielding Varieties (HYVs) of rice in the 1970s, rice was normally grown twice a year in the well-irrigated rice-fields. In contrast, in the rain-fed rice-fields (sawah tadah hujan), rice was grown only once a year alternating with polowijos21 grown during the dry season. Usually the preparation of the land, the repairing of ditches, the preparing of the seed beds, ploughing, harrowing, preparing seedlings for transplanting, and then planting the rice were done in September-October (musim redeng or the wet season). The rice was harvested around February-March, and after that the second planting was done in March or April of the following year (musim gadu or dry season).22 Agricultural mechanisation and modern farming technology were non-existent at that time since the farmers were still using traditional technology and time honoured farming systems, traditional fertilisers (kompos), hoeing (pacul), and cattle-drawn ploughs and harrows to cultivate their lands. Although tending to rather romanticise the story, several farmers told me that they used to use unpaid family workers to cultivate their land, I believe that paid agriculture workers were already common at that time (cf. Röll, 1983: 28). Perhaps it was true that people sometimes also asked their neighbours or relatives to help them to cultivate the land, but usually only during the dry season when they grew a secondary crop like peanuts. These people were taken on under a gotong-royong (mutual help) agreement. Women played an important role in planting the rice seeds and in harvesting. Those women who helped to do rice planting would be given the right to participate in harvesting the rice23 or ani-ani,24 from which they received bawon25 as their wages. Locher-Scholten (2000:56-57) observes the gender division in the rice cultivation, which was also the norm in Kalitengah, was a general phenomenon in the rice-farming system found in Java before the Green Revolution was introduced. She mentions that farming activities are not only economic activities as such, but are also the expression of adat practices. To clarify her point, she goes on to explain,

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21 Secondary crops such as soy beans, groundnuts, cassava, melons and the like.
22 For comparison see, e.g. Padmo (1994), Koentjaraningrat (1985), and Röll (1983).
23 This system is called ngepak ngedokan.
24 24 Literally means finger knife: that is the instrument used to harvest the rice. Since people use this device to harvest the rice, the activity is also called ani-ani.
25 Bawon is a harvest share, i.e. the wage paid to the harvesters for their participation in the harvesting activity.
women were given a bigger role in rice planting and harvesting because—according to Javanese religious tradition—the worship of the rice goddess—called Dewi Sri—demanded female hands and labour-intensive harvesting. Consequently, since male hands were considered as too "hot" (panas) — this was believed to put rice goddess in an unfavourable mood, female hands were needed to nurture the rice. Included in this adat practice were mblowoki (a traditional ceremony to mark the commencement of rice planting) and wiwit (a traditional ceremony to start the rice harvest). Indeed—as Locher-Scholten (2000:57) concludes—the Javanese people believe only if these customs were faithfully observed could a good harvest and a permanently high quality of rice be guaranteed. It has to be said that the farming system and the rituals of Kalitengah farmers do not diverge greatly from the farming activities of Javanese farmers in general as these are described by White (1976: 158), Koentjaraningrat (1989: 165), and Hüsken (2001:80-81).

The rice-farming activities described above changed when the Green Revolution was introduced by the Indonesian government in the 1970s. The first programme launched by the government was BIMAS (Mass Guidance for Food Self-Sufficiency Programme), followed by INMAS (Mass Agricultural Intensification for Food Self-sufficiency). These programmes were designed to increase rice production by introducing new technologies and a new farming system, using HYVs, fertilisers, and pesticides. Suwondo (1997: 48) claims that at that time Klaten was one of the centres of development of various new HYVs such as PB5, PB8, C463, and the like. Through BIMAS, farmers were given packages that consisted of HYV seeds, fertiliser, and pesticides. The project also covered the spraying and transportation costs. These packages were distributed and supervised by the head of each village. INMAS, which followed later, provided farmers with a more flexible credit scheme and transformed the "top-down" approach of the previous programme to a "bottom-up" approach by letting the farmers establish farmers' groups of their own. In this case the government provided only consultants, namely the Petugas Penyuluh Pertanian (PPL, Agriculture Extension Officers) to assist with the activities of the farmers' groups.

Through BIMAS and INMAS, the farmers in Kalitengah became familiar with various HYVs and other advanced farming technologies such as fertilisers and pesticides. After the HYVs were introduced, farmers in Kalitengah could grow rice three times a year, instead of only twice as before. Without doubt, the Green Revolution implemented through BIMAS and INMAS helped the farmers in Kalitengah to increase their agricultural productivity and with this their prosperity. However, along with the adoption of new technologies and the new farming systems introduced by BIMAS and INMAS in Kalitengah came the process of commercialisation (cf. Hüsken, 1984). In its wake, the bawon system of harvesting rice was replaced by the tebasan system, while the kedokan

26 For more discussion on this issue see, for example, Manning (1988), Hart (1986), and Booth (1988).
27 A contract harvesting arrangement whereby the rice (crop) is sold prior to harvest by the farmer to a middleman (penebas), who employs contract workers (buruh nderep) to do the harvest (Manning, 1988: 81).
28 An arrangement by which pre-harvest work (usually planting) is completed without pay in return for rights to participate in the harvest (Manning, 1988: 81). For further discussion on this issue see, e.g., Hart (1986),...
system of planting the paddy seeds was replaced by paid agricultural labour. Another important development was the disappearance of traditional technologies. Since the tebasan has been introduced ani-ani have disappeared and been replaced by arit (sickles) which harvest the rice much more quickly. Hand pounding went many years ago and was replaced by the rice-huller, and the tractor is now a common agricultural device in Kalitengah. As a result of the adoption of those technologies, women’s job opportunities in the agricultural sector in Kalitengah have shrunk over time. This is considered to be one factor that has pushed women agricultural workers to find jobs in non-farm activities, among other opportunities in the garment and food processing industries. The author’s household survey found that in 1999 only 11 per cent of women workers worked in agriculture compared to 18 per cent of male workers who worked in the same sector.

Pressured by Suharto’s ambition to achieve food self-sufficiency, farmers in Indonesia were prohibited to grow food crops other than rice during the New Order government regime. Hüsken and White (1989: 249) claim that this goal led to a “top-down” approach to agricultural development and the abandonment of all democratic procedures in rural areas. Several farmers in Kalitengah told me that they had to face the village administration, which was backed up by Koramil (sub-district army command), if they dared to grow non-rice food crops. As a result, every year farmers in Kalitengah had to grow rice, except on the small part of the rice-fields that have simple irrigation where farmers were allowed to grow polowijo during the dry season. Nowadays, farming activities in Kalitengah are highly differentiated. As an illustration, if we walk along the village street that connects Karang hamlet in the north and Slengrenga hamlet in the south, we will see various food crops; rice is there of course but there are also secondary food crops, thanks to the success of the reformation movement in Indonesia which toppled Suharto from power in 1998. The reformation has brought about many changes in the livelihood of the farmers in Kalitengah, particularly in their degree of freedom to cultivate their own land and also has removed from them the fear of being stigmatised as members of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) if they do not obey government policy to the letter. Currently, the compulsory policy of the government which required rice to be grown


Much research has been done by scholars to investigate the impact of the tebasan system and also the appearance of the sickle to replace the ani-ani. See, for example, Collier (1974; 1982), Budiono et al. (1982), Collier, Wiradi, and Soentoro (1973).

Rice is and always has been a determinant variable of the stability of the politico-economic system in Indonesia. Since depending on foreign sources is seen as extremely risky because of the fragility of international rice market, the state needs to ensure that the demand for rice can be fulfilled by domestic supply (Hart, 1986: 45). Learning from Sukarno’s Old Order experience, Suharto saw rice self-sufficiency as the most important priority. Suharto’s ambition was finally attained in 1985 and he was awarded a prestigious prize by the FAO for his achievement. However, since then Indonesia’s rice production has continued to decrease over time. Sadly, Indonesia has now become the biggest rice-importing country again (more discussion on this issue see in, e.g., Hill, 1996:123-137; Hüsken and White, 1989: 247-258).

