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 Seven

Summary and Conclusions

1. Introduction

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the main objective of this thesis is to understand how the dynamics of the work and the life of the small-scale garment manufacturers (the juragan as well as the buruh) in Kalitengah village function. Unlike many other studies on rural small-scale industry (and non-farm activities in general) which have been done by previous scholars, which have tended to adopt a one-sided approach, either using the enterprise as unit of analysis (to understand the operation of small-scale industry as small-scale enterprises, mostly opted for by economists) or using the household/family as unit of analysis (to understand the livelihood of the people who are involved in the small-scale industry activities, preferred by social scientists), this study has tried to combine both these approaches. By doing this, the author has tried to answer the set of research questions formulated in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Besides this, the purpose of this chapter is to highlight several issues that have emerged in the discussion throughout the chapters of this thesis. By highlighting these, the author hopes to help to find the scarlet thread running through this thesis so that descriptions and the arguments set down in it will become easier to be understood.

2. In Search of Security: The Emergence of Garment Industry in Kalitengah

The emergence of the garment industry in Kalitengah is inextricably linked to chronic land scarcity in this village which has arisen as the outcome of various factors such as the increase in population, land fragmentation through inheritance, the land market, and the presence of a tobacco plantation in Kalitengah since 1885, which every year has claimed around 50 per cent of the total farmland in this village to grow tobacco. The land scarcity made it more difficult for Kalitengah people to find a job or to rely solely on their income from the agriculture sector. This problem was worsened by the increase in the commercialisation in the agriculture sector after the implementation of the Cultivation System and, much later, the Green Revolution in the village. The combination of the whole
gamut of factors eventually jelled together to become the determinant which pushed Kalitengah inhabitants out of the agricultural sector, forcing them to find side line jobs or completely alternative work in the various non-farm activities in the village.

Initially, petty trading was the most popular job outside the agricultural sector. This inference can be drawn from the legend of Kyai Ageng Pandananang recounted in Chapter Three, which recounts how Kalitengah (Wedi market) became the centre of trading activities for the people surrounding the village in the 1400s. Trading activities at that time were mostly still related to the agricultural sector, particularly buying and selling rice, vegetables, fruit, and livestock. Later, the trading habit (the entrepreneurial spirit) of the people of Kalitengah emerged as an important factor that triggered the beginnings of the garment industry in this village in the early twentieth century. The initiative taken by Kalitengah kamus and epek traders who decided to make their own products (previously they just bought from the producers) can be seen as the embryo from which the garment industry in this village grew. Their initiative, indeed, inspired the local tailors (the gerji) to produce ready-made clothing to be sold in the surrounding markets, rather than just making clothing to order, which was the custom.

From this chronology, we can conclude that in the first stage, the emergence of garment industry in Kalitengah was part of the survival efforts deployed by the poor people (households) to cope with the inadequate job opportunities and (or) incomes in the agricultural sector. In fact, the efforts made by Kalitengah inhabitants to achieve economic security were not just the last-ditch endeavours of the landless, the landlords also joined in. Ultimately, the ownership of the capital differentiated the kind of the livelihood strategy which was chosen to realise their goals, with the one becoming a garment producer (juragan) and the other becoming a garment worker (buruh jahit).

3. The Expansion and Differentiation: The Emergence of Petty Capitalists

Despite suffering from a series of problems arising from the precarious Indonesian economic and political situations in 1930s, 1940s, and 1960s, which caused the juragan of Kalitengah serious problems in their attempts to find raw materials (particularly textiles) as has been discussed in Chapter Four, the garment industry in Kalitengah continued to grow. Some juragan, who could take advantage of these difficult situations, even found that they had an opportunity to accumulate capital to be reinvested again to develop their garment industry, by hiring more sewing workers, buying new sewing machines, hemming machines, and kiosks in Klewer Market (Solo) and Beringharjo Market (Yogyakarta). By making these investments, these juragan could obtain bigger profits which eventually won them the status of big juragan. Through continuous capital accumulation, these big juragan subsequently became new petty capitalists (orang kaya baru or the new rich) in Kalitengah. The success enjoyed by these big juragan eventually lifted them right up to the top of the socio-economic strata in their community; surpassing other established classes in the
village such as landlords, village officials, and civil servants. Along with their wealth, big juragan could also enjoy their new status as the most respected persons (orang terhormat). Therefore, the emergence of wealthy big juragan in Kalitengah village marked a new era in which the garment industry in this village could be used not only as an instrument for survival strategy for the landless households, but conversely also as an instrument of capital accumulation.

