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 Six

Home and Work: Garment Manufacturers and Their Families

1. Introduction

The theme of this chapter is the dynamics of the livelihood of the garment manufacturers in Kalitengah village and their families. The dynamics of the livelihood here are understood as part of the dynamics of the garment industry as the main pillar of the economy (source of income) for the families of both the juragan and the buruh.

As has been discussed in Chapter Two, among other characteristics of the garment industry, there are two important characteristics which potentially affect the livelihood of the families of the juragan and the buruh. The first consists of the production activities of this industry, which take place in the homes (home-production based) of both the juragan and the buruh. This system inevitably creates an overlap between the work and the family domains which is fraught with the potential to trigger some problems among the family members of these garment manufacturers, not least, the reconciliation of two different domains which are incompatible in some respects. The second consists of the seasonal fluctuations, the peak and the slack seasons, which affect the dynamics of the operation of the garment industry and the welfare of the families of the garment manufacturers. A bigger calamity than merely suffering from seasonal fluctuations can sometimes hang over the heads of the juragan. The causes may be various. Among the lurking dangers are failure to compete with other juragan, the visitation of an economic crisis, the misuse of capital for unproductive spending, or the risk of being cheated by their retail clothes traders. All these calamities will cause the juragan to suffer the loss of large amounts of money, which in many cases can lead to bankruptcy. These hardships are sometimes exacerbated by the fact that the majority of small-scale enterprises, including the confectionery enterprises in Kalitengah, do not maintain a strict separation between business and family finances. Discussing this issue, Haynes et al. (quoted in Fitzgerald et al., 2001: 270) drawing conclusions from their research, mention that, "For households with an established family business, the finances of the family and the business seem to be inextricably intertwined".
Therefore, because of this characteristic form of financial management, when there is a catastrophe the impact not only affects the enterprises but the welfare of their families is also threatened.

The discussions in the previous chapters have indicated that there is a strong connection between work and family affairs in the garment industry in Kalitengah. This chapter is devoted to discussing this issue in greater detail. The objectives of this chapter are to answer the following questions: (1) How does the overlapping between work and family domains affect the livelihood of the families of juragan and the buruh? (2) How do the families of juragan and the buruh cope with the seasonal fluctuations in the garment industry, including the hardships arising from an economic crisis or bankruptcy?

2. The Juragan and their families

2.1. The types of Juragan families

To analyse the intertwining of work and family among the juragan families, we must first obtain an understanding of the fine tuning of the types of juragan families in Kalitengah. This is based on the assumption that the modulations in the types of these families will differentiate the degree of the interrelatedness between the work and the family domains among them. It stands to reason that the intensity of the overlapping between the work and domestic domains of the juragan families in which both the husbands and the wives are involved in the business as a team will be different from that experienced by the juragan families in which either only the husband or only the wife is active in the business.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the majority of juragan in Kalitengah are conjugal couples. These juragan run their business together as a husband and wife team (male juragan and female juragan) with the support of their family members. The data in Table 6.1 provide us with more detailed evidence about this. From the table, we can see that the juragan families in Kalitengah are mainly nuclear families (88 per cent of a total of 161 families). Moreover, the majority of juragan families (59.8 per cent) consists of a husband-wife team. The second biggest type are the juragan families in which only the wives are involved in the garment business (22.4 per cent), followed by widows (8.7 per cent), and husbands (8.1 per cent).
Table 6.1 Types of Juragan Families Based on the Involvement of Husband and Wife in the Garment Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband only</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife only</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nuclear family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow¹</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widower</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not married Female-headed family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not married Male-headed family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's own survey 1999
N=973

From the data above we can draw several conclusions. First, to run a garment business needs solid teamwork between the husband and wife. This is because through a process of socialisation from one generation to the next, the men and women in Kalitengah have acquired different skills relating to this business. Broadly speaking it is the men (husbands) who master the technical skills needed to produce the garment products, their special skill being the knowledge of cutting patterns, while the women (wives) are more skilful in trading and managing the money. In short, to become successful juragan, husbands and wives should combine their two different skills. My observation proves that the large confectionery enterprises in Kalitengah are usually run by husband and wife teams. Second, since the trading skills of the women surpass those of the men, it logically follows that the women also have more opportunities to become juragan themselves without the assistance of the men (husbands). This can be seen in the proportion of female juragan who run enterprises without the assistance and/or the presence of husbands (31.7 per cent). This is much higher than is the proportion of male juragan who run the enterprises without the assistance and/or the presence of wives which is only 9.3 per cent. Female juragan can usually solve the technical problems which have to be faced in the absence of men (husbands) by hiring pattern-cutters and hem-makers, but men juragan who do not have trading acumen will find themselves in a difficult position should they lack their wives' support. That is why the number of widowed juragan in Kalitengah is extremely low.

The data on the types of juragan families in fact corroborates the research carried out by Anita van Velzen on the small-scale food industry in eight villages in West Java. On the basis of three categories of household enterprises, namely, the female-headed household enterprise, the conjugal-headed household enterprise, and the male-headed household enterprise, Van Velzen finds that 60 per cent of the 239 small-scale food enterprises in her

¹ Including divorcees (janda cerai)
research villages fall into the category of conjugal-headed household enterprises. Next in line, 31 per cent can be classified as female-headed household enterprises, and only 9 per cent are categorised as male-headed household enterprises (Van Velzen, 1994: 108).

2.2. The Job Distribution between the Husbands and the Wives

Since the majority of the juragan families consists of a husband and wife who are both involved in the garment industry, the discussion of the job distribution among the family members (particularly husband and wife) in the juragan families in this section will focus mainly on those juragan families which fall into that majority category.

As has been touched upon in various parts of this thesis, the job distribution between the husbands and the wives in the juragan families is basically founded on two main activities pursued in the garment industry, namely production and the marketing. The responsibility for the production, that is the actual process of making garment products, usually devolves upon the male juragan (the husbands), while the marketing, that is selling the products in the marketplace is the responsibility assumed by the female juragan (the wives).

The job distribution in the juragan families is to some extent influenced by the gender division of labour in Javanese society in which money, economic activity, and agricultural fertility are associated with female (Locher-Scholten, 2000:57; Weix, 2000). Therefore, trading activities that closely involve dealing with money are also perceived as only suitable to women. The marketplace, where trading activities take place, is considered the women's domain (Alexander, 1987; 1994; Alexander and Alexander, 2001; Seligman, 2001; Brenner, 1992).

Yet it is not all so cut and dried. Although the division of labour between the husbands and the wives in the juragan families seems quite sharply delineated, in fact it changes from one stage to another, keeping pace with the economic cycle of the businesses which are run by these juragan couples and also the dynamics of the demographic cycle of the families (cf. Van Velzen, 1990; 1994; Loscocco, 1997). Below is an analysis of the job distribution between husbands and wives in the juragan families in Kalitengah all the way through the expansion of their confection enterprises and at every stage of the dynamics of demographic cycle of their families.

a. The establishment stage

When the confection enterprise is still small, the division of labour between the husband and the wife tends to be blurred. As touched upon in another section, the juragan couples usually have a background as sewing workers. When they begin to make their own garment products, the division of labour between the husbands and the wives becomes more palpable. The husbands are usually responsible for cutting the patterns, for assembling the pre-cut material, button-holing, hemming, and packing. When the production process is
finished, the wives take over and sell the garment products in the marketplace. The husbands will continue the production process while their wives are in the market, as well as taking care of their children (momong) if there are no other family members who can assume this task. After they return from the market, the wives will help their husbands to sew the pre-cut material as well as carrying out their domestic tasks. Nothing is immutable and the job distribution between the husbands and the wives is sometimes very flexible, particularly in those families in which the husbands can also undertake trading. In this case, when there are still babies or young children at home, it is the husbands who usually go to the marketplace while the wives will take care of their children and sew the pre-cut material. It is common practice for the husbands to cut the patterns and do the hemming first before they set off for the marketplace after morning prayers (sholat subuh) at 5 a.m. Subsequently, when their children are old enough, the wives will become active in the marketplace once again and the husbands will again turn their attention more to the production process.

It is precisely in this establishment stage that young juragan couples frequently have to contend with the most difficult conflict between the work and family domains. This is because they usually still have young children or babies who need a great deal of care exerting great pressure, particularly on female juragan, to perform their family role. Simultaneously these young juragan couples also feel compelled to devote more time to developing their business. Unfortunately, in this period these young juragan families are still financially weak which means they cannot hire domestic servants to help them with household chores, which would leave them more time to manage their business (reconciling family roles and business demands). At this precarious time, apart from time allocation problems arising from trying to juggle their family and their business commitments, young juragan couples also have to face the tricky problem of allocating their limited financial resources even handedly to support their family needs and boost their business development (to increase their capital). The case of Mas Sulis, a young juragan of Dalangan hamlet is a good illustration of this.

**Mas Sulis Family: Facing the Problem of Reconciling Business and Family**

Mas Sulis, a 27-year-old, is one of the younger juragan in Kalitengah. He started his business as a garment producer a couple years ago after he graduated from a private university in Yogyakarta. He is married and has a small son aged 2, named Anggie. Both Mas Sulis and his wife, Mbak Anik, are active in the market. Mas Sulis usually sells his garment products twice a week at the Magelang and Bayat markets. His wife sells her garment products only at the Boyolali market, that is every Pon and Pahing. However, he said that after they had the baby, his wife's schedule for going to the market could not always be relied on because she first had to find someone who could take care of their son.

One day, when I accompanied him to Klaten to have his motorbike, a Vespa, repaired he told me about the difficulty of juggling his time between developing his business and taking care of his small son. He said that his wife was still at the market. His son was being taken care of by his elder sister, Bu Ninik, who is also a juragan. He was lucky Bu Ninik did not go to the market so she could take care of his son. He said that the first priority for him and his wife was to arrange the
schedule with Bu Ninik. When Bu Ninik goes to the market either he or his wife has to remain at home to take care their son. Before we went to the repair shop in Klaten, Mas Sulis asked my permission to stop at Bu Ninik's house because he had to give his son some food.

While waiting for his motorbike to be repaired, Mas Sulis told me that in fact he wanted to find a domestic servant (rewang) who could take care his son when he and his wife were at the market. However, as well as the difficulty in actually finding a domestic servant, he said that in his present financial situation it would still quite extravagant for him to hire someone. So, he and his wife were reconsidering their situation once again. Mas Sulis looked very tired that day. His face was puffy. Later he fell asleep for a while in his chair. He told me that he had not slept the night before because he had take turns with his wife taking care of his son who did not want to sleep the whole night. This was not naughtiness, he said, his son was also often ill. Indeed, one day when we had made a plan to go to the Magelang market together, he suddenly informed me very early in the morning that we had to postpone our plan because he had to take his son to a doctor in Klaten.

b. The expansion stage
When their enterprises grow, the young jugaran couples will hire sewing workers to help them to sew the pre-cut material. The average number of sewers at this stage is five. At this point the division of labour between husbands and wives will become more obvious. The main responsibilities assumed by the husbands are cutting the patterns, distributing the pre-cut material to the sewing workers, checking the quality of the work when the finished products are returned, and doing the hemming. The wives now reduce their involvement in the production process and pay more attention to marketing activities. At this level, the female juragan usually sell their products in the sub-district or district marketplaces, that is, twice a week on the special market days. When their children become more independent, the domestic tasks of the wives can also be shared among the family members. The improvement in the financial conditions of these juragan families accompanied by the expansion of their garment businesses in this stage also contributes to the increasing stability of the juragan families. With a number of worries removed, the conflict between work and the family domains becomes less problematic. Juragan couples are now at leisure to pay more attention to developing their garment businesses.

c. An expansion stage further
In the next stage, as the confection enterprise continues to grow, juragan couples will hire more sewing workers, now employing around ten to twenty sewers. Their labour force is no longer confined to sewing workers -when the volume of production increases significantly along with the development of their business-- they also hire other garment workers such as hem-makers, buttonhole-makers, and people for sewing on buttons. At this stage the tasks of the male juragan ease somewhat, consisting of cutting the patterns, distributing the pre-cut material to sewing workers, supervising the hem-makers, and checking the quality of the products. Conversely, as the volume of production grows, the task of the female juragan involving marketing the garment products becomes more difficult. At this level, a female juragan is not only expected to sell the garment products, she also has to shoulder the managerial tasks needed to run their business. Now, they have to deal with bigger retail
clothes traders, make more complicated business calculations in order to try to predict trends in consumer taste so as to determine the kind of garment products which are going to be in demand, and pay their workers' wages. When they arrive at this stage, the *juragan* couples can usually afford more strategically located kiosks in the bigger marketplaces such as Klewer Market in Solo or Beringharjo Market in Yogyakarta. Subsequently, the marketing activities of the female *juragan* will increase very significantly as they will go to the market on a daily basis rather than only on special days as they had done previously. Happily, economically the *juragan* families are quite stable at this level so the female *juragan* can hire domestic servants to do household chores which solves the problem of dividing their time between work and family. Simultaneously, since the tasks of male *juragan* in the production process lessen, they will become more involved in social activities outside the home or invest their money in other economic activities such as opening wholesale shops in the Wedi market.

