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 Four

The Emergence and Expansion of the Garment Industry in Kalitengah Village in the Twentieth Century

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the economic transformation set in motion in the late colonial era and still in progress in Kalitengah. As the result of this process, the agricultural sector, which was a dominant source of employment in the past, has been replaced by various non-farm activities such as trade, manufacturing and service industries. Currently, almost 85 per cent of the people in Kalitengah work in non-farm activities and among of them more than 50 per cent work in the garment industry, making this by far the most important source of employment for the people in this village. Since its inception, this industry has provided hundreds of job opportunities for the people in Kalitengah. More importantly, this industry has also become an important instrument of vertical socio-economic mobility for the people involved in this business, particularly the garment producers. Many wealthy garment producers (juragan) have raised their status considerably as a result of the industry in this village. Consequently, the garment industry has been more than an instrument of survival for the landless, it has also emerged as an instrument of capital accumulation for the new generation of juragan. In its latter guise, the garment industry has been 'modernised' in various aspects including its technology, division of labour, production process, and marketing strategies. This latter development has subsequently engineered the emergence of two different types of garment industry in Kalitengah. The first is the more 'modern' small- and medium-scale garment industries, which are instruments of capital accumulation. The second is the old face of the garment industry, which still retains its 'traditional' character, using small amounts of capital, old machinery, and produces cheap garments. This type is an instrument of survival for landless households.

As discussed previously, the emergence of the garment industry (as a part of the non-farm activities in Kalitengah village) was triggered by various push and pull factors. Given its present economic significance, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the emergence and expansion of the garment industry in this village in greater detail. To achieve
this objective, this chapter is structured as follows: Section two describes the history of the growth of the garment industry in Kalitengah, as well as its expansion, which has been affected by internal as well as external factors. Section three will discuss the process of the emergence of the juragan (the garment producers) who were initially gerji (local tailors). Section four describes the gradual differentiation amongst local tailors which led to the Development of two disparate classes of workers, the sewing workers (buruh jahit) and their bosses the juragan. Section five describes the process of the emergence of the division of labour in this industry, including the strategy adopted by garment producers resorting to the putting-out system, leading to the ‘deskilling’ process, to reduce production costs and increase efficiency. Section six will be devoted to discussing the marketing strategies used by garment producers in Kalitengah. Section seven discusses the response of the garment industry in Kalitengah (juragan) to the recent monetary crisis (krismon), and the final section is the conclusion.

2. The Historical Background

There is no written document which indicates the exact time the garment industry in Kalitengah village took its first tentative steps. Several researchers who have done earlier work in this village have expressed different opinions about why and when the garment industry commenced in Kalitengah.

Hadikusworo (1960) mentions that this event can be correlated with the trading activities of the people of Kalitengah and the Wedi sub-district in general. It is well known that for centuries the people of Wedi have shown an aptitude for trade. The story of Nyai Tasik, the first successful entrepreneur from Wedi in the 1500s, is only one example which bears witness to the fact that trading has a long history in this village. During the Dutch colonial period, many traders from Wedi and Kalitengah traded kamus and epek (traditional Javanese belts)1 in the nearby markets. These traditional belts were bought in Solo and Yogyakarta and resold in the smaller markets. Little by little those traders began to make their own kamus and epek rather than buy from other producers. These traditional belts were hand-sewn by these traders. Their products were sold in Klaten, Wonosari, Yogyakarta, Solo, Magelang, Karanganyar, and Semarang. When kamus and epek fell out of fashion, these traders then started to produce shorts (celana pendek) and beskap (Solo-style traditional jackets), shirts and other more modern garments. It seems plausible to claim that this era marked the tentative beginnings of the garment industry in Kalitengah.

Hadikusworo (1960: 85) argues that during Dutch colonial times, the garment industry started to grow as raw materials (cloth) could be easily acquired at quite cheap prices. The

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1 Kamus and epek were part of the Javanese traditional male costume, worn with a sarong. In early European descriptions of costumes in Java, Javanese men usually were depicted as bare-breasted most of the time. A sarong was used to wrap around the lower part of the body, while kamus and epek were sashes (sabuk) bound around the waist (Van Dijk, 1997:49).
increasing number of sewing machines in Kalitengah was also another important factor that boosted the development of the garment industry in this village. In 1928, the Singer sewing machine factory was already selling its products by a credit arrangement (mindring or huurkoop) to the sewing workers in Wedi. At that time the price of a sewing machine was Rp. 170 and a sewing worker could buy the sewing machine on credit by paying installments of Rp. 5 per month. This system permitted many sewing workers in Kalitengah to buy sewing machines. Unfortunately, many of them had to hand back their machines when the Depression hit in the 1930s and they could no longer pay the installments.

In the macro context, the rescinding of the regulation issued by the Dutch colonial government in the 1900s which prohibited indigenous people (pribumi) to wear Western-style dress also played an important role in the emergence and development of the garment industry in Kalitengah in the 1920s. As a consequence of that new policy, the number of Indonesian people who choose to wear 'modern' dress grew quite significantly (Van Dijk, 1997: 40). This policy subsequently pushed up the demand for the modern items of clothing such as shorts, shirts, trousers, and coats sewn by the Kalitengah garment producers. The garment products from Kalitengah at that time were mostly items of men's clothing (a similar phenomenon also prevailed in Europe, cf. Green [1997:23]). The reason is because most Javanese women at that time still wore the traditional Javanese costume: kebaya (Javanese woman's blouse) or kemben (breast-cloth) and kain panjang or jarik (lit. long cloth, a rectangular batik worn wrapped as an ankle-length skirt). At that time, even European women in Indonesia still wore kebaya and sarong or kain panjang. Only in the 1930s did European women abandon wearing kebaya and kain completely. They were replaced by 'reform clothing' (simple, straight, plain clothes) and bébé dresses (wide, white, shapeless, and long-sleeved, adorned with frills and ruches), and embroidered night-gowns (Locher-Scholten, 2000: 129-30).

Other scholars who carried out research in Kalitengah, among them Barliantari (1987), Sugiarso (1987), Susilastuti (1991), and Susilastuti and Partini (1990), believe that the emergence of the garment industry, in Kalitengah was the continuation of the textile industry which existed in this village after the introduction of the ATBM (handloom or non-power weaving loom) to Klaten District by the Dutch Colonial Government around 1930. Sugiarso (1987: 83) mentions that in 1937 the Dutch Government introduced no less than 1,500 ATBM in Klaten district to help people there overcome the impact of the

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2 Before the 1900s, the VOC, followed by the Dutch colonial government, imposed specific rules concerning what costumes a certain group of people were allowed to wear and those to which they had no right. Western dress was taboo for many. If an exception was made, it was for people close to the Dutch (Van Dijk, 1997: 40).

3 The introduction of the ATBM marked the beginning of modern textile manufacturing in Indonesia. It can be dated back to the year 1922, when the Textiles Institute of Bandung (TIB, Textiel Inrichting Bandung) was established (Koesmawan, 1996:39). See also Hill (1992:5), Palmer (1972:21), and Pangestu (1997: 29). According to Palmer (1972: 21) “In 1926 the institute built a new handloom, the alat tenun bukan mesin (ATBM) or non-power-weaving loom, which could produce five times the output of the old gedogan loom per unit of time”. The introduction of the TIB-loom was a success, and it rapidly replaced previous handloom models throughout Java (Koesmawan 1996: 39), not excepting Klaten District.
economic crisis. The ATBM was successfully adopted by people in the Pedan sub-district of Klaten, who had already had a tradition of producing textiles with traditional looms (gedogan looms) for many years. Not too long after the adoption of the ATBM, Pedan sub-district developed to become one of the biggest centres of the textile industry in Central Java. The success experienced by the Pedan textile entrepreneurs when they adopted the ATBM inspired other people from the surrounding areas of that sub-district to become textile producers, and the people in Wedi and Kalitengah village were no exception. Although not as popular as in Pedan, the traditional textile industry in Wedi has also existed since the 1930s. One respondent, Pak Yuwono, told me that his grandfather was one of the pioneers of the traditional textile production in Kalitengah. At that time, his grandfather did not use the ATBM to produce lurik cloth (traditional Javanese hand-woven cotton fabric, usually striped or plaid). He said that at that time the textile producers in Kalitengah mostly still used traditional looms (gedogan looms). The era of the ATBM started in Kalitengah only in 1947 when Pak Wongso, a textile producer from Pundung hamlet, adopted this new technology (Sugiarto 1987: 84). In the beginning Pak Wongso had only fifteen ATBMs. Later his handlooms increased to thirty. The success of Pak Wongso with the ATBM then attracted other entrepreneurs in that village to follow in his footsteps. Two years later, the textile-making business had expanded throughout Wedi sub-district, into Pandes and Gadungan villages (Sugiarto, 1987: 84). On the basis of information given by former textile producers in Kalitengah, it seems fair to say that the textile industry in Kalitengah and Wedi sub-district in general experienced a golden era in the 1960s. At that time, there were around twenty-five textile producers who used a total of 461 ATBMs in Wedi sub-district. Among them, nine producers who owned 117 ATBMs were located in Kalitengah village (Sugiarto 1987: 85). In 1961 one textile business named WIRATEX even started using Tenun Mesin (ATM - power loom) (Barliantari, 1987: 34; Sugiarto, 1987: 86).

The golden era of the textile industry in Kalitengah and Wedi sub-district in general was in fact a fertile offshoot of the Indonesian government programmes in the 1950s-1960s designed to protect indigenous (pribumi) businesses. The first of these was the Benteng Programme, which was implemented by the Natsir cabinet in 1950 to protect the pribumi textile producers from the Sino-Indonesian industrialists by the selective granting of import licences and credit extension (Sutter, 1959a in Mizuno, 1996: 20-21). The second was the establishment of the Economic Urgency Programme (EUP), including the induk (central cooperative plans) in 1951. The purpose of this programme was to increase mechanisation and boost the standardisation of quality in order to promote local small-scale industry.

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4 Gedogan looms (small wooden frame handlooms) or traditional looms were used by the Javanese women weavers until the late 1920s, prior to the introduction of the ATBM. To operate this loom, the weavers were seated on the floor and shot the weft thread by hand (Keppy, 2001:32-33). In Klaten District, textile producers who use gedogan looms now can still be found in Cawas and Pedan sub-districts.

5 Pak Wongso (Wongsosuharjo) was one among nine pioneers who introduced the ATBM produced textile industry to Pedan sub-district in the 1930s. In the beginning the industry was owned by R. Siswosudarso. However, for certain reasons this family business then split into nine new enterprises. After the split, Pak Wongso moved into Kalitengah village to run his own textile industry in this village (Hadikusworo, 1960: 1-2).
including the textile industry (Palmer, 1972: 85; Mizuno 1996:21). The third was the establishment of the Foundation for the Supply of Raw Materials in 1954 (JPP, \textit{Jajasan Perbekaian Bahan-bahan Perindustrian}). The main task of this foundation was to control the price and the amount of imported cotton yarn and to allocate these yarns to the indigenous weavers at subsidised prices (Palmer, 1972: 140-142). The fourth was the establishment of the KORPROSAN (\textit{Komando Proyek Sandang} or Clothing Project Command) at the beginning of 1965. The objective of this project was to promote domestic spinning and weaving output as efficiently as possible by grouping ten spinning projects and two weaving projects into PT Sandang Industry I and Sandang industry II. These two companies were placed under PT SANDANG INDUSTRY (Koesmawan, 1996: 43).

Such protectionism certainly helped but in the 1970s WIRATEX and other textile businesses in Wedi sub-district collapsed one after another when the New Order Government adopted an “open door” policy for foreign capital investment. Under this new policy, small-scale textile industries had to compete with Chinese-run weaving firms and Japanese joint venture industries (see Hill, 1992; Koesmawan, 1996; Mizuno, 1996; Hendro, 2000). Since ATBM and ATM were not efficient compared to the newer machinery owned by the bigger textile producers, there was, therefore, no other choice for those small-scale textile producers but to close down their workshops.\textsuperscript{6} Siahaan (1978:92) describes the situation as follows: “From November 1968 to March 1974, the spinning industry has created 18,000 new jobs. However, the traditional weaving industry is threatened with bankruptcy and a loss of 391,000 jobs”. In Majalaya, the traditional textile producers, who were outplayed by Chinese and Japanese textile producers, switched their business from making \textit{sarong} and \textit{kain belacu} (unbleached shirting) to making surgical gauze (\textit{perban}), dishcloths (\textit{lap piring}), \textit{floor-cloths} (\textit{lap mobil}), towels (\textit{handuk}), and shawls (\textit{syal}) (Mizuno, 1996: 31-32). In Kalitengah the traditional textile producers who went out of business took a different approach. Instead of diversifying they entered the garment industry rather then repositioning their textile industry as happened in Majalaya. There are several factors that can be used to explain this choice. First of all, Chinese textile producers in Wedi and Klaten district in general were not as prominent as their counterparts in Majalaya. This meant that textile producers in Kalitengah had difficulty finding subcontracting jobs from bigger Chinese textile producers in Klaten when their products failed to compete with those of the bigger producers. Second, the garment industry, which had existed since the 1920s and had gained momentum in the 1970s when the price of textiles was quite cheap, offered a more attractive profit to these former textile producers. They opted to make the change, rather than continuing to produce traditional textiles which had difficulty competing with the modern textiles produced by big factories. In this case, Kalitengah differed from the regions of Cawas

\textsuperscript{6} Hill (1992: 7) explains that besides for reasons of efficiency, “the switch in consumer preferences away from traditional clothing such as \textit{sarung}, \textit{selendang}, and \textit{stagen}, and from cotton synthetic”, also played an important role in the collapse of the small-scale textiles industries.
and Pedan where the garment industry had previously been unknown. In those two regions, people still continued to produce traditional cloth ( lurik) although the market for that kind of product had shrunk dramatically. The same phenomenon also can be found in Troso, Jepara District. Textile producers in that region succeeded in adjusting their production from making lurik and sarong to producing ethnic tenun for souvenirs (Hendro, 2000: 75-77). Third, in contrast to the fairly widespread textile industries, big garment industries were not developed in Indonesia until the 1980s (Hill, 1992: 8-11; Pangestu, 1997: 39). Since the number of big garment producers was still limited and their products had not yet reached the (poor) people in the small towns and rural areas, this created greater opportunities for smaller garment producers to seize a share in the garment market.