The children of these big juragan subsequently built on the socio-economic achievement of their parents. In contrast to their predecessors, who started their career as juragan from below as sewing workers, these second generation juragan did not have to start their business from zero again because their parents --sometimes their parents-in-law as endogamous marriages\(^1\) among the children of the big juragan in Kalitengah are quite common as a strategy to build up capital-- provided them with enough initial capital, such as cloth, sewing machine, and kiosks, for them to launch straight into the business of being garment producers. Having accrued enough capital, these second generation juragan had wider opportunities to "modernise" their enterprises by purchasing new machinery, reorganising production process, applying more modern marketing strategies, and dealing with modern finance institutions to increase their capital. Since then, many "confection enterprises" such as Sony, Delima, Matahari, Riders, and Sandang, plus many others have been established in Kalitengah. The conducive business climate, both from the demand and supply sides, which dawned in the 1970s also contributed to the development of the confection enterprises of these second generation juragan.

With the emergence of these confection enterprises, we can classify garment industry in Kalitengah into two different categories. The first category is a garment industry run by small garment producers, which is characterised by "traditional" features. The second is a garment industry run by big garment producers, which is characterised by more "modern" features. The existence of these two different types of garment industry in Kalitengah provides an opportunity for the people in this village to choose the livelihood strategy which is most suitable to their situation. Those people who have enough capital will follow in the footsteps of the big juragan by investing their money to establish a more modern garment industry, while those who are not as fortunate will choose to run a more traditional business.

4. The Development of the Industry and Its Implications: the Division of Labour and the Change in Working Relationships

Although both traditional and modern garment industries in Kalitengah have the same function, namely, providing a livelihood strategy by which to achieve economic security,

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\(^1\) Although endogamous marriage was common in Kalitengah, it was not as prominent as in the case of juragan batik community in Laweyan (Brenner, 1992), the kretek producer community in West Kudus (Weix, 1990), and the Kalang people of Kota Gede in Yogyakarta (Nakamura, 1983).
but each of them has its own characteristics. The traditional garment industry, which is used as an instrument of survival strategy by the landless households, has specific characteristics like being initiated with a small amount of capital, using old machinery, hiring fewer paid sewing workers, applying less division of labour, producing cheap garment products, and the products being sold in small marketplaces. Conversely, the modern garment industry, which is run by wealthier households, has a distinctive set of characteristics such as being initiated with a large amount of capital, using new machinery, hiring more sewing workers, applying a more complex division of labour, producing finer garment products, and the products being sold in the big marketplaces. Consequently, with different functions and characteristics, the way in which each of these categories of garment industry in Kalitengah is operated will also diverge.

The Sense of Family
As an Instrument of Survival Strategy. Initially the garment industry in Kalitengah assumed a very simple form: using small capital, virtually without technology, carried out by the trader him/herself, and producing low quality products. Subsequently, the way in which ready-made clothing was produced grew more complex. The first sign of the increase in the complexity in the process of making ready-made clothing in Kalitengah was the adoption of new technology, in the form of the sewing machine. After the sewing machine made its entrance in the village in the early 1930s, for a while garments were made with a sewing machine by the gerji (the local tailor). After the adoption of new technology, the next step was the recruitment of unpaid family workers, followed by the implementation of the division of labour among those family workers, particularly between the husbands and the wives. At this stage, the division of labour was very simple. Since women (the wives) were traditionally perceived to possess better trading skills than the men (the husbands), they were given the responsibility of marketing the products. Meanwhile the husbands stayed at home to produce the ready-made clothing.