How the New Order Regime “maintained” agrarian law and order and prevented the resurgence of agrarian mobilisation can be seen in Hart (1986: 19-76).
through BIMAS and INMAS is no longer in force. Therefore, since the price of rice is no longer competitive compared to other commercial food crops, farmers in Kalitengah have the freedom to choose to grow other commercial food crops such as chillies, melons, watermelons, onions, soybeans and other kinds of fruits and vegetables on their land.

Pak Sukarmo, a melon farmer in Slegrengan hamlet, told me that if he grows rice in 1 *pathok* (0.25 ha) of rice-field, he will get around Rp. 1 million (gross) or around Rp. 625,000 net after spending around three and a half months growing his crop. It has to be borne in mind that the profit is reduced if he sells his rice to the *penebas* (rice harvester contractor). Cogently, if he uses the same land to grow melons, he will earn around Rp. 7 million within the space of only two months. After deducting the production costs, namely fertiliser, pesticides, poly-back, bamboo, and paid cultivator helpers (totalling around Rp. 3 million), in the end, he will make a profit of around Rp. 4 million. However, although the profit is appealing, not every farmer can or wants to grow melons because of the bigger capital outlay needed, and the higher risk to be shouldered if the harvest should fail. The farmers who do not have enough capital, therefore, prefer to cultivate other crops or continue growing rice.

The price of melons and other secondary food crops has boomed in recent years, and this has subsequently attracted many people with capital to follow the path of the successful pioneers in melon farming in growing this fruit. The biggest stumbling block to such enterprise is the desperate shortage of land. People who do not have a rice-field, but want to grow melons have to lease a rice-field from a “passive” landowner. Unfortunately, over time it has become more difficult to find landowners who are willing to lease their land “freely”, that is when there is no economic pressure on them to hand over the control of their land.

Various tenancy arrangements can be found in Kalitengah: (1) *Sewa* (leasing), locally called *didol tahunan* (sold yearly). Under this arrangement the landowner leases his

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32 Pak Padmo, a farmer from Kalitengah hamlet, told me the break down of the production costs required to cultivate rice as follows:
1. Ploughing and harrowing the rice-field Rp. 30,000/patok
2. Planting the seeds Rp. 30,000/patok
3. *Galeng* (making the bund) Rp. 25,000/patok
4. Fertiliser Rp. 60,000/patok
5. Pesticides Rp. 75,000/patok
6. Weeding Rp. 50,000/patok
Sub-total Rp. 250,000/patok
7. Other additional costs, e.g., providing extra meals for the paid agriculture labourers, watering the rice-field, and extra costs for preparing the rice-field after use to cultivate tobacco and the like. All the additional costs are around Rp. 125,000. Therefore the total production cost of 1 patok is around Rp. 375,000. This cost is based on the price conditions in May 1999. Margono (2000) mentions that total production to cultivate rice for 1 patok rice-field is around Rp. 392,000 (based on farmer sources) and Rp. 312,000 (based on government sources). On the basis of the data above and my other interviews, it can be estimated that total production costs for 1 patok rice-field is around 35 per cent of the total yield.
land for a certain period of time. The time duration here can be measured by year or oyot. Under this arrangement, the landowner mortgages his land for a certain amount of money. The land will be handed back when the landowner pays back his loan. Sharecropping with various arrangements, for instance maro or digarapke. The landowner lets someone cultivate his land under an agreement settled in advance, covering the production inputs (production costs) and yield share such as 50:50 (maro), where the landowner gets 50 per cent of total harvest and the cultivator pays the production costs (labour cost and inputs). This arrangement usually only happens between family members. Mertelu or 2/3:1/3 if the landowner provides part of the production inputs, and 3/4:1/4 (mrapat) if landowner provides all the production inputs.

For many farmers, the first and second arrangements (sewa and gadai) are basically the same. The same local term is used for these two systems - diblesek or digolekke butuh. Although the second term is more polite, both have the same meaning. They are used when a landowner has to hand over his land to be controlled by somebody else because he has run into economic problems. For “the real farmer” (whose livelihood depends on agricultural activities) leasing or mortgaging land is resorted to only if he cannot find any other alternative (Javanese kepeper or when there is no way out) to obtain the cash he might need to cover such expenses as the hospital costs for his children, to fund a wedding party for his daughter, and other life-cycle ceremonies (see also Padmo 2000). In the case of Kalitengah, the difference between sewa and gadai is determined by the degree of optimism entertained by the landowner about finding some cash to bail out his land after his problem is resolved. If he is optimistic enough, he will prefer to mortgage his land, but if not he will have to lease it.

The third arrangement is usually opted by rich farmers or “part-time” farmers, for

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34 Oyot, literally means root. This term is used to measure the duration of a land lease calculated on the harvest period of rice. Oyot = one harvest period or rice or about four months.
35 Utami and Jphaluw (1972), Effendi (1991), Padmo (2000), and Roll (1983) also mention another sharing system called stromo which nowadays is quite rarely practised by the farmers. Stromo is basically the maro system but the sharecropper has to give the landowner some money in advance before he can cultivate the land.
36 The Javanese term meaning to be sunk, not in the water but in the mud. This term is used when one’s land is leased for quite long time, 5-10 years.
37 The Javanese term meaning to change (sell) something for cash to fulfil immediate needs.
38 One of my respondents told me that her husband was stressed when their only 1 patok of land had to be leased for several years when they had to finance the wedding party for their daughter. She said that only after she could find someone who was willing to sharecrop with her husband, could her husband resume his to normal life again. Before that he just sat down in front of the door every day staring blankly into the distance as he did not have any rice-land to cultivate. The stress is often also caused by the social pressure that has to be shouldered by the lessee, since to the local people regard the leasing of land as taboo (aib) because it can tarnish the dignity (martabat) of the lessor (Padmo 2000: 51).
39 Padmo (2000: 43-54) mentions that the sharecropping system had been common in Klaten District since the reorganisation (the abolition of apanage stelsel in the Vorstenlanden region) of the land-owning system in 1917. Because of their bitter experiences of land-holders under the apanage system, many people who were not tied to land-ownership (tanah sanggan) rejected the land distribution from the state during the implementation of Reorganisation Policy because they did not want to perform the duties which they would
whom agricultural activity is only a side job. This arrangement, to some extent, can also be seen as a further consequence of the first and second arrangements. For example, there are several cases in Kalitengah where a person has no intention of renting out his land, but he is indeed driven to do so because he wants to help a relative who needs some cash. In the end, this person will not cultivate the land he rented himself, but will sharecrop it with the titular landowner, that is in cases where the landowner is still a family member or a relative.

4.3. Tobacco Plantations

Besides being known as the biggest rice supplier in Java, the Klaten District has also been famous as an area rich in sugar cane, tobacco, rosella, and indigo plantations since Dutch colonial times. With the exception of indigo, the other plantations still exist up to the present. Among these plantations, sugar cane (Pabrik Gula\(^40\) (PG) Gondang Baru and Ceper) and tobacco plantations (Perusahaan Terbatas Perkebunan\(^41\) (PTP) Wedi-Mbirit) are operated by the government (Suwondo, 1997:50).

It is the tobacco plantations that historically have the closest links to the agricultural activity of Kalitengah village. Padmo (1994: 61) says that Wedi (Kalitengah) was one of the villages where tobacco (Vorstenlands Tobacco) was first grown in Klaten for the international market in 1885. It was the Dorrepal family who established the Cultuur Maatscappij, CM Wedi-Mbirit (CM: Plantation Company) and made the Klaten tobacco industry strong enough to compete in the international market alongside those of Deli in Sumatra and Besuki in East Java.