d. The stable stage

At this stage, the *juragan* couples have achieved a stable position. Their confection enterprises are big enough to hire more than twenty sewers, sometimes hundreds as in the enterprises of Bu Topo and Bu Yatno. Male *juragan* are usually not directly involved in the production process, but simply become supervisors after they have been able to employ pattern-cutters, besides other more specialised garment workers such as hem-makers, buttonhole-makers, and packers who have not been employed before. The supervisory task of the male *juragan* becomes even easier if they are able to find reliable pattern-cutters who can be trusted to take their place distributing pre-cut material and checking the quality of the garment products made by their sewing workers. The stability of the confection enterprises is matched by the stability of the families of these *juragan*. The reverse is equally true.² By this stage the children of these *juragan* families are usually independent as university students or are already married. Free of child care, the female *juragan* can devote more time to managing their garment businesses without having to contend with the problem of dual role conflict. Since the male *juragan* virtually no longer have any production tasks as these have been delegated to their pattern-cutters, they can help their wives with the trading in their kiosks in Klewer Market, Solo or Berinharjo Market, Yogyakarta, quite often acting as chauffeurs for their wives. Yet there are many male *juragan* who, instead of giving assistance to their wives in the market, prefer to stay at home to supervise their pattern-cutters, join in social activities, or enjoy their hobbies, such as playing tennis or buying and selling cars (*maklaran mobil*). For example, when I met Haji Marno in his wholesale shop during the peak season of the garment industry in Kalitengah in July 2000, he told me the following story:

² Masuo et al. (2001: 69) have different opinion about this issue. They say that family success impacts positively on business success, but the reverse is not true.
"Arepo nggawe seragam okeh ning ngurus lbune. Saiki aku akeh nganggure Mas, lha wong sing motongi wis ono. Paling-paling niliki toko, yen wis jam sewelas mulih klekaran neng omah" ("Even though [we] produce large quantities of school uniforms, my wife manages everything, Mas. Now I have more free time because [we] hire a pattern-cutter. So, mostly I just drop by to check [my] wholesale shop, after eleven o'clock, then [I] will go home and take a nap").

Some female juragan whose confection enterprises are on a steady course told me that they allow their husbands to enjoy more free time because they feel that their husbands have worked hard to get their business off the ground. So, when their children are independent and their confection enterprises are stable, these established female juragan think that it is time for their husbands to reduce their involvement in the business and to enjoy their hobbies. Below is Bu Topo's story.

Bu Topo's Family: In a Stable Stage
On one occasion, Bu Topo, an established juragan of Dalangan hamlet, told me that her husband is now no longer active in managing their confection enterprise, "Delima" Confection. It is she, then, who takes charge of managing their garment business. In the past, when this couple started their business in 1963, she and her husband worked in tandem to develop it. Bu Topo said that although it was her husband's responsibility to produce the garment products, it was she who mostly determined what kind of product they should make because she said that it was she who had a better business sense. At that time both she and her husband were selling their products in the Klewer Market, Solo. Later, when their children needed more attention, in 1975 Bu Topo and her husband discussed sharing the responsibility. Two of their most burning issues were who would pay more attention to the domestic business (mengurus akhirat; taking care of their four children) and who should spend more time managing the commercial business, guiding their confection enterprise to greater heights. They decided that Bu Topo would spend more time raising their children, while her husband devoted more time to their confection enterprise. Subsequently, after all four of her children had gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca (she considered that her task of making their children good Muslims was finished when all of her children had become Haji/Hajah) and they became university students in Yogyakarta, she decided to go to the market again. Now that all of her children are married, she has even more time to manage her confection enterprise. Bu Topo said that her husband now was only "untuk lanang-lanang" (to be a male symbol in her family) rather than the breadwinner because he was retired from the business. She said that she gave her husband more time (diujo) to devote to religious activities and to enjoy his hobbies, such as playing tennis and karaoke.

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3 Bu Topo and her husband are pious Muslims. They believe that their children are not theirs, but children of God, entrusted to them by God (anak hanya titipan Tuhan). These children are a kind of examination (cobaan) for them to test whether they can be trusted by God or not, namely whether they just busy themselves with earthly business managing their confection enterprise or whether they can also pay the same attention to preparing their after life. So, only if they take care their children carefully and ensure them become good Muslims (anak-anak yang bertaqwa), will they pass the examination and be granted a place in heaven as their reward for their faithfulness in pursuing God's purpose.
2.3. The Power Relationship between the Husbands and the Wives

Since the female juragan are more involved in the day-to-day management and handle the trading activities (which also means the money), they usually also have a greater authority to manage and spend the money for both domestic and business purposes (cf. Van Velzen, 1990: 42). Only in a few cases, when they have to face difficult situations, will these female juragan ask for advice and/or permission from their husbands. This might be when they have to apply for credit from a bank, face unscrupulous retail clothes traders, or solve conflicts with their business partners. Below are several illustrations demonstrating the strong position of female juragan in keeping the financial reins firmly in hand.

In Pak Jali’s family his wife takes care of everything.

Pak Jali once told me that he did not know anything about money matters in his family. He said that: "Sing ngurus bojo kulo sedoyo" ("My wife manages everything"). He then gave me an example. He said that when he bought a car, a Suzuki Carry, several years ago his wife asked him whether he liked the car or not. If he liked it she told him that she would buy it for him. Pak Jali asked his wife whether they had enough money to do this or not. His wife replied that they had. Pak Jali also told me he never knew how much they had in the bank. He said that it was his wife who knew how to deal with the bank, but he did not. He also confessed that when he sold his Suzuki Carry and bought a more expensive car, a Toyota Kijang, he did not know if his wife still had enough money. He was even more surprised when after his wife paid for the Kijang, she still had enough money to buy a kiosk in Klewer Market for Rp. 60 million.

Pak Mul’s family. He needed his wife’s permission to use any money.

On one occasion, several Kalitengah juragan and I went to a warung kaki lima (streetside food stall) in Klaten. We drank ginger tea and chatted about several issues. After quite some time, Pak Mul—who invited us to join him to go to the town—paid the bill. At that time he handed over a Rp.50,000 bank note to the food seller. Seeing Pak Mul pay the bill, Pak Jali jokingly asked him whether his money was resmi (legal) or not (legal here means that he had taken the money with the permission of his wife, while illegal would be if he "had stolen" or had taken the money without his wife’s permission). Pak Mul replied, "Of course legal, not like you".

Pak Robin’s family. Clearly under his wife’s domination

Pak Robin, a 33-year-old big juragan of Dalangan hamlet, had a reputation in his neighbourhood as a suami takut istri (a henpecked husband). This was because Pak Robin very rarely joined in the social activities that were organised in the neighbourhood where he lived. People said that his wife forbade him to socialise with these people. It was indeed well known that every time he joined the neighbours to chat at the night-watch post (gardu ronda), his wife would send her servant to ask Pak Robin to come back home, of course decently clad in various excuses. People in Dalangan hamlet said that Pak Robin’s wife was very strict with him. Consequently, he had no freedom like other male juragan in his neighbourhood, not even to join his friends to go motor-biking every month or to play badminton in the sports hall in Wedi town, let alone to manage the money.

On one occasion Pak Jali told me a story about his "illegal conduct" abstracting money from his wife. He said that one day his wife wanted to deposit some money in the bank and because she was in a hurry she unintentionally left Rp.1 million rupiah on the table. He took the money and stashed it in a secret place. Fortunately, his wife never asked him about the money. So, he was very happy because he could use the money for seneng-seneng (fun), like treating his friends, buying car accessories, and gambling.
Indeed, the whole description above reconfirms the research findings obtained by H. Geertz (1961), Jay (1969), more recently by Papanek and Schwede (1988), Brenner (1992), Wolf (1992), Koning (2000), and Weix (2000), namely that Javanese women mostly enjoy the economic autonomy that comes from their control over the money and household budgets. Weix (2000: 301) even argues, as the case of the female juragan in Kalitengah also shows, that Javanese women not only control household budgets, supervise domestic servants, and dominate in the more public trade and market venues, they are also undeniably reliable managers. There is not the faintest shadow of doubt that they are perfectly capable of employing workers, making business calculations, and dealing with business partners in the market, both in small and large enterprises. Of course, the research findings on the domination of their husbands by the female juragan of Kalitengah need to be followed up more carefully. Wolf (2000: 91-94) insists that in a different research locality (West Java which is more Islamic and patriarchal compared to Central and East Java, men dominate) and the methodology used can subsequently affect the conclusions which have been brought forward by the many different researchers who have carried out research on the position of Indonesian women in their interaction with their husbands in their families/households. Wolf (1992: 55-56) also cautions that the research approach used by scholars may also affect the research result as she argues that feminist researchers tend to be more critical than are the non-feminist scholars in reacting to the generally accepted opinion that Javanese women enjoy high status and egalitarian relationship within the family.

2.4. The Involvement of the Children

As well as the husbands and the wives busily playing their roles as the main operators in the garment businesses of the juragan families in Kalitengah, other family members, mainly their children (cf. Sugianto, 1987), are involved. This, in fact, is not a new phenomenon as some of the literature on small-scale industry quite often mentions the involvement of the unpaid family workers as part of the strategy to reduce the costs of production (see, e.g., Smyth, 1993: 3). The same situation present in Kalitengah can also be found in other small-scale industrial sub-sectors across the Archipelago, such as in the weaving industry (Smyth, 1993), the shoe industry (Thamrin et al., 1991), the cassava starch processing industry (Harjono, 1990), and the food processing industry (Van Velzen, 1990; 1994).

Although it is a fact that the involvement of family members is common in small-scale industries in Indonesia, the intensity and the type of involvement of family workers varies among the sub-sectors and the regions. In Kalitengah, the degree and the type of the activities in which the family members are involved is to some extent also affected by the stage of the expansion (and or development) of the garment industry and the demographic cycle of the juragan families set out above.
**Home and Work**

In the establishment stage, when virtually all of the children of the *juragan* are still young (pre-school age), opportunities for these *juragan* to employ their children to help them to run the garment business or to do domestic tasks are rare. When the confection enterprises grow in the expansion and further expansion stages, the children of the *juragan* are usually old enough to be involved in the various garment industry activities. In these stages, the involvement of the *juragan* children is usually in the production process. The younger children (of primary and junior high school ages, between 6-15 years old) mostly perform lighter jobs such as unpicking (*ndedeli*) the unintentionally damaged products, while the older children (senior high school age, 16-18 years old) will be asked to perform more difficult tasks such as help cut the patterns, do hemming, buttonholing, sewing and the like. Usually the children of the *juragan* who perform more complicated tasks will also be paid the same wages as their parents give to the paid labourers. Several *juragan* told me that they "employ" their children not because they need cheap labour but mostly because they want to introduce to their children the work ethos in order to teach them to appreciate the value of money. Bu Harno a 45-year-old *juragan* of Karang hamlet told me that she asked her son to do the hemming after he came home from his school. She said that she did not want to spoil her son with too much pocket money. So, if he wanted more pocket money to spend on his hobbies, she asked him to do the hemming for which she would pay him the same wage as she paid to her hem-maker. By doing so, she hoped that her son would appreciate the value of money so he would spend his money wisely after he had learned that to earn money it was necessary to work hard.

In the stable stage, the involvement of the children of the *juragan* (age above 18 years or university age) in the garment industry is in more managerial and marketing activities rather than in the production process. The main objective here is to prepare the children to be the inheritors of their parents business. Since by this stage the *juragan* are already prosperous, they can hire as many paid workers as they need. Therefore the necessity to employ their children to help them in the production process diminishes. Not only do they reduce the involvement of their children in the production process, but many of them even send their children to cities such as Yogyakarta, Solo, Bandung, and Bogor to obtain a higher education at the various universities, academies, and institutes. Below is the story of Pak Herjo, a 58-year-old *juragan* of Dalangan hamlet.

Pak Herjo once told me the story of how he became a *juragan*. He said that he was a sewing worker for Ibu Harto, the owner of "Sun Confection", before he finally decided to produce his own garment products in 1974. He already had three daughters when he started his business as a garment producer. He said that his desire to give his daughters a better education was the most important factor that prompted him to become a garment producer. He said that every time he was alone, he reflected on his fate as a sewing worker: "Apa aku saklawase mung arep dadi buruh terus, yen nglakoni buruh terus abot anggonku nyekolahke anak-anakku?" ("Will I be a sewing worker for the rest of my life and if I am will it become very difficult to provide a better education for my children?"). In the beginning, he made his garment products himself with the assistance of his wife. Later, he was also assisted by his daughters while they were still at SMA (Senior High School). He mentioned that all of his daughters could sew. When his daughters left home to continue their
studies at universities in Solo and Yogyakarta, he started to hire sewing workers. Now, he hires more than fifteen sewing workers to help him produce his garment products. He was also very proud when he told me that all of his daughters, Sri Rahayu, Supatmi, and Sutini, had already graduated from university. Pak Herjo said that Sri Rahayu was married and like him she had also become a garment producer in Magelang where she lives with her family.