The production process of making garment products became more complex when garment producers (gerji) began to hire others (also relatives and close neighbours who were given the opportunity to acquire sewing skills through an apprenticeship). This marked the point at which the notion of employer (juragan) and employee (buruh) began to make itself felt in Kalitengah. Despite the fact that a sense of "class differentiation" began to emerge, because of various factors, such as blood ties, locality, affinal connection and the like which bound those two different classes together, the working relationships between the juragan and the buruh in this stage were still very much coloured by the sense of family (suasana kekeluargaan) or more precisely a patron-client relationship. This sense of family was expressed in various ways by both the juragan and the buruh. Therefore juragan not only paid the wages and provided sewing machines for their buruh who worked in their homes, but they also served meals and coffee, and provided their buruh with various favours. In return, buruh (particularly those in the apprenticeship period) very
often helped their juragan to undertake various domestic tasks, besides performing their main job of producing clothing. This close relationship indeed emerged as one of the important factors which allowed a knowledge spill-over (the knowledge of how to mbabar sendiri or to produce their own garment products, including how to sell these in the marketplaces) from the juragan to the buruh. Learning from this knowledge spill-over many buruh in Kalitengah could subsequently enjoy upward mobility and become juragan themselves.

The Change of the Production System and the Division of Labour
The emergence of big juragan and the affordability of sewing machines, which could be found in the local market in the 1960s, were among the factors which induced the change in the production system and the working relationship between the juragan and the buruh. The increase in sewing machine ownership among the buruh eventually opened up the possibility for the juragan to introduce a putting-out system. The decision of the buruh to work in their own homes was apparently encouraged by the juragan who were prepared to lend a sewing machine to any of their buruh who did not have one. Therefore although many sewing workers mentioned the various benefits which accrued from working at home, the willingness of the juragan to lend them their sewing machines was also an unmistakable sign that juragan benefited greatly from the decision of their buruh to perform their tasks in their own respective homes. Besides the putting-out system, the big juragan also started to use a division of labour to increase the productivity of their buruh. Since this time garment workers, who in the past had the same responsibility for performing the complete task of making a garment product, have been divided into various different specialisations, namely pattern-cutter (tukang potong), sewing worker (tukang jahit), buttonhole-maker (tukang itik), button-sewer (tukang pasang benik), hem-maker (tukang obras), and packet (tukang lempit). This division of labour eventually led to a loss of skill (deskilling) and job segregation among the workers on a gender basis.

In the next development, when big juragan started to produce quality products to attract more consumers, the differentiation among garment workers was also determined by an additional factor, their skill measured in terms of deftness. Sewing workers who could upgrade their skills became fine sewers for big juragan. Sewing workers who failed to upgrade their skills remained unskilled or coarse sewing workers and worked for small juragan. Skilled sewing workers who were given a higher piece-rate payment compared to their less skilled counterparts because of their skill, networks, and capacity to accumulate initial capital also had a better opportunity to enjoy upward mobility and become juragan.

Between Moral and Instrumental Altruism: The working relationship in the transition process
When the garment industry was still small, juragan hired only a handful of buruh to do the work in their homes. It was a period when the working relationship between the juragan
and the buruh was characterised by a sense of family, it was common for juragan to treat their workers in personal way because the buruh were considered part of their family. The adoption of the putting-out system somehow created a distance in the relationship between the juragan and the buruh. This distance has not only meant that juragan know less about their buruh personally, but the buruh have also become less involved in the domestic activities of their juragan. In the other words, the putting-out system promoted more impersonal relationship between the juragan and the buruh. If the putting-out system created a physical distance, the ability of big juragan to accumulate wealth created a social distance that drove a larger wedge between these juragan and their buruh. Simultaneously, the growing size of the number of garment workforce employed by big juragan intensified the process of the impersonalisation of relationship between the juragan and the buruh. This had ineluctable consequences for the buruh. Among the effects, the most important was buruh gradually lost the social protection they had previously enjoyed from their juragan. In a more vulnerable position, buruh were more likely to be sacrificed (exploited) by their juragan in pursuit of the latter's own economic interests. Chapter Five of this thesis has produced some evidence to show how the “informal rules” which govern the working relationship between the juragan and the buruh now tend to be biased in favour of the juragan.