During Dutch colonial times, particularly during the implementation of the cultuur stelsel policy or Cultivation System, people in Kalitengah had to hand over one-fifth of their land for the cultivation of tobacco. After the abolition of the Cultivation System, the Dutch government issued the Vorstelandsch Gronhuur Reglement (VGR, staatblad) 1918 No. 20 to regulate the land-rental system. This measure was taken in the wake of the Agrarian Reform in 1917. Under VGR, tobacco plantations had to rent the land directly from the farmers and the contract no longer had to be negotiated through royal officials. After independence, the Indonesian government nationalised these plantations in 1958 and implemented a new rule for land rental by issuing Government Regulation No. 13/1948. Two years later, the Indonesian government also issued Law No. 38 PrP 1960 to regulate land-rental more efficaciously (Padmo, 1994: 87-113). Under this new regulation, the government decided that the farmers’ land could only be rented out for a maximum of one year or one season, and the rent agreement had to be supervised by a local government committee and a representative of the farmers.

\(^40\) Sugar-mill
\(^41\) State-Owned Plantation
In Klaten District, the local government committee for the supervision of the land rental agreement between the state plantations and the farmers consist of the Wedono (assistant to the district head) Kota Klaten, the Wedono Gondang Winangun, the Wedono Delanggu, the Speaker of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD, the Local Parliament), the Head of the Klaten District Land Affairs Office, the Head of PG Gondang Baru, and the Head of the State-Owned Plantations in Klaten District. The chairperson of this committee is the District Head of Klaten Regency. The farmers in their turn are represented by the Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (The Indonesian Farmers' Organisation) (Padmo 2000: 57). The main task of the committee and the farmers' representatives is to set the most reasonable land rental price, one that can be agreed to by the farmers and by the state plantations. Despite this seeming protection, the farmers are in a weak position in relation to the government. Therefore, although the farmers are protected by government regulations, in most cases the land rental agreement favours the state-owned plantations rather than them.

Many farmers in Kalitengah told me that to rent out the rice-fields to the state-owned tobacco plantation incurs them a serious financial loss, since tobacco needs longer to grow than does rice or other secondary food crops. Recounting his experiences, Pak Padmo, one farmer in Kalitengah hamlet, told me that to grow tobacco requires around two oyot (8 months), instead of the one needed for rice. If one patok of his rice-field is used to grow rice, he says that he will earn around Rp. 1.8 million during the two oyots. Meanwhile, for the same duration, he will receive only around Rp. 800,000 from the tobacco plantation if his land is used to grow tobacco. Consequently, he will suffer a financial loss of around 1 million within eight months, not to mention the extra costs that he has to find (around Rp. 60,000) to prepare the land before it can be used to grow rice again. For this reason, most Kalitengah landowners do not want to rent out their land to the state tobacco plantation unless there is an obligation to do so.

In fact, the price of the land rent offered by the state tobacco plantation is higher than that paid by tenants. Evidence for this is that Ibu Turima told me that she rents her rice-field for Rp. 400,000/year. Another farmer, Pak Mulwaji, says that he has rented a rice-field for ten years with a rental payment of only Rp. 75,000/oyot (around Rp. 225,000/year) without making a price adjustment. However, as already mentioned in this chapter, the landowners who rent out their land usually do so because they are terdesak kebutuhan (under pressure to settle their immediate needs), in other words they have no other

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42 The farmers in Kalitengah are under pressure to hand over their land to the PNP, otherwise they will face trouble. One farmer in Kalitengah said that if he does not allow his land to be used for the PNP to cultivate tobacco he will be detained by the state apparatus. Another farmer said that if they do not put their land at the disposal of the PNP, they would be accused of being an Indonesia Communist Party Member or di PKI-kan (Margono, 2000: 39). See also Team Survey Faculty of Economy and Agriculture Gadjah Mada University 1970 in Suwondo (1994: 100).

43 Based on an interview in 1997.
alternative source of finance except the renting out their land at a cheap price. The farmers who are under no economic pressures will prefer to cultivate their own land because --for these people-- land has more than an economic value, it is also worth something that cannot be measured in economic terms. One of my respondents calls this *pusaka* (heritage). For this kind of farmer, the renting out of his land is absolutely taboo. In order to prevent the worsening of the situation of the farmers, in 1962 the Klaten local government issued a regulation which stated that a farmer was only obliged to lease one *patok* of his land to the state plantation. The regulation also states that a maximum of 50 per cent of the rice-fields in one village can be rented by state-owned plantations, both tobacco and sugar cane. This government regulation is continually amended through the decree *SK Bupati tentang Penyediaan Areal Program Intensifikasi Tembakau Vorstenland* (The District Head’s Decree to Regulate the Provision of Land for the Vorstenland Tobacco Intensification Programme). This regulation divides the rice-fields in Kalitengah into two blocks, A and B, and only one of these two blocks may be used to grow tobacco (Padmo, 2000: 61-62).

For the landless and the people who do not have enough skills to undertake jobs in the non-agriculture sector, the existence of the state tobacco plantation in Kalitengah is a very important source of employment. Every year (May-December), the PTP Wedi-Mbirit needs thousands of workers both inside the factory and in the fields (*gadangan*). According to Kalitengah’s *Ziender* at least 2,000 people work inside the factory every year processing the harvested tobacco. Outside the factory, the tobacco plantation needs around 400 workers to cultivate the land to grow tobacco in the Kalitengah fields alone, that is not including the other *kemandoran* surrounding Kalitengah such Gantiwarno, Mbirit, and Pandansimping. Pak Tolek (a mandor in Kalitengah) says that there are about ten areas of *kemandoran* in Kalitengah, each of them under the supervision of one mandor. Every *kemandoran* usually hires around forty workers. His explanation demonstrates that in Kalitengah alone around 400 workers will be required to cultivate the land.

Pertinently, the author’s household survey (1999) found that there are only eighty-seven heads of households in Kalitengah who work as paid agricultural workers (*buruh tani*). This means that the labour supply available from Kalitengah on its own cannot satisfy the demand for labour of the tobacco plantation. This lack of labour needs to be filled by workers from several villages in the vicinity of Kalitengah; and even from outside Wedi sub-district, for instance from the sub-districts of Prambanan, Manisrenggo, Piyungan and, Gunung Kidul. Difficulty in finding workers has in fact become an acute problem for the tobacco plantations, one not confined to Kalitengah but prevalent in Klaten in general. When conducting research to evaluate the implementation of the Vorstenlanden Tobacco Intensification Programme (VTIP), Padmo and Djamitko (1991) came to the conclusion that, quite apart from crop quality, the failure of the VTIP was caused by the difficulties in hiring labourers.

It is undeniable that working in the tobacco plantation is quite hard. The labourers usually work around six hours per day, from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. with two break times at 9-9.30
The work required to prepare the land for growing tobacco is done by male workers. For undertaking this job, in 1999, each labourer was paid around Rp. 5,000/day. Female labourers are usually assigned the lighter jobs such as watering and weeding the plants. The majority of female labourers perform jobs inside the factory (the warehouse) processing the harvested tobacco leaves, including sorting (pilih) and compiling (sunduk) before the tobacco leaves are dried in the oven. For doing these jobs, female labourers will be paid Rp. 4,250/day. To attract more labourers, both female and male workers will usually be given wage increases of around Rp. 1,000 every year.

The wages paid by the tobacco plantation are usually used by people in Kalitengah as a standard when paying the wages of the agricultural labourers. For example, an agricultural labourer who works for a private landowner, as a melon cultivator, will usually receive the same wages as if he worked for the PNP (in several cases even higher), regardless of the fact that he will also be given extra meals and cigarettes during the break. Given this extra attention, it is not surprising that the agricultural labourers in Kalitengah prefer to work for private farmers rather than for the tobacco plantation, except if they can find an easier job with a higher wage in the tobacco plantation such as operating the water pump which can be done in a shady place. Over time this has made the problem of finding labourers for the tobacco plantation more difficult.