Although the children of these juragan lodge in the cities while they are pursuing a university education, there are occasion on which they will be taught by their parents about how to run a garment business. The boys will usually be trained by their fathers how to cut the patterns (to make business calculations) and how to deal with business partners, essential in confection enterprises where the work is based on an order basis. While they are learning this, the girls will be asked by their mothers to help them to sell the products in the marketplaces. Usually, when the daughters of the juragan are in Senior High School (SMA, Sekolah Menengah Atas), their parents will start to introduce them to how to deal with the retail clothes traders in the market. Every Sunday these girls will usually be asked to accompany their mother to the Klewer Market, Solo or Beringharjo Market, Yogyakarta. In some instances, when these girls are skilful enough at dealing with customers in the market, their parents will give them the initial capital to start their own business as clothes suppliers/traders.

The paid family labour, particularly that of the children of the juragan that is found in Kalitengah above, is somewhat of a new phenomenon in the literature on the small-scale industry. Smyth(1993: 7-8), who found the same situation in her research on the small-scale industries in West Java, calls it a new strategy by which small-scale producers can reduce production costs. She argues that this strategy will most likely be found in the most dynamic sub-sectors of small-scale industry that have a greater potential for growth, rather in the stagnant sub-sectors where development is sluggish. In addition, she says that this strategy is usually used extensively in household and small-scale enterprises. This is because in the bigger enterprises, the owners have usually achieved a stable economic position which allows them to provide their children with a better education. Therefore, as the schools offering higher education or the universities are located in cities, the children of these entrepreneurs can only help their parents when they are younger, but this becomes impossible once they are in higher education or at university.

The Smyth analysis above is valid when we apply it to the Kalitengah cases. In Kalitengah, the involvement of the children of the juragan in the production process is most generally found among the juragan who run small-scale garment industries, in the development and further development stages. This is because the variables surrounding the juragan in these two stages make it very conducive for them to hire their own children. There are several reasons for this. The most cogent is that the juragan are not yet strong enough financially to hire too many wage workers. Secondly, in these stages their children are old enough (in Junior and Senior High School) to handle the tasks entrusted to them.
Although it is a common practice for the children of the juragan to be involved in the garment industry activities, statistically their contribution is less significant than that of to their parents or of the wage workers. This is understandable because as the confection enterprises of these juragan expand, this development will usually be followed by the upward mobility of the families of those juragan. This will ineluctably affect the life-style of the juragan families, including that of their children. Many children of juragan who are aware that they are belong to wealthy families grow reluctant to be involved in the garment production business. To illustrate this statement, below is a comparison of the involvement of various different people in the garment industry activities based on the survey of 100 confection enterprises in Kalitengah and Pandes villages by Sugiarto (1987).

Table 6.2. The Percentage of the involvement of the family members of the juragan and wageworkers in the various garment industry activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of activities</th>
<th>Marketing</th>
<th>Cutting the pattern</th>
<th>Buttonholing and Fixing button</th>
<th>Sewing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and Wife</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage worker</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sugiarto (1987: 137)

Table 6.2 shows that children are not an integral part in the garment industry. The data reveals that the biggest percentage (9.6) of the involvement of the children is restricted to buttonholing and the sewing on of buttons. These activities are usually considered the lightest tasks and suitable for the children, being regarded as less demanding than sewing, cutting the patterns, and hemming. The data also shows that the juragan rely mostly on wage workers to produce the garment products (including marketing and cutting the patterns) rather than on their children.

2.5. Coping with the business fluctuations

2.5.1 The slack season

As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, the juragan in Kalitengah have to face two different business climates every year, namely, the peak season and the slack season. The peak season usually occurs three months prior to the Lebaran celebration and again before the commencement of the new school year in July. This pattern is inexorably linked to the fact that the majority of the customers of the Kalitengah garment product enterprises are
poor people who mostly indulge in satisfying their clothing needs only on special occasions, such as Lebaran (see the discussion on this issue in White, 1976). Inevitably, the demand for clothing will increase significantly prior to the Lebaran celebration, as virtually everyone feels that they need new clothing for this occasion. The peak season is therefore a lucrative time for all juragan in Kalitengah. This is a period when they can enjoy big profits (see Chapter Five).

In contrast, the slack season signals a musim paceklik (a time of scarcity) for juragan. In this season the demand for clothing drops very significantly. Consequently the income of the juragan will decline, which will lead to financial problems for these juragan striving both to fulfil their family's needs and to guard the sustainability of their business. These financial problems are aggravated by the fact that almost all of the juragan in Kalitengah rarely keep their family and business finances separate (this issue will be discussed in greater detail in the next sub-section). To cope with this difficult situation, the juragan need to make some adjustments in the management of their families and their businesses.

For big juragan, who have stable confection enterprises, the financial problems which have to be faced during the slack season are less problematic than they are for the smaller juragan who have just started their businesses. Since they are financially stable, the big juragan usually do not have to face any problems in covering their family's expenses during the slack season. As mentioned in Chapter Five, during the peak season the big juragan are accustomed to making huge profits (see the case of Bu Yatno) that are more than adequate to cover their requirements for more than one year, definitely until the peak season comes again. If they do have to adjust their family finances, the big juragan usually do so by spending less money on luxury goods during the slack season or changing their life-style to a more modest mode. They may curb their hobby of going to a car salon to have their cars decorated, limit treating their friends to a meal at street-side stall (lesehan or pedagang kaki lima), or reduce the frequency of outings with their families. By adopting such strategies, the big juragan still have enough capital to build up production stock which can eventually be sold when the peak season comes round again. Since the demand of clothing is low during the slack season, this opportunity is used by the big juragan to increase the garment production stock as much as possible. If they have enough stock it augurs well for the possibility that they will make a big profit in the peak season. As Haji Marno told me, during the slack season in 2001 he was still producing garment products even though the demand for clothing was low. This was because, he said, if he cut back on production he would lose a potential profit of at least Rp.100,000 per day. Ibu Topo resorts to the same strategy. She said that she preferred to use her money from the peak season to buy as much cloth as possible rather than purchase luxury items. She went on to explain that she usually used the opportunity offered by an abundant supply of skilled sewing workers during the slack season to build up her stock of garment products. By doing so, she said that she could avoid being locked in severe competition with other juragan to attract
skilled sewing workers during the peak season (see Chapter Five regarding the competition to obtain skilled sewing workers during the peak season).

This decision is not taken lightly as, if the juragan are to continue producing garment products during the slack season, extra capital is needed. Pak Mul explained: "Juragan kedah serep modal yen musim sepi ngetenkit kajenge saget nyukani damelen terus" ("Juragan should have extra capital during the slack season in order to be able to provide jobs [for his/her sewing workers]"). Extra capital is needed because at this time juragan have to spend money in advance (nombokki lebih dulu) to buy raw materials and to pay the wages of their workers, but can expect less profit from the market. This is compensated by the fact that prosperous juragan who have extra capital to continue producing garment products during the slack season will create themselves better chances of reaping more profit in the future. First, they can build up enough production stock to be well prepared to fulfil their consumers' demands when the peak season comes around again. Second, they can retain their skilled sewing workers who are needed to produce more garment products in the peak season by giving them jobs in the slack season.

The smaller juragan who are less secure have to face more problematic situations during the slack season than do their bigger counterparts. This is because these juragan usually have less capital to keep up the production of garment products as well as meeting their family's needs. On one occasion when we performed the ronda (night-watch) together, Pak Prapto, a 37-year-old juragan of Kenteng hamlet, complained to me about his problems during the slack season. He said that he always suffered a constant headache (mumet) during the slack season. This was because although he still went to the market, the market was quiet and he made virtually no money, let alone a profit. So, he had to struggle to fulfil his family's needs with less income than usual, and he had to provide his sewing workers with jobs as well. As a juragan, Pak Prapto said that he felt an obligation to provide jobs for his sewers because he knew that their livelihood and that of their families depended on him. He stated: "Soalle buruh jahit niku nggihi kadah keluarga" ("Because these sewers also have families"). Many other smaller juragan have experiences similar to those of Pak Prapto. Pak Gito, a 50-year-old small juragan of Murukan hamlet, told me that he invariably suffered from a deficit every time he went to the market. He said that the previous day he had been to Karang Pandan market, which is located east of Solo, where he could only sell two shirts. Therefore, instead of making a profit, he lost money because his profit was not sufficient to cover his operating costs, pay his bus fare, and buy his lunch. Although operating at a loss, most of the juragan in Kalitengah told me that they still continued to go to the market during the slack season, because if they did not their retail traders would turn to other juragan. Pak Mien told me that "to take care" (ngopeni) of his retail traders he went faithfully to the market during the slack season, but to prevent suffering a bigger deficit, he reduced the frequency of his trips from twice a week on special market days (hari pasaran) to only once a week.
Since their financial capacity is limited, to reconcile the two different interests of the need to maintain the welfare of their own families and to provide jobs to their sewers (which also means maintaining the sustainability of their confection enterprises), the small juragan will usually reduce production activities by cutting down on the jobs given to their sewers (ngisi jahitan) from six times a week to two or three times per week. (The impact of the reduction of the jobs given to sewing workers during the slack season will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.) This is a tense time as their capital shrinks during the slack season and ability of the small juragan to provide their sewers with jobs depends on an improvement of market conditions. If the demand for clothing starts to rise again after the Lebaran celebration, these small juragan can provide their sewing workers with more jobs. Below is the story of Ibu Painem, a 50-year-old small juragan of Klumutan hamlet, telling of how she deals with the slack season.

It was on the 30 January, 2001, almost two months after the Lebaran celebration (which was held in the mid-December 2000) was over, when I paid a visit to Ibu Painem’s house. When I arrived there Bu Painem said that she had just woken up from a nap. She said that she had felt sleepy while she was packing her garment products. When I asked her about the market situation, she explained to me that the market for her school uniform products had just started to decline (mulai sepi). Although the market was dull, she told me that she still continued producing school uniforms to be stocked for the arrival of the commencement of the new school year in July that year. She said that every year, prior to the end of the long school holidays, she could sell as many school uniforms as she wished. Learning from her past experiences, Bu Painem always makes as much school uniform stock as possible every year. She said, “Yen mboten ndamel stok kulo kiyambak sing rept” (“If I do not build up stock, I will find myself in trouble”). As preparation for making the stock, she told me that she had already bought thirty bolts of cloth that cost her around Rp.145,000 each. This means that to buy the cloth she needs a capital of around Rp.4,374,000. Since Bu Painem had only two sewers, she said that she still could provide her sewers with jobs (ngisi jahitan) every day. She said that each day her two sewers could produce as many school uniform shirts as was possible from one bolt of cloth. She then told me that when her stock of cloth was finished, she would give her sewers jobs only if she could sell her products, but if not, she could no longer continue to do this.

Taking into account the various strategies that have been discussed above, if nothing serious happens to the families of these small juragan, for example, the hospitalisation of their children which is very expensive, the majority of them can survive until the peak season comes around again.

Bu Painem told me that one bolt of her cloth consists of 27 yards. And the price of every yard is Rp.5,400. So, every bolt of cloth costs her Rp.145,000.
2.5.2. The Monetary Crisis (*Krismon*)

The garment industry in Kalitengah is not only assailed by the seasonal fluctuation (peak and slack seasons), it is also never immune from the reverberations of economic conditions at the regional and national levels. As discussed in previous chapters, since the emergence of the industry in Kalitengah village in the late 1920s, the garment producers have had to confront various economic difficulties, which have impinged upon the operation of the industry, ranging from the textile scarcity, to politico-economic turmoil and a whole gamut of problems in between. Although all juragan have had to face the same problems, each in fact has had a different experience in how they have dealt with these hardships. Many of them survived and even made more profit, but many others failed to cope with the difficult situations and ended up as sewing workers again or found another job outside the garment industry.

The same story repeated itself when the economic crisis (*krismon*) hit Indonesia in mid-1997. The *krismon*, particularly the fluctuation in the price of cloth and the change in the purchasing system from credit to cash sent several juragan in Kalitengah bankrupt. The juragan who went bankrupt during the *krismon* usually did so because they made a mistake in their business calculations or did not have enough capital to buy textiles with ready money as demanded by the cloth traders. The juragan who went bankrupt either reverted to being sewing workers again or tried their luck in another business area, perhaps as cake or snacks sellers or as traders in agricultural equipment. While some juragan suffered from a loss of money during the *krismon*, in contrast, some other juragan, who dared to speculate made high profits. A few of them whom I interviewed even said that they wanted the *krismon* to continue because they could make a huge profit from it. "Nek krismon terus malah seneng kulo, soalle saget angsal bathi okeh" ("If the *krismon* continues I will be happy because I can make a big profit"), Pak Jali, a juragan who could buy a car from the profit he made during the *krismon*, said expressing his feelings about the situation to me on one occasion. Bu Yatno, who also made a profit from the *krismon*, shared the same feelings. When she was asked about the condition of her business during the *krismon*, she said:

"Sewaktu krismon untung saya tambah banyak. Sebab waktu dollar naik saya juga menaikkan harga dagangan saya, namun waktu dollar turun harganya ya tetap. Karena yang lain juga tidak menurunkan harga, saya juga tidak menurunkan...sebab waktu krisis itu memang membingungkan, harga naik turun...jadi ya lebih baik di pathok saja. ("During the krismon, my profits have risen. This is because when the [US] dollar went up, I increased the price of my garment products, but when dollar dropped the prices remained the same. Because others [juragan] did not lower the prices, I also did not...because at that time the crisis had us..."