The two historical versions adduced to explain the emergence of the garment industry in Kalitengah as described above should be looked as complementary. Hadikusworo's (1960) findings inform us that the garment industry in Kalitengah has existed there since the late Dutch colonial era. Barliantari (1987), Sugianto (1987), Susilastuti (1991), and Susilastuti and Partini (1990) add that the garment industry experienced a boom in the 1970s when many former textile producers entered this business after they had been outplayed by big textile producers following Suharto's policy of inviting foreign investors into this sector.

This conclusion is also supported by the fact that during the Japanese occupation up until the end of Indonesian Old Order government era, the garment industry in Kalitengah was foundering because of a shortage of textile supplies. There is unequivocal evidence that, during the Japanese occupation between 1942-1945, the garment industry in Kalitengah was troubled by the difficulties in finding cloth because of the textile crisis engendered by wartime conditions (Hadikusworo, 1960: 81). Notwithstanding the fact that many textile enterprises run by the Dutch were destroyed during the Japanese occupation (cf. Keppy, 2001), unquestionably the textile crisis to some extent was also caused by the Dutch colonial government policy in the 1930s (The Enterprise Regulation), promulgated to protect Dutch manufacturers by strictly limiting the import of cheap Japanese fibres and textiles, especially woven cotton sarongs and kain panjang (Sutter 1959b, I: 41-44). See also Keppy (2001: 65-72) and Matsuo (1970: 19-26). Although in the short run this policy had boosted the number of Indonesian weaving and spinning enterprises (Sutter 1959b, I: Keppy, 2001; Matsuo, 1970), since the majority of these weaving and spinning industries were still dependent on imported fibres, particularly from Japan (Frederick, 1997: 204), in the long run it made these industries vulnerable to the change in international politico-economic conditions, namely the war in Europe and the worsening of the relationship between the Netherlands and Japan. Peter Keppy mentions that the impact of this policy was markedly visible after the Dutch declaration of war in early 1941. Soon after war was declared, the export of weaving yarn from Japan was stopped. This coincided with the fact that the import of yarn from the Netherlands was brought to a stop by the war in Europe. Subsequently, by July 1942 weaving yarn stock neared exhaustion. This situation meant that textile production decreased sharply. Matters became worse when the Japanese authorities forced cooperative
and private enterprises to cease their production of cotton fabric (Keppy, 2001: 89). Finally, by late 1943, textile traders were a rare sight in Central Javanese markets, and early the following year clothing was in short supply all over the country (Frederick, 1997: 205). S. Sato (1994: 76) and Keppy (2001: 91) both mention that because of the lack of decent clothes many people were forced to use rags, gunnysacks, banana fibre trousers, and shirts made from old pieces of textiles cobbled together. Some of them were force to go practically naked.

To deal with textile crisis, garment producers in Kalitengah took the initiative to find kain rombengan (rags) to make their products. The garment products made from kain rombengan were widely known as pakaian mBali (the abbreviation of ditambali which means mended clothes). Those clothes were perforce popular among the poor people during the Japanese occupation (Hadikusworo, 1960: 81).

The textile crisis continued on into the early part of the era of Indonesian independence in the late 1940s. Only in the 1950s did the situation improve because of the increasing textile production within Indonesia itself. Hill (1992: 5-6) mentions that the output of Indonesian textile production between 1950-1955 expanded by about 150 per cent. Raw materials were also more plentiful. Palmer (1972: 81) noted that the spinning capacity increased by 700 per cent between 1952-1969. This helped the garment industry in Kalitengah to overcome the difficult situation it had previously experienced, as Hadikusworo (1960: 81) observes:

"After the Dutch government recognized the independence of Indonesia (in 1949), the garment industry in Kalitengah entered a new era. Raw materials could be found easily with cheap prices. New sewing machines came into the village with affordable prices that enabled many sewing workers to buy this machine. The number of garment producers is also increasing up to the present"

This spurt was short-lived and in the 1960s, the problem of textile and yarn shortages reappeared. This incidence, Koesmawan (1996: 42-43) claims, could be attributed to the failure of the Indonesian Old Order government to put various textile development programmes into operation. Palmer (1972: 85-86) says that this was owing to factors such as collusion, delays caused by technical difficulties, and the lack of managerial resources. Under the Guided Democracy and Guided Economy systems,7 in July 1958 the Indonesian government reintroduced the textile and yarn allocation system (sistem jatah) which had been previously introduced in 1954-1955, only to be discarded. Under this programme, the small-scale pribumi entrepreneurs could purchase textiles and yarn at prices below normal market prices (Keppy, 2001: 169). Unfortunately, many pribumi quota holders, the 'naughty' entrepreneurs Keppy (2001: 94) calls them, misused their privileges by selling on their quota to Chinese businessmen and Chinese textile producers for a quick and easy profit (Koesmawan, 1996: 42).

7 For more discussion on this theme see, for example, Feith (1967).
The impact of the national situation meant that garment producers in Kalitengah also had to face a shortage of textile supplies. Hadikusworo (1960: 82-84) mentions that at that time garment producers in Kalitengah experienced difficulties buying textiles. The popular textiles needed to make such garments products as kesting (black satin), kastup (shiny colourful fabric made from cotton), gabardine, lurik, drill, poplin, and various textiles with flower motifs for women's clothes were few and far between in the markets. Under the allocation system, garment producers in Kalitengah were also obliged to buy cloth via the Department of Industry (Jawatan Perindustrian). Overwhelmed by the sheer number of applicants, the Department of Industry implemented the regulation that only garment producers who had more than five sewing machines would be eligible for a textile quota. Following the implementation of this regulation, of the forty-nine garment producers in Kalitengah who qualified for the programme, only fifteen producers were given the textile quota. In a joint effort to cope with this difficult situation, those forty-nine garment producers established the Gabungan Pengusaha Perusahaan Konfeksi (GPPK, The Confection Entrepreneurs Union) on 14 January, 1960. The main objective of this organisation was to help its members to obtain the textiles and other raw materials that were needed to produce garments and to market their products. Unfortunately, although the garment producers' union had been established, it could not help its member to obtain the scarce commodity. Consequently, these garment producers had to buy textiles from the Chinese textiles traders (Hokchia) on the black market.

Worse was to come. In the wake of the promulgation of Presidential Decree Number 10 on November 1959,8 the Chinese textile traders in Wedi had to go to confine themselves to the district capital of Klaten. From that time, the garment producers in Kalitengah could no longer obtain their textile supplies from these traders. With their proper lines of supply cut off, the garment producers in this village had to buy illegal textiles at Slompretan Market in Solo at higher prices and at greater risk of being caught and sent to jail by the police. Besides these problems related to the procurement of textiles, the garment producers in Kalitengah also had to face the problem of expensive sewing machine spare-parts.

Bearing the burden by these problems, exacerbated by the difficult times prior to the G-30-S PKI affair (the abortive Indonesian Communist Party Coup d'état discussed in Chapter Three) and the dicey restoration period after that affair, the garment industry in Kalitengah just had to stumble on until the era of cheap textiles arrived under the New Order Government in the 1970s.9

8 'Peraturan Presiden RI (Indonesian Government Regulation) Number 10/1959 on “larangan bagi usaha perdagangan kecil dan eceran bersifat asing di pedalaman”. This decree “prohibited commercial activities and retailing by foreigners in villages other than those located in the provincial capitals, district (kabupaten) capitals, and municipalities (kota praja), and ordered the ownership of all such businesses to be transferred to local cooperatives” (Mizuno, 1996: 21). See also Keppy (2001: 190).
9 One important factor that triggered the dramatic growth of the Indonesian textile industry in the 1970s was the policy adopted by some developed countries of relocating their textile industries in developing countries, for example in East and Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia (Anderson in Hill 1992:1; Pangestu, 1997: 31). As the result of that dramatic development, by the 1980s Indonesia had already surpassed Japan and was
After the advent of the era of cheap textiles, the garment industry in Kalitengah once again picked up and eventually underwent tremendous development. The number of garment producers and sewing workers increased significantly. Unfortunately, there is no data available on the number of garment producers in Kalitengah village at that time. However, indications of an increased number of garment producers can be drawn from other clues, such as the statement by one sewing worker in Kalitengah: "Nek riyin niku juragan golek gerji, lha nek sakniki gerji sing golek juragan". ("In the past [in the 1970s-80s] the garment producers were looking for sewing workers, but nowadays it's the sewing worker who are looking for garment producers") (Susilastuti and Partini, 1990: 13).

Various factors may be suggested to explain the growth of the garment industry in Kalitengah since the 1970s. Most prominent was the increase in the prosperity of the Indonesian people during the development era under the New Order government. Through its Repelita (Five-Year Development Plans), the Indonesian development programme launched by the Suharto Government in 1969/1970, the government improved the average income of the Indonesian people in general which ineluctably led to an increase in their purchasing power parity, and indeed to an improvement in their welfare. Among the indicators of this improvement in welfare according to Manning (1998: 63) are the large increase in per-capita rice and food consumption, declining fertility and mortality, and the dramatic increase in the consumption of basic consumer durables such as clothing, radios, bicycles and the like. This nation-wide phenomenon, without exception, also benefited the customers of the garment products of Kalitengah across Central Java and East Java. One specific factor was the increase in the demand for school uniforms in the 1970s because of the increased number of primary school students after the implementation of Inpres SD (the Presidential Assistance programme to build new primary school buildings) by the Indonesian government in 1973. In 1970, there were about 12.8 million primary school students and 1.2 million junior high school students who needed school uniforms (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan in http://www.pdk.go.id/inlink.php?to=statistik). The demand for school uniforms continued to increase and took a enormous leap on the 17 March 1982 when the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education issued Decree Number 052/C/Kep/D.82 which stated equal to China and other ASEAN countries as one of the biggest exporters of textiles and garment products. Pangestu (1997: 50) notes that between 1987-1992 the value of Indonesian textiles and garment exports increased almost tenfold from $ 680 million to almost $ 6 billion by 1992 (see also Berry and Levy, 1994:16-18).

10 The success of the Indonesian development programme from the 1960s-1990s has been acknowledged by scholars and international organisations. For example, Hill (1996: 3-5) mentions "by the late 1980s Indonesia was being classified among the select group of developing countries destined shortly to become newly industrialized economies". He then gives the following as illustration: from the1960s to the 1990s, the Indonesian economy grew on average 6-7 per cent/year. Besides that, real per capita GDP had risen dramatically from US $160 in the 1960s to US $ 610 in the 1990s. Thus, generally speaking, almost all sectors of the economy performed impressively. For example, the Green Revolution was successfully implemented in Java, which doubled the rice production. Furthermore, in 1965 had Indonesia barely possessed a modern industrial sector, in the following years the output of various industrial sectors increased more than tenfold. More impressively, per capita output of a "basic goods" such as textiles has risen by more than 600 per cent.

11 Before the Decree was issued, based on Law No. 4/1950 on National Education, school uniform was not
that all students in Indonesia from TK (Kindergarten), SD (Primary School), SMP (Junior High School), and SMA (Senior High School) had to wear the same school uniform for each of those school categories (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984: 2). This coincided with another dramatic increase in the number of students who needed school uniforms after the Indonesian government introduced the programme which was known as the Six Years Compulsory Basic Education for primary school age (7-12 years) or Program Wajib Belajar Enam Tahun in 1984. This programme was extended to the 13-15 year age group in 1994\textsuperscript{12} (http://www.dikdasmen.depdiknas.go.id). As the enrolment ratio of primary and secondary school students rose dramatically from year to year, of course the number of students grew very significantly as can be seen in Table 4.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary enrolment</th>
<th>Junior secondary enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>12,821,618</td>
<td>1,292,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>14,280,157</td>
<td>1,900,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>22,551,870</td>
<td>3,412,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>26,550,915</td>
<td>5,669,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>26,348,376</td>
<td>5,686,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>25,948,574</td>
<td>6,945,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>25,614,836</td>
<td>7,600,093</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


With millions of primary and junior secondary school students who needed school uniforms every year, producing school uniforms became a lucrative business for the garment producers in Indonesia, and those in Kaliyengah were no exception. Having found their niche, many garment producers in Kaliyengah have chosen to continue to specialise in producing school uniforms. Nowadays, Pak Yatno -- the owner of Rapi Confection Enterprise-- is recognised as the biggest supplier of school uniforms for the markets in Central Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua after a career as a producer of school uniforms spanning many decades. When he was interviewed, he said that his turnover from selling school uniforms is not less than 1.5 billion Rupiahs/month, particularly in the three months prior to the commencement of the new school year in August.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} As the result of this programme the net ratio enrolment in primary school jumped from 58 per cent in 1969 to 95 per cent in 1996. While the gross ratio enrolment in junior secondary school jumped from 17 per cent in 1973 to 39 per cent in 1997-98 (Yeom, Acedo, and Utomo, 2003: 2 in http://www.ginie.org/cstudies/indonesia/cs-asia pacific.htm).

\textsuperscript{13} Besides Pak Yatno in Kaliyengah, success stories about sewing workers who became school uniform producers can be found in other places. In Surabaya, many people know about CV. Purnama (owned by Haji Muhammad Djarman), the biggest school uniform producer for the East Java and the Eastern Indonesia markets.
The third factor was the strong preference in poorer households to buy ready-made clothes rather than make their own clothes with the help of a local tailor. White (1976: 343) says this is because at that time ready-made clothes were cheaper than the clothes made by local tailor since they would have incurred double the cost, having both to purchase the cloth and pay for the services of the local tailor. The effort to satisfy the demand for ready-made clothes from poorer households is one irrefutable factor in explaining why from the very beginning the majority of garment products from Kalitengah have been low quality ready-made clothes (pakai kodian). Given their quality, it is not surprising that most garment products of Kalitengah village are sold in the small district and sub-district markets where the poorer people buy their clothes.