With the state tobacco plantation providing abundant work opportunities, people can rely on it as a safety net if they cannot find a better job in non-agricultural activities, like when the garment business is going through a slack season. However, as will be discussed in further detail in another part of this thesis, not everybody in Kalitengah can or is willing to work in the tobacco fields. There are various reasons for this disinclination, including the fact that working in a tobacco plantation in the heat of the tropical sun is very arduous compared to working as a seamstress or sewer (buruh jahit) in a shady place. Regarding this point, Pak Slamet, a sewing worker, told me that he fell sick after he tried working in the tobacco field during the krismon (monetary crisis). After this experience he did not want to work in the tobacco fields again. Furthermore, in the past, the wages offered by the tobacco plantation were far from attractive compared to those for other jobs. Only very recently (in the last two years) have the wages of tobacco cultivators become quite competitive in comparison with the wages of coarse sewing workers (buruh jahit kasar).

5. The Economic Transformation

The transformation of the economy in Kalitengah is not in fact only a recent phenomenon. As has been indicated in the previous description, this process has been going on for sometime, from one generation to another, and still continues into the present. Therefore, the description of the transformation of economy in Kalitengah in this section should be seen only as an effort to underline the constant process of transformation in this village. Although perhaps it is also quite reasonable to say that the transformation process in Kalitengah in the recent years has been accentuated by the increase in land pressure on the
one hand and the broadening opportunities to find better employment in non-farm activities on the other.

Röll (1983: 67) records that around 64 per cent of households in Wedi (including Kalitengah village) were landless in 1969. Three decades later, the percentage had increased to 89.5 as can be seen in Table 3.3. The fact that 89.5 per cent of the households in Kalitengah are landless is evidence that land pressure is very acute in this village. Indubitably, this condition is worsened by the presence of the tobacco plantation. Every year the plantation lays claim to around 50 per cent of the total farmland in Kalitengah to grow tobacco. This inevitably reduces the availability of the rice-fields for cultivation by the farmers. As land pressure in Kalitengah continues to mount with each generation, the impact of this is patently clear: the decline in the agricultural sector in this village, which for many centuries has been the main pillar of the village economy.

A further consequence of the de-agrarianisation process is that people in Kalitengah, both the farmers and the agricultural labourers, can no longer rely on agricultural activities to satisfy their family needs. The problem is not just because the wages to be earned from agriculture are not attractive compared to those of other jobs, but also because the price of agricultural produce is less competitive compared to that of other products. The latter point relates to the serious decline in the purchasing power of farmers over the last two decades and ultimately creates a serious problem for those involved in agriculture. Unfortunately, this problem is not only the monopoly of ordinary farmers, but also affects the members of the village administration as well, even though the latter possess larger rice-fields. One village administrator in Kalitengah complained to me that his income from his lungguh (salary land given to village apparatus) was not enough to meet his family's needs, particularly during bulan baik (good months) when many people invite him to wedding parties or other life-cycle ceremonies, to which he must invariably make a contribution.

The household survey conducted by the CPPS Gadjah Mada University research team on Social Security and Social Policy in Java in Kalitengah in 1998 provides us with other evidence about the difficulties faced by agricultural households in this village in making ends meet. The CPPS research team found that 23 per cent of the landowners (farmers) surveyed in this village said that they had problems satisfying their family's needs. This number rises among buruh tani, as 61.5 per cent of them said that they have economic problems, and 71 per cent of them even said that their situation had worsened during the last five years.

This finding is not surprising if we look at Table 3.4 below. The table shows that income from agricultural activities (the main income) for all categories of farmer in Kalitengah village only contributes (on average) 38 per cent of the total household income. This incontrovertibly demonstrates that the agricultural households cannot rely on the income from agriculture alone to satisfy their household needs. In other words, side jobs outside agriculture are very important to the sustainability of these households. The data also shows that the poorer the household, the bigger the percentage of income needed from
a side job. This finding also corroborates several studies on the rural economy of Java, for instance those done by White (1976) Hart (1978) Wiradi and Manning (1984) and Collier \textit{et al}. (1988). These studies --as cited by Effendi (1991:41)-- found that most rural households obtain their income from a combination of agriculture and non-farm activities. Pertinently, these studies also found that both males and females from small landowning households spent some 73 per cent of their income-earning time in non-farm activities.

\textbf{Table 3.4 The Contribution of Income from the Main Occupation and Side Job of the Household Heads Who Work in Agricultural Activities to the Total Income of the Household}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Landowner</th>
<th>Rented in/ sharecropper</th>
<th>Agricultural Labourer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The percentage of \textit{main income} of the household heads to total household income</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The percentage of \textit{side job} income of the household heads to total household income</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's Household Survey 1999

Since people in Kalitengah cannot rely on agricultural activities to satisfy their household needs, as each generation passes, the agricultural sector in this village has grown less important as a source of employment. As an illustration, Röll (1983:36) mentions that in 1971 "only" around 35 per cent of the people in Wedi sub-district worked in the non-agricultural sector. Two decades later, in 1990, the proportion of the people of this sub-district who worked in the non-agriculture sector had risen to 56 per cent (Klaten Dalam Angka, 1990). The percentage of the people who worked in non-agricultural activities in these years surely would have been higher in Kalitengah itself as this village is the urban centre of Wedi sub-district. The shift from agriculture to non-agriculture or non-farm activities as a source of employment in Kalitengah has consequently become more apparent in recent years. This can be seen by looking at the main occupation of the household heads and their spouses in this village in 1999. Table 3.5 below shows that agriculture is no longer the main source of income (employment) for the households in Kalitengah village.
Table 3.5 The Main Occupation of the Household Heads and Their Spouses in Kalitengah, 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Main Occupation</th>
<th>Nuclear Family</th>
<th>Non-nuclear Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Farmer (Land Owner)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rented in farmer/sharecropper</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Agriculture labourer</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Small-scale industrial employer/worker</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Transport and service</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Casual worker</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Livestock breeder</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Broker/makelar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Construction worker</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Civil servant, armed force</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private employee, retired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>755</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically not active during the survey</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Household Survey 1999
N=973 Households

The data shows that 85 per cent of the 973 surveyed households/families (both nuclear and non-nuclear families) in Kalitengah obtain their income from non-agriculture activities, particularly from small-scale industries and trade. The agricultural sector—which has traditionally been the most important source of employment for rural people—only provides around 15 per cent of the total employment of the households here.

What has happened in Kalitengah indicates that a structural change has been occurring in the village economy. Far from fitting the classic description of the village in Java where the inhabitants depend mainly on agriculture to make ends meet, people in the village can now no longer rely on the income from agricultural activities to provide a satisfactory income. In the case of Kalitengah, the transformation of the economy from agriculture to the non-farm sector has been prompted by land pressure mounting over many decades. Simultaneously, wider opportunities to find non-farm jobs offering higher wages have also played an important role because they “pull” the people to engage in non-farm activities, particularly in the garment industry (see again the discussion on this issue in Chapter Two).

The transformation of the economy that has occurred in Kalitengah, in fact, is but a backlash of what has happened at the higher level, that is Klaten District in which Kalitengah is situated. According to Soerato and Hatmosuprobo (1979), quoted in
Susilastuti and Partini (1990: 8), non-farm activities have existed in Klaten since the nineteenth century (and perhaps even earlier, as Boomgaard [1991], Fernando [1993; 1996], and Padmo [1993] mention that non-farm activities in Java have existed since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). These activities consisted of the production of various handicraft such as the making of batik, textiles, umbrellas, *gamelan* (Javanese traditional musical instruments), pottery, woven bamboo, roof tiles, coconut oil, and castor oil. At that time these activities were not considered to provide a significant contribution to the family economy, but were undertaken only to kill time when agricultural activities tailed off during the slack season. Home industries started to play an important role as a source of employment when the land pressure increased markedly.