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6 What happened in Kalitengah, therefore, is no different from the general view of the impact of the *krismon* at the national level as many researchers (Breman, 2000; Hill, 1999; White, Titus, and Boomgaard, 2002) have said that part of the community has suffered severely during the *krismon* (particularly the people who live in Java), while the other part of the community has enjoyed a huge profits (the people in the islands outside Java).
confused as the prices were going up and down,...so the best step was to keep the price at the same level”.

_Juragan_ who suffered bankruptcy during the _krismon_ subsequently had to bear the brunt of this disaster, not only the loss of money but also having to concede the socio-economic status that they had previously enjoyed (more discussion on this issue can be found in the following sub-section). In contrast, the _juragan_ who reaped more profit from the _krismon_ could maintain their exclusive life style with their families. To understand the impact of the _krismon_ on the sustainability of the garment business in Kalitengah, and on the livelihood of the _juragan_ and their families, I will describe two contrasting cases: illustrating the winner and the loser, that is, a _juragan_ who had a windfall and a _juragan_ who suffered bankruptcy during _krismon_.

**a. Bu Topo: the winner**

On one occasion Bu Topo (her background has been described in the previous case study in this chapter) told me a story about her windfall from the _krismon_. She said that before the _krismon_ started to intrude in mid-1997, she had made a mistake by building up too much stock. She did not know that in the end she would be pleasantly surprised by her “mistake” when the _krismon_ hit the country. She said that at that time she had stocked around 10,000 pairs of jeans in her warehouse. In the beginning, she said that she was very worried by her overestimation of her consumers' demand, leading her to make too much stock. However, her luck turned when the supply of jeans from Pekalongan to the Klawer Market ran into difficulties and eventually stopped altogether because of the _krismon_. Suddenly, her garment product was in high demand. She said that the price of her jeans which was only Rp. 8.000 item before the _krismon_ more than doubled to Rp.20,000 an item after the _krismon_. She said that she could have made an even bigger profit if she had dared to hold on to her products and not sell for a bit longer. Although she decided not speculate any further, she said that during the _krismon_ she could obtain “lumayan” (“just enough”) profit of around Rp 400 million. With that money she could buy a small jeans factory in Solo.

**b. Darmawan: the loser**

Darmawan, 34-year-old, was a small _juragan_ of Garuman hamlet. He is married and has two children aged one and five. Darmawan told me that he had worked as a salesman for the Bayer Company in Jakarta after he graduated from SMA. After several years with Bayer, in 1993 he quit and then returned to Garuman hamlet because he said that he did not want to be sent to work in Medan, Sumatra, by his boss. On his return home, he started to learn how to cut patterns from his elder brother. With this skill, in 1994 Darmawan decided to try his luck as a garment producer and produce garments (mbabar sendiri). Only one year after he took the plunge, Darmawan told me that he could purchase a host of things such as a TV set, a hemming machine, one set of guest chairs, and an aquarium. In 1995, Darmawan married Mbak Naning (25-years-old). After their marriage, this young _juragan_ couple continued to develop their business, which had been established by Darmawan. But ill luck befell them when the _krismon_ hit the garment industry in Kalitengah in July 1997. During the following year, this young couple’s garment business collapsed. To make a living, Darmawan told me that he had to sell all of his belongings, including the TV set, the hemming machine, and the aquarium which he had purchased when times were good.

To provide for his family, Darmawan worked as a watch-repairer (tukang reparasi jam); meanwhile, his wife became a sewing worker. Unfortunately, he said that he could derive no satisfaction from this job. So, after ten months he quit and was once more jobless. "Soalle senes
bidang kulo" ("Because that is not my field"), he excused himself. At the same time he could not pin too much hope on his wife being the saviour of the family. This, he said, was because his wife was frequently idle, without work, in the wake of the prolonged krismon which overshadowed the garment industry in Kalitengah. Consequently, during the krismon Darmawan told me that he and his wife were virtually jobless. When no more valuables could be sold, Darmawan said that his wife often went to her parents to ask for money to buy some rice for their son. This eventually became a contributory factor to the frequent quarrels between the couple because he said that his parents-in-law often intervened in his family's affairs. He said that the intervention got on his nerves. Unable to endure the endless tension in his family, he ran away to his elder brother who lives in Pekalongan. During his time in Pekalongan, he practically abandoned his family which he had left behind in Garuman. Darmawan told me that he lived in Pekalongan for around six months. During that time, he said that he paid a visit to his family only when he was overwhelmed with a longing to see his son (at that time his second son was not yet born). To relieve his feelings of frustration, he told me that he became a notorious gambler. He said that even when his wife was due to give birth to his second son, he had been gambling when his brother-in-law told him that his wife had been taken to the hospital.

After the birth of his second son, Darmawan decided to return to Garuman again. He found a job in Pien Collection, a confection enterprise, in Klaten, where he became a pattern-cutter. He said that he was paid Rp.250 for every pattern he produced. He told me that in fact he enjoyed working in this enterprise because he earned enough money, besides being given a daily meal that was served free by his boss. Unfortunately, a little later he could no longer be employed in Pien Collection because of the fall in job orders suffered by the enterprise. Finally, in October 2000, he, with the help of his friend, found another job in the bigger confection enterprise, PT. Kalista, in Solo. In Kalista, Darmawan told me that he was paid Rp.15,000 per week.

Leaving aside these two extreme cases of the impact of the krismon, there are several other patterns the impact of the krismon has imprinted on the Kalitengah juragan, including forced temporary closure and repositioning, cutting back followed by expansion after discovering a new strategy with which to approach the problem (see the discussion on this issue in Chapter Four). Since the bulk of their capital was used to maintain their business operations, during the krismon these unfortunate juragan had to modify their life-style; although not as drastically as the loser juragan. At most they had to reduce or delay purchasing luxury goods.

The heterogeneity of the impact of the krismon on small-scale enterprises (industries) like the ones found in Kalitengah is also very evident at a national level (see, e.g., Tambunan, 2000a; 2000b; AKATIGA, 1998). Y. Sato (2000; 580-592) even differentiates the extent of the impact of the krismon on small-and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) into six classifications namely: highly positive (profit increase); positive (increase in volume of production, profit constant or falling); constant (production volume constant); negative (decrease in volume of production, profit falling); highly negative (profit decrease to zero); and extremely negative (volume of production decreased to zero).

Fortunately, the long peak season between December 1998 and August 1999 prevented the juragan of Kalitengah suffering from any further serious impact from the krismon. The long peak season occurred when three important events happened in sequence. First was the Lebaran celebration in January 1999. Although many juragan said
that prior to Lebaran that year the demand for clothing was not as good as usual, at least it was far better compared to Lebaran in January 1998 when the krismon had just begun to impact on the village. Second was the general election campaign season between February and May, 1999. The first general election after the fall of Suharto -- which had been contested by forty-eight political parties after the Indonesian parliament promulgated Law No 2/1999 on Political Parties that allowed many newly established parties to take part—bestowed great fortune on the juragan in Kalitengah. Since so many political parties participated in the general election campaign, endless job orders for making campaign paraphernalia such as banners, T-shirts, vests, and flags poured into Kalitengah from the political parties. Third was the commencement of the new school year in July 1999. Before the "harvest season" from the political parties ended, the juragan in Kalitengah enjoyed yet another peak season as the demand for school uniforms increased.

Because of this happy coincidence, in 1999 virtually all the juragan in Kalitengah experienced a peak season throughout the whole year. Conditions were much better when I went to Kalitengah village again at the end of July 2000. By that time the majority of juragan said that the krismon was practically over in Kalitengah.

2.5.3. The Bankruptcy

Bankruptcy, or in the literature on small business what is generally called business failure (Everett and Watson, 1998; Gaskill, Van Auken, and Manning, 1993; Cohran, 1981, Peterson, Kozmetsky, and Ridgway, 1983; Fredland and Morris, 1976; Dipietro and Sawhney, 1977), is not in fact a new blight on small business. This is because several characteristics of small businesses, most cogently lack of managerial skill, lack of capital, lack of protection by the government and the like, make such enterprises vulnerable to business failure. So far, the majority of the studies on business failure have paid more attention to the factors that cause this (both indigenous and exogenous factors). Little has been undertaken to understand the impact of that failure on the livelihood of the entrepreneurs and their families. It is widely known that in small business there is commonly no separation between business and family in terms of financial management. In other words, the wealth of the business owners is linked to their business (Everett and Watson, 1998: 373), and so the impact of business failure on small business always falls very hard on the owners of the business and their families. Accepting the validity of this postulation, this sub-section will discuss the impact of bankruptcy on the livelihood of the juragan in Kalitengah and their families.

As we have seen, the garment industry in Kalitengah village has become an important instrument by which the people in that village can experience upward socio-economic mobility. Many wealthy juragan have seen the light of day since the emergence of the garment industry in this village. Nowadays these juragan occupy the highest socio-economic stratum in their community and subsequently also enjoy a wealth of privileges as
the most respected people (orang terpandang) in the village. The reverse of this situation is that besides enjoying upward mobility, many juragan have also suffered bankruptcy. When calamity strikes, the juragan and their families eventually have to bear the onslaught of this painful experience, plummeting from being the most respected people to becoming ordinary citizens again. Every juragan has a different story to tell about and a different reaction as to how deal with this calamity. Many of them survive and reclaim their respected positions, but many others fail to win a second chance and go back to becoming sewing workers again, or find a job outside the garment industry altogether. A few of them even had to end their life as a juragan in great sorrow marked by tragedy in their families, in the form of divorce, insanity, or suicide.

Below I will describe several case studies of bankruptcy and its impact on the juragan and their families’ livelihoods.

a. Pak Kismo and his family: the survivor
Pak Kismo, a 60-year-old, is among the successful juragan of Kalitengah. He lives in a large, pleasant house in Klumutan hamlet. He is married and has four children. Pak Kismo told me that his late father, Pak Yoso Dinomo, was also a big juragan. In fact his late father was one of the pioneer juragan in Kalitengah. He said that when his father passed away in 1958, Pak Kismo had left school and together with his elder brother continued to manage the confection enterprise of his late father. Unfortunately, he said that after five years of running their enterprise together, conflict began to disrupt the relationship between Pak Kismo and his brother. This trouble, he said, had been triggered by money matters. He said that from the beginning it was his brother who had been responsible for managing the money because when he himself was still single he needed virtually no money except for food and shelter. So, he hardly ever asked his brother for money. After he married, he needed money to cover his family’s needs. The trouble began when every time his wife asked for some money from his brother, Pak Kismo said that his brother always grumbled. This upset relations between Pak Kismo and his brother. Because this, he then decided to split up with his brother. He said that in 1963 he moved to a new house and started to establish his own confection enterprise with his wife.

Since then he had worked shoulder to shoulder with his wife to develop their business as garment producers. Pak Kismo and Bu Kismo told me that in the beginning they did everything alone; Pak Kismo produced the products and Bu Kismo sold these in Klaten market. Pak Kismo said that everyday he could produce garments from two bolts of cloth. Fortunately, as Bu Kismo told me, their garment products always sold out in Klaten market. Nor was their success confined to Klaten, Bu Kismo said. By then she also sold their garment products in Wonosobo market, where their products were in great demand as well. Because the demand for their products continued to grow, they started to hire sewing workers.