Yet a fourth factor is the change in the fashion preference of Javanese women since the 1960s. They now choose to wear Western dress rather than traditional Javanese costume. Van Dijk (1997: 73) argues that this change in preference was caused by the high price of fine jarik (batik or printed cloth) compared to the lower costs of high-quality ready-made Western dress. Supporting Van Dijk's opinion, Joseph (1987: 120), on the basis of her research in Bantul, Yogyakarta, makes the following observation:

"Unlike pandanus mats and clay cookware, which are less expensive than mass produced substitutes, batik products are considerably more expensive because of the cost of raw materials [...] Thus as income producing opportunities have decreased in the agriculture sector, fewer rural households have been able to afford batik".

Because batik jarik is expensive, White (1976: 348) mentions that many women in the village buy a batik jarik at harvest time and wear it only on special occasions. Keeping pace with this change, some garment producers seized the opportunity and began to make blouses for their women customers.

Another important factor, affecting the development of the garment industry in Kalitengah was the upsurge in the popularity of batik shirts which commenced in the 1970s. Ramadhan K.H. (1992:330) claims that it was Ali Sadikin, the governor of Jakarta in the 1970s, who introduced of the long-sleeved batik shirt as formal dress for the first time. Since that time batik shirts have gained in popularity as formal dress. Nowadays, this item of clothing is worn by all Indonesian men from various socio-economic groups on various occasions. It is acceptable as formal dress for the office, for attending wedding parties, for celebrating Lebaran, for attending funeral ceremonies and pengajian (religious study groups) and so on. The garment producers in Kalitengah have certainly not been slow in following this trend. As the most popular item of men's attire in Indonesia, batik shirts have become the most important garment product in the village. Currently, there are hardly any large garment producers in Kalitengah who do not produce this item; particularly when the...
demand for batik shirts increases significantly every year prior to the Lebaran celebration. Batik shirts have even become the trademark of the garment producers of Kalitengah (and Wedi sub-district in general) because the Wedi garment producers are among the biggest suppliers of batik shirts in the Klewer Market, Solo.

In the 1980s, Kalitengah garment producers, particularly the younger ones, also started to produce sportswear like T-shirts, jackets, training pants and so on, after Pak Hari (a drop-out student from Bandung Institute of Technology who became a garment producer) introduced the new sablon (silk-screening) technique\textsuperscript{14} to the people in Kalitengah. Having won recognition with this new technique, the garment producers in Kalitengah have since acquired themselves a reputation as one of the biggest producers of silk-screen garments in Central Java. Since silk-screen garments usually are made for uniforms for particular institutions or associations, the customers for these products usually come from schools, universities, government institutions, the army, political parties and other formal bodies. Those garment producers who produce silk-screen garments usually work on an order basis rather than selling their products in the markets. The development of silk-screening in its turn triggered the emergence of the embroidery business, inspired by the need to make badges, letters, and pictures to be put onto the jackets or T-shirts. Rizal, an immigrant from Tasikmalaya who set up his enterprise in the 1990s, was the pioneer of embroidery in Kalitengah. Since then, several people from Kalitengah have followed his footsteps and established the same type of enterprise. This business has continued to grow as the demand for Muslim clothes, which are traditionally richly embroidered, has increased quite significantly in the last five years.

The course seemed set fair but, despite its steady development, the garment industry in Kalitengah had to face tougher competition in the 1980s when garment products made by big garment factories started to penetrate the smaller markets. This coincided with the juncture at which the development and modernisation in Indonesia over the last two decades had brought a change in the taste of the consumers of the Kalitengah garment products. As a result of their growing sophistication, many consumers no longer wanted to buy the cheap, low-quality garment products from Kalitengah when relatively cheap, better quality garments were available in the market, supplied by bigger garment factories. With the pressure of competition mounting, several big garment producers in Kalitengah started to invest their money in buying new machinery such as hemming machines, button-holing machines, T-shirt processing machines and the like in order to put themselves in a position to produce better quality garment products (baju alusan). Given the amount of capital investment required, only a handful of garment producers could undertake such a venture and the majority of garment producers in Kalitengah still continued produce cheap garment products (baju kodian), such as school uniforms, shirts, trousers, Hawaiian shorts and other

\textsuperscript{14} This new technique enabled silk-screen garment producers to improve the quality of the characters and pictures which are printed on the T-shirts with a colour separation technique by using a special screen device.
such items with their old sewing machines.

This is not to say that efforts had not been made. A common attempt to modernise the production system, in fact, had been undertaken by garment producers in Kalitengah in 1975 when a group of garment producers established the PANDIKA co-operative. The purpose of this cooperative was to strengthen the business potential of the garment producers in Kalitengah by increasing the quality of their garments. The plan was to produce these items using the fabrication system. Unfortunately, in 1980, the cooperative collapsed because its management, which consisted of big garment producers, had abused the trust of the members by “hijacking” (seizing for their own enterprises) every big order that came to the cooperative.

Another effort to establish a cooperative was made when the economic crisis hit the garment industry in the village at the end of 1998. The following year, several young garment producers established a new cooperative named KOPINKRA (Koperasi Industry Kerajinan Busana or the Garment Industry Cooperative). However, the life-span of this cooperative was even shorter than its forerunner. In 2001, it closed since the members preferred to find their own way of coping with the increasing competition rather than pooling their resources.

To assist the garment producers in Kalitengah to tackle the increasing competition, the Klaten District government (Pemerintah Daerah or Pemda Klaten) has launched various programmes in Kalitengah since the 1980s, including subsidised credit, managerial and marketing knowledge workshops, and technical skill training. These programmes, in fact, are part of Indonesian government programmes to promote small-scale industries (see, e.g., Kragten, 2000: 53-54; Sandee, 1995: 151-164; Mizuno, 1996: 25-27). Henry Sandee has classified various programmes to promote small-scale industries which had been implemented during the New Order Government era as the following: (1) Program Keterkaitan Sistem Bapak Angkat (Linking Large and Small Enterprises through Subcontracting); (2) Pemanfaatan 1-5 % Keuntungan BUMN (Using Profits of State Enterprise for Small Enterprise Development); (3) Penjualan Saham Kepada Koperasi (Selling Share to Cooperative); (4) Pendidikan dan Latihan Bagi Industri Kecil (Education and Training for Small Entrepreneurs) (Sandee, 1995: 153-154).

Without doubt, those programmes --which were put into practice in a series of training sessions, workshops, and subsidised credit in Kalitengah—did provide great benefit to the garment producers who participated in them. Haji Mari told me that he knew how to make good patterns only after he had attended the workshop conducted in his village several years ago. He also told me that he was invited to attend various workshops on bookkeeping, marketing strategy, achievement and motivation training (AMT) plus several other topics run by Pemda Klaten. Besides these workshops, he also mentioned that he had had several opportunities to access various types of credit which were offered by state as well as private banks via Pemda Klaten. However, not every garment producer has been presented with the same opportunities as Haji Mari. In fact, the majority of garment producers in that village never participated in these various programmes. There are several reasons to explain their
exclusion. First of all, not every garment producer in Kalitengah has the same access to information. In some cases information about government programmes only falls into the hands of the “elite” garment producers in that village who maintain close contact with the government officials in the KANWIL and DINAS Perindustrian. Second, although those garment producers may know about the programmes, the small garment producers tend to be pretty sceptical about them. Their scepticism is usually the result of either unfair treatment by government officials who tend to favour the big garment producers, or of difficulties in applying the knowledge acquired from these training sessions, which is sometimes too theoretical and too far removed from the reality which they face. Third, small garment producers simply cannot afford the opportunity to benefit from these training sessions. In this the flies in the ointment are that they do not have to means to provide the collateral and follow the procedures to obtain credit when the government offers them subsided credit and the perennial problem that small-scale garment producers have a short-term orientation in the running of their business. Hence, rather than spending their time, for example, attending a one-week training programme in the Klaten District office, which will not guarantee an improvement in their business conditions, these small garment producers prefer to use their limited time to go to the market, which according to them, guarantees they will make some money.

Nowadays, after recovering from the economic crisis in 1999 (the discussion on the response of the juragan to the economic crisis will be found in section seven), the garment producers (juragan) in Kalitengah have to face even tougher competition, since their competitors in producing cheap garments have now become more diversified. Their primary competitors are other small garment producers from places such as Pekalongan, Kudus, and Solo who produce batik shirts of better quality than the Kalitengah products. The second line of competitors are the big garment factories which offer relatively cheap and better quality garment products, particularly imitations of famous brand name garments such as Levi’s, Guess, Arrow, Dior and the like. The third line of competitors are the importers of second-hand clothes.\textsuperscript{15} The inflow of imported second-hand clothes over the last three years (Kompas, November 21, 2003) now poses a serious threat to the Kalitengah producers of cheap clothes, and to the small-scale garment industry in Indonesia in general. Concerned about this problem, the Indonesian Ministry of Trade, Rini MS Soewandi, insists that imported second-hand clothes will ruin the garment industry in Indonesia, particularly home industry (Kompas, April 15, 2003).

\textsuperscript{15} In principle, importing second-hand clothes is prohibited by the Indonesian government in several regulations. Those regulations are, Article Number 3 of the Decree of the Trade Minister No. 229/MPP/Kep/7/1997 about the general regulation that imported goods must be new products. Second is the Trade Minister’s Decree No.172/MPP/Kep/5/2001, which more explicitly mentions that the Indonesian government prohibits the import of second-hand clothes. Third is the Directorate General of Foreign Trade Regulation No. 71/DJPLN/2000, which states that to import second-hand clothes is prohibited. However, these regulations have not been effective in preventing the heavy influx of second-hand clothes from foreign countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Europe in the recent years (Kompas, August 21, 2002).
3. From Gerji to Garment Producer: The Emergence of the Garment Industry in Kalitengah

As mentioned in the previous section, the embryo of the garment industry in Kalitengah was the making hand-sewn kamus and epek, which was encouraged by various traders in the village even before the 1900s. However, when European dress became popular for men in the early part of the twentieth century, kamus and epek disappeared and were then replaced by trousers, shorts, and shirts (see Van Dijk, 1997: 40; and Mrazék, 1997: 119-120). People then preferred to go to the local tailors (gerji or jahit) to satisfy their demand for clothing. Gerji is actually quite an old profession, as old as that of jongos and babu during Dutch colonial times. In contrast to jongos and babu who were already well known as the domestic servants in prosperous Javanese families before the Dutch arrived in Indonesia, gerji only began to build up a reputation in the 1900s. An indication of this can be found in Locher-Scholten’s (2000: 89-90) description about the domestic servants of European households in Indonesia in the following paragraph:

“At the beginning of the twentieth century a European household required, as minimum, a houseboy (jongos or sepen), a housemaid or nursemaid (babu), and a boy for horses and the garden (kebon). The most popular household manual of 1913 reckoned that seven servants were needed: in addition to the jongos, the cook (kokki), the babu, and kebon, someone was required for the sewing (jahit), and washing, as well, as coachman and/or driver”.

The gerji or jahit began to make his mark when the sewing machine and other items of modern equipment like the gramophone and telephone became widely used in Indonesia in the 1900s (Mrazék 1997: 121). In Wedi (Kalitengah) sewing machines began to make their appearance in the late 1920s. Hadikusworo (1960: 85) mentions that the Singer factory introduced its sewing machines in Wedi in 1928.

Historically, sewing was one of the female domestic tasks, not only in Indonesia but in Europe as well. In the past, a good woman was always portrayed as one who was skilled in cooking and sewing. Therefore, it was no wonder that sewing was part of the curriculum of the Colonial School for Women and Girls. Sewing, at least the cutting of the patterns, was an accomplishment required of European women going to the Indies (Locher-Scholten, 2000: 32-33). However, little by little, sewing skills were no longer considered secret lore, and therefore could be taught to the indigenous people. Eventually there was a complete turnaround and only the indigenous people were considered “appropriate” to undertake this

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16 The sewing machine was patented in 1830 by Barthelemy Thimonnier of Paris. He used his sewing machine to manufacture army uniforms. Thimonnier’s design used only single thread. An American, Elias Howe, improved this machine so that it used two threads, but failed to get the patent rights in America because of the objection raised by the US tailors at that time. The objections of US tailors and seamstresses were overcome by a machine designed in 1851 by Isaac M. Singer of Pittstown, New York. The machines before Singer’s were hand-powered, but Singer quickly popularised foot-powered machines (http://icg.harvard.edu/~ec970/spring_2003/smith/britannicaencyclopedia_clothing_and_footwear.doc). See also the history of the invention of sewing machine in Green (1997:34).
kind of work as part of the baboe tasks.\textsuperscript{17} When this change took place, sewing was no longer seen as a ladylike pursuit. The “evolution” of sewing from a European women’s task to the \textit{jahit}’s profession during colonial times is described by Locher-Scholten (2000: 133; 1997: 163) as follows:

“The clothing of many colonial European women, however, was made at home. The women either sewed their clothes themselves or had them made by their Indonesian seamstress, the \textit{jahit} (\textit{djait} in colonial literature) [...] The \textit{jahit} fashioned these clothes or mended the worn ones. She was at the fringe of the crew of the servant who made life for European women in the Indies relatively easy. The \textit{jahit} rarely lived in the servant quarters, but would come in from her own house at seven o’clock in the morning. She was often praised for her precision and diligence. In 1936 the Association of Housewives in the Indies engaged a number of \textit{jahit} to serve its members, with the aim of creating a more efficient European household [...] European women were thus dependent on the \textit{jahit} for their clothing”.

It is important to note here that although the majority of \textit{jahit} were women, as indicated in the paragraph above, men also performed this task at that time. Locher-Scholten (2000: 92) mentions that, looking at the division of labour among servants, sewing and washing were not restricted to one gender; they were some of the more flexible tasks open to either men or women. Therefore, after the sewing machine became a mass product and could be easily found in the markets, from the 1920s (see, e.g., Mrázek, 1997: 121), many Indonesians could embrace the profession of \textit{jahit}. Indeed, \textit{jahit} or \textit{gerji} was not only the term for the profession of native women working for their Europeans customers and Indonesian priyayi only, but was also the term for men who made clothes for indigenous customers.