The first landless group in Klaten District was that of the *kuli kenceng* who gave up *(seleh)* their rice-fields because they were not willing to be obliged to undertake arduous *herendienst* (compulsory service) required under the apanage system (Padmo, 1994: 99). These people who lost their status as *kuli* and therefore the right to cultivate their land found employment as traders and labourers, predominantly in non-farm activities (Suwondo, 1994: 68). Later, when land pressure mounted very perceptibly in the 1960s, Röll (1983: 66) mentions 62 per cent of the farmers in Klaten District were landless in that decade, non-farm activities became a very important source of employment for those farmers who could not satisfy their household needs without recourse to an additional income. Underlining Röll's (1983) research findings, Mubyarto says the study --which was done by Röll in an investigation of the structure of landownership in Klaten District-- provides convincing evidence of the irony of the livelihood of the rural inhabitants of the Klaten District. These people --who live in an agricultural, rural environment-- cannot earn their main income from the agricultural sector. Surprisingly, their expectations fall for short and they are forced to make a living from the non-agriculture activities. Having made this point, he suggests that small-scale industry and crafts are the best alternatives and that these should be developed in this area in order to provide employment for these villagers (Mubyarto, 1983: v).

This is stale news as the scarcity of land in Klaten and the surrounding areas has been widely recognised since the 1900s. The Coolie Budget Survey in 1939-1940 (cited in Locher-Scholten 2000: 61) pointed out that land scarcity in the feudal principalities (Yogyakarta and Surakarta, where Klaten is situated) was extensive. Referring to this, Locher-Scholten (2000: 61) made the following observation: “In the feudal Principalities the relationship between *tani* and land had broken up earlier than elsewhere in Java when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, land was rented to Europeans. The labour surplus this created forced workers to find other sources of income and other kinds of labour outside the agricultural sector”. What has happened in Klaten neatly fits White's (1991a) proposition (see Chapter Two), as we found that the first group of landless people in Klaten entered non-farm activities because they were driven by survival strategies, while the second contingent were driven by strategies of consolidation.
While not denying its significance, we have to note here that land pressure was not the sole factor which prompted the emergence of non-farm activities in Klaten District. The other important factor that we should take into consideration is the process of commercialisation in the rural economy throughout Java, including in the villages of Klaten District, since the introduction of the Cultivation System in 1830 (Elson, 1994: 154-277; Van Niel, 1984: 6; Fernando, 1996: 88; Fernando, 1993: 89; Hüsken, 1998: 347-365). Taking account of Elson’s (1994: 251-277) description, it can be concluded that the process of commercialisation in Java after the introduction of Cultivation System was triggered by the combination of three factors, namely: the revolution in communications (transportation system with the introduction of train network); the increase in non-agriculture employment; and the increase in the using of money (copper money/duits) as an instrument to facilitate economic transactions. Initially, the change was not massive. Fernando (1996:78-95) mentions that the number of Javanese people who were engaged in non-farm activities on a full-time basis was still small in the early 1800s. In the 1830s the situation changed after the Dutch colonial government introduced the Cultivation System. The expansion of the production of commercial crops for the world market under this system had increased the demand for various products and services which were needed to support the establishment of the infrastructure of the plantation industry such as builders, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics and the like. This demand continued to grow and successfully drew many people from everywhere in Java to join in these activities. Filling a niche, many people earned a “comfortable living” from industries. Fernando (1993:89) goes on to argue that these economic changes triggered the change in the traditional life-style of subsistence households throughout Java. Households, which in the past had produced their material needs themselves, began to embrace to a more commercialised life-style. Subsequently, these rural households grew more familiar with buying various domestic necessities to cover their household needs. The economic impact of changing consumer habits among the rural population heralded a significant increase in the number of people who relied entirely on non-agricultural economic activities for their livelihood by fulfilling the increasing demand for non-agricultural goods and services.

In Klaten District, the establishment of various plantations across the villages sped up the commercialisation of the rural economy. Effendi (1991:73-74) describes the process as follows:

“By 1857, when the desire of the Dutch colonial administration to increase export trade and to get more profit from the commercial crops coincided with growing demand from the commercial market, the area suitable for planting crops on estates had become limited. To deal with this problem the colonial government published “Land Verhuringen Reglement” (number 116 of 1856) which encouraged European enterprises, particularly Dutch, to lease land in this area for plantation. Soon after that, 20 sugar mills and 5 tobacco plantations were established. [...] By that time, the plantations had changed the economic activities of rural villagers. In the harvesting season, the plantation companies had to import labour from other areas. It has been estimated that the plantation activities in tobacco, indigo, coffee and cocoa employed some 1.5 million hired labour every year”.
Hence, the existence of those plantations in Klaten District introduced the monetary economic system to the villagers, via the land rent and the wages for the plantation workers (cf. Elson, 1994: 261-266; Hüsken, 1998: 347-365). The process of village commercialisation was boosted when the rural elite implemented rational farm management under which the traditional forms of reciprocal labour and mutual help in agriculture were replaced by wage labour, in the 1900s (Hüsken, 1984: 5; Hüsken, 1998: 350-356). In the era of independence, the introduction of the cash economy and the commercialisation of agrarian life gained momentum when the Indonesian government implemented the Green Revolution in the 1970s. This led to a further decline in “household self-sufficiency” which had already been set in motion (White 1977: 1). As well as the Green Revolution, the government also initiated the improvement of village infrastructure, especially roads and electricity, through Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Repelita, the Five Year Development Plan). This created wider access for outside traders and other economic actors to carry out trading and commercial activities in the rural areas, which also contributed to the further commercialisation of agrarian life.

Driven by land pressure on one hand and rural monetisation and commercialisation on the other, non-farm activities in Klaten continue to grow. Many of these activities, which initially were only cottage industries that hired a handful of family labour, have grown into small- and medium-scale industries, which employ wage-workers. This development of small-scale industrial production, followed by a gradual increase in medium- and large-scale enterprises and trading activities, has prompted the economic transformation of Klaten District, changing it from an agriculture-based economy to a more industrial one, marked by the increased contribution of the business sector to the total gross regional domestic product of this district (M. Rutten, 2003: 152). Based on Suwondo’s observation, the contribution of the trade and industry sectors to the total gross domestic product of Klaten District has doubled during the last three decades from only 17 per cent in 1976 to 34 per cent in 1992 (Suwondo, 1997: 51). In terms of labour absorption, home and small-scale industries also made a significant contribution by providing employment for the population in this district. For example, in 1999 there were 35,126 establishments. Among them 99 per cent were home and small-scale industries which absorbed 34,865 workers or 91 per cent of the total employment provided by all categories in the industries in this district (Klaten Dalam Angka 1999: 204). This number is far higher than the national figure, as the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (www.bps.go.id) mentions that in 1999 micro and small-scale industries in Indonesia absorbed around 59 per cent of the total employment in the industrial sector.44 Considering this fact, it is indeed not surprising M.Rutten (2003: 151) mentions that Klaten district has long enjoyed a reputation as a centre of home industries in the region.

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44 For further discussion on this issue; see, for example, Hill (1996), M.Tambunan et al. (2002), T. Tambunan (2000b).
6. Non-Farm Activities

As mentioned in the previous section, Kalitengah village has experienced an economic transformation from being agriculturally dependent to leaning more heavily on industrial sources of income. This process has been going on for many decades and is still under way. As a result, nowadays non-farm activities have become more and more important as the main pillar of the village economy. The growth of the garment industry provides a clear illustration of this. In the past, the garment industry in this village was confined to cottage industries that hired unpaid family workers. To date, these industries have developed to become small-and medium-scale industries that hire wageworkers and absorb around 50 per cent of the total labour force, not only in Kalitengah village alone but also of surrounding villages as well.