Their success as a juragan couple subsequently provided an opportunity for them to save a goodly sum of money from their profits. By 1976, this couple told me that they had already been able save around Rp.13 million. Since they were so well off, the couple decided to use the money to renovate their house and to send their eldest son to study at a private university in Yogyakarta. However, their decision to use their savings to renovate their house boomeranged on their business. The renovation turned out to be “a big project” (on another occasion Bu Kismo told me that today the value of their house is around Rp.400 million) which absorbed not only their savings but also their working capital as well. The upshot was that in the early 1980s they said that they began to face the face that their garment business had suffered a set-back. Bu Kismo, who is responsible for
marketing the products, told me that because their capital had shrunk they could only produce a very limited number of garments in terms of number and the type (style). Therefore, Bu Kismo explained, since their products were not varied enough (mboten pepak), many of their retail clothes traders turned their backs on her and bought garment products from other juragan. Finally in 1983 the garment business of Pak Kismo and Bu Kismo completely collapsed. They said that they sold all of their belongings, including their cutting machine, to make ends meet. Even though all of their valuable assets had already been sold, they still had to meet their family's needs, including paying tuition fees for their four children. After borrowing some money from the moneylender in their hamlet as initial capital, Pak Kismo and Bu Kismo finally decided to work as drink sellers (tukang adol wedang) every evening by the side of the street in Wedi. The couple told me that their children also assisted them every evening even though they had to go to the school the following day. On one occasion Bu Kismo, who was responsible for the family budget, told me about her family difficulties during the bankruptcy period, and the come-down in life from being a big juragan to a drinks seller. She said that she still remembered when she had to ask for a second-hand school uniform for her youngest son from her neighbour because she could not afford a new one. She told me that quite often her children had to eat intip (burnt rice from the bottom of the pan or rice cooker) when her rice (beras) supply ran out. Because she did not have the money to buy the side dishes (lauk pauk), she told me that her friend who had food stall in Klaten sent the heads of bandeng fish (kepala ikan bandeng) to her home every day. Hampered by their economic difficulties, Pak Kismo and Bu Kismo told me that they could not send their children to university after they graduated from SMA. Fortunately, many people were still willing to help their eldest son who was studying at private university in Yogayakarta so he could continue his studies. For example, many of his friends gave him food and shelter (indekos) free of charge. Another of his friends was even willing to lend them the initial capital to restart their garment business again.

With an initial capital of Rp.2 million from his eldest son's friend, in 1988 Pak Kismo and Bu Kismo restarted their business as garment producers. They were finally able to regain their fortune as they told me that their garment products were always sold out in Wonosobo market and in a short time they could repay their debt. They also told me that a couple years ago, they could even build a small house for their son and bought two motorbikes, a Yamaha and a Suzuki, for two of their children. Now, their garment business is expanding again. They said that now they hired more than twenty sewing workers to produce their goods.

b. Bu Sastro and her family: a sad story
Bu Sastro, aged 68, confined herself to being just a housewife before her husband, Pak Sastro, a captain in the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), had been sent to Buru Island (and later had been sentenced to death) because of his involvement in the 1965 PKI affair. After the death of her husband, Bu Sastro had no choice but to raise her two children alone. Compelled to find a source of income by this reality, at the end of the 1960 Bu Sastro established a business as a garment producer. Since she had enough capital inherited from her late husband, she did not need to start her business from scratch; at the very least she could afford a kiosk in Klewer Market to sell her garment products. Before long, in the mid-1970s, the confection enterprise of Bu Sastro became one of the biggest in Kalitengah village.

Pak Wit, her close neighbour and also her ex-pattern-cutter, told me that at that time Bu Sastro was one of the biggest juragan in Wedi sub-district. He said that his ex-boss used to hire many sewing workers. He also mentioned that at that time when a motorbike was considered by the majority of the people of Kalitengah to be a luxury item, Bu Sastro already owned a car and it was common for her to travel back and forth to Klewer Market in her car every day. "Njenengan tangklet wong sak Wedi mriki mesti sami nertos sedoyo yen Bu Sastro riyen niku juragan sugih", ("You can ask all the people here in Wedi, they all know that Bu Sastro was a wealthy juragan"). Pak Wit assured me of the popularity of his ex-boss as a wealthy juragan in Wedi. Unfortunately, Pak Wit told me that the golden era of Bu Sastro as a wealthy juragan was not to last very long. He
explained that Bu Sastro was too trustful of her close helpers and this was the main root of the problem. He said that since Bu Sastro had to manage her business in her home and in the market as well, she hired several workers to help her to market her garment products in Klewer Market, Solo. To hire helpers to sell her garment products in the market meant that she entrusted them with managing the money. Her overly trusting attitude became the source of trouble for her business when her close helpers betrayed her by stealing her money and the merchandise in her kiosk. In fact, Bu Sastro never realized that her close helpers were cheating her. Pak Wit told me that Bu Sastro only knew that her business shrank little by little before she went totally bankrupt in the 1980s. Besides this, Bu Hartinem, an ex-sewing worker employed by Bu Sastro, also told me about how badly behaved Bu Sastro's children were. They wasted her money on frivolity, thereby contributing to the bankruptcy of her business.

Sadly, Bu Sastro never had a second chance to regain her position as a big juragan. She had to face a bitter tragedy when her daughter committed suicide because she could not bear the seemingly endless bad luck which appeared to dog her life. After her bankruptcy, Bu Sastro ended up as a vegetable peddler to make a living. Quite often, when I saw Bu Sastro with her old bicycle passing by the alley in the Klumutan hamlet, people there asked me whether I already knew that Bu Sastro had been a big juragan in the past. They usually then passed a comment saying: “Bu Sastro niku tiyang tabah tho Mas” ("Bu Sastro is a resolute woman, brother"), to express their admiration of her courage in facing one tragedy after another in her life. When she reflected on her tragic fate, Bu Hartinem told me Bu Sastro just said: “Yo wis ben...ndisik wonq ora duwe saiti bali dadi ora duwe” ("No problem...in the past I was a poor person, now I have become a poor person again").

c. Kartono: ends up with a broken marriage

Kartono, a 34-year-old, was a promising young juragan of Dalangan hamlet before he finally went bankrupt in 1998s. Kartono comes from a juragan family. His parents and his seven siblings are big juragan in Kalitengah. Kartono started his business as a garment producer in 1989 after he married. Mbak Yayak, a close helper of Kartono's mother, told me that Kartono met his wife, Hartawati, in Klewer Market, Solo, in 1988. At that time Hartawati worked for one of her relatives selling garments in Klewer where Kartono also quite often helped his parents. Kartono and Hartawati married not too long after they met each other. From his marriage Kartono had four children, two daughters and two sons. After the marriage, Kartono decided to quit university and started his own business as a garment producer with his wife. They established the "Mendung" Confection Enterprise. After several years, this young juragan couple's business had expanded. They produced various garment products such as shirts, trousers, and shorts. To keep up production this couple said that they hired around twenty sewing workers. Several respondents told me that the success of their business was subsequently also followed by a change in their life-style, especially eagerly embraced by Hartawati. They renovate their house and installed a new phone line which, as many people told me, was used mostly only by Hartawati for unproductive conversations like chatting with her friends. Mbak Yayak told me that both Hartawati and Kartono also often spent fistfuls of money buying nice clothing and cosmetics. From time to time, their consumptive life-style spun out of control, exceeding their financial capability. Mbak Yayak told me that in 1997 this couple bought a new Honda motorbike and a car. Unfortunately, the money that they used to buy those luxury items was a loan from a bank. So, when they failed to repay their debt, their house was repossessed by the bank from which they had originally obtained the credit. Fortunately, Kartono's sister, Mbak Titin, wanted to lend a hand to help him to repay his debt to the bank of Rp.30 million, even though the agreement at that time was that Kartono did not have any rights to his house which had been given to him by his parents but could use it only as a place in which to live.

After this misfortune Kartono and Hartawati's business continued to decline. Although Kartono's parents quite often gave them additional capital to help them to deal with their business problems, the consumptive life-style of Hartawati could not be said to have helped to save their business. Hence, when the krismon hit the garment industry in Kalitengah in early 1998, the
enterprise of these young juragan had no financial staying power. The disaster of the Kartono family worsened when Kartono discovered that his wife was having a love affair with their private driver who drove her to Malioboro Market in Yogyakarta everyday. Finally, in 2000, Kartono decided to divorce his wife. After that, Hartawati moved to Yogyakarta with her youngest son, who was not acknowledged by Kartono as his son. Several people told me that Hartawati then became a perempuan nakal ("a naughty woman") in Yogyakarta. Meanwhile Kartono continued to live in his house with his other three children. After he and his wife divorced, Kartono's business collapsed completely. He sold all of his valuable belongings one by one to make a living before finally he moved back to his parents' house with his three children in 2001. In fact the drama besetting Kartono's family is not yet over. The last time I visited Kalitenga village at the beginning of 2003, I saw that he had grown thinner and looked very depressed. Several people told me that Kartono was depressed because he suffered from perang batin (a great internal dilemma). People said that he still loved his ex-wife, but he was also very afraid of his mother who prohibited him to see her. She was blamed by Kartono's big family as the source of the calamity. At that time Kartono was completely jobless. During the day, I often witnessed him just walking aimlessly back and forth his eyes blank and staring along the alley from his parents' house to his own abandoned house. In fact, there have been many other cases of bankruptcy among the Kalitenga juragan.

The three cases above are not terribly different from other research which has been done before (Gaskill, Van Auken, and Manning, 1993, Peterson, Kozmetsky, and Ridgway, 1983, Dipietro and Sawhney, 1977). This all shows that the main causes of bankruptcy are mostly internal factors such as mismanagement by close helpers because of lack of a supervision, a consumptive life-style, a failure to follow the change in consumers' demands, or the death of either a husband or a wife. Although the cause of bankruptcy is differs from one juragan to another, since the majority of juragan in Kalitenga never keep their financial management of family and business separate, the impact of the bankruptcy on the livelihood of the juragan families is virtually the same: the blow means juragan not only have difficulty in fulfilling the secondary needs of their families such as education, they are often also scraping the bottom of the barrel to cover the basic needs of food and clothing. Indeed, the extreme discrepancy in their conditions before and after bankruptcy can have a devastating impact on the lives of juragan and their families.

3. The Buruh and Their Families

3.1. The Types of Buruh Families

In contrast to the juragan families, the buruh families are not dominated by conjugal couples. Although, as it can be seen in Table 6.3, the highest percentage of buruh families consist of a husband and wife team (77 families out of 221 surveyed buruh families or 34.8 per cent), an almost equal percentage can be found amongst those buruh families in which only the husband (27.1 per cent) or the wife (30.3 per cent) works as a garment worker. So, if there is a similarity between juragan and buruh families, it is that both of them are dominated by nuclear families. In the case of buruh families, 92.2 per cent of them are
nuclear families and only 7.8 per cent are non-nuclear families. These consist of widows (including divorcees), widowers, single men, and single woman headed families.

Table 6.3 The Types of the Buruh Families Based on the Involvement of the Husband and Wife in the Garment Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear family</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Nuclear family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not married Female headed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not married Male headed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's own survey, 1999

Since there is no clear pattern for the involvement of the husband and the wife like that found in the juragan families, among the buruh families, the analysis in this sub-section will take into account the differences in the buruh families on the basis of the involvement of husband and wife in the garment industry. This is particularly important when we discuss the coping strategy adopted by the buruh families when they have to face the slack season and other difficult situations like the economic crisis.

3.2 The Job Distribution between the Husbands and the Wives

As mentioned earlier, one reason garment workers (both men and women) prefer to work at home is that this offers these workers the possibility to do domestic tasks before or in between doing their job as sewers. They have the time to cook, do the laundry, clean their house, and take care of their small children. Besides this, since social activities are very important to rural inhabitants, these workers also mention that the benefits of working at home include the possibility to honour their social duties such as rewang (helping at a festivity such as a wedding or a circumcision), nyumbang (making a contribution in life-cycle ceremonies), tulung layat (attending funeral ceremonies), and gotong royong (mutual help). Some workers also mentioned that they could do side jobs such as ternak ayam (raising chickens), ternak sapi (raising cattle), buka warung (running a small shop), or accepting pocokan (extra) jobs from other juragan to make a little extra income.

Although it seems as if working at home offers garment workers various benefits, the real advantage will actually be affected by the job distribution between the husbands and the wives (and among the family members in general) of the buruh families. Equal job distribution between the husband and the wife will bring these workers real benefit,
otherwise working at home will inevitably only create an extra burden for them, both husbands and wives, since they have to shoulder both domestic and professional tasks simultaneously.

It is a given fact that in Javanese families the wives carry out most of the domestic tasks. This observation is ineluctably linked to the general notions of Javanese people regarding the female and male domains. In Javanese tradition, the home (household) is considered the women's domain, while, since they are expected to pay more attention to external matters, the men's domain is outside the home (Koentjaraningrat, 1985: 139-40). This assertion is also valid for the garment worker families (households) in Kalitengah. As an illustration, the survey carried out by Susilastuti and Handoyo (1990:78) found that it is the wives who mostly perform domestic tasks such as taking care of the children, cooking, cleaning the house, doing the laundry, and washing the dishes (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Member of the Buruh* Family and Types of Domestic Task Their Performed (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member of the family</th>
<th>Taking care of the children</th>
<th>Cooking</th>
<th>Cleaning house</th>
<th>Doing the laundry</th>
<th>Washing dishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relatives who have no children yet</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother/mother-in-law/ grandmother</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older children</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=300

Source: Susilastuti and Handoyo (1990: 78).

Although the general assumption outlined above is also quite applicable in Kalitengah, among the conjugal couples who work as garment workers, the job distribution between the husbands and the wives is usually fairly equal. This is because to compensate for their lack of participation in performing domestic works, the husbands will usually start work as garment workers earlier. So when they have finished their own tasks, these husbands can help their wives to finish their tasks. Besides this, during the peak season the buruh families seldom cook at home, but prefer to buy ready-to-eat food from various types of warung makan (food stalls) that are dotted about the village (see the case of Ibu Tuginah in Chapter Five). This will eventually reduce the task of the wives, relieving them of the tasks of shopping and cooking. The balance of job distribution between the husbands and the wives
in the *buruh* families can be seen in Pak Soempono's family, in which both Pak Soempono and his wife work as garment workers.