In the 1920s, there were already several \textit{gerji} in Kalitengah. Hadikusworo (1960: 80) mentions that at that time several people from Klaten learned how to sew in the sewing schools located in Yogyakarta (since travelling to a distant place was still quite uncommon for girls, it was mostly men who went to Yogyakarta to learn how to sew). After they had acquired the requisite skill, they returned to Klaten and established their own tailor’s shops. Among these pioneers were Abdul Kadir (Emceh a Tailor) and “Penjahit Kita” (Kita Tailor). The people of Wedi and Kalitengah (mostly men) who wanted to learn how to sew learned from these pioneers. After that, they became \textit{gerji} in Wedi. These \textit{gerji} usually worked on an order basis. They made clothes only if they received orders from customers. However, influenced by the trading culture of Wedi, Hadikusworo (1960: 80-81) says that several of those \textit{gerji}, also made clothes such as shorts, trousers, shirts, and \textit{beskap} and sold them in the market. This period marked the emergence of the garment industry in Kalitengah. My interview with several old garment producers (who started to produce garments in 1942) also corroborates Hadikusworo’s (1960) finding. They explained that they had acquired sewing

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17} The degradation of the skill in \textit{jahit} has also happened to cooking skills in Indonesia nowadays. Since Indonesian women are more active in activities outside the home as \textit{wanita karier} (career women), the task of cooking is not done by the housewife but by the housemaid (\textit{pembantu}). Pursuing a career is considered much more important than cooking. Indeed cooking is no longer considered as an important skill that must be acquired in order to win the reputation of being a good woman.}
skills because they learned them from their fathers who worked as sewing workers. One garment producer (Pak Cip, 83-years-old) even told me that he had accumulated the capital to start making garment products because he saved his wages from the time when he helped his father to perform his tasks as a sewing worker. This fact indicates that there were already garment producers and sewing workers in Kalitengah in the late Dutch colonial period.

Although several gerji started to produce ready-made clothes in the 1920s, the number of garment producers in Kalitengah at that time still remained small compared to the number of gerji pure and simple. It was only after the Japanese occupation that the number of the garment producers in that village increased. Several of the garment producing pioneers who are still alive told me that, despite the textile crisis which affected the job orders of gerji and various garment producers, the Japanese occupation of Indonesian between 1942-1945 was one of the important factors affecting the development of the garment industry in that village. Indubitably during the Japanese occupation textiles were a scarce commodity throughout Indonesia, including Kalitengah. Textiles were simply not to be found. Consequently, nobody could make new clothing. The profession hardest hit by this crisis was that of gerji. The textile crisis virtually forced those gerji who ran out of orders to find other jobs. Some refused to be beaten and, inspired by people who were forced to make their clothes from rags such as cast-off curtains, tablecloths, bed covers and even gunnysacks, several gerji in Kalitengah took the initiative and made ready-made clothes from such second-hand material. They bought rags (at that time called kain sanpok18 or kain rombengan) in the Yogyakarta market or even by asking door to door, journeying from one village to another. After they had assembled enough rags, those gerji unpicked (ndedeli) these second-hand textiles and made them into ready-made clothes (pakaian mBali).19 These pakaian mBali were sold in the nearby markets such as Klaten, Wedi, and Bayat. Surprisingly, people welcomed this product. My respondents said that their garment products (the pakaian mBali) always sold out.

The Case of Pak Cip: From Gerji to Garment Producer

Pak Cip, 83 years old, is one of the older generation of garment producers in Kalitengah village. He lives in a nice house in Singonggalan hamlet with his second wife and two children. His first wife died in 1980. Before he married his second wife, he told me that he had distributed all his wealth equally between his ten children from his first marriage. He said that all of his children by his first wife telah menjadi orang (were already married and had become successful people). Most of Pak

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18 Sanpok is the abbreviation of sepisan kapok (only once and not again) means that the clothes made from sanpok cloth only can be used once because those clothes will be “finished” when they are washed.

19 Pak Cipto, an 83-year-old garment producer, told me about the process of making pakaian mBali from kain sanpok (the rags). First of all, kain sanpok (the rags) were unpicked (ndedeli), and then the cloth was soaked in water for a couple of hours (direndam). After that, this cloth was hand-washed. After it was clean enough, the cloth was then dyed (diwenter) before being dried by putting it on the mat under the sun. Finally, this cloth would be cut to a specific pattern and sewn as ready-to-wear clothes.
Cip’s children are continuing in his footsteps as garment producers, except for one son who has become a professor in Jakarta. Pak Cip admits that he is too old to continue working as a garment producer. However, since he still has to take care of his wife and two children he has to work, although not as hard as he did several years ago.

Pak Cip said that he started his business as a garment producer in 1942. Like his parents, before he started his business as a garment producer he was also a sewing worker. He told me that when he still lived at home with his parents they told him to save his wages instead of spending them on unnecessary things. Later he admit that he was very lucky that he had followed his father’s advice saving all his wages in a celengan bambu (a bamboo piggybank) every time he was paid for helping his father to complete his tasks. By 1942, he said that he had saved enough for him to start his business as a garment producer (mbabar). Before he could launch his business, Pak Cip had to buy kain sanpok. He said that he had to go door to door to find people who wanted to sell their second-hand clothes household linen during the Japanese occupation. After these rags had been converted into ready-to-wear products, he sold them in the Beringharjo Market, Yogyakarta.

Pak Cip’s business grew rapidly when he began to sell ready-to-wear products made from kain kencongan (an illegal cloth that he purchased on the black market or catut during the Japanese occupation. See Keppy [2001: 91]). He said that at that time “dwit mung koyo diwenike wae” (“the money was there for the asking”) because his customers came from every corner of Central Java and amazingly they wanted to pay whatever the price he asked.

As well as in Yogyakarta, by 1951 Pak Cip was also selling his products in Klewer Market, Solo. He said that his golden era was in the 1960s. He employed no less than eighty sewing workers at that time. As a successful garment producer, he could buy everything he wanted. In 1965 he bought a kiosk and house in Jombang, East Java. He also bought a new car and several houses in Wedi and surrounding villages. Pak Cip said that at that time “idu dadi geni” (lit. his spit is fire, meaning that he just had to snap his fingers to obtain what he wanted). This was undoubtedly because he had plenty of money, but he had close ties with every important person in Klaten district such as the district head (the Bupati) and the commander of district military (the Dandim) also did not go amiss. Indeed, he was the richest garment producer in Wedi, and he said that people in Wedi Sub-district called him Pak Cip sugih (Pak Cip the Rich).

Many gerji (mostly husband and wife teams) in Kalitengah who started to produce garment products in the 1940s or even earlier became successful juragan like Pak Cip. Echoing Pak Cip’s story, these successful juragan also trained their children to become garment producers. When the latter were considered competent, these juragan would bequeath their business to their children when they retired, or give their children the initial capital to start their own businesses after their children married. Being part of this pattern, many children of juragan, who started their own businesses in the 1960s/1970s did not really start their businesses from scratch (from gerji) like their parents or predecessors had had to do, because they already had enough initial capital to run their business. Take for example Ibu Topo, a 60-year-old, large-scale garment producer from Dalangan hamlet. She told me that when she and her husband began their business in 1963, her father (Pak Wiryo) gave her the capital, twelve sewing machines, five bolts of cloth, and one kiosk in Klewer Market, Solo. Furnished with enough initial capital, it is no wonder that Ibu Topo and her husband saw their business prosper quite rapidly. Now, they hire almost one hundred sewing workers in Kalitengah and Klaten, have many kiosks in Klewer Market, a jeans factory in Solo, and a
modern clothing shop in Klaten. As well as sending her children to Yogyakarta to get a better education in the various universities in that city, Ibu Topo and her husband have also trained them to become good businessmen/women just as her own parents had done for her. Indeed, I was not surprised when she told me that four of her married children have now become successful businessmen/women after graduating from university: her eldest son is a garment producer, the second daughter has a gold and jewellery shop, the third son is a mobile phone dealer, and the youngest daughter is a poultry breeder.

As well as this fairly common pattern, we can also find sewing workers in Kalitengah who have managed to become garment producers from scratch, just like the first generation of juragan such as Pak Cip. From year to year, there are many sewing workers (both men and women) in the village who try their luck at becoming garment producers. After saving their money for years to accumulate the initial capital and learning how to manage a garment business from their bosses, many of those sewing workers eventually succeed in following the path beaten by the earlier successful juragan when they finally decide to become independent garment producer (mbabar sendiri). Unfortunately, besides these many success stories, there are also many sewing workers who fail to make the grade as garment producers and must fall back on their old profession as sewing workers again. The pattern of the ambition to become a garment producer from the bottom up is not by any means confined to Kalitengah. Similar research done by Miko (1991) in West Sumatra and Hardyastuti and Hudyayana (1991) in Yogyakarta corroborates my research findings. Miko (1991:40) describes the process of becoming a garment producer as follows:

“A boy/girl works as sewer when he/she is at elementary until junior secondary school age or until pre-marriage age. Thus, he/she has 1-10 years to learn how to become a good sewer. During that period boy/girl will try to save his/her money. That money later on will be used as initial capital when he/she wants to become an independent garment producer. Since the motivation to become a garment producer already there since the very beginning, the boy/girl usually would use any opportunity to learn as much knowledge as possible from his/her employer such as the knowledge of managing workers, cutting pattern, making pattern, and selling products in the market”.

These two different patterns open to be followed by those who wish to become a garment producer inevitably have different consequences for the growth and development of the garment industry in Kalitengah village. The first pattern leads to an increase in the size of the confection enterprises in that village. Like that run by Ibu Topo, they expand and become more modern assiduously hiring more sewing workers, purchasing new machinery, striving to produce better quality garments, and extending their marketing networks. Besides this, the first pattern also creates opportunities for the children of juragan who follow in their parents footsteps and create business networks among their family members in order to develop their own businesses or to help each other should one of them be confronted by business problems. This is what happened in the family of Pak Parto, Ibu Harto, and Pak Cip. Ibu Triani (50), the owner of Mariza Confection and the third daughter of Pak Parto, told me that it is common
among the Parto family to give each other financial support when problems loom, including paying instalments to the bank. Supporting this Mas Gianto (40), the owner of Mentari Confection and the second son of Ibu Harto, said that he and his brothers and sisters opened showrooms in Wedi and Klaten to facilitate their marketing. He added that it is also common among the siblings in his large family to exchange garment products in order to satisfy their customers if one of them does not have the particular product that the customer requires.

At the other end of the scale, the second pattern leads to the growth in the number of garment producers in Kalitengah who run cottage garment industries, still with a traditional character as a survival strategy resorted to by the owners. One further consequence of this situation is that nowadays many garment producers in Kalitengah complain that it is getting more difficult to find sewing workers from their own village. This is illustrated by the author's household survey which found that there are about 719 people working in the garment industry in Kalitengah, of whom 298 people are garment producers and 412 people are garment workers. From this figure we calculate that the ratio between producer and worker is around 1:2. Simultaneously, the author's survey on the profile of confection enterprises in Kalitengah shows that the garment producers there employ ten workers on average. This calculation irrevocably leads to the conclusion that the garment producers in that village, particularly the big garment producers, have to find workers from outside Kalitengah to help them turn out their garment products.

4. The Emergence of the Buruh Jahit (the Sewing Workers)

Inevitably through the course of eighty odd years, the garment industry has developed and production has diversified. When the garment industry newly emerged in Kalitengah in the 1920s, the gerji (mostly men) performed every task required to produce garment products by themselves. They bought the cloth, made the pattern, cut the cloth, sewed the pre-cut cloth into ready-made garments and so on. When the garment products were ready, the wives of the gerji would sell the product in nearby markets such as Wedi, Bayat, Boyolali, Klaten, Yogyakarta, and Solo. It was the common practice in Kalitengah at that time for a man commencing a business as a garment producer to work in team with his spouse. The division of labour between husband and wife in fact was not as strict as has been depicted above. In many cases, respondents told me that they did everything together when they started their business.

When the volume of production was still small, the husband-wife team could handle everything as a couple, from looking for raw material to selling the finished products in the market. Ineluctably, as the volume of production continued to grow, the couple could no longer handle everything on their own. At this point, garment producers began to look for additional workers to help in their business. Workers from inside the family, children, nephews, and nieces were the first they turned to for help. The preference for choosing inside sources displayed by the garment producers was based on several considerations, but the
The Emergence and Expansion

most important factor was because at that time sewing skills were considered secret lore, which not everybody would be allowed to learn, the exceptions being their family members and relatives. This is a general phenomenon all over the world. That is why the craft, which is considered secret, is transferred through an apprenticeship system. (See, e.g., Coy (ed.) [1989]). The desire exhibited by garment producers to protect the secrecy surrounding their sewing skills arose from the knowledge that these skills could make them wealthy people, the new rich in Kalitengah village (dadi wong sugih). They faced a serious dilemma if there no inside sources or if the family workforce no longer sufficed. Their choice would then turn to their more distant relatives and close neighbours, including those gerji who had not had the good fortune to become garment producers. This era marked the emergence of a class of sewing workers (buruh jahit), both male and female, in Kalitengah. Hadikusworo (1960: 84) describes this change in the working pattern in Kalitengah as follows:

“During the Dutch colonial time, when confection continued to develop due to the increase of the demand for garment products, gerji started to hire other gerji. Since that time, a new period started when the notion of buruh (employee) and juragan (employer) were known amongst the gerji”.

From this time on many gerji (tailors) no longer worked for private customers, instead they worked for mass consumers making garment products for a juragan. Since then gerji have forfeited their “reputation” and have been reduced to being considered a common labourer as buruh jahit. Green (1997: 33) describes this process as follows:

“Thus, as measurement was separated from the individual body, so production became separate from a single needleworker. The new work order had several important implications for working conditions and for the composition of the labour force. For one thing, needleworkers were renamed. “To tailor” (tailier) means to fit (closely) in English, to cut (finely) in French. This could no longer designate the new methods or their implementers. The “tailor” became a “garment worker” (ouvrier du vêtement) and sewing-machine workers became “operators” or mécanicien (ne)s”.

In many cases, particularly in the early 1950s, the newly recruited sewing workers, both men and women, were not paid since they were considered to be apprentices.\(^{20}\) As compensation, apprentice sewing workers were usually given lunch and others meals by their boss. As part of their learning process, apprentices even had to perform various domestic tasks in a garment producer’s (master’s) home, such as washing the dishes, sweeping the front yard, and baby-sitting before he/she was taught how to sew.