Non-farm activities in Kalitengah are many and various. They range from activities resorted to by poor households as an instrument for survival which hardly needs any capital investment in which they find employment as casual workers and masseurs, to the activities undertaken by rich households as an instrument for capital accumulation which needs big amounts of capital such as the garment industry, trading and other commercial enterprises. Although hundreds of non-farm activities can be found in Kalitengah, these activities can be summarised into eight groups as seen in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 People by the Category of Non-Farm Activities in Kalitengah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Category of Non-farm Activities</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Men and Women</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Small-scale industries</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Transportation and service</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Casual work</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Livestock breeding</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Broker/makeler</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Construction work</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's Household Survey 1999.
N=973 households

45 In this analysis formal sector employment (for example, government employee, armed forces, schoolteacher, village apparatus, nurses) is excluded.
6.1. Small-Scale Industry and Trade as the Dominant Non-Farm Activity in the Village

The data in Table 3.6 shows that small-scale industries are the most important non-farm activities in this village. This sector provides 56.8 per cent of the total employment from non-farm activities for this population. Many different kinds of manufacturing activities can be found in Kalitengah including such pursuits as food processing, brick-making, handicrafts, and uwur (tobacco flavour) producing. But one activity above all stands out, garment manufacturing, the most important activity in this village. Evidence of this is that of the 782 persons who work in manufacturing, the author’s household survey found that 710 persons (90 per cent) work in the garment industry. Of these, 298 persons can be classified as entrepreneurs (who run the small- and medium-scale enterprises) and the rest (412 persons) are garment labourers, sewing workers, pattern-cutters, buttonhole-makers, and hemmers. Food processing activities such as preparing belut goreng (fried eel), baking cookies, preparing emping (Javanese chips made from the gnetum gnemon fruit), and kecap (soy sauce) are also quite important, as fifty-one persons (6.5 per cent) say that they work in these industries. The less important small-scale industries for village people are blacksmithing, brick-making, handicrafts, and uwur (tobacco sauce) making in which twenty-one persons find employment.

The fact that the garment industry is the dominant manufacturing activity in Kalitengah is reflected in the phenomenon of clustering. Various researchers, among them Weijland (1992), Sandee (1995), T. Tambunan (2000b), and Klapwijk (1997), found that small-scale industries tend to occur in clusters, that is at the sub-district or village level. In Klaten District we can find several clusters of small-scale industry. For decades, Wedi (Kalitengah) has been known as the centre of the garment industry; Pedan is famous for its striped textile ( lurik) industry; Manjung is the place where fine noodles ( suun) are produced; Batur and Ceper are the clusters of the metallurgical industry; Juwiring is the producer of umbrellas; Mlise produces artificial marble ( marbut, marmer buatan); Karang Anom is a centre for agricultural equipment and of beadwork producers; and Jombor is the cluster of rope producers (Abdullah, 1994: 48).

Trade is the second most important non-farm activity in Kalitengah after manufacturing. The data in Table 3.6 shows that among 1,376 workers surveyed in that village, 27.2 per cent work in various sorts of trading, which corroborates the information found by scholars who have carried out previous studies on trade in Java such as Dewey (1962), Chandler (1985), Alexander (1987), Alexander and Alexander (2001), Abdullah (1994), Effendi (1992), Evers (1989). Abdullah (1994: 63) mentions that a whole gamut of trading activities can be found in Jatinom, where he conducted his study: adang-adang (petty traders), grabatan (petty traders), candak kulak (medium traders), bakul pasar (market traders), and toko (shopkeepers). He pointed out that these activities could be pursued in the streets, the markets, in home-based stalls, stalls, depots, and shops.
As in Jatinom, in Kalitengah village various traders, whether petty, medium, and large, also pursue their business such as selling food and basic necessities, agricultural products, fuel and so forth along the sides of the streets (particularly the main street connecting Kalitengah and Klaten District centre), in home-based stalls, and shops (in the Wedi market). The author's household survey found that of the 374 persons who work in trading activities, the majority (173 persons) sell food in various forms. There are warung makan (food stalls), warung es (iced-drink stalls), warung bakso (meat-ball soup stalls), warung mie (noodle stalls or peddler), warung makanan kecil (snack shops), and lesehan (evening food seller). The second biggest category of trade activities (103 persons) is concerned with buying and selling hasil bumi (agricultural products).

Manufactured goods such as cloth and sewing kits, furniture, household wares and the like are mostly sold in the toko (shops) where a total of seventy shop keepers pursue their business. This trading activity is usually the preserve of the wealthier traders in Kalitengah. In most instances these shop keepers are also garment producers who have invested some of their money outside the garment industry. The rest of the traders (twenty-eight persons) undertake various petty trading activities such as selling fuel, buying and selling chickens, selling fish and so on.

Most traders in Kalitengah, except for the shopkeepers, can be classified as petty traders. This is because the capital and turnover of these traders are both quite small. The capital required by those traders is between Rp. 50,000-250,000. Larger amounts of capital are usually needed for the initial outlay only. Broadly speaking, the business turnover of those traders is in between Rp. 5,000-100,000 per day. Pak Benjo and his wife – a couple selling fried-rice and noodles— told me that they needed an initial capital outlay of around Rp. 500,000 when they started their business, used to buy the pushcart, mat, portable gas stove, and utensils. After the initial outlay, they needed only quite a small amount of daily capital to run their business, estimated at around Rp. 50,000 to buy rice, oil, noodles, eggs, chicken and other ingredients.

Trading activities are considered the oldest form of non-farm activity in this village. Evidence of this can be found in the story of the journey of Kyai Ageng Pandanaran to this village. From that story, told at the beginning in this chapter, we can draw the conclusion that Wedi market has been the centre of trading activities for the population surrounding Kalitengah village since the late 1400s. This activity continued to develop steadily over time, particularly after the tobacco plantation entered the village in the 1800s, a disruption which pushed more women out of the agricultural sector. Having been forced out of agriculture, these labourers ended up in petty trading activities in the Wedi market and surrounding areas.

Transportation, services and the rest of the other non-farm activities (outside industry and trade) in Kalitengah constitute only 15.9 per cent of the total non-farm activities in that village. The profession of driver, whether truck, bus, becak (pedicab), or dokar (horse-carriage), is the dominant activity in the transport sector. Finally, the service sector consists
of activities such as owning or working in a bengkel (repairing vehicles), tailoring, renting out sound systems, and being domestic servants.

6.2. Comparison between Male and Female Workers in Various Non-Farm Activities

From the data in Table 3.6, we can also see that the possibilities open to men to enter non-farm activities are wider than those for women. As well as in small-scale industry and in trade, a significant number of men can be found working in the transport and service sectors (11.5 per cent), casual work (7 per cent), and construction (3.8). By contrast, a significant number of women can be found only in small-scale industry (55.5 per cent), trade (36 per cent), and services (4.1 per cent). However, despite the fact that women workers are not distributed equally in the various non-farm activities in Kalitengah, non-farm activities have created wider opportunities for women in that village to enter the labour market. From the household survey, I found that almost 80 per cent of the 962 women workers surveyed in Kalitengah village work in non-farm activities, while only 63 per cent of men work in the same activities (see Table 3.7). This also implies that women in Kalitengah have fewer opportunities than men to work in agriculture and the formal sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.7. Men and Women Workers by Category of Occupation in Kalitengah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Household Survey 1999

N=973 households

6.3. Non-Farm Activities and Side Jobs

Given the fact that occupational multiplicity\(^{46}\) is common in rural Java (White, 1977: 2; White 1976: 205), the importance of non-farm activities in Kalitengah is not confined to the landless households for whom they are a source of employment, they are also important to the households which need additional income to cover their household needs. The author’s household survey shows that 23.7 per cent out of 973 heads of households surveyed in that village said that they have side jobs in various non-farm activities. Indeed 1.8 per cent of them even have two side jobs. For comparison, the survey carried out by the UGM research team (1998) (N=321) found that around 10 per cent of those employed in Kalitengah village said that they have at least one side job in non-farm activities.