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**The case of Pak Pono and his family**

Pak Pono (41) and his wife, Ibu Menuk (35), usually get up very early in the morning, around 4.30 a.m. After they rise, the first thing they usually do is the laundry. Since they have a large amount of laundry because of their five children, Pak Pono and his wife usually do it together. Around 5.30 a.m., after they have done the laundry, Bu Pono will take care of her five children. She will prepare the breakfast, bathe her youngest daughter and son, and clean the house. To make her tasks easier, for their children's breakfast Bu Pono said that she usually bought *nasi gudangan* (rice and vegetables mixed with chilli and grated coconut) for Rp.500 per portion.

After doing the laundry, Pak Pono usually finishes the remaining sewing tasks that could not be finished the day before. After that, at around 6.45 a.m., he accompanies his two children to the school in the nearby hamlet, SD Karang. At 7 o'clock, Pak Pono's house falls quiet as all of his children, except his youngest son, are at school. Around 7.15 a.m. (sometimes even earlier when his boss asks him to do so) Pak Pono starts to do the hemming in the house of his boss, Ibu Kismi. This in fact is right next door to Pak Pono's own house. It takes around three and half hours for Pak Pono to complete his task for Ibu Kismi. After that, around 11.30 a.m., he moves to the house of his second boss, Kaji Marno, to do the same job. By 2 o'clock, Pak Pono has usually finished his tasks. He then will go home to take his lunch.

Meanwhile, after her children are at school, around 7.30 a.m., Bu Menuk goes to Ibu Dar's (a *juragan*) house, which is located in the same neighbourhood, to do the laundry. Her youngest son, Gunawan, is taken care of by Ibu Marni (45), Pak Pono's elder sister (Ibu Marni who works as a *tukang pasang benik* [button-hole maker] can only start work in the afternoon after the unfinished shirts brought from Ibu Kismi have been buttonholed by Bu Menuk and Pak Pono). After finishing her task in Ibu Dar's house, around 9 o'clock she goes to Ibu Kismi's house. Besides her main task of doing buttonholing, Ibu Menuk also works as a domestic helper in Ibu Kismi's family. In this capacity she is given the responsibility of cleaning the house, doing the cooking, and preparing drinks and meals for Ibu Kismi's in-workers. Ibu Menuk usually manages to finish these tasks around 12 noon. As a domestic helper, Ibu Menuk said that she is not only paid in cash by her boss, but also often in kind. So, after she finishes her tasks as a domestic helper, it is very common for her to some food bring back home for her family, as well as a pile of unfinished shirts to be buttonholed. Soon after she arrives home, she will begin her task of making the buttonholes.

Pak Pono, who arrives home later after finishing his task for his second boss, then will help his wife to do this work after he has taken a short break. In the afternoon, while Pak Pono is continuing to make the buttonholes, at around 4 o'clock, Bu Menuk will go back to Ibu Dar's house to do the ironing. Sometimes she also will drop by Ibu Kismi's house to do some domestic tasks after Ibu Kismi arrives home from Klewer Market. Around 6 o'clock in the evening, Bu Menuk, assisted by Bu Marni, then will take care of her two youngest children again, particularly bathing and feeding her youngest son. By that time usually Pak Pono will have finished his task of making the buttonholes. After taking a bath he can then enjoy the evening with his family in his *balai-balai bambu* (bamboo chair) in front of his small house. However, when the jobs come thick and fast, Pak Pono has to work overtime. When this happens, after Bu Menuk has finished her task of caring for her two small children, she will help Pak Pono to complete his tasks. Quite often, this couple have until 9 o'clock in the evening to finish their tasks. After that they will go to bed and follow the same routine again the following day.
In fact, every sewing worker couple has their own strategy for carrying out their sewing tasks in a working rhythm resembling that of Pak Pono and his wife. There are variations. Pak Slamet and his wife have a somewhat different strategy. While his wife is carrying out domestic tasks, particularly taking care of their small boy before he goes to school, Pak Slamet will start to nggandengi (sew the front and back parts of the pre-cut material for the body of the shirt). Later, his wife joins him to carry out the finishing touches of sewing on the sleeves and the collar. In the buruh families in which only the wives work as garment workers, the job distribution between husband and wife is not equal. This is because the wives have to assume more responsibility for doing domestic tasks (because they spend more time at home compared to their husbands), and the husbands cannot help them to perform their sewing tasks. Take for example Bu Waniyem's case.

The Case of Bu Waniyem and Her Family

Bu Waniyem is a sewing worker. She is aged 56, married, and has three children. Her husband, Pak Padiyo (65), is a farmer (he has one pathok or 0.25 ha of rice-field) and is a sharecropper. Bu Waniyem works for Juragan Wartopo, the owner of "Gaya Mulya" Confection. She has been working for her present juragan for more than ten years after her previous juragan (the father of Pak Wartopo) died. Every day she is supplied with around twenty pieces of pre-cut material to make baju warok (the costume for a trance dancer) and sometimes baju pencak silat (martial arts clothing). Every time I have visited her home Bu Waniyem has always been busy. Piles of pre-cut material can be seen scattered on her lincak (small bamboo chair) on which she usually sits to perform her sewing task using her old sewing machine. While she is working, quite often her work is interrupted by several other domestic tasks such as cooking or feeding her chickens as well as serving the customers who drop in at her small warung. When her grandchild, Desi, comes home from kindergarten, the interruptions will become even more frequent, as she also has to take care of her grandchild while her daughter (Desi's mother) goes back to the market.

When Bu Waniyem is busy with all her tasks, Pak Padiyo usually just sits calmly on his chair on the veranda after he returns from the sawah. Sometimes he helps Bu Waniyem to entertain their grandchild. However, he hardly ever helps her to do domestic tasks, let alone help her to perform her sewing tasks. "Bapakne mboten soget njahit", ("My husband cannot sew"), she told me. Yet Bu Waniyem has never complained about her lot. She said that she is quite happy as long as her husband is healthy. This is because Bu Waniyem knows that her husband is not very intelligent (mentalnya lemah). Once she told me that her husband has suffered from a mental disorder since their sawah had to be rented out to fund the wedding party of their eldest daughter. To console her husband, at that time she had to find garapan (a rice-field which is sharecropped) for him. Since then Bu Waniyem has been very protective of her husband. Now she feels glad that her husband can once again work in their sawah after the period for which the land was leased expired.

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7 From my observation, there seem to be at least six steps in making a shirt: (1) Making a collar from special cloth (kain keras); (2) Making the sleeves; (3) Making a body by sewing the front and back parts of the pre-cut material; (4) Sewing the pre-cut cloth for the buttonholes onto the body; (5) Sewing the collar onto the body and then putting on the label; (6) Sewing the sleeves onto the body.
There are many other female sewing workers whose their husbands cannot sew who are in the same boat as Bu Waniyem. Bu Sugiyem, whose her husband works as a truck driver, only starts working at 9 o'clock in the morning after her children are at school and she has finished her domestic tasks, even though she gets up at 4.00 a.m. Meanwhile, Bu Cipto, whose her husband works as a *knek* or bricklayer's mate, prefers to work at night when her children are asleep and she has finished her domestic tasks to avoid interruptions during the day. "Biasanne yen siang kulo saget njahit sekawan potong. Mengkeh jam kalih ndalu ngatos subuh saget rampung wolung potong" (*"Usually I can make shirts during the day. Then from two o'clock in the morning until the morning prayer I can make eight shirts"*), is how Bu Cipto explained her gruelling working schedule to me.

In only a few instances where there are husbands whose professions are not sewing workers do these men try to learn how to sew in order to help their wives get their work done. Therefore, the research findings mentioned by Susilastuti and Handoyo (1990) above, and also other researchers whose opinions about female home workers have been mentioned at the beginning of the chapter --such as Allen and Wolkowitz (1987), Christensen (1988), Beneria and Roldan (1987), Boris and Prugl (1996), Saptari (1995; 2000), and Van Velzen (1994) are once more validated.

The situation experienced by the husbands who work as sewing workers at home is rather different. Although they also perform various domestic tasks while they doing their sewing tasks (it is quite common for men in Kalitengah to cook and take care children, since culturally women are encouraged to work outside the home as traders as has been discussed in Chapter Four), they are not given the full responsibility to undertake those tasks. Pak Tentrem, a sewing worker, is an example. He is also given the responsibility of taking care of his small daughter while his wife is working in the small-scale food processing industry near their house. Despite working away from home, his wife has usually done the domestic tasks first, particularly the cooking, before she goes to work. During the noon break, Pak Tentrem's wife will return home to make sure that their daughter is fine.

### 3.3. The Participation of the Children of the *Buruh*

Reflecting the role of the children of the *juragan*, the involvement of the children of the *buruh* in sewing activities is also quite limited. If they are involved in the garment production activities, these children usually only undertake the lighter tasks, such as delivering the finished products to the *juragan* and picking up the pre-cut material to do buttonholing or to repair mistakes (*ndedeli*). Bu Surani told me that her son, Korno, age 12, can already help her deliver the finished products she has made to her *juragan* in a nearby hamlet. The older children (age between 13-17 years or Junior and Senior High School) are sometimes involved in activities requiring more skill such as sewing and hemming. It is fair
to state that girls are more involved in the garment production activities of their parents since they are usually more cooperative (menurut) than are boys.

Even so, there are only a small number of children involved in their parents' activities. Given present-day educational circumstances, there are several reasons to explain this. Firstly, in this day and age most of the children of the buruh are students, so the time the parents have to involve their children in their activities is limited. The fact that nowadays students have to attend many different kinds of extra-curricula activities at school (mostly in the evening) also makes it more difficult for parents to have the opportunity to "employ" them. If the children do not happen to go to school and are willing to do sewing, they usually become "professional" sewing workers themselves and no longer help their parents. Secondly, to date employment as a sewing worker is regarded by the younger generations of Kalitengah as pekerjaan tidak begengsi (a low status job). Therefore, the younger generation are loath to learn this skill. Cecep (24), one of my closest neighbours when I lived in Kalitengah, is one example. Cecep has already graduated from SMA, but he has been jobless for two years since he returned from Korea as an Indonesian overseas male worker (TKI, Tenaga Kerja Indonesia) in 1997. Since then he has filled his days with just nongkrong (hanging around). With nothing better to do he often came to my boarding house to chat or just watch television. On one occasion, when I asked him about the possibility that he might learn sewing skills and run his own garment business, he simply said, "Durung minat je Mas" ("I can't drum up the interest yet, Mas"). Thirdly, the younger generation are no longer afraid of their parents, so parents cannot force their children to do what they want as they did in the past. Some garment workers confessed that they often asked their children to help them to do sewing. However, when their children did not want to comply, they said that they could not force them to do so. Once, Pak Pono complained to me that his two sons (one at SMA [Senior High School] and the other at SMP [Junior High School]) hardly ever helped him to do the hemming and buttonholing. He had asked them several times to learn how to do this work so that they could help their parents to shoulder their tasks, but he said that his sons never heeded his request. "Lha kulo ken ngewangi nyapu latar mawon mboten purun je Mas, nomo malih ngewangi ngobras"; ("They don't want to help us, even if it is only sweeping the front yard, Mas, let alone doing hemming"), Pak Pono complained to me. Pak Pono's complaint is not surprising if we look at Table 6.4 above. This shows that the percentage of boys in undertaking domestic tasks is very small. In contrast to the boys, as well as being more involved in the garment production activities of their parents, girls are usually more active in helping their parents to do domestic tasks.

Because of various reasons mentioned above, as time passes the number of children who are involved in garment production activities grows less. On only a few occasions when I paid a visit to the homes of the garment workers did I come across instances in which children helped their parents to perform their sewing tasks. Those who were willing to help their parents were usually the children who did not feel ashamed to admit that they
come from poor families. Among these few cases are the daughters of Ibu Suci: Yulia and Tipuk. Bu Suci told me that her children had already helped their parents to do the hemming and make the buttonholes since they were in primary school. Bu Suci said that her two daughters could pay their school fees from their own income as part-time garment workers. At that time Yulia was in the third grade at SMEA (Economic High School) and Tipuk was in the third grade at SMP (Junior High School). Indeed, since sewing is no longer regarded as bergensi, nowadays, only if there are no other options, do the younger generation of Kalitengah begin to learn sewing skills.