\(^{20}\) Apprentice has been defined as “a young person bound by indentures to a tradesman or artificer, who upon certain covenants is to teach him his mystery of trade” (Lane, 1996: 2). While apprenticeship, historically, means “a method of training in which a skilled worker passes on knowledge of craft to another individual” (http://www.milwaukee.tec.wi.us/apprentice/past_and_present.html). In the more modern context, apprenticeship means “a system of training in which a person desiring to learn a specific apprenticeable occupation is given instruction and experience on the job, as well as school courses related to such occupation” (http://www.lni.wa.gov/scs/apprenticeship/pubs/whatis.htm).
Although the apprenticeship system as a means to acquire sewing skills seemed exploitative when it was introduced in Kalitengah, many people still lined up to seize the opportunity to learn them. This eagerness was particularly prevalent in the 1960s-1970s when the garment industry in the village was considered by the people there to have constituted a golden era.\(^\text{21}\) In my opinion, there are several reasons why people in Kalitengah chose the apprenticeship system to learn how to sew. First of all, an apprenticeship was the easiest and the cheapest way to acquire a knowledge of sewing since other possibilities to acquire this skill were then very limited; sewing courses were not widely available and those which were quite expensive. Secondly, an apprenticeship while offering the possibility to learn how to sew, over and above this it provided apprentices with the opportunity to acquire a knowledge of entrepreneurial skills from their juragan which helps them to learn how to manage a garment business. This second reason also corroborates Coy's (1989: 2) hypothesis as he says that the education acquired in the context of apprenticeship has three equally important dimensions: training in a special physical skill of craftsmanship; training in the management of the social relationships of craftsmanship; and training in the economics of a specialised occupation. The latter is very important because the majority of juragan in Kalitengah (with the exception of the new garment producers who inherited the business from their parents) used to be sewing workers before they decided to improve their career and went on to be garment producers. To give a comparison, the same phenomenon can also be found in the small-scale weaving industry as revealed in the research done by Hardyastuti and Hudayana (1991: 72) and Miko (1991: 48). Miko (1991), interestingly mentions that weavers in West Sumatra called their labourers, who were also believed to be learning business skills from their employers, siswa (students).

Later, when sewing machines became more popular in the 1960s\(^\text{22}\) and sewing workers still worked in their respective homes, people who wanted to learn how to sew could also do

\(^{21}\) Besides the success story of Pak Cip (see case of Pak Cip), there are many other similar tales of juragan from the 1960s. Pak Narto, for instance, told me that only three years after he started his business as a garment juragan selling clothes and sarung tenun lurik in Surabaya, he was able to build his own house. He also mentioned that at that time it was very easy to make a profit. For instance, the profit he made from selling clothes in Wonesari market everyday could be used to by one ounce of gold. After several years of being a juragan, Pak Narto said that he was able to build several new houses for his children, to give them capital to start their own business, to buy some land, and to invest his money in gold. Bu Topo, a big garment producer in Kalitengah, also said that in the 1960-1980s "anul mas kertja aja dagangan mesti laku" (if one was willing to work, everything he/she sold would be sold out). See also the other stories in Susilastuti and Partini (1990).

\(^{22}\) Pak Harno, the owner of a sewing machine shop in Pencar (a business area close to Wedi market) told me that his late father, Pak Wongso, was the pioneer sewing machine trader in Wedi. He said that his father had previously also been a sewing worker. In the 1960s, his father started his business as a sewing machine trader by buying and selling second-hand sewing machines from and to his fellow sewing workers, as many sewing workers would sell their sewing machines to cover some pressing need. Pak Wongso's business expanded when he bought more second-hand sewing machines from Jakarta, Semarang, and Surabaya. From the profits of his business of selling second-hand sewing machines, Pak Wongso could set up a sewing machine shop in Kauman hamlet. In 1980, Pak Wongso's sewing machine shop moved to Wedi market. Since then, Pak Harno has taken over the business of selling sewing machines from his father. In order to have more space, in 1987 Pak Harno moved his sewing shop into Pencar where it remains up to the present. Pak Harno's sewing machine shop is the biggest in Wedi sub-district its only rival being the sewing machine shop owned by Pak Purwadi.
an apprenticeship in a sewing worker’s home. In this case, the sewing worker would not inform his/her boss, because the latter would not allow his/her garment products to be sewn by an “unprofessional” sewer. After the apprentice could sew, the mentor would help him/her to find a job, usually with the same boss as the mentor. In this case the mentor acted as a guarantor who would take responsibility if some mishap such as damaging the products or, if dishonest, stealing the pre-cut cloth befell the new sewing worker. The paragraph below contains the story of Mbah Karto, 75-year-old retired sewing worker, describing how he learned to sew by doing an apprenticeship in his uncle’s house.

“I learned how to sew from my uncle, whose name was Pak Mitro. He lived in Dukuh hamlet. In the beginning he let me watch how to sew while he was making the clothes. After that he taught me how to make a button-hole (ngitikki) first before he let me sew a simple item of clothing like a wadah setut (a belt-holder), which could be very easily fixed if I made a mistake. He gave me the opportunity only when he had almost finished the job. That made me a little bit impatient, because I wanted to practise more. One day when he fell asleep, I took the opportunity to practise sewing by myself. Unfortunately because I was very nervous, as well as sewing the clothes I also sewed my own finger, therefore everybody in my uncle’s house became geger (panicky). Finally after I could sew the clothes properly, I asked my uncle’s permission to find a job”.

During the golden era of the garment industry in Kalitengah, many people (both men and women) set their sights on becoming sewing workers. This is understandable, since the number of sewing workers at that time was still low, and therefore they were paid high wages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of garment product</th>
<th>Piece-rate wages (Rupiah)</th>
<th>Estimation of the number of the product that can be made by a sewing worker per day</th>
<th>Total Income/day (Rupiah)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacket</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>15-22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trousers</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorts</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyjama</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>16-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mens underwear</td>
<td>0.6-1</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>12-25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.2 shows that the total income of sewing workers in Kalitengah in the 1960s, on average, was around Rp. 20/day. Therefore, if the price of husked rice was then around Rp. 1.5/kg (Susilastuti and Partini, 1990:13), the income of a sewing worker was equal to 13 kg of husked rice/day. Penny and Singarimbun (1973) mention that a household can be classified as above the poverty line or cukupan (enough) if the members of the household can
produce 1,200 kgs rice/household/year. The data above shows that the sewing worker households in Kalitengah generally fell into the category of above cukupan or even kecukupan (more than enough).

Another illustration can be taken from Pak Tris’ story. Pak Tris, a sewing worker, said that in the 1960s his work was to produce shirts for his juragan. He said everyday he could make around twenty-four to thirty shirts. For each item he was paid Rp 2.5. This means that Pak Tris made an income of around Rp. 60/day. (In this case Pak Tris could earn wages higher than to the estimate made by Kusworo in Table 4.2 above because the rate at which one sewing worker produces garments is different from another). With the wage for making one shirt, Pak Tris said that he could buy 1.5 kg of good quality husked rice. After eight years as a sewing worker, Pak Tris said that he was able to buy one sewing machine, one set of guest chairs, one bike, and 20 grams of gold (Susilastuti and Partini, 1990: 15).

From the general description above, it is not surprising to hear that Pak Lik, a sewing worker from Dalangan hamlet, said that the sewing profession enjoyed a high social standing in the past, even compared to that of primary school teacher which at that time was seen as one of the most respected professions in the village. In connection with this, Pak Lik told me the following story:

“In the 1960s and 1970s, when I was still young, sewing work was a respected profession (bergengsi). That was why after finishing my education at Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA, Senior High School), I declined one offer to become a civil servant because at that time the wage which I received from working as sewing worker was double the salary of a primary school teacher. Almost everyday I treated my friends to the movies in Klaten”.

After having enjoyed being the most respected profession for several decades, sewing workers in Kalitengah, particularly coarse sewing workers, eventually lost their status. This happened after the baju kodian (cheap garments) produced by these workers no longer sold well in the market after impact of the sale of better quality garments made by big factories made itself felt, and the customers’ taste in clothing changed, as discussed in an earlier part of this chapter. While, until the 1970s, the income of sewing workers was higher compared to that of primary school teachers, currently, the income of coarse sewing workers (around Rp. 6,000/day) is equivalent to the wage of agricultural labourers or tobacco plantation workers. The wages of coarse sewing workers can currently buy only around 3 kg of rice/day. Since a few years ago, the wages of coarse sewers have even been surpassed by the wages of bricklayers (tukang batu) who are paid Rp. 14,000/day. Only fine sewers, with an income of around Rp. 30-50,000/day, can still cling to their reputation earning higher wages than agricultural labourers and other non-farm workers in Kalitengah village. There will be further discussion on stratification and differentiation amongst garment workers in Chapter Five.
5. The Division of Labour

5.1. The Putting-out System

As was described at the beginning of this chapter, initially the garment producers worked as a husband-wife team. Later, when the volume of production increased, they also asked assistance from their family members and more distant relatives. In the end, close neighbours also became involved in the garment production. This era, around the 1930s or in the late Dutch colonial time (c.f. Hadikusworo, 1960: 84), marked the emergence of the profession of sewing worker (the buruh jahit). In the very early stages of the development of the garment industry (1930s-1950s), buruh jahit performed their task in the juragan’s house. At that time the number of sewing machines was still limited, and usually only the juragan owned the only sewing machines, buruh jahit had no option but to work in the latters’ houses. The number of sewing workers working for one juragan was also usually still small, no more than three workers. The juragan (both male and female) and workers (men and women) also worked together; they prepared the cloth and cut the pattern. After that they sewed the garment, and in the end added the finishing touches like making buttonholes, putting on the buttons and so forth. There was no clear division of labour between the juragan and his/her buruh. The relationship between juragan and employees was very close too, since they were almost invariably still relatives and close neighbours alike. In this capacity, these workers were treated like family members by their juragan. They were not only paid, but also served lunch, other meals and coffee as well. There was also a sense of social responsibility, juragan quite often helped their buruh when they had to deal with pressing needs or were confronted by calamities. Pak Kis, a big juragan aged 62, told me the story about his late father’s, Pak Yoso’s, business activities. He said that when he was still a small boy his father had already become quite a successful juragan. Every morning his father’s sewing workers came to his house to work. They worked in the pendopo (large front gallery) from around 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Those workers were paid on a piece rate basis. As well as receiving wages in cash, these workers were also provided with drinks and meals by his father every day.

As time went by, the working relationship between juragan and sewing workers changed. A crucial juncture arrived when sewing machines were no longer considered as luxury goods and were within easy reach of most sewing workers. This happened around the 1960s (see again sections two and three of this chapter). Initially only one or two sewing workers who already owned a sewing machine asked their juragan if they could work at home. Little by little many more sewing workers started to prefer working in their respective homes and also demanded the same privilege. Once it became more common for sewing workers to work in their own homes, juragan even lent their sewing machines to the workers who did not yet own a sewing machine. This change in working methods marked the emergence of the putting-out system in the production of garment products in Kalitengah.

Interestingly, both sides (garment producers as well as sewing workers) felt that they enjoyed advantages from the putting-out system. The sewing workers (both men and women)
said that they felt they could work more freely since their boss was not supervising them directly while they were engaged in their task. They could start to work any time they wanted as long as they could achieve "the target" set by their boss. They also could do various side jobs (disambi) before or while they were working, which (for female sewing workers) meant cooking, baby-sitting, and performing social duties like rewang (lending a helping hand). For male sewing workers such obligations consisted of gotong royong (reciprocal social activities or mutual help), layat (attending funeral ceremonies), tilik loro (visiting neighbours or relatives in hospital), and maklaran (brokering). This phenomenon was not confined to home-based garment manufacture, but also extended to other home-based industries, like the food processing industry, as Van Velzen (1994:93) describes in the following paragraph.

"Food processing is a traditional home industry and is considered very suitable for married women with small children. Because of these children, women can often not work outside the home. Both activities -taking care of children and food processing -can easily be combined as they are flexible in time and space...Married women are expected to stay home not only to look after small children but also to cook meals for their husbands whenever they are required".

Meanwhile, from the juragan's point of view the implementation of the putting-out system had the benefit of reducing production costs as, for instance, they no longer had to provide a working area, meals, and sewing machines. Pertinently, as the putting-out system would inevitably create a social distance between the juragan and their workers, the former would be freed from the social duties which had once been expected when they still had close contact with their workers. Another important reason of why juragan felt that the putting-out system benefited them was because it could help them to evade being taxed by the government. In order not to "invite" important persons (the tax officials) to come into their enterprises (houses), these juragan always needed to keep these low profile, especially by preventing that too many workers converged around in their workshops at any one time. As a matter of fact, the putting-out system has presented them with a heaven-sent opportunity.

The possibility to reduce production costs in garment manufacturing has meant that this industry has a relatively low entry threshold for new players (sewing workers who want to become garment producers). This factor also serves to explain why many sewing workers in Kalitengah are able to experience relatively easy upward mobility and become garment producers (cf. Green, 1997).

Interestingly, the putting-out system in Kalitengah enables both male and female sewing workers to perform their tasks in their respective homes, and this situation creates an opportunity for their partners, especially wives, to undertake trading activities outside the home selling the garments (a situation particularly desired by the partners of sewing workers who want to become garment producer). This domestic division of labour, where women are more active economically outside the home, is based on the reality that women of Kaliengah, and in fact also women in (Central) Java in general, seem to possess a decided talent for trading activities (handling money), surpassing that of men. See for example the
'classic study' of Hildred Geertz (1961), Jay (1969) and the more recent studies done by Van Velzen (1994), Papanek and Schwede (1988), Wolf (1992), and Weix (2000). With reference to this, Hadikusworo (1960:84) makes the following observation:

"In Wedi [Kalitengah], where the inhabitants have an entrepreneurial spirit, the important actors who handle trading activities are women. The husbands usually take care of the domestic tasks. [...] Because they cannot leave their home, these sewing workers ask their juragan if they can bring their juragan' sewing machine home to perform their tasks there. When their wives come back from the markets, they will hand in the finished garments to their juragan".

Up until now, this unique domestic division of labour still prevails in Kalitengah, particularly amongst garment producer families or the families of sewing workers who are trying to become garment producers.