Cogently, the process of impersonalisation of the working relationship has not been completed. Chapter Five has described the dilemma faced by both the juragan and by the buruh in this transition period. Both the juragan and the buruh are unable to liberate themselves completely from their traditional ties such as consanguinity, affinity, locality, religion, ethnicity, norms, cultures, values, and a series of social obligations which evolves from the interaction based on these traditional ties. It is true that in distancing themselves from direct contact with their buruh, in order to evade meeting social obligations, several big juragan have moved out of Kalitengah, building new houses in the main town of Klaten district and subcontracting out their production process to smaller juragan. Still limited in number, they are still the exception and the majority of juragan still live in the village and employ their relatives, friends, and neighbours whom they know well, and now they are also employing workers from surrounding villages outside Kalitengah itself. All these circumstances, the end, conspire to make it virtually impossible for juragan to have strictly impersonal relationship with all of their buruh. This is why, as I have described in Chapter Five, the relationship between the juragan and the buruh in the garment industry in Kalitengah is characterised by two contradictory practices. Indubitably (big) juragan tend to exploit their buruh in their pursuit of their own economic interests, but juragan also show plenty of moral altruism demonstrated by their generosity and kindness, and social solidarity with their buruh. This is not to say that buruh are always put in a better position in a working relationship which still tends to be coloured by traditional ties. Despite enjoying social protection, in return, to reciprocate the generosity of their juragan, buruh have to show their loyalty to their juragan by sacrificing their own economic interests.
They are not supposed to ask for a wage increase or accept *pocokan* (extra jobs from other *juragan*) and the like, if they wish to maintain their relationship with their *juragan*.

As the garment industry in Kalitenga is characterised by a slack season and a peak season that affect the operation of the industry, the dilemma of the relationship between the *juragan* and the *buruh* is thrown into even sharper relief. Undeniably, this fluctuation creates an opportunity for both the *juragan* and the *buruh* to achieve their economic goals. However, this produces a quandary since the benefit of one party is often achieved by sacrificing the interests of the other. The predicament is that a person can be accused of becoming selfish (impersonal). This selfish behaviour can be displayed by both *juragan* and *buruh* and this will break down the ideal relationship based on traditional ties in which harmony and sense of family are the ultimate values to be realised.

Since both *juragan* and *buruh* are rational economic persons, the kindheartedness of *juragan* and the loyalty of *buruh* should be understood within this context. In a nutshell, this will reveal how *juragan* and *buruh* maximise their economic interests in accordance with the local norms, culture and values. It would definitely seem that, in this case, the generosity of *juragan* and the willingness of *buruh* to sacrifice their interest can be said to be driven mainly by instrumental motives. This because the exchange between the *juragan* and the *buruh* tends to be based more on "balanced" rather than "generalised" reciprocity. With this kind of reciprocity, the generosity and kindheartedness of one *juragan* should be reciprocated directly by his/her *buruh*. From the perspective of social capital, the generosity of *juragan* can then be seen as their "strategy" of investing their economic capital in a different kind of capital (social capital), which in the end can be converted again into (bigger) economic capital, namely cheap labour when they need to produce more garment products during the peak season.

**4. Life is Just Like a Roller-Coaster: The Livelihood of the Juragan, the Buruh and Their Families**

This study also tries to understand the dynamic interaction between the work and the family domains which is discussed in some detail in Chapter Six. To do so, two factors that link work and family domains: namely (1) spatial overlapping as a consequence of the fact production activities in the garment industry that take place at home; (2) mixed financial management between enterprise and family, have been used as entry points to explain how the activities pursued by garment manufacturers in the garment industry affect the livelihood of their families and vice versa.

*Spatial Overlapping*

For the *juragan* families, this overlapping creates a unique division of labour between their family members, particularly between the husbands and the wives. The husbands who are
responsible for the production of garments spend most of their time at home, while the wives, who market their products, spend more time outside the home. This division of labour is greatly at odds with the ideal form of the husband-wife relationship in rural Javanese families, in which the husbands usually who spend more time outside the home than do the wives. However, this division of labour is not static, it changes over time in response to the business cycle and the demographic cycle of the family. The study found that the younger (smaller) juragan whose financial capacity is still shaky have to face more problems reconciling work and family affairs than do the bigger juragan who have established families and enterprises. Although further investigation on this point is still needed, the study also found that the position of the wives as the marketers and financial managers of their enterprises, which gives them greater access to money, has increased their personal power in their relations with their husbands. It is a common sight in Kalitengah for husbands to have become merely a male symbol of their families (dienggo lanang-lanang) because of their insignificant contribution to the family income.