\(^{46}\) Individuals who have more than one occupation (White, 1976: 2).
7. Economic Transformation and Social Stratification in Kalitengah

According to Hart (1986: 95), "access to land is the single most important source of power within the village" (in Java), and is also a basic indicator of class status (see also Hüsken, 1998: 180-210). Bearing this in mind, Van Niel (1984: 16-17) mentions that the villagers who hold land, both wet rice-fields (sawah) and garden (pekarangan), are called the nuclear villagers. They are the wealthiest people in the village. These core villagers usually also hold the important positions in the village such as village head, members of the village administration, teachers, religious leaders and the like. Those villagers who do not own a piece of agricultural land, but do own a house and garden occupy a somewhat lower status. The lowest position on the village social ladder is occupied by those people who hold no land and who own neither house nor garden (see also Padmo, 1994: 87-113; Wolters, 1994: 177).

Nowadays, access to land has become less important as an indicator of social status in Kalitengah. This assertion is based on the following arguments: First, the majority of people in Kalitengah (89.5 per cent) are landless; therefore, to classify these people on the basis of landownership is unrealistic. Second, as a consequence of the land scarcity in this village, the majority of people there make a living from non-farm activities, particularly from the garment industry and trading activities. These activities make it possible for the landless households to accumulate capital by other means. Through a long process, stretching from one generation to another, non-farm activities in this village have created many entrepreneurs who have acquired greater wealth than the landowners. My arguments are also supported by Schweizer's (1988: 12) research findings. On the basis of his research conducted in a village in Klaten District, he draws the following conclusion about the relationship between the emergence of non-farm activities and the new yardstick of social stratification in the village:

"In the village social structure this new development [the emergence of non-farm activities] entails the emerging of a more diversified social stratification system. Access to land and village social stratification have been the traditional yardsticks of social status. I asked key informants in the village to rank order a sample of people according to their prestige. Then my questions as to the criteria employed in these judgements revealed additional features of social status: modern education, pengertian (Sic) (knowledge of the outside world) and wealth as such, generated also by trade and industry, were used as new criteria of social standing".

Since the garment industry in Kalitengah is the dominant manufacturing activity in this village, the majority of the successful entrepreneurs also come from this sector. A garment producer or juragan is therefore thought of as a rich person who has a big house, a brand new car, and modern electronic equipment (for comparison with the case of Batur, Klaten District see M. Rutten, 2003). In Kalitengah, juragan has become the generic name for rich people. This term is not monopolised by garment bosses, but can also be used to refer to other rich bosses in various economic activities. In short, juragan is the title given to any
rich people in the village regardless of his or her profession. Becoming a juragan is the dream of everybody in Kalitengah as Pak Slamet, a sewing worker, tells in the following story:

"Nek tiyang mriki niku arang-arang sing purun dados pegawai negeri. Soalle dados pegawai negeri niku bayare sihik. Nek dados juragan rak duwitte okeh. Niko tho kados Mbak Nur sing griyanne cedak njenengan. Le dados juragan dereng dangu, ning sakniki pun sugih. Uripe jan kados pun penak ngoten tho gadah monitor kalih omah apik". ("It is difficult to find anyone who wants to become a civil servant in this village because of the poor pay for this kind of job. People here prefer to become juragan, since juragan usually have plenty money. Take for example Mbak Nur who lives close to your boarding house. She became a juragan just a few years ago, but now she is rich. She looks very happy, and has a car and a beautiful house").

Pak Slamet’s statement above is quite true, as the household survey shows that –based on the ownership of goods such as house, means of transportation and, electronic equipment--juragan claim the highest socio-economic rank in Kalitengah. Interestingly, means of transportation is one important indicator used to classify the socio-economic position of people in this village. This is because cars are very expensive. The price of one car is in excess of Rp. 25 million so only the rich people can afford them (in the past an indicator of wealth similar to cars was perhaps cattle, including horses and water-buffaloes⁴⁷, see Hüskens 2001: 90-1). Therefore, people who possess a car almost always come from the highest socio-economic class. Those who possess a motorbike occupy the second rank, and the lowest rank is held by people who possess only a bicycle or have no means of transportation at all. The ownership of means of transportation, particularly a car, also has a strong correlation with the ownership of other expensive goods such as modern electronic equipment, such as computers, TV sets, VCD and DVD players, stereo systems, mobile phones, refrigerators, washing machines and the like.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Car ownership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Garment boss</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cloth trader</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Civil servant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Teacher/Lecturer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Wartel owner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Pharmacy owner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Shop owner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Housewife</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Household Survey 2001

⁴⁷At this time there are only forty head of cattle in Kalitengah.
Since car ownership is considered the most sensitive indicator by which to identify who occupies the highest socio-economic rank in the community, it is quite clear from the table above that the elite group in Kalitengah consists of garment bosses, traders, and people who work in the formal sector. This finding brings us to the conclusion that occupation has a strong correlation with the possession of expensive goods, which in turn determines socio-economic position. In fact, occupation here only reflects that the occupation holder has access to productive resources (capital) by which he/she can secure income or even accumulate more capital to be invested in productive business. In this case, when measuring and representing class and class differences in rural Javanese studies, several researchers --as cited by Wolf (1992:85)-- such as Hüsken and White (1989), Hart (1978), Chemichovsky and Meesook (1984), Hüsken (1984) have found that productive resources have proved to be the most useful measure of important differences in subsistence between households as they are closely correlated with other class-related factors such as income, education, consumption, and general standard of living.

Below is an example of three different households that belong to different socio-economic classes (based on their occupation, income, the ownership of goods, education, standard of living, and so forth).

The Highest stratum
Pak Mulyono, aged 44, and his wife Ibu Giyarti, aged 40, are juragan (garment producers). They live with their three children, a 20-year-old daughter, Ita, a 17-year-old son, Ivan, and a 10-year-old daughter, Putri. All of their children are students. Ita, their eldest daughter, has almost finished her education at a private university in Yogyakarta. Ivan at that time was in the third class of Senior High School (SMU, Sekolah Menengah Umum) and he was busy preparing to enter a State University in Yogyakarta (Gadjah Mada). While Putri was still at primary school. Below is a list of the members of Pak Mulyono’s household.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Members</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Primary Work</th>
<th>Secondary Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pak Mulyono</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Garment producer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibu Giyarti</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Garment producer</td>
<td>Money-lender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ita</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>University Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putri</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pak Mulyono and his family live in a big house with a modern architectural design situated in Dalangan hamlet. Their home contains luxury household items such as a radio, TV set, video, gas stove, refrigerator, washing machine, computer, and mobile phone. In their house they have also built one big room (5x7 m) as a workshop where they stock cloth and other garment accessories, and where his workers (the pattern-cutter and hemmer)
perform their tasks. Still inside this workshop, also come across various items of machinery such as cutting machines, sewing machines, and hemming machine. Next to this workshop, there a large garage where their two cars (Toyota and Suzuki) and two motorbikes (Honda and Yamaha) are parked. Pak Mulyono and Ibu Giyarti can afford all those luxury items because they have made a large profit from their business as garment producers. From the two kiosks they own, one in Klewer Market, Solo, and the other in Imogiri, Yogyakarta, they said that they could earn a net profit of around Rp. 2-3 million/month. They earn a bigger profit during the peak season, prior to Lebaran (at the end of Ramadan) and prior to the commencement of the new school year. The garment industry is not the only source of their wealth. I also happened to hear that Ibu Giyarti has a side business as a money-lender. With such a lucrative business therefore, it was not surprising that Pak Mulyono said that, although he had 1 pathok (0.25 ha) of rice-field --which he inherited from his father--, he hardly ever sees his land even once a year. Cogently, one year later, when I revisited the village, Pak Mulyono and his wife had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca which had earned them the titles of Pak Haji and Ibu Hajah. The bestowal of the titles Pak Haji and Ibu Hajah, Pak Mulyono and his wife was considered their crowning success according to Islamic teaching, because they had been able to achieve a double success simultaneously, both dunia dan akhirat (earthly and in the Afterlife). With all these achievements, it was not surprising that Pak Mulyono and his family were considered as orang terpandang (public figures) by the people in Kalitengan village.