5.2. The Growth of Specialisation

In the era when sewing workers performed their tasks in their juragan's homes, most sewing workers were responsible for the whole process of garment making, from cutting the pattern to putting on the buttons. When the putting-out system was initially adopted, the working mechanism remained unchanged. The workers were still responsible for the whole process of making the garments, just as they always had been. The difference was that since the adoption of the putting-out system those sewing workers had worked in their own homes. Sewing workers needed to come to their juragan only when they collected the cloth and handed in the finished products. Usually in order to control the amount of cloth entrusted to their sewing workers, juragan used specific calculations about the number of finished products that could be produced from a certain size piece of cloth. For example, if a juragan calculated that (using specific pattern) thirty shirts could be produced from one bolt of cloth, the sewing worker who was entrusted with one bolt of cloth had to hand in thirty shirts after he/she finished his/her task.23

In reality, although each juragan had a pattern which could be used to run a check on his sewing workers, some of the latter did not actually use the pattern handed them by their juragan. These workers preferred to use their own pattern if it was more efficient than that of their juragan. By taking this initiative, these sewing workers obtained more leftover cloth (kain pilasi), which they could then use to make their own garment products, in addition to those that had to be handed in to their boss. Many sewing workers made a significant additional income from selling the garment products made from this residual cloth. Some of them were even able to save some money which could be used as initial capital to produce their own garment products. Indeed, from their judicious use of this leftover cloth, some

23 Every juragan usually has his/her own pattern (blak), which is used to cut the cloth. From this pattern he can calculate how many items can be produced from one bolt of cloth. For instance, based on the pattern of one juragan I know, one piece of batik cloth (around 30 yards) can be used to make twenty-seven batik shirts.
sitting workers subsequently became garment producer themselves. Ineluctably, the shrewd juragan were well aware of this practice. To solve the problem, they finally decided to cut out the pattern themselves and give pre-cut cloth only to their sewing workers. This decision eventually undermined the opportunities for sewing workers to earn an additional income over and above their “formal” wages. In a further development, when the volume of production increased, several juragan took the step of hiring pattern cutters (tukang potong) who worked under the supervision of (mostly) male juragan. The majority of pattern cutters are men. The adoption of this practice to some extent is affected by the job division between male and female juragan, under which male juragan are responsible for supervising the production process and female juragan take the responsibility for the marketing upon themselves. Since protecting the cloth from being misappropriated was a sensitive issue, when the change was first introduced the pattern cutter was only allowed to work in the juragan’s home. Up to the present, this rule is still applied by the juragan in Kalitengah. A juragan usually has a small workshop in his house, which is used to motongi (cut the pattern).

The division of labour continued even when sewing machines, with a small additional device, could be used to make the buttonholes (ngitiki). After this invention, in order to speed up the production process, the sewing workers no longer made the buttonholes or sewed on the buttons (pasang benik). These tasks were done by special sewing workers namely tukang itik (button-hole-makers) and tukang pasang benik (button-fixers). Since buttonhole-making and fixing buttons are not as time consuming as sewing, tukang itik and tukang pasang benik could usually offer their services to several juragan.

The arrival of the hemming machine (mesin obras) in Kalitengah village in 1967 also marked the emergence of another profession called the tukang obras (the hem-maker). Prior to the arrival of the hemming machine, sewing workers had to hem the edge of the cloth as one of the finishing touches to the process of garment making. The advent of the hemming machine made the work of the sewing workers easier. With this machine, hundreds of shirts could be hemmed by one tukang obras within a couple of hours. When the number of

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24 Because the pattern to cut the cloth is a secret (rahasia), many juragan prefer to hire their son (if they have an adult one) or a relative.
25 Many juragan said that their ability to find the most efficient way to cut a pattern is one of the most important factors determining their success. The more efficiently he can cut the pattern, the more clothes he can produce, which in the end will determine the profit he can earn. Each juragan can usually cut the patterns himself or herself. This is why, when a sewing worker starts to produce garments on his own, he is said to mbabar. Mbabar means that the sewing worker who wants to become a juragan makes a business calculation enabling him to make the pattern, cut the pattern, sew the pre-cut cloth and so on. But the most important thing is that when the process of making the garment product is finished and it can be sold in the market he will get batui (profit) from that whole process as the result of his skilled calculation. The efficiency of a juragan in cutting the pattern will differentiate the degree of the batui between one juragan and another. This is why a juragan usually keeps his or her patterns secret. Juragan usually suffer a headache when they want to make a new garment product or there is a new garment style in the market sold by other juragan for which he has not yet found the most efficient pattern. Pak Jali, the juragan next door, quite often complained about this when his wife asks him to make a new pattern.
26 Pak Julianto told me that the first juragan who had a hemming machine in Kalitengah was his father named Sugito. The machine was bought in 1967 and is as old as Pak Julianto himself who inherited it from his late parents.
hemming machines in Kalitengah was still limited, juragan hemmed their products at Bu Sugito’s place. Nowadays, almost every juragan has a hemming machine, which is operated by a tukang obras (mostly men, only a few of them are women). Like the pattern cutters, tukang obras usually work in the juragan’s house or “workshop”. This is because hemming machines are quite expensive (between Rp. 2.5-4 million). Therefore, the juragan will not run any risks by letting these machines be taken home by their workers. Another reason why hemming is required be done in the juragan’s house is because it is difficult for the juragan to control the consumption of the yarn if the job is done in the home of his/her hem-maker.

In a recent development, in response to the increasing demand for quality by customers, garment producers in Kalitengah have also started to pay attention to creating a better image for their garment products by sticking on labels (locally called tiket27) and wrapping them in plastic bags, as is done by the big garment producers. To wrap their products, garment producers hire specific workers as packers.

To summarise, as a result of developments in the division of labour in Kalitengah which began many decades ago, garment workers in the village can be classified as the following: (1) sewing worker; (2) pattern-cutter; (3) hem-maker; (4) button-hole maker; (5) button-fixer; and (6) packer, on the basis of his/her specialisation.

Cogently, these specialisations point to a deskillling process (see again the discussion on this issue in Chapter Two) which happens in this industry when the garment workers (previously the gerji or tailors) perform only specific tasks as part of the whole process of making the garment products, that is as the consequence of the arrival of new machinery such as cutting and hemming machines. Besides this, a gendered division of labour can be found in the professions of pattern-cutter and button-fixer. The first profession is usually considered the most difficult task carrying the highest risk as well (the replacement of the bolts of cloth if the worker makes a mistake). Consequently these workers will be paid higher wages. Generally, this profession is pursued by men. The latter is considered the easiest task, the upshot being that the worker will also be paid less. This task is mostly carried out by women. The job of hem-maker can be less clearly categorised. Although this is loosely considered a “men’s profession”, several women can also be found among them. Apart from those two professions, the percentage of men and women workers is, more or less, equal in each category.

The gender-based segregation of the labour market, as described above is, in fact, not something new. Other scholars who have carried out studies on small-sale industry in Java such as Saptari (1995; 2000), Grijns et al. (1994), and Van Velzen (1994) have also found the same pattern as that prevailing in the garment industry in Kalitengah. To explain this segregation, most scholars use a reproduction orientation approach, which suggests that the

27 It is mostly big juragan who put tiket into their garment products. These tiket are usually taken from the name of their confection enterprises such as Sony, Rapi, Mentari and so forth. However, besides their own tiket, those big juragan also often imitate famous garment brand names such as Levis, Dior, YSL and so forth to be put on their garment products.
gender division of labour within the domestic sphere affects the division of labour in the production sphere. This explanation, for example, can be found in the classic book by Clark (1919) entitled *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (cited in Bradley 1989), and also in Beneria (1979), Hamilton (1978), and Boris (1996). Meanwhile, Marxists scholars usually use a production approach (the division of labour in the production sphere) to explain this segregation of labour. Their argument is based on the Marxist reserve army thesis, which suggests that capitalists, in an effort to reduce production costs, prefer to hire unskilled female labourers who are willing to be paid lower wages and are less inclined to protest since those labourers can easily be returned to the home when their labour is no longer needed.

6. The Marketing

6.1. The Market Destinations

After the process of making garment products had been completed, the next step was to sell these products at the market. Female juragan, the wives, have usually been given the responsibility for selling the finished garments. Although common it has not been invariable and in several cases, husband and wife have gone to market together to sell their products. Initially, hampered by limited transportation, both private as well as public, these juragan sold their products only in nearby markets such as Wedi, Bayat, Prambanan, Kembang, Boyolali, and Klaten. Little by little, keeping pace with the development of public transport like buses and trains, the number of market destinations has been expanded. *Pasar Klewer* (Klewer Market) in Solo and *Pasar Beringharjo* (Beringharjo Market) in Yogyakarta have been the most popular market destinations of the big juragan. Perhaps wisely, the smaller juragan have preferred to evade direct competition from the bigger juragan by choosing smaller markets in various district and sub-district towns in Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java. In Central Java, the Kalitengah juragan have sold their garment products in various markets such as Cilacap, Banjarnegara, Purworejo, Kutoarjo, Wonosobo, Magelang, Ambarawa, Salatiga, Boyolali, Purwadadi, Sragen, and Karanganyar. In the Yogyakarta Special District they have sold their products in the markets such as Sleman, Bantul, Kulonprogo, and Wonsari. In East Java, the border towns close to Central Java like Pacitan, Ngawi, Nganjuk, Madiun, and Ponorogo, have been among the favourite market destinations of Kalitengah juragan.

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28 There are many explanations for this division of labour, such as those given by Alexander (1987), Chandler (1981), and Brener (1992). But the most important point is that women are more *luwes* (skilful) in dealing with customers than are men.

29 Mbah Karto, a retired sewing worker, said that during the Japanese occupation in Dalangkan hamlet only his boss, Mbah Arjo, who had a *cikar* (two-wheeled, horse-drawn carriage). A *cikar* is similar to an *andong* or *dokar but* has a curtain at both sides to afford its passenger more privacy. This *cikar* was usually used to take the garment products to the market places surrounding the Klaten District.
My analysis seems to show that the preference displayed by Kalitengah juragan for selling their products in the markets in the southern part of Central and East Java Provinces is the outcome of two main factors. The first factor is distance. These district towns are still quite close to Klaten (see Map 3). The second factor is the existence of Pekalongan, another centre of batik and garment manufacture in the northern part of Central Java Province. Since Pekalongan dominates the garment markets in the north of Java, it means that, besides being too far to be in easy reach of the markets, the Kalitengah juragan would also have to compete with the Pekalongan juragan were they to sell their products in the north coast district towns, like Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Kendal, Batang, Semarang, Demak, Jepara, Kudus, Rembang, Pati, and Blora.

Several juragan also cited “cultural” differences between people on the northern coast of Java (orang pesisir) and the people of Klaten as the reason they do not sell their garment products there. They said that people from the north coast are a bit rough and ready (kasar) and juragan from Kalitengah admit that this tends to get in the way of their communication skills (cf. Semedi, 2001: 37-38). Pak Kar, one juragan who sometimes sells his products in Blora market, shared his experiences with me as follows:

larang-larang tak antem i lho. Yen krungu omongan ngonten niku tiyang mriki mesti pun muring". ("People from Kalitengah will initially receive a big shock if they try to sell their products in the north coast market places, because people in those places are vulgar and they don't keep a civil tongue in their heads. The clothes traders there are very ready to cast aspersions on our garment products when they bargain. For instance, when I say that my shirts are Rp. 10,000 per piece, their reply will be "Who would pay Rp. 10,000 a shirt like that. Look! The collar of your shirt is not properly sewn, just like your face. If you ask us too high a price, we will show you the back of their hand". If juragan from Kalitengah hear this sort of talk, they will be very angry").

6.2. How the Markets Are Reached

When public and private transportation was still limited, juragan went to market on foot. Several village markets surrounding Kalitengah, such as pasar Ganti Warno, pasar Birit, pasar Panggil, pasar Bayat and so forth could be reached in one to one and a half hours walk. The market places farther away (the sub-district markets) such as Prambanan, Kembang, Piyungan, Manisrenggo, Wonosari and the like were reached by cycling. These juragan, who went either by bicycle or on foot, would depart for the market very early in the morning around 5 a.m. Juragan (mostly female) who walked to the market would carry their garment products that were wrapped in a tablecloth (bangkelan or a bundle of clothes) on their backs (digendong). Juragan (both men and women) who went to the market by bicycle would place their bangkelan on a carrier behind their saddle (boncengan).

Juragan who went to the village and sub-district markets usually fell into the category of small juragan. They sold their garment products mostly to the direct consumers, although some of them also sold their products to the smaller retailers as well. These small juragan usually had small kiosks in which to display their garment products. Many of them who did not have a kiosk would simply display their products on the side of the street near the market or share their friends' kiosk (numpang or nunut).

Bigger juragan who sold their garment products in the provincial or district markets usually used public transport such as buses and trains to reach these markets. These juragan would depart to their markets much earlier than the smaller juragan, otherwise they would reach their market destinations too late. Several retired juragan told me that they had to catch the train at Klaten railway station (about 5 km from Kalitengah) as early as 4 a.m. if they wanted to go to Madiun in East Java for instance. The same effort was made by juragan who wanted to go out of town. Since the juragan responsible for selling the garment products were mostly women, those who went to distant markets such as Madiun, Nganjuk, and Ngawi usually travelled in a group of three to four. As well as reasons of safety while on the way or staying overnight, travelling in group also gave those juragan the opportunity to help each other with their business activities, for example by exchanging their garment products or leading to their establishing an arisan (rotating credit scheme and social gathering) group.

Mbah Joyo Putri, a retired female juragan aged 70, told me of her past experience as a juragan who had to travel to Madiun market periodically. She said that although she always travelled in a group, as a woman she...
Small juragan usually visited more than one market every week. They would time their visit to the markets on the basis of the hari pasaran (special market days), Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi, and Pahing (see, e.g., Chandler, 1981; Alexander, 1987; Abdullah, 1994). Every market, except provincial and district markets, usually had two special market days every week. The special market days for Wedi market were Wage and Pahing. Therefore, juragan, particularly the non-retail clothes traders, would visit Wedi market only twice a week on those two special market days. On the other days, they would go to other markets which had different special market days. The decision by juragan to honour the old system was based on the assumption that on those days the markets would be more crowded than on other days. More visitors meant bigger opportunities for juragan to sell their products.