The female buruh face a different situation. The overlapping between the work and family domains, as the consequence of the adoption of the putting-out system, has put women sewing workers in the more difficult situation. These women have to bear a double responsibility: to carry out professional duties but at the same time also to do the domestic tasks. This finding partly supports the marginalisation thesis on women home-workers proposed by feminist scholars. Yet the generalisation which states that women sewing workers are invariably marginalised is not necessarily constantly true. The study also found that several variables impinging on these women workers, particularly the occupation of their husbands, will affect the job distribution inside the family and subsequently the position of these women in their families. Women sewing workers whose their husbands also work as sewing workers will be more likely experience equal job distribution than other workers whose husbands work in the different sector. The possibility of these women sewing workers to share the responsibility to carry out their professional tasks with their husbands eventually allows them to be more flexible in arranging job distribution among the family members.

Financial Overlapping
Financial overlapping is a very important factor explaining the ups and downs in the livelihood of the juragan and their families. As has been reiterated throughout this thesis, the garment industry in Kalitengah is not only an instrument of survival strategy but also an instrument of vertical mobility. As an instrument of vertical mobility, this industry has stimulated the birth of many rural petty capitalists (the big juragan). With their wealth, these big juragan have subsequently succeeded in building their own identity as the new rich (orang kaya baru) in the village. Beside expressing their wealth in material possession, these big juragan also imitate the life-style of urban people nurturing and maintaining their reputation as the most respected people (orang terpandang) in the village. It is not all plain
sailing. As the garment business fluctuates for many reasons (the slack season, tough business competition, economic crises and the like) to gain that reputation many juragan sometimes have to pay very expensive price; they not only sacrifice the survival of their business, but also the well-being of their families. This study found that because of their lack of prudent financial calculations, many juragan spend their money both on the business and on family welfare. This inexorably leads to mixed financial management and subsequently to financial trouble, which may eventually put the garment business of these juragan in jeopardy. Indeed, instead of enjoying their new reputation as big, wealthy juragan, many of them suffer from business set-backs or even bankruptcy and find themselves relegated to the common people again. The case of the bankruptcies of Pak Kismo, Bu Sastro, and Kartono, which have been described in Chapter Six, are only a few examples among other similar cases which can be found in Kalitengah.

These cases provide us with clear evidence that the life of juragan and their families as garment producers can be very fluid. Ups and downs can happen quite easily in response to external and internal variables, mainly attributable to the mixed financial management that is practised by the majority of the juragan in Kalitengah. In fact, many juragan told me that they have been given a series of trainings by the Pemda Klaten (Local Government of Klaten District) on how to manage their business, including the need to make a separation between business and family finances in order to avoid mismanagement. However, these juragan said that they could only follow that particular suggestion less than a month, after which they would revert using their old management system again.

While commenting on their misfortunes, the wise juragan (see the case of Ibu Sastro) simply say that life is just like a cokro manggilingan (roller-coaster) and they are able to accept their lot of becoming common people again. Not all juragan see it in the same light and find it very hard to accept the reality that they have lost their reputation: several of them have become so stressed it has led to mental illness (gendeng).

To some extent the livelihoods of the buruh and their families also depends on the fate of their juragan. Buruh who work for big, reliable juragan will enjoy a more stable job situation and subsequently a steady income as well. In many cases, these sewers can even build up enough initial capital and eventually start to produce their own ready-made clothing (mbabar sendiri). This type of buruh are usually the fine sewing workers, both men and women. In contrast, buruh who work for smaller and less reliable juragan will suffer from a fluctuating employment situation and then have to face a host of problems, particularly during the slack season. These buruh are usually coarse sewers, mostly women and older workers. Several of these coarse sewers described their feeling towards their jobs in the words of the title of Indonesian pop song which was very famous in the 1980s: "Benci tapi rindu" ("My heart despises you, but I miss you"). They said that they no longer like working as coarse sewers because their wages constantly fail to keep with the price of daily necessities. Unfortunately, because they do not have any other skills and their
physiques are not strong enough to work in the heat on the tobacco plantation, they have had no other choice but to plod on at this occupation that they despise.

It is an indisputable fact that although all of the sewers and their families have to undergo a difficult period during the slack season or during an economic crisis like the recent krismon, once again coarse sewers will suffer more from this hardship than their more skilled fellow-workers. The only exceptions are coarse sewers whose husbands or wives work in other sectors and coarse sewers who have another sources of income outside the garment industry. To cope with this difficult situation, coarse sewers and their families have to apply various livelihood strategies: namely (1) "positive" income-generating strategies like finding supplementary income from the activities outside garment industry; (2) "negative" income-generating strategies such as finding a supplementary income by borrowing money from their juragan or selling their valuable belongings; (3) "positive" consumption strategies such as finding cheaper food and using vegetables from their own garden to maintain their usual level of consumption; (4) "negative" consumption strategies such as resorting to under-consumption.