3.4. Coping with Job Fluctuation

3.4.1. The Slack Season

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, during the slack season, the demand for the garment products of Kalitengah drops. The juragan have an armoury of different responses to deal with the situation, but the majority of them, with the exception of the big juragan, will, if nothing else, reduce the volume of production. Some go even further and stop production altogether. Since the juragan have various responses to deal with the slack season, the impact of this lean period on the buruh and their families also will be varied. This variation springs from several factors. The most influential factor is, of course, the kind of juragan for whom they work. The other factors are the characteristics of the buruh and their families themselves, including their own skill and the occupation of the husbands or wives. To discover how these factors influence the livelihood of the garment workers and their families, the livelihood sewing worker families during the slack season will be described below as case studies.

a. Pak Santosa and his family: no slack season

Pak Santosa, 48-years-old, is a fine sewer. He is married and has two children, Sugeng and Retno, aged 23 and 21 years. Both of his children have already graduated from SMA and now work in factories in Solo and on Batam, a small island in the Riau Archipelago. His wife, Ibu Suhatmi, 38-years-old, is a fine sewer as well. Pak Santosa lives with his family in small but pleasant house in Kauman hamlet. He has a TV set, tape/radio, a set of guest chairs, and a Vespa.

Pak Santosa and his wife told me that they have worked as sewing workers since they were very young. They have been employed by various big confection enterprises in Kalitengah such as Sony, Dove, and Rider. In fact, this couple met each other when they worked at Sony Confection. Because they have such a long experience working in various big confection enterprises, they have had the opportunity to acquire distinctive sewing skills compared to the other sewers in the village. They said that they could sew any kind of clothing including jackets, alma-mater jackets, baju batik sutra kecewa (batik shirt made from imitation silk cloth), trousers, T-shirts, skirts and so on. Given their talents, although since they quit Sony Confection a couple of years ago this couple have not worked for specific enterprise, many juragan still supply them with a never-ending stream of jobs.

One day when I paid a visit to their home, the couple told me that they had received job orders from
more than five different juragan. Mentari Confection, Matahari Confection, Granada Confection, one juragan from Klaten, and another juragan from Yogyakarta had all solicited their service. Besides this, because this couple has a fine reputation in Kalitengah as jacket makers, many Kalitengah juragan who want to put in a tender to win orders to make uniforms for universities, hospitals, public offices invariably ask Pak Santos and his wife to make the samples for them.

Armed with the fine sewing skills they have acquired, Pak Santos and his wife said that they had virtually never experienced a slack season. I know that during the slack season in February 2001 when I paid a visit to their home they said that they still had jobs. At that time they said that they felt fortunate because even during the slack season they still had work. This was because they said they were not choosy. They accepted any jobs that came their way. "Wah meniko mboten pilih-pilih koq Mas. Enten jaket nggih njahit jaket, enten batik nggih batik, nek mboten enten nggih jahit sakentene. Kodian nopo nggih purun" ("We are not choosy, Mas. If there are jackets we will sew jackets, if there are batiks we will sew batiks, if there is no fine clothing to be sewn we will undertake whatever job orders come into our hands. We are even willing to make cheap clothing as well"). In these words Pak and Bu Santos explained to me the "secret" of why they were still offered jobs during slack season. They also admitted that they knew several juragan in Kalitengah very well and they always could ask them for jobs when they needed them. They claimed that they could always ask for a job from Mas Giano, the owner of Mentari Confection, if they really did not have any job. Therefore, with the secure knowledge of relatively stable job orders every year, Pak Santos and his family have never experienced a slack season. As fine sewers, this couple can usually produce ten jackets per day. For every jacket they made they said that they would be paid (at least) Rp.4,500, so on average they could earn Rp.45,000 a day or around Rp.270,000 a week. Although it is quite difficult to predict their monthly income because of the changes in the kind of clothing products they make from time to time, given the support they enjoy because of their skill and network, it is quite safe to believe that they have no problem in meeting their daily needs during the slack season.

b. Bu Sugiyem and her family: just a slight change
Bu Sugiyem (33) is a coarse sewing worker. She is married with two children age 13 and 10. Her husband, Pak Tukiman (45), works as a truck driver. He is hardly ever be found at home during the day, except on Sundays. Bu Sugiyem told me that at this stage in her career she has changed juragan three times. Her present juragan, Pak Gito, is also her elder brother. She said that she was happy work for her brother because he was a good juragan. Pak Gito had never pushed her to finish her sewing tasks on time she said. Most of the time Bu Sugiyem sews kodian clothing, that is, school uniforms, long-sleeved shirts and similar items. Every day she estimated that she could make around twenty-four long-sleeved shirts or thirty school uniform shirts. For accomplishing these tasks, Bu Sugiyem will be paid between Rp.250-600 by her juragan, depending on the kind of clothing she makes. Thus, everyday she can earn round Rp.7,500 if she makes school uniforms or Rp.14,400 if she makes long-sleeved shirts. In the peak season Bu Sugiyem usually works seven days a week. As Lebaran approaches she will be given more jobs to do by her boss. So, during the peak season she very often has to work overtime, sometimes from 9 o'clock in the morning until 9 o'clock in the evening and then continue from 4 o'clock- 6 o'clock in the morning to produce around thirty-two long-sleeved shirts. During the slack season she only works three times a week. Admittedly, she is pretty lucky because she works for her brother, so she is always put on the priority list to be given a job by her juragan. Over and above this, although her job tails off during the slack season, Bu Sugiyem is not too worried because she still receives weekly shopping money (uang belanja) of Rp.80,000 from her husband who works as a truck driver. With a stable amount of shopping money from her husband, Bu Sugiyem said that she did not have to change the food consumption pattern of her children during the slack season. She told me that her children still ate eggs every day. Because her husband did not eat at home, it is only Bu Sugiyem herself who usually
changes her consumption pattern during the slack season. "Yen kulo kalih karak pun cukup" ("For me to eat some karak [crispy made from rice] is enough"), she said.

c. Pak Simnyoto and his family: life gets difficult
Pak Simnyoto is 30 years of age. He is married and has one 7-year-old son named Awan. Pak Simnyoto was a poultry trader before he went bankrupt in 1998 in the wake of the krismon. The skyrocketing price of milk during the krismon had forced him not only to use up all his capital but also to sell his only bicycle which he used to do trading, in order to buy some milk for his young son. Finally he ended up as a coarse sewing worker and continues to do so up until now. Pak Simnyoto’s wife, Ibu Siti (27), has been a coarse sewer for years, since she left primary school (SD) in fact. Pak Simnyoto told me that their life was much easier when he was still working as a poultry trader because each day he could make a profit of at least Rp.7,000. More importantly, after he came back from the market he could still help his wife to do sewing. So, if his wife could earn around Rp. 7,000/day from sewing, their total income was about Rp. 14,000/day. That income was enough to fulfil their family’s needs as they said that for the daily shopping they needed around Rp. 8,000. Now life is getting more difficult as both Pak Simnyoto and his wife only work as coarse sewers. Unfortunately, hampered by their lack of sewing skills, this couple can only offer their services to small juragan, who cannot provide them with a steady stream of jobs. They said that at the most they could only produce around thirty school uniform shirts everyday. So, if for every shirt they make they are paid Rp.350, their total income is only Rp.10,500 a day. With that amount of income, Pak Simnyoto and his wife said that they only had enough to buy food each day. They said that they had no opportunity to buy other goods, let alone think about saving.

If Pak Simnyoto and his wife have to live at subsistence level during the normal time (peak season), conditions become more difficult in the slack season. During the slack season, as Pak Slamet and his wife told me, they were only supplied with thirteen pieces of pre-cut material by their juragan. Therefore, the total income of this couple during the slack season is only Rp.4,550 a day. That amount of income is far from enough to fulfil their basic needs. And this is not the worst, this couple often experience zero income because their juragan cannot provide them with a stable job during the slack season. To cope with their financial problems when this occurs, Pak Simnyoto said that he usually became a casual labourer. He said that he was willing to do any kind of job such as painting, cleaning the house, or even making jogangan (digging a garbage pit in the backyard). Bu Siti also told me that in the past when she was still very young and they were just married she always felt embarrassed when she had to face the slack season. She said that she did not dare to ask for credit (ngebon) at the warung (small village shop) when she did not have money to do the shopping. Now, as an experienced housewife, she has no problem about asking for credit when she has no cash to buy daily necessities.

These three case studies enable us to make an analysis and draw some conclusions.

First of all, those sewing workers who work for big juragan, such as Pak Santos and his wife, find that their living conditions during the slack season will not be as bad as those experienced by their counterparts who work for small juragan, such as Pak Simnyoto and his wife. The majority of sewing workers who work for big juragan will still have steady incomes during the slack season because the big juragan such as Bu Topo, Bu Yatno, and Pak Jali, whose case studies have been described in various parts in this thesis, do not halt production. Several sewing workers who work for big juragan sometimes even "complained" that only a few days after Lebaran, their juragan already ngoyak-oyak (nag) them to start working again. The fate awaiting the sewing workers who are employed by
small juragan is far harsher. The majority of these workers said that during the slack season they receive fewer jobs than in the "normal" time. This is what happens to Pak Simnyoto and his wife. Bu Wagiyem, who is also in the same situation as Pak Simnyoto, described her condition during the slack season in the following words: "Nek musim sepi ngeten niki mung isi ping kalih kadang-kadang nggih ping tigo seminggu" ("During the slack season like this, [I] only receive a job two, sometimes three times a week"). Ironically, although only working two or three times a week, Bu Wagiyem said that she felt masih untung (still lucky) because many other sewing workers had absolutely no jobs during the slack season.

Secondly, fine sewing workers, because of their specialised skills and working network, have fewer problems obtaining work during the slack season than do the coarse sewing workers. The sewing skills possessed by fine sewers allows them to be more flexible and accept any job that comes their way. In contrast, coarse sewers have difficulty getting jobs during the slack season because they are not qualified to receive job orders from bigger juragan who mostly produce fine clothing which needs extra skill to make.

Lastly, coarse sewing worker families in which the husbands or wives work in different sectors (not as sewing workers such as the case of Bu Sugiyem's family) are also better off than are the coarse sewing worker families in which both husbands and wives work as (coarse) sewing workers, like Pak Simnyoto's family. This happens because during the slack season, when the income of these coarse sewers inexorably drops or sometimes they even have no income at all, they still have a safety net from the income of their husbands or wives to protect the livelihood of their families.

In a nutshell, sewing workers and their families who suffer during the slack season have to apply several "strategies" or make efforts to deal with the difficult situation. Reducing consumption like Bu Sugiyem, working as a casual labourer, and asking credit to the warung owners like Pak Simnyoto and his wife are only several of the strategies used by sewing workers and their families to try to make it through this period of want. Actually, there are many other strategies that are mentioned by sewing workers to which they resort to survive. For the sake of simplicity, these strategies basically can be classified into two different categories.

The first category is composed of the strategies that relate to income-generating activities. These strategies consist of activities undertaken to earn a supplementary income to flesh out their main income that invariably takes a plunge during the slack season. Included among these strategies are "positive" income-generating activities such as working as a casual labourer, finding a pocokan job from other juragan, or having a side job. Examining side jobs, the author's household survey found that almost 24 per cent out of 412 garment workers have side jobs in various non-farm activities outside the garment industry, and several others find jobs in the agricultural sector (the same findings were also mentioned by Susilastuti [1991] and Susilastuti and Handoyo [1990]). For the sewing workers who live in the southern part of the village, the tobacco plantation can always be relied on to provide a safety net when no job alternatives can be found (see again the
The category of "negative" income-generating activities consists of efforts to find supplementary income by selling valuable belongings and borrowing money. When they face pressing needs during the slack season, sewing workers will usually sell their valuables like their motorbike, TV set, radio, bicycle, sewing machine, or livestock to realise ready cash. If there are no longer any valuable belongings to be sold, these sewers will borrow money from their juragan, relatives, friends, neighbours, and various arisan (rotating savings and credit association) (cf. Lont, 2002). The juragan is usually the first person they turn to when they want to borrow some money. Bu Suci, for example, is quite lucky because she can always rely on her juragan who is also her sister for a favour when she has to face pressing needs. To illustrate this, on one occasion she told me that she just borrowed Rp.100,000 from her juragan to pay the school fees for her two daughters. As a last resort, when there is no other possibility to turn to, those sewers will go to the money-lenders (rentenir) or an informal bank (bank plecit), although they have to pay a very high interest rate of 5 to 12 per cent per month.

The second category comprises the strategies that relate to the consumption activities. The more "positive" consumption strategies are practised by sewers who have alternative resources. With these resources, they try to maintain their consumption at the same level as before the slack season. Included in these strategies are using their savings to buy more rice before the slack season comes. Pak Nardi, a coarse sewer widower, was making preparations to deal with the slack season by using the savings he had put aside during the peak season to buy more rice. "Yen pun duwe beras pun ayem, mangan kalih uyah pun sager" ("I feel secure when I have rice, so I can eat even though only with a pinch of salt"). This strategy is mainly resorted to by sewers when juragan stop providing jobs after the Lebaran celebration. Usually the production is stopped around three to four weeks, sometimes even longer, after the Lebaran celebration is over. The production activities will be resumed again after this period, but with fewer jobs given to the sewers until the peak season comes around again. Other sewing workers use their creativity to benefit from their garden. Rather than buy ready-made food, during the slack season some sewers prefer to cook vegetables from their own garden. Bu Nomp o who had no time to cook during the peak season and preferred to buy ready-made-food that cost her Rp.5,000 a day (not including additional dishes such as fried chicken, soto bebek [Javanese duck soup], fried cat fish), said that during the slack season she preferred to cook at home using ingredients from her own garden, such as cassava leaf, jackfruit, and papaya. Besides the fact she had no money, she cooked at home because she had plenty of time to do so since during the slack season her job offers decreased very significantly. More "negative" consumption strategies in this category are significantly reducing the quality of the food intake, such as removing eggs and meat from the daily diet which is served to their families, eating less tofu and tempe, reducing the frequency of eating from three to two times per day, or asking for credit from the warung (small shops).
From year to year, sewing workers (mainly coarse sewing workers) have to deal with the slack season. Since the slack season seems be more protracted as time passes, the workers are under constant pressure to find more "creative" ways to deal with the financial problems during that difficult time.