The big juragan usually covered more than one market too. However, since the district market did not have market days, they would go to the market on a set day. For instance, one juragan would go to Magelang market on Monday and Wednesday, while on the other days he or she went to Wonogiri market. The day juragan preferred to visit one market or another was usually also determined by their dealings with their retail clothes traders in those markets. By contrast, the big juragan who sold their garment products in Beringharjo Market, Yogyakarta, or Klewer Market, Solo, would usually would attend this market everyday.

Currently, there are almost no juragan who go to the market on foot. Even the number of juragan going to the market by bicycle is now extremely limited. Small juragan usually reach the market by motorbike or on public transport, which can be easily accessed from every corner of the village. Big garment producers usually prefer to go to the market in their own cars. Cannily, to reduce the transportation costs, several big garment producers in Kalitengah go to Klewer Market, Solo, or Beringhajo, Yogyakarta, in groups of family members or close neighbours in minibuses (ISUZU or DAIHATSU) driven by private drivers.

6.3. How the Market is Chosen

In the past, most juragan in Kalitengah chose the market at which they sold their garment products by a process of trial and error. They said that they simply tried going to various markets first before they finally chose one or two permanent markets in which to sell their products. The decision to choose a permanent market was usually based on the first day’s experience of the juragan when he/she visited that particular market. In other words, if

*inevitably felt insecure. "Rasane niku tratapan terus yen pas ten njeron sepur" (My heart was always pounding when I was on the train"), she recalled. There were many occasions when they were threatened by pickpockets or a miscreant who wanted to steal their garment products or their money while they were travelling. "Padahal kulo mesti nyimpen dompet ten njero mrtki (bra) ning kadasse copet niku ngeratos yen kulo mbeso orto" ("I always put my wallet inside here (bra) but the pickpockets invariably knew that I was carrying a lot of money").*
he/she had good fortune or a good experience on his/her first visit to Magelang market, that juragan would choose Magelang as his/her permanent market. Conversely, if he/she had bad luck or a bad experience when he/she visited Magelang market for the first time, he/she would never go back to that market again.

Other juragan said that their friends or relatives became their mentors in helping them find a permanent market. Usually the mentor would permit a new juragan to go to his or her market. The mentor would then assist the new juragan by introducing him to the new environment, including the garment retail clothes traders, the trading system and all the rest. After the new juragan was familiar with the market situation, the mentor would let the new juragan sell his/her garment products by him/herself. Usually the mentor only would help juragan who sold different types of garment products; otherwise he/she might become a serious competitor for the mentor.

In many cases, juragan did not have to find their permanent markets themselves, but inherited it from their parents or relatives who had retired from the garment business. When they decided to stop, juragan usually not only bequeathed their kiosk or shop to their children, but also their marketing network in a certain market. In this case the new juragan merely continued the marketing network that had been built up by their predecessors.

6.4. Dealing With the Buyers and the Customers in the Market

Before the differentiation between small and big juragan crystallized, all juragan sold their garment products directly to the customers who were to wear their products. In this case, the customers always paid in cash. Perhaps, at that time only in a rare instance would customers ask for credit, as when the customer was a close friend or relative. The juragan always asked their customers to pay in cash because at that time their own capital was very limited. They needed the money in hand to buy raw materials to keep their businesses running.

Little by little, some juragan managed to accumulate capital and therefore could step up their volume of production (see the case of Pak Cip in the earlier part of this chapter). Having achieved this position, these juragan no longer visited village or sub-district markets, but preferred to concentrate their energy on the bigger district or provincial markets. In these bigger markets, the juragan no longer sold their products directly to the consumers, but they dealt instead with retail clothes traders. In this case these juragan became the latter's suppliers of retail clothes. As garment suppliers, juragan would come to supply (nyetori) their business partners with fresh stock on a specific day.

Moving on a step further, several juragan also bought or rented kiosks in those provincial or district markets. In contrast to the daily or regular clothes traders who used their kiosk to display their products as an invitation to potential customers, juragan usually used their kiosk only as a meeting point with their retail clothes traders and as a place to stock their products in the market, rather than to display them. This was because, on the basis of the unwritten agreement (or a kind code of ethics) between the juragan and the daily traders, juragan were not allowed to sell their products directly to customers in the same market as
that in which their retail clothes traders did business. Were they do so, the customers would buy the clothes directly from the juragan rather than from the retail clothes traders.\footnote{Because harga bulakan (the price for wholesale goods) and harga eceran (retail price for direct customer) are different, juragan are not allowed to sell their products to direct customers. Were they do so, retail clothes traders could not make any profit because their customers will prefer to buy the product directly to juragan, since the former sell their products for the bulakan price. Hence juragan are only allowed to sell their products to retailer clothes traders. If any juragan should break this informal rule, the retailer traders in that market will boycott him or her by not buying his or her products. Several juragan said that when one or two direct customers actually did force them to sell their garment products, they would sell their products at the retail price and pass on the profit to their retail clothes traders. In the grocery markets such as Klewer and Beringharjo Markets, this rule is not applied since most of the clothes traders there are juragan, although they usually also apply different prices to retail clothes traders and to direct customers.}

In the beginning, the business between juragan and retail clothes traders was also carried out on a cash basis. But later, when the volume of business increased and the relationship between the juragan and the retail clothes traders grew closer or after retail clothes traders had achieved the status of langganan (regular customers), both parties would usually agree to use a credit system or ngalap nyaur. Alexander (1987: 123) describes ngalap nyaur as follows:

"In a strict sense ngalap-nyaur is the provision of very short-term credit: goods are distributed in the morning and paid for about noon. In a period of slow sales, all or some of the goods may be returned in lieu of payment. Ngalap-nyaur differs from commission selling in that a price is agreed, and the bakul sells for whatever she can obtain. In practice, credit arrangements which traders describe as ngalap-nyaur usually involve a longer period of credit than three or four hours, but in the initial stages most repayments closely approximate the ideal. Once trust has been established, a greater flexibility in both terms and means of payments will be allowed".

Basically, the langganan of one juragan could be classified into two categories. First were retail clothes traders who had permanent kiosks in the same market in which the juragan sold their products. The other were retail clothes traders who did not have permanent kiosks. The latter usually sold the garment products they had purchased in the smaller, sub-district or village markets.

In general, juragan usually adopted different ngalap-nyaur systems for their two categories of retail clothes traders above. Retail clothes traders who had kiosks in the same market where the juragan sold their products would usually be trusted more by the juragan and given more credit because these retail clothes traders had their kiosks as a guarantee and therefore would display more predictable business behaviour than did to the more mobile retail clothes traders who did not have a kiosk.

However, as mentioned by Alexander, the trust of one juragan in his/her retail clothes traders was not determined only by kiosk ownership but also many other aspects, particularly the personality of the retail clothes trader, crucially whether he/she kept his/her promise to pay back his/her debt on time or not. The creditworthiness of one retail clothes trader could
usually be measured by two indicators. The first indicator was his/her punctiliousness in paying back his/her debt within a short period on the basis of the agreement with his/her juragan, for instance weekly or fortnightly. The second was his/her ability to pay back all his/her long-standing debt, which would usually be settled one or two days before Lebaran (the end of Ramadan celebration). This informal rule was generally understood by all juragan and retail clothes traders in every market throughout Java. If a retail clothes trader failed to settle his/her debt, this would inevitably influence the trust in the juragan in the future. And this meant that he/she would be given less credit.

Having built up experience of working with his/her retailer traders, the juragan would allow different amounts of credit to each retailer trader. This was a risky business as there was no clear guidance about how to determine between trustworthy and less principled retailer traders. Although several juragan mentioned these two indicators, in reality there were many exceptional occurrences which these indicators simply did not cover. For example, one retail trader was punctilious and well able to repay his/her debt for several years, but eventually he/she simply cheated the juragan after he/she had been entrusted with a bigger debt. Cheating itself was not uncommon happening in the garment business. All juragan in Kalitengah were aware of the risk of being cheated by their retail clothes traders when they embarked upon the ngalap-nyaur system. However, as most juragan confess helplessly, they have no other choice but to adopt that system with all its attendant risks. Because, as long as there are still one or two juragan who continue to use this system, the rest will be forced do the same if they do not want to lose their retail clothes traders.

Several juragan told me that they just relied on their gut feeling to detect whether their retail clothes traders could be trusted or not. The accuracy of their intuition, indeed, was gauged by their experience and their talents as juragan. This divinatory skill itself could not be taught, but could only be acquired through internalising the culture or art of being a juragan. This was why several juragan did their best to train their children to be good juragan by introducing them to the market environment and the art of trading as early as possible. By being able to begin their apprenticeship at an early age, eventually their children had been able to master the skill of dealing with retail clothes traders.

Besides selling their garment products directly in the market using the ngalap-nyaur system, currently, younger juragan also produce their products on made-to-order basis. Many juragan who produce sportswear products such as jackets, T-shirts, sweaters and the like are very active in chasing up the tenders offered by government institutions, universities, schools, private enterprises, and army quartermaster-generals offices to supply various uniforms. Not necessarily relying only on winning tenders, those juragan are also given work orders directly by institutions, organisations, sports clubs, or just groups of people desirous of having some sort of matching clothes. One advantage is that a government institution can directly employ one garment producer if the transaction is worth less than Rp. 5 million. Direct work orders can also be negotiated through third parties such as brokers or contractors (bigger confection enterprises) which have already won the tender. In addition to
these systems, anxious to expand their markets, a few of the younger juragan also attend various Trade Fairs (Pameran Pembangunan) which are held by Pemda Klaten to promote the small-scale industry products of Klaten district. One or two garment producers in Kalitengah, like Pak Harso (the owner of Sony Confection), Pak Widodo (the owner of Peni Confection), and Mas Giano (the owner of Mentari Confection) have taken an extra step and have modern garment shops in Klaten and Jakarta as a retail outlet.

The increase in the accessibility of communication facilities offered by phone, fax (thanks to the expansion of wartel or phone shops throughout the country), and mobile phones and the increase in their knowledge of how to run a business efficiently acquired by the big juragan in Kalitengah has also contributed to the expansion of the market destinations of the garment products in recent years. Using advances in various forms of technology, several big garment producers in Kalitengah have subsequently been able do business with their retail clothes traders across the length and breadth of archipelago in such places as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua. With this new system, the retailer clothes traders outside Java, who had already been regular customers of big juragan, no longer necessarily always have to come directly to Klewer Market, Solo, on the regular basis, weekly or monthly, to buy garment products (kulakan). Instead all they need to do is to send their orders via phone or fax to the juragan in Kalitengah. Within a few of days, these retail clothes traders will receive their order; of course, after they have transferred some money to the bank accounts of those juragan to pay their orders.

7. The Krismon and the Response of the Juragan

As already mentioned, since the emergence of the industry in Kalitengah in the late 1920s, several generations of garment producers in that village have had to confront various economic difficulties, including the scarcity of textiles during the Japanese occupation between 1942-45, the textile shortage in the 1960s, and the politico-economic turmoil in 1965 (prior to and after the abortive coup d'état said to have been engineered by the Indonesian Communist Party), which all hampered the smooth operation of the industry. No different from the previous periods of hardship, the krismon created problems for the juragan as well as the buruh in Kalitengah.

The krismon, which was triggered by the plummeting of the Rupiah (currency crisis) after the Thai Bath had been floated in February 1997 (Hill, 1999: 11-22), finally penetrated Kalitengah village when the Rupiah continued to decline and reached its lowest level of Rp.17,000 against the US$ in January 1998 (Hill, 1999: 19). This triggered the skyrocketing of the prices of the nine basic commodities (sembako), and subsequently the

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32 Similar observations on the krismon can be seen in Moled (1998), Ananta (2003), Breman and Wiradi (2002), among others.
33 For an illustration, the price of rice (beras) in Kalitengah increased sharply from around Rp.1,000 per kilogram before the crisis to Rp.2,600 per kilogram during the crisis (the price of rice even reached more than
plunge of the Rupiah also caused a sharp increase in the price of the raw materials required to produce garment products such as the cloth, thread, buttons, and various sorts of haberdashery to finish the garment off. Several juragan told me that after the krismon the price of cloth increased threefold compared to what it had been before the krismon. "Pas krimon riyen regi kain niku dados lipet tigo dibanding sakderenge" ("During the krismon the price of cloth increased threefold compared to before [krismon]"), according to Pak Mul who told me of his experiences with the price of cloth during the krismon. Pak Mul's story is not surprising when we look at the wider picture at the national level. Describing this situation, T. Tambunan (2000b: 98) mentioned that on the supply side one of the problems which had to be faced by small-scale industries at this troubled time was a steep rise in the price of raw materials and other inputs, especially in import-intensive manufacturing sub-sectors, that is, textiles, garments, metals, footwear. He claimed that during the krismon, the price of various imported raw materials increased to as high as 600 per cent (for a similar observation of the agriculture sector see Breman, 2002: 13).

Dismaying though it was for the Kalitengah juragan, from what they told me the main problem they experienced during the krismon was not the increase in the price of raw materials as such, but more of the unpredictability of the prices of those commodities. Because, they claimed, the unpredictability of the prices of the raw materials, particularly cloth, made it very difficult for them to make business calculations. Juggling the unpredictability of the price of the cloth in the wake of the fluctuation of the exchange rate of the Rupiah against the US dollar, many juragan said that they were at their wits' end trying to set a price for their garment products. It would happen that they thought that they had already set quite a high price, suddenly, the price of cloth shot up much higher than they had expected. As a consequence, their income from selling their products was not enough to buy more new material (kulakan) to make the next batch of clothing, unless they were willing to spend additional money (tombok).

