PEKAJANGAN:

RELIGION, TEXTILE PRODUCTION

AND

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

IN A

JAVANESE VILLAGE

Thesis submitted as partial requirement
for the Degree of Master of Arts of the
Australian National University

December, 1977. Susanna Kitty Price
The thesis is all my own work
and all sources used have been
acknowledged.

Susanna Kitty Price
Koentjaraningrat has written:

The greater part of the Javanese are wong abangan but santri are found in all social strata. In certain places there are localised santri communities with distinctive social status. These consist of merchants, and, more recently, a few entrepreneurs. In the region of the princely courts they do business in gold and silverwork, batik and other handicrafts—occupations which do not harmonise with the values of Javanese culture, which, being basically a court culture, has little interest in economic gain, and a positive dislike for commerce and entrepreneurship. Because of their wealth, these santri occupy a higher level than that of the wong tillik but one inferior to the average perwara. They live mainly in towns and cities, where they usually occupy a separate quarter called the kauman, lead an exclusive social life, and distinguish themselves by a special style of dress. Differences in wealth divide the kauman santri into several distinct levels. The highest among them are the hadji (from Arabic haji). These are people who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca—an act of piety which only a person of considerable wealth can afford—and have thus achieved extremely high social prestige.

There are also santri among the peasants, but in the villages they do not separate themselves into separate quarters. Other than that they adhere to the Islamic world view, the average Javanese has no concept of how the rural santri live. Nor does the author know in what respects they differ from the kauman santri. They clearly deserve special study. (1960: 91-92).

This thesis is intended to fill in some of the gaps in one particular area of Central Java.
Note: With some terms from textile terminology I have distinguished between Bahasa Indonesia (I) and Javanese (J) words.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Chapter One: Introduction
1. Perceptions of Pekajangan
2. The Village Setting
3. The Structure of Pekajangan

Chapter Two: Craft to Industry
1. Textile production in the domestic sphere
2. Transformation of the domestic sphere

Chapter Three: The Growth of Pekajangan
1. 1910 - 1922
2. The Coming of Muhammadiyah to Pekajangan
3. Nature of Muhammadiyah
4. Transformation of Pekajangan
5. The link between Muhammadiyah and Textile production.

Chapter Four: Development and Decline of Textile production and the role of the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan
1. The Co-operative movement in Java
2. Growth of the Pekajangan Textile Co-operative during the 1950's.
3. Place of the Co-operative in village life
4. Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan
5. Decline of textile home industries in Pekajangan
6. The Organisation of home industries in modern Pekajangan
Chapter Five: Textile Production and Social Organisation.

1. The two wards
2. Status of women
3. Education
4. Land use
5. Pilgrimage

Chapter Six: Conclusion

BIBLIOGRAPHY
MAP ONE: Land Use: Part of Kabupaten Pekalongan  
(after Page 7)

MAP TWO: Pekajangan: Ward Boundaries  
(after Page 10)

MAP THREE: The Island of Java  
(after Page 13)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE ONE:</th>
<th>Division between Settlement and Cultivation (after Page 7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLATE TWO:</td>
<td>Prayer House in &quot;inner&quot; Pekajangan (after Page 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE THREE:</td>
<td>Deksit Loom (after Page 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE FOUR:</td>
<td>First Waxing for Batik Cap (after Page 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE FIVE:</td>
<td>Dyeing and Starching (after Page 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE SIX:</td>
<td>Spooling Instrument (after Page 32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE SEVEN:</td>
<td>Warping Equipment (after Page 32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE EIGHT:</td>
<td>Warp Setting for ATM Loom (after Page 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE NINE:</td>
<td>Hand-Loom Weaving (ATBM) (after Page 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE TEN:</td>
<td>Aisyiyah Committee: 1976 (after Page 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE ELEVEN:</td>
<td>Mechanical Spooler (after Page 62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE TWELVE:</td>
<td>Mending Broken Threads (after Page 77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATE THIRTEEN:</td>
<td>Bamboo Cottage in Kebutuh (after Page 83)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research on which this study is based was initially prompted by an interest in Javanese batik and weaving. I wished to describe how, in the context of a village community, such articles were made and to review their importance in community life. Pekajangan, the village of North Central Java in which I lived for six months from June to December 1976, is a particularly interesting community. Bearing a long tradition of batik-making and weaving its inhabitants regard textile production, rather than farming, as the main occupational category. Two important features of this tradition have been the Pekajangan Textile Co-operative (the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan founded in 1937) and the Pekajangan Branch of the Muslim Reform movement Muhammadiyah (formed in 1922). Both have influenced the growth of this tradition and consequently the overall structural development of Pekajangan. In this thesis I endeavour to describe the way this has occurred.