The Medium Stratum
Pak Wajo, aged 35, is a primary school principal at the Muhammadiyah Primary School, Kalitengan village. His wife, Ibu Sejatiningsih, aged 34, is a housewife. As a housewife, her main duty is to take care of their two small boys: Seto and Hafis, aged 5 and 2 years old. Before getting married, Ibu Sejatiningsih was a sewing worker, but, she stopped working when her first son was born. Therefore, although she still has a sewing machine in her home, that machine has been lying idle for a couple of years. She said that perhaps she would go back to work again after her children were old enough. Below are the members of Pak Wajo's family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Members</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Primary work</th>
<th>Secondary work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wajo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Primary school principal</td>
<td>Giving private lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sejatiningsih</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seto</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pak Wajo and his family live in a pavilion adjacent to his father-in-law’s house. Because they were destined to inherit this pavilion, Pak Wajo and Ibu Sejatiningsih did not bother to rent a house for themselves and their two sons. As with many other people in Kalitengan, Pak Wajo also had no rice-fields (sawah). Therefore his main income comes from his
occupation as primary school principal. As a school principal Pak Wajio is paid a monthly salary of Rp. 700,000. Beside this, from giving private lessons to his students, he said that he brought in an additional income of around Rp. 500,000/month. With a total income of around Rp. 1,200,000/month, Pak Wajio said that he could only just scrape by “cukupan” (just enough). The most important thing was, as he said, he could buy enough beras (rice), lauk pauk (additional dishes), and milk for his children. Nevertheless, although Pak Wajio said that he lived only at “cukupan” level, he could still save enough money to buy a motorbike (Yamaha), TV set, and radio for his family. Since teachers are regarded as educated and trustworthy people by the villagers, Pak Wajio had also been given several roles in his hamlet consonant with that image. He was appointed the Ketua Takmir Masjid (the chairman of the board of the hamlet mosque) and Sekretaris RW (the neighbourhood secretary of Dalangan hamlet). Undeniably, although Pak Wajio and his family were not as rich as a juragan family, he was still respected by the people in the village because he had a stable economic position as primary school principal endorsed by a good educational background as well.

The Lowest Stratrum

Pak Pono, aged 41, is a hemmer. He works for two different garment producers, Ibu Kismi and Pak Mari. His wife, Ibu Menuk, aged 35, works as a buttonhole-maker and sometimes also as a servant for Ibu Kismi’s family. Pak Pono and Ibu Menuk have six children, five sons and one daughter: Kenthu (aged 14), Totok (aged 12), Triwibowo (aged 10), Wijayanto (aged 6), Gunawan (aged 3), and Enggarwati (aged 5). Pak Pono’s sister, Ibu Marni, a 45-year-old widow, who works as a buttonhole-maker, also lives with this family. In fact, Pak Pono was well known among people in his hamlet for his reputation as a ‘baby producer’. According to Pak Bayan (the head of the hamlet where Pak Pono lives), Pak Pono was the only one among the people in Kalitengah who had six children after family planning had been given such a prominent place in this village for decades. Below is a list of Pak Pono’s family members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Members</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Primary work</th>
<th>Secondary work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sumpono</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Hem maker</td>
<td>Buttonhole maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuk</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Buttonhole maker</td>
<td>Servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenthu</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Junior High School student</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totok</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Primary school student</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triwibowo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Primary school student</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wijayanto</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enggarwati</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunawan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibu Marni</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Buttonhole-maker</td>
<td>Servant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pak Pono comes from a poor family. He does not have a house, let alone a rice-field. It was only because of the kind-heartedness of Pak Darmo, his widowed neighbour, that he had
shelter for his family. In return, Ibu Menuk and Ibu Marni do the household chores for Pak Darmo. Sometimes their children also help Pak Darmo to tend his goats. In one small room, about 5x6 m, Pak Pono lives crammed together with his wife, six children, and one sister. This room is scarcely graced by one single luxury item, except for the two sewing machines that Pak Pono and Ibu Menuk use to carry out their work. There are also no guest chairs in that room. Only two beds made of bamboo are to be found in the corners of the room. Sometimes, when I did the interviews, I talked to Pak Pono inside his home, while he kept on working at his job, but most often I did the interviews or just chatted with Pak Pono and his family outside their home, on the balai-balai (chairs made from bamboo) which were placed in front of their house.

As a hemmer, Pak Pono's wages are quite low. He receives around Rp. 60,000/week from his two bosses or about Rp. 240,000/month. As a buttonhole-maker, Ibu Menuk could earn around Rp. 30,000/week or around Rp. 120,000/month. With the total income from both Pak Pono and Ibu Menuk at around Rp. 360,000/month, there is just enough to buy rice and additional dishes for their six children (on the basis of a household survey in 1999, the average of the total expenditure per household per month is around Rp. 343,000 in which Rp.222,000 was allocated for food and Rp. 121,000 for non-food). The real livelihood problems would hit them hardest when there were no jobs during the slack season. This would mean that they would have to do whatever they could find to provide the basic necessities for their children. In this kind of situation they just hoped that no calamity will befall their family, such as their children falling ill or having an accident which would require extra money for hospital treatment, as happened once when I was there.

To cope with such contingencies Ibu Menuk worked part-time as a servant in Ibu Kismi's house where she could earn an additional income of Rp. 30,000/month. This was not only paid in cash, but very often Ibu Menuk also received payment in kind from Ibu Kismi, in the form of food, school uniforms, a bicycle, pocket money for her children, money to buy medicine when her children fell sick. To lighten the burden, Pak Pono quite often took over his wife's work making buttonholes after he finished his own tasks. He would do this when Ibu Menuk found work from close neighbours doing the laundry and the household cleaning. Besides working as a buttonhole-maker, Ibu Marni's main task was taking care of her nephews and niece. The wages she receives from her work are also used to support Pak Pono's household economy and quite often also used to treat her nephews and niece, by buying some toys or snacks.

8. Conclusion

Kalitengah village has experienced an economic transformation which is still going on, namely it is changing from an agricultural village into a more industrial base. Many factors have affected the transformation of the structure of economy in this village, but the
most important one has been the land pressure. Nowadays, around 89 per cent of the total household in this village are landless. The land pressure in Kalitengah has been made worse by the presence of the tobacco plantation in this village, which has been present since the Dutch colonial era. Since they are obliged rent out part of their land to the tobacco plantation every year, the inevitable impact of that policy puts extra pressure on the landowners (farmers) in this village to find employment outside agriculture sector.

As a result of the economic transformation, several socio-economic aspects have changed in this village. The author’s household survey shows that the majority of the people in Kalitengah (around 85 per cent) currently make a living in various non-farm activities, in the formal as well as in the informal sectors. However, although the number of people in Kalitengah who can find work in the formal sector (such as government employees, army officers, private employees, village administrators, school teachers, lawyers, medical doctors and the like) continues to grow, informal non-farm activities, particularly the garment industry and trade, are still the most important sectors as sources of employment.

In a long and gradual process, the garment industry and trade have replaced agriculture as the dominant source of employment for the people in Kalitengah. These two sectors have provided many opportunities for the people in this village, not only for employment, but also for upward mobility as well. Hundreds of landless households have enjoyed upward socio-economic mobility as juragan (rich people) since the garment industry emerged in Kalitengah in the late Dutch colonial era. As the new rich in the village, these entrepreneurs now occupy the highest socio-economic position in the community, displacing the tuan tanah (landowners) who in the past held the top rank in the socio-economic structure of Kalitengah. Ineluctably the emergence and development of non-farm activities in Kalitengah, particularly the garment industry, have brought about socio-economic changes in this village. As capital accumulation is possible through instruments other than land, at present the socio-economic position of the people in the village is no longer determined by land ownership but by other factors such as type of occupation, level of income, ownership of luxury goods, life-style, education, and, most importantly, ownership (access) of productive resources such as machinery, shops, and kiosks which can be used to accumulate more capital or wealth.