Another problem which had to be faced by the juragan during the krismon was the termination of the credit facility for buying cloth that they had enjoyed before the crisis.34 Prior to krismon, almost all the juragan in Kalitengah could buy cloth via the ngalap-nyaur a (credit) system from their cloth traders who are mostly Chinese. After the onset of the crisis the latter inexorably insisted that the transactions must be conducted in cash. The change in the system eventually created big problems for the entrepreneurs. This is the fate which overcame Kartono, the owner of "Mendung" Confection, whose business collapsed during the krismon. He complained of the difficult situation caused by the changes in the cloth purchasing system. He said: "Wah dulu kalau mau ambil bahan di Cina kan bisa utang 5

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34 The same problem in fact also had to be faced by small entrepreneurs from other different sectors as the research results conducted by JIC A (2000) revealed that one among other factors which affect small enterprises during the economic crisis was the withdrawal of purchasing credit by suppliers of materials.
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juta, sekarang nggak harus cash padahal dulu kain hampir 50 juta, 60 juta didukkekalih
Cino sakniki wah...” (In the past [before the monetary crisis] if [we] wanted to get material
from the Chinese [we] could ask for credit of up to 5 million [Rupiah], now [we] must pay
cash while in the past these Chinese had no problem entrusting large amounts of cloth, worth
almost 50 or 60 million [with credit system], but now...”) (CPPS, 1998). Other juragan have
also had the same experience as Kartono. Pak Marsono, the owner of “Enggal Mekar”
Confection enterprise, said that before the krismon, the purchase of cloth from the Chinese
cloth traders in Klewer Market, Solo, was always conducted via a credit system in which the
juragan were given a certain period of time in which to settle their credit (tenggang
pembayaran), ranging from between six months to one year. Suddenly, after the krismon
there was no longer any credit facility available. “Every transaction had to be done in cash”,
he said.

From the description above, we can draw the conclusion that the krismon affected the
operation of garment industry in Kalitenga from two different directions, namely: the
supply and the demand side. On the supply side, the increase in the prices of input materials
had created difficulties for the juragan in Kalitenga in purchasing raw materials, which led
to the problem of how to sustain the rate of production of garments. This problem became
even more complicated for the Kalitenga juragan when the cloth traders terminated the
credit facilities. Meanwhile, on the demand side, the increase in the price of sembako
subsequently affected the purchasing power parity of people in general to buy the garment
products of Kalitenga (cf. AKATIGA, 1998; T. Tambunan, 2000b; Sandee, Andadari, and
Sulandjari, 2000). To deal with these problems, the juragan of Kalitenga had to make
several business adjustments in order for their garment business to survive during the
krismon. The strategies adopted by the juragan in response to the change in business
conditions after the krismon, were basically to adjust three key variables in the operation of
the garment industry, namely production, marketing, and employment. How each of these
variables was adjusted in response to the krismon will be discussed below:

a. Production
On the surface it would seem the logical response of the juragan in their efforts to come to
terms with the increase in the price of raw materials could be reduced to two choices: cutting
down on the volume of production or stopping production altogether. In reality, looking at
the matter more closely, I found that the way the juragan responded to the crisis was not
limited to these two choices. Their response to the krismon was eventually very much
affected by the condition of their business during the crisis. As several other studies on
small-scale industry show, the impact of the krismon on this type of industry was varied (cf.
industry in Kalitenga was no exception. During the krismon, based on the status of their
business, juragan in Kalitenga could be classified into three different categories: (1) the
winners (the juragan who benefited from the crisis); (2) the losers (the juragan who went
bankrupt during the crisis); and (3) the survivors (the juragan who could manage their businesses skilfully enough to be able to survive during the crisis).

The first category of juragan of course did not have any real problem to continuing their production during the krismon. These juragan were mostly big juragan who had enough capital and dared to use what they had to speculate. These juragan made use of the opportunities created by the chaotic situation on the market in the wake of the fluctuation of the Rupiah against the US dollar to make their business profitable by continuing to produce their products. These winner juragan were not only able to maintain their volume of production at the same level as before the krismon, they could even increase their production during the period, particularly when it reached its peak. This was when many juragan were forced to stop producing garments, subsequently leading to a scarcity of garments in the markets.

In contrast to the first category, the second category of juragan had to stop production because they went bankrupt during the krismon. Juragan suffered bankruptcy for several reasons: their capital could not keep up with the increase in the price of raw materials; their run-out capital was spent to cover the extra spending needed to buy basic necessities for their families; they made mistakes in their business judgements. Although the majority of them were small juragan, several big juragan in Kalitengah also went bankrupt during the krismon because they made wrong decisions.

The third category is composed of the juragan who survived the krismon after making every effort to adjust their business to negotiate the precarious business climate created by the drastic economic downturn. There were various "production strategies" to which these juragan resorted to cope with the crisis, among of them were:

1) Temporary closure and repositioning. Several juragan (big and small) who had difficulties in dealing with the crisis in the beginning preferred to call a halt to their production. Later, when the situation was more conducive to pursuing business, they resumed their production again. Pak Harno, the owner of “Sony” Confection, was one juragan who applied this strategy. When the crisis started, he stopped his production and used his kiosk to sell sembako.

2) Rightsizing followed by expansion after discovering a new strategy to approach the problem (mostly used by big juragan). This was the strategy preferred by Pak Narto (aged 60), the owner of “Paris” Confection. To come to grips the krismon, Pak Narto said that he tried to improve the quality of his garment products from baju kodian (fairly shoddy clothing) to baju alusan (fine clothing). This strategy (shifting the consumer target) was chosen on the basis of his calculation that he could attract consumers from the higher socio-economic stratum who, since they less suffered from the krismon, still had enough money to spend on clothing. To put his idea into practice, he said that he had to cut the number of his sewers down from twenty-four to fourteen. This needed be done because it was essential he hire only qualified
sewing workers who could make fine clothing. By adopting this strategy, Pak Narto said that he could reduce production costs and at the same time made a bigger profit.

(3) Using cheap raw materials to produce unique garment products. To cope with the sharp increase in the prices of raw materials, several juragan (mostly young and creative) shifted their production from producing commonplace to fancy goods such as bed covers, table-cloths, doormats, tissue box covers and other such items using left-over cloth, which they could buy at very cheap price from big garment factories.

(4) In a move similar to the third strategy, several juragan (mostly small) also told me that they had preferred to produce very cheap garment products using kain kiloan (lit. weighted cloth that is the defective cloth which is sold not by size but by weight). As the demand for something cheap increased during the krismon, several juragan said that their products had sold well at that time. Consequently, juragan who made this type of product could survive during the crisis.

b. Marketing

As has been mentioned in the previous section, the juragan of Kalitengah usually concluded a ngalap nyaur (credit arrangement) to market their garment products in the markets. However, since they had little capital to play with during the krismon, because of the increase in the price of raw materials and the disappearance of credit facilities to buy cloth, the juragan had to forego the ngalap nyaur system as a means to market their products. They insisted that every business transaction should be in cash; otherwise they would not be able to continue the production process. The extent to which cash was of paramount importance during the krismon for the juragan to maintain their production is illustrated by the story of Pak Teguh (45), a big juragan of Klumutan hamlet. When talking about his business during the krismon he said: “Pas krimon niku usaha garmen kados dodolan pisang goreng, soalle dinteniku payu duwitte njur langsung ngge kulakkan melih” (“During the monetary crisis the garment business was just like selling fried bananas, because when you got hold of cash by selling your garment products, the money was used straightaway to buy cloth again”).

To find an alternative solution to the problem of marketing their products caused by their dearth of capital, several juragan resorted to using the barter system alongside the cash system, which they used during the krismon. For example, in order to enable them to sell more garment products and fulfil the variety of their dagangan (merchandise), several juragan told me that they exchanged their garment products such as school uniform for different kinds of garment products from Pekalongan or Tasikmalaya, including Muslim dress, clothes for lounging about the house and so forth. By means of this system, these juragan expanded their possibilities to earn bigger profits without spending additional capital.
c. Employment

To reduce production costs, during the krismon many juragan also cut down on the number of their buruh jahit. This was usually done in two steps: first by cutting down their workload, and, subsequently when situation worsened, many juragan eventually reduced the number of their workers as well. In the end, only buruh jahit who had close ties with their juragan such as family members, more distant relatives, or close neighbours still retained their jobs.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the total number of the buruh jahit who lost their job during the krismon. Only a rough figure can be mentioned here, based on the estimate made from author’s household survey. This found that the number of buruh jahit families in Kalitengah decreased by 35 per cent, from around 340 before the krismon to only 221 families after the krismon. Using this information, we can estimate that the garment workers in Kalitengah who lost their jobs after the onset of the krismon was most likely around 35 per cent of the total number of garment workers. So, if there were around 800 people working in the garment industry in Kalitengah before the krismon, after the advent of the krismon around 280 people must have lost their jobs as garment workers.

Besides reducing the number of sewing workers, a few big juragan also told me that to reduce the cost of sewing workers they preferred to ndandakke (lit. asking for service, that is to subcontract their production process to the sewing workers) in Kalioso (Solo) rather than trying to produce garment products themselves. These juragan said that during the krismon there were many Solo sewing workers who had lost their jobs in big garment factories in Jakarta. These redundant workers returned to Solo. Organised by one or two among them who took the lead, they launched an initiative to win subcontract jobs from the juragan who sold their garment products in Klewer Market (Solo), including the juragan from Kalitengah. As the Kaliyoso sewers were willing to accept lower wages than to the Kalitengah sewers, a few of the big juragan in Kalitengah who had been informed of this seized this opportunity to reduce their production costs.

As has been discussed in Chapter Two, because of specific characteristics of small-scale industry, the relationship between home and work is very strong in this industry. Consequently, the impact of the krismon on the garment industry in Kalitengah will inevitably have affected the livelihood of the garment manufacturers and their families as well. This inevitably leads to the question what was the impact of the krismon on the garment manufacturers’ families? The answer of this question can be found in Chapter Six.

8. Conclusion

The emergence of the garment industry in Kalitengah has been affected by various factors at different points in its history. In the early stages, the emergence of this industry was bolstered by the acute land scarcity in this village which forced many people there to find employment outside the agricultural sector (see Chapter Three). In this era, people used the garment industry as an instrument for survival. From being just kamus and epék traders, these
pioneers of the garment industry in Kalitengah began to make their own products; initially they made hand-sewn kamus and epek, then they progressed to ready-made clothing when the former products went out of fashion. In the next stage, the garment industry developed more rapidly helped by the availability of sewing machines and the emergence of the gerji in that village in the 1930s. Influenced by the trading culture (entrepreneurial spirit) of the people of Wedi (see section two of Chapter Three), many gerji also produced ready-made clothing rather than only making clothes on a made-to-order basis. For the married gerji, the unique division of labour in Kalitengah, which gave women more opportunities to trade while the men were responsible for production activities and taking care of domestic affairs, was another important factor affecting the development of this industry.

Despite serious set-backs during the Japanese occupation between 1942-45, the number of garment producers grew quite significantly as many gerji who lost their jobs in the wake of the textile crisis during the Japanese occupation switched to become producers of very cheap garment products (pakaian mBali) to satisfy the high demand for ready-made clothing during that time.

The industry experienced rapid growth in the 1960s when sewing machines became easier to find in the local markets. Growing acceleration was experienced by this industry with the arrival of the cheap textiles era in Indonesia in the 1970s, with a simultaneous dramatic rise in the demand for ready-made clothes attributable to various national factors. These included the success of the Indonesian development programmes during the New Order period, the increased demand for school uniforms since the 1970s, the rising demand for modern women's clothing since the 1960s, and the increase in the popularity of batik shirts as a form of national dress. This created a conducive environment in which the garment industry in Kalitengah could grow and develop. In this era, many garment producers were able to accumulate capital and reinvest this in the development their businesses by buying new machinery and expanding their market throughout Java (see the case study of Pak Cip). This era was also marked by the emergence of the second generation of garment producers – the children of successful garment producers or the new petty capitalists (orang kaya baru), who did not have to begin their businesses from scratch because they were given enough initial capital by their parents. In this stage, we could say that the garment industry in Kalitengah was no longer an instrument for survival for those people pushed out of the agriculture sector. By now it had become an instrument for capital accumulation. Fortunately, since one characteristic of the small-scale garment industry is its ease of entry, this industry not only became an instrument of vertical mobility for the juragan families, but also served the same purpose for the garment workers. The ability of many garment workers to better themselves can be seen in the increase in their number in Kalitengah village over time.

Besides the growth and development of the garment industry in terms of the size of the enterprises and the number of garment producers and sewing workers, the garment industry in Kalitengah also developed in terms of its production system and management (marketing).
From cottage industries that relied on family labour and used a simple production system, the garment industry in Kalitengah developed little by little into a collection of small-scale enterprises (and even a few medium-sized enterprises) which employed more labour. The increase in the volume of production and the arrival of new machinery such as hemming machines and cloth-cutting machines subsequently contributed considerably to the division of labour in this industry. Garment workers were divided into several specialisations based on the production process, which the garment producers split up into several stages (assembly-line production) for reasons of efficiency. Besides separating labourers into various divisions to facilitate assembly-line production, this division of labour also distinguished garment workers on the basis of skill and gender (although the latter division is somewhat blurred). Skilled male workers usually occupied more difficult and risky positions offering higher wages such as that of pattern-cutter. Meanwhile, less skilled women workers occupied less difficult and risky positions with lower wages such as fixing buttons (further discussion on the stratification and differentiation of these workers will be found in the following chapter).

As it has undergone growth and development from one generation to another, many aspects of the garment industry in Kalitengah village have inexorably changed. These changes have basically led to two different results. First is the emergence of a relatively modern garment industry in Kalitengah, serving as the instrument for capital accumulation for the petty capitalists. Second is the continued existence of a traditional garment industry as an instrument of survival for those people who cannot find a job in the agricultural sector. As an instrument for capital accumulation, several confection enterprises in this village have been modernised by their owners in terms of capital, machinery, marketing, and management techniques. The garments produced by these enterprises are usually of good quality. As such, those products can compete with the garments produced by bigger factories. As an instrument of survival, the garment industry in Kalitengah village still retains its old face, and is run on a small amount of capital, using antiquated machinery, and produces cheap garment products that are sold to poor consumers in the remote markets. The krismon, which hit this industry in early 1998, provided evidence that modern garment industry was likely to have more possibilities to survive the sudden change in the business climate (crisis) than its more traditional counterpart. This is because the juragan who run the more modern garment industry almost invariably had larger amounts of capital, which allowed them to adopt different kind strategies to cope with the crisis.