The village has not gone unnoticed. Two pamphlets describing the history of Muhammadiyah in Pekajangan and the life of its principal founder Kiyai Haji Abdurrahman have been written by non-village members of Muhammadiyah. Pekajangan has also interested Western visitors: for instance Boyd Compton visited Pekajangan in 1953 and James L. Peacock recently described the village as "an economic showplace" for Muhammadiyah after a brief visit. From within the


village itself have come highly educated and self aware people who are able to articulate village traditions clearly.\(^1\)

My own fieldwork data has been supplemented from various other sources; the ones mentioned above and government publications. Statistical data comes from three sources. Overall village totals are derived from the village office (Kantor Kepala Desa) representing a compilation of records by village officials. I have also used village office statistics for the neighbouring villages of Tangkil and Pakumbulan. The Tangkil statistics are for July 1976; the Pakumbulan and Pekajangan statistics are for August 1976. Village records present an overall quantitative guide but may not be absolutely relied on. I took a census of two village wards (hamlets) in October-November 1976. Other sources, from Government and University publications and Kabupten Pekalongan Office figures, are acknowledged where used.

Many people have assisted me in completing this research. The Australian National University bore the cost and LIPI in Jakarta sponsored my visa application. Staff and students of the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, S.G.S. and the Research School of Pacific Studies, all at A.N.U. have commented usefully. I owe particular thanks to my supervisors: Dr. Margo L. Lyon and Professor Anthony Forge of the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, S.G.S., A.N.U. and Professor James J. Fox of the Research School of Pacific Studies for their patient and generous help. Dr. Geoffrey Benjamin and Dr. Caroline Ifeka

1. For instance, a thesis for Doctorandus degree, U.G.M. by Drs. Musa Dimyati.
of the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, S.G.S. have kindly read the final draft. Mr Graham Harrison has patiently assisted with statistics.

To my friends in Pekajangan I owe warm thanks for their help, particularly to the village officials who gave their time for census work; to the village secretary for patient answers to many questions; to the many friends who gave time to talk; to the office-bearers of Muhammadiyah and in particular the head of Aisyiyah in Kabupaten Pekalongan. Finally, and most important, to the family of the village headman, Drs. Musa Dimyati, for their generous hospitality and intelligent, sympathetic comment. For any mistakes made I ask pardon beforehand.
1. Perceptions of Pekajangan

Given the great variation many researchers have noted even between adjacent villages in Java.... [examining the structure of the Javanese rural economy].... is clearly an enormous task, demanding research in many villages and on many levels (White 1976:269).

Pekajangan is classified as a kalurahan I (village) with a headman (lurah I), secretary (carik I) and village officials who are paid in the traditional rural manner of bengkok J, that is, agricultural land owned by the village unit and allotted to each official for his term of office to cultivate and harvest. In this respect Pekajangan is similar to most other villages in Central Java. However, the unique nature of Pekajangan is illustrated here in three kinds of remarks which are frequently made both by villagers and non-villagers alike.

The first kind of remark is that "Pekajangan is kota (town, city) not desa (village)". In its densely-settled urban appearance it is quite unlike the rambling, clustered look of the two neighbouring villages of Pakumbulan and Tangkil. It has a high population density of 4623 per square kilometre and a total population of 8357 (August 1976). Only a small number (about 65) of the villagers own cultivable land, and less than a score more are agricultural labourers as their main occupation. Agriculture, the traditional pursuit of Javanese villagers, is relatively unimportant. The very appearance of the village is "urban".