5. The Golden Era that has Passed: Endlessly in Search of Security

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one of the factors which triggered the emergence of the garment industry in Kalitengah was the efforts made by landless households to create economic security for their households/families. Over the years, the presence of the garment industry in this village has been able provide economic security for the people there. More than simply providing economic security, the industry had also raised the social standing of many local juragan, winning them great respect in their community. However, since garment industry businesses fluctuate from year to year, bowing to the changes in business climate, the increase in competition, changes in customer tastes and the likes, the juragan are also in a constantly precarious position. They may enjoy a big profit today, but also can suffer from a big loss tomorrow. Learning from their past experience, in their search for greater security for their children, many second generation juragan have invested their money in educating their children. Nowadays, many children of big juragan have been educated at various universities throughout Java, in Solo, Yogyakarta, Bandung, and Bogor. After completing their education, the majority of these children have been encouraged to find a job in the formal sectors outside the garment industry, choosing professions such as medical doctor, lawyer, lecturer, engineer and so on.

The "differentiation strategy" employed by the big juragan by encouraging their children find an occupation in the formal sectors by sending them into the university has subsequently had repercussion on the development of garment industry in Kalitengah. This brain drain has eventually affected the sustainability of the modernisation process of the garment industry, which had been initiated by the second generation juragan in the 1970s, when they established "confection enterprises" and invested in new machinery. After the
majority of these second generation juragan had already achieved economic prosperity and were assured of their children holding a stable occupation in the formal sectors, they lost some of their enthusiasm to develop their enterprises.

With the absence of the educated children of the second generation juragan, the third generation of juragan in Kalitengah consists of the people who are imbued with the same spirit as the second generation of juragan, that is they want to use garment industry only as an instrument to accumulate capital to be reinvested again in the other sectors or to educate their children at the university so that they can find themselves a more stable position in the formal sectors. Unfortunately the external variables surrounding this industry have changed. This means the third generation of juragan does not have the same opportunities to enjoy the golden era experienced by their immediate predecessors. Now many juragan are often heard to complain that from year to year the peak season grows steadily less promising than before.

A few of the younger educated juragan who are aware of the problems they are facing have in fact started to look for a solution. They are trying to change the production system from a putting-out to a fabrication system by building a workshop and installing new machinery to enable them to produce the better quality garments. Besides this, they are also becoming more active in going to exhibitions and making tenders to make uniforms and undertaking other jobs for government offices, universities, hospitals, and private enterprises. Only a very few juragan in Kalitengah essay this difficult and risky path. The majority of them prefer to use "traditional" methods, hiring cheaper labourers outside Kalitengah to produce their garment products in order to keep their products competitive. Meanwhile, some other juragan who cannot compete with other garment producers from places outside Kalitengah such as Pekalongan, Jepara, and Solo do not produce garment products themselves, but prefer to buy ready-made garment products (kulakan) from other garment producers in the big markets, such as Klewer and Beringharjo, to be resold again in the smaller markets.

The failure of the majority of Kalitengah juragan to modernise their confection enterprises has subsequently recoiled on the livelihood of the sewing workers in this village as well. The lack of modernisation in the garment industry in Kalitengah had meant that this industry can only produce less competitive garment products compared to the other small-scale garment industrial centres in Central Java such as Pekalongan, Kudus, and Solo. To maintain its competitiveness, therefore, the juragan of Kalitengah have had no other choice but to keep the production costs, mainly the wages of the sewing workers, as low as possible. This business strategy has made the livelihood of the sewing workers, particularly coarse sewers, more difficult as their real wages have declined (cf.Mizuno, 1996). Therefore, treading a path previously trod by agricultural workers, the sewing workers too have to find sideline or alternative jobs outside the garment industry to supplement their meagre income from this industry.
What has happened in the garment industry in Kalitengah then is only underlining the fact that rural (Javanese) people cannot rely for their livelihood on one source of employment only. Therefore, these rural people, including the juragan and the buruh, are constantly in search of economic security by finding side line jobs or by moving from one sector of the economy to another. However, since each of them has different capital, in the end this will differentiate the livelihood strategy between the rich (the juragan) and the poor (the buruh) in their quest for economic security.