3.4.2. The Krismon

The krismon ushered in another slack season for sewing workers, one with a longer duration and less opportunity to apply the survival strategies mentioned above because of the wide range of economic sectors hit by the crisis. As in the slack season, the impact of the krismon on sewing workers and their families has also been diverse. The difference, to some extent, has been affected by the same factors which differentiate the ways the sewing workers and their families contrive to live during the slack season, namely the kind of juragan for whom the sewers work, their own skills, the occupation of husband or wife, and the possession of other economic resources outside sewing work. Taking these factors into account, the different impact of krismon on the sewing workers and their families can be described as follows:

a. Sewing workers who work for the winning and for the losing juragan
For the sewing workers who worked for the winning juragan, that is, the juragan who have been less affected by the krismon or even the juragan who made more profit during the krismon as described above, the implications for their livelihoods were less severe than for the sewing workers who worked for small and even the losing juragan, that is, the juragan who went bankrupt during the krismon. During the krismon sewing workers who worked for the winning juragan still obtained stable work and they even had their wages increased (although not as significantly as the bounding inflation). Bu Giarti, a buttonhole-maker who worked for Pak Jali, told me that during the krismon she was still supplied with the same amount of work by her juragan. Every day she would receive around 150 to 200 unfinished shirts that needed buttonholes made. Before the krismon she had only been paid Rp.25 per item to carry out that task. When the krismon hit the industry her wages almost doubled to Rp.45 a piece for the same task. Sewing workers who worked for the losing juragan had to accept their fate and find new juragan who could give them work.

b. Fine sewers and coarse sewers
During the krismon many sewers lost their jobs, forcing them to find new juragan. Unfortunately, during the krimon the number of jobs was very limited for various reasons. Some juragan went bankrupt. Unsettled by the uncertain business climate many others halted their production activities. Some others who still continued producing garment products preferred to produce these themselves to cut production costs. Therefore, it was not easy for the workers even the finer sewers who had lost their juragan to find new juragan.
Pak Tentrem, a fine sewer, told me that at the beginning of the *krismon* he had been jobless for around two months. At the same time, his wife who was also a sewer had the same problem. To cope with the difficult situation he said that he had to sell his gold (around 5 grams), his chickens and ducks, and borrow some money from his neighbours to make ends meet. Pak Tentrem’s wife did not want to worsen her family’s situation by doing nothing but wait for uncertain jobs from her *juragan*, so she opted to work as a rice harvester (*buruh derep*) in the rice-fields. Fortunately, thanks to his good relationship with many *juragan* in Kalitengah, Pak Tentrem found work again from some *juragan* he had known previously.

A different story could be told by Pak Samidi, a 69-year-old coarse sewer. He said that he had been jobless for almost a year during the *krismon*. Before he had worked for Pak Tri making trousers. However, when the *krismon* hit the industry, his *juragan* stopped producing garments and he was left jobless. The same fate was also experienced by his wife who also works as a coarse sewer. Since then, Pak Samidi has made every effort to find a job, but has found nothing. He said that all the *juragan* were harassed by the same circumstances: their products were not in demand. Because he could do nothing, he had no other option but to sell all his valuable possessions such as a cupboard, sewing machine, clothing, kitchen utensils and the like to be able to survive. Although Pak Samidi sometimes said that his wife earned a little money when someone asked her to give a performance as a *pesinden* (singer of Javanese traditional music), it did not help significantly enough to lift his family's burden. To help him to ease his problem, Pak Samidi’s childless younger sister asked to adopt his two sons who were still at Junior High School (SLTP). Matters looked up when his wife found a job in a tobacco plantation. Not too long after that, he was also given a job by Pak Suroto, another *juragan* whom he had known before.

c. The occupations of husbands and wives

As mentioned in the previous subsection (see the case of Ibu Sugiyem and her family), the sewing families in which the husbands or wives have different occupations are in a better position to maintain the welfare of their families during the slack season than are the sewing families in which both husbands and wives work as sewers. The story was the same during the *krismon*. When the income of the sewing workers dropped sharply during the *krismon* for a much more prolonged period than in the slack season, the husbands or wives who worked in other sectors could come to the rescue of the livelihood of their families. Pak Janto who works as hem-maker is one example. In sharp contrast to the situation which was experienced by Pak Samidi and his family in which both husband and wife worked as coarse sewers, Pak Janto, whose wife runs small-scale food processing industry (the *emping* maker) had been able to escape very severe conditions during the *krismon*. Thanks to his wife's role as the saviour of the family with her income from doing business as an
emping maker, even though Pak Janto was virtually jobless during the krismon, he could maintain the welfare of his family.

d. The Possession of Other Economic Resources Outside the Job as Garment Worker

Sewing workers' families who have side jobs and other economic resources outside garment work were also in a better-off position during the krismon than were the sewing worker families who could rely only on sewing work as the main source of income. Some sewing workers who have a small rice-field, a warung (small shop), or livestock, to name a few such resources, could obtain supplementary income from these activities when their income from sewing work declined sharply. This was what happened to Pak Gito's family. Pak Gito (56) and his wife (47) are coarse sewing workers. Both of them work for Juragan Kahudi producing school uniform shirts. Before the krismon, this couple could produce around sixty shirts a day from which they received wages of around Rp.10,000. After the krismon their income shrank as their juragan could only provided them with work four times a week. This meant that during the krismon this couple could earn no more than Rp.40,000 a week (Rp.160,000/month). This income was far from enough as they said that the budget for their monthly needs was about Rp.218,000. Despite this drastic change in their pecuniary circumstances Pak Gito and his wife said that they did not feel they had suffered from the krismon because, besides working as sewers, they also ran a warung (small food shop), a small fuel depot, and sold firewood as well. From their various modest business activities, this couple said that they could earn a profit of around Rp.200,000 a month. In addition to this, the couple also mentioned that they were sent some money amounting to around Rp.150,000/month by their two sons who worked in Jakarta. With the income from various sources and only three people remaining in his household, himself, his wife, and his mother-in-law, Pak Gito and his family did not have to undergo too much hardship during the krismon.

Sewing workers who did suffer from the krismon found themselves having to apply the same strategies which they used to cope with the slack season. The rub was that since the duration of the krismon was more protracted and its intensity was much more concentrated than is the situation in the slack season, they had to pour huge efforts into pursuing these strategies to survive during the krismon. If during the slack season they might have sold just sold one or two valuable possessions to obtain supplementary income to make ends meet, during the krismon some sewing workers found themselves obliged to sell almost all their valuables before they found work again (the same issue is also discussed by Breman and Wiradi, 2002: 146; Lont, 2002: 258). In the vortex of a real economic crisis, practising this strategy of under-consumption was much more difficult than a similar exercise in the slack season. Many sewing worker families not only removed eggs and meat from their daily diet, sometimes they also had to forego tofu and tempe. Some sewing workers said that they generally ate just rice with vegetables, karak, and sambal (chili sauce). A few of them like Bu Surani's family even had to eat steamed dried...
cassava (*thiwul*) and wild vegetables that she gathered from the rice-fields. (To make a comparison with various socio-economic backgrounds see Kutanegeara, 2001:5; Breman and Wiradi, 2002: 152; Sukamdi and Setiadi, 2003: 300-304; Nooteboom, 2003: 262-263.)

Unfortunately, the various programmes --which are called Social Safety Net (SSN) launched by the Indonesian government to help the people who suffered from the *krismon* in Kalitengah village-- were not well implemented by the local government (Purwanto, 2002). The result was that the SSN programmes which consist of the *Program Pemberdayaan Daerah dalam Mengatasi Dampak Krisis Ekonomi* (PDM-DKE, Empowering the Region to Overcome the Impact of Economic Crisis or Labour Intensive Work Programme), the SSN programme for health, the SSN programme for education, and the *Operasi Pasar Khusus* (OPK, Special Market Operation) or Cheap Rice Programme failed to reach their intended targets. Pertinently, Pak Pono, one of the poorest sewing workers in the village, never received his Kartu Sehat (health card) from the SSN health programme to be able to obtain free medical treatment when he or his family members fell ill. When I met the hamlet head who was supposed to be responsible for distributing the card to Pak Pono he simply said that he thought Pak Pono had not needed the card yet. He hastened to add that whenever Pak Pono should need it, he would hand it to him immediately. A similar experience was also told by Bu Surani, a coarse sewer widow. As one who belongs to the poor families (*Keluarga Pra Sejahtera* or non-welfare family) in her neighbourhood, Bu Surani was entitled to be given a coupon to buy a cheap rice package every month, a 20 kg package for the price of Rp.1,000/kg during the implementation of the Cheap Rice Programme. However, instead of receiving a cheap rice package every month, as was instructed in the guidelines of the programme, she received it only twice in the whole year. In actual fact, the two packages that she received were not 20 kg as was promised by the programme, but only 5 kg. When I asked about this deviation, the village head said that, despite the incapability of poor families to obtain the Rp.20,000 per month they would have needed to buy rice, he argued that he had to devise a policy make an equitable distribution (*meratakan*) of the cheap rice because many non-poor people claimed that they were entitled the same rights to buy cheap rice. Under pressure from the people demanding their rights in the name of Reformation, the village head had no choice but to accede to their demands.

Unfortunately, the ineffectualness of the implementation of the SSN programme in Kalitengah, in fact, is not an exception as many other researchers have also found the same data in their research in the various regions throughout Indonesia (see, e.g., Breman and Wiradi, 2002; Sumarto, Suryahadi, and Pritchett, 2000; Hatmadji and Mursitama, 2003; Nooteboom, 2003).
4. Conclusion

The overlapping between the work and the family domains in the garment industry in Kalitengah will inevitably impact on the characteristics of the garment industry in Kalitengah as a small-scale industry in which: (1) Production activities take place at home (both in the home of the juragan and of the buruh), which potentially involves all family members in the production process; (2) There is no separation of the financial management between the enterprise and the family which, in the end, creates a strong reciprocal influence between production and consumption activities.

For the juragan families, the first overlapping (spatial overlapping) creates a unique division of labour among family members, particularly between the husbands and the wives, in their efforts to reconcile the dual roles that they have to play. As we can see from the description above, the job distribution between the husbands, the wives, and the children changes continuously, keeping pace with the economic cycle of their business and the demographic cycle of their family. The second overlapping (financial overlapping) affects the livelihood of the juragan families in terms of how they can reconcile their options between the need to develop their confection enterprises and yet maintain the welfare of their families. To achieve the balance between these two different interests is not an easy task for the juragan confronted with endless business fluctuations, whether caused by seasonal changes or economic crises. Failure to do so will bring disaster both on their enterprise (bankruptcy) and their families (downward mobility).

A similar situation has to be faced by the buruh families. Spatial overlapping as the impact of the putting-out system adopted in this industry --corroborating the other research findings obtained by previous researchers-- puts women garment workers in the more difficult situation because these workers have to bear two different but simultaneous responsibilities, that is: to carry out their professional and their domestic tasks. However, although broadly speaking these women garment workers are in a difficult situation, this research found that the generalisation does not always ring true as the factors which surround these women workers, particularly the occupation of their husbands, will differentiate the position of one worker from that of another. The author found that women workers whose their husbands also work as sewing workers enjoy a more equal job distribution between the husbands and the wives compared to the women garment workers whose their husbands do not work as garment workers. Meanwhile, the financial overlapping --for the buruh families-- is mainly caused by the volume of work that they receive from their juragan. The decline in jobs supplied to those workers, which is affected by seasonal fluctuations or by economic crises, will lead to a decline in their income and subsequently their consumption as well. Although there is a general pattern that the buruh families will face hardship during the slack season, several factors such as the kind of juragan for whom they work, their own skills, the occupation of their spouses, and the possession of sources of income outside the garment work, will differentiate the impact of
the strong link between production and consumption activities among the families of the buruh. Because of these factors, some buruh families will be in a better off and will still be able to maintain their former level of consumption during the slack season compared to the others. Indubitably, the character of the buruh will also influence how they and their families can cope with the hardship, dictating whether they will apply more "positive" income-generating strategies, "negative" income-generating strategies, "positive" consumption strategies, or "negative" consumption strategies.