.../2
A busy tarred main road bisects the village; electricity poles, and a large number of fine stone houses and service buildings set along the road frontage and down the side lanes running off it contribute to this feeling of kota. Traders move freely about, busily hawking food, drinks, medicines, and so on; businessmen circulate; children in uniform go constantly to and from the many village schools. One hears the clacking of handlooms, the metallic whir of electric looms, and often breathes in hot wax fumes from the batik sheds.

The second type of remark bearing on this uniqueness is that "Pekajangan is one family". Though the village is a busy centre of production and trade, and although the villagers have close contact with various bodies and communication networks which take many of them outside the village, on another level the village is terpencil (isolated), secluded, detached and inward-looking. An important source of this concept of "one family" is the Muhammadiyah movement. The Pekajangan branch of the Muhammadiyah has been active in teaching and social welfare programmes since 1922; a certain way of behaving is expected of members, and "most villagers" (according to a Muhammadiyah spokesman), are members of the Pekajangan branch. Thus "one family" means, among other things, common membership of a religious organisation centred in the village. It also means that much of the economic success of the Pekajangan Textile Co-operative is attributed to the close bonds of cooperation which operate in economic relations and kinship ties, particularly between members of the village textile co-operative (Hawkins 1961:53).
Yet this success is apparently a passing phenomenon, the following third kind of remark illustrating its ephemerality. It takes the form of a story told about a man from Pekajangan fifteen or so years ago, who went to buy durian (an expensive and sought-after fruit) outside the village. He picked a fruit and asked the seller the price; but rather than stopping to bargain vociferously and possibly turn away empty-handed if the seller would not lower his price, this man simply paid the first price asked. Clearly, to all onlookers, money meant nothing to him, he was wealthy. This story is often told by non-villagers to illustrate the wealth for which Pekajangan was renowned during a flowering of the textile industry beginning after the Revolution (1949) and extending into the early 1960's. Pekajangan people themselves frequently shake their heads, recalling fortunes now dissipated, fine stone houses now bare of furnishings, and huge, whitewashed sheds once full of perpetually-clicking handlooms now degenerated to broken and disused hulks; they recall the period when it was possible to be pengusaha besar (the owner of a large home industry) where now one has to find a livelihood in other ways, if one has not been able to gather enough capital to change from handloom production (ATBM Alat Tenun Bukan Mesin or non-power loom) to mechanised production (ATM Alat Tenun Mesin or mechanized loom).

This introductory chapter describes the setting and structure of Pekajangan. A comparison of Pekajangan with other nearby villages shows the distinct features of "urbanness" and social services which distinguish the Pekajangan "one family". Despite recent difficulties, textile production is still the dominant means of livelihood amongst the villagers.
As background, a history of the changes that occurred in the batik and weaving traditions in Java as a whole during the 19th and early 20th centuries forms the subject of Chapter Two. I pay particular attention to the situation of Pekajangan within this overall framework, pointing out how villagers comparatively early on had begun weaving cloth for trade rather than to wear and use in their own households. I describe the processes of waistband making, stamped batik (batik cap) and ATBM weaving as they are practised in Pekajangan. The chapter closes with the end of the Depression years, when a major difficulty for the Javanese weaving and batik producers was their dependance on the non-Javanese commission merchants who controlled the distribution of raw materials.

Chapter Three examines internal changes in Pekajangan from the beginning of the century: the formation of the village, the founding of the Muhammadiyah branch in 1922 and its impact on village life; the founding of the Pekajangan Batik Co-operative in 1937 and its connection with Muhammadiyah, allowing the two to work together in developing Pekajangan as a purely Javanese centre.

Chapter Four examines the development and decline of Pekajangan as a centre of textile production from the post-Revolutionary period, showing how during the 1950's the village textile Co-operative became increasingly important in the process of capital accumulation, and how its membership consisted of a particular village grouping which relied for labour upon other social groupings. I also examine the problems experienced by textile producers during the last decade and the present patterns of labour distribution within the village.
In Chapter Five I expand on social aspects of distribution of labour within Pekajangan, examining the internal divisions in status and wealth which have arisen.

I feel there is much I have not adequately covered. But though this work is of limited length I have endeavoured to extract the main themes that I feel help answer some important questions: what is the nature of the connection between Islam and trade in this particular village? How was a single village community able to build up so successful a textile Co-operative? How in such a community are production relations ordered? What effects have recent difficulties amongst small medium-scale textile producers had on these production relationships, and on the belief system which sustains them?

2. The Setting

Pekajangan is situated within the Regency (Kabupaten) of Pekalongan. Pekalongan, a city on the Javanese North coast, is in its own right a Mayorship (Kotamadya) placing it on an administrative par with the Regency. The city of Pekalongan contains the office of both Regency and Mayorship, both being under the control of the Governor of the Province of Central Java, who has his offices in Semarang. (See Map Three).

Pekalongan Mayorship (the city) covers a smaller area but contains a larger population than Pekalongan Regency, the Mayorship having 15 square kilometres and 561,000 people while the Regency has 835 square kilometres and 109,000 people.1 The Regency surrounds the Mayorship

1. Figures from offices of Kabupaten Pekalongan.
geographically, extending from the seacoast south to the mountain range of central Java. The land encompassed in its borders varies from the flat coastal plains of the north to the sloping foothills of the middle, and rising into the high mountain ridges of the southern border. Irrigation ditches bear water northwards from the mountains towards the sea. The Regency is divided into 16 subdistricts (kecamatan). Of these, four are situated in the mountainous areas (Kadang Serang, Paninggaran, Lebak Barang, and Petung Kriono) and five cover the slopes and foothills (Kesisi, Kajen, Doro, Talun and Karanganyar). These nine subdistricts are agricultural in orientation, with most adults working in terraced wet rice fields and dry-garden slopes. Six subdistricts are situated in the northern plains (Tirto, Buaran, Wirodeso, Kedungwuni, Wonopringgo, and Sragi). None of these subdistricts has a majority of adults working in agriculture, although all have a proportion who do. The sixteenth subdistrict (Bojong) is in the middle both geographically and occupationally, with almost equal numbers of adults working agriculturally and non-agriculturally. The population density in "non-agricultural" subdistricts is generally higher.  

With the exception of subdistrict Sragi, which produces a large quantity of sugar, the non-agricultural occupations of the northern subdistricts are principally in textile production. Wiradesa, for instance, produces fine batik tulis (handdrawn batik) and Buaran, Wiradesa and Wonopringgo each have a subdistrict textile Co-operative.  

1. Figures on occupation of working adults in each kecamatan were provided by the Kabupaten offices, Pekalongan.  

2. Koperasi Batik Wonopringgo (Wonopringgo); Koperasi Pembatikan Buwaran (Buaran); and Koperasi Pembatikan Indonesia (Wirodesa).
Even so, the village of Pekajangan, which is the northernmost of subdistrict Kedungwuni and borders on subdistrict Buaran, is still outstanding as a textile centre. Of 239 textile home industry owners who responded to a questionnaire in August, 1973, 28 were in Kotamadya Pekalongan, 106 in subdistrict Buaran, 14 in subdistrict Kedungwuni (excluding Pekajangan), 17 in subdistrict Wonopringgo, and 74 in the village of Pekajangan alone.


Pekajangan is on the northern border of subdistrict Kedungwuni. A class III tarred road running south from Pekalongan to the mountains bisects it, the length of the road in Pekajangan being one kilometre. On either side of this road lies the settled area of Pekajangan, the outer edges of the village unit containing the agricultural land (Plate One) (See map 1). The August 1976 village statistics recorded 69 hectares of settled land and 70 hectares of agricultural land, 41 hectares being dry field and 29 being wet rice field, and including a small enclave of land belonging to Pekajangan but actually situated further to the south. The ratio of wet-rice field to total cultivable land in the village is forty one percent. The bengkok land for paying village officials amounts to thirty four percent of the total agricultural land; consisting of 9 hectares of wet-rice field and 15 hectares of dry-rice field. It is distributed amongst ten officials disproportionately according to the office they hold, the headman receiving the largest share followed by the secretary.

2. This is close to the average ratio for Central Java (40%).
LAND USE: PART OF KABUPATEN PEKALONGAN

KEY:

Boundary of Pekajangan

Settled Area

Cultivated area (sawah and dry field)

Boundary of Kecamatan

Road
MAP 1
LAND USE: PART OF KABUPATEN PEKALONGAN
DIVISION BETWEEN SETTLEMENT AND CULTIVATION

Eastern side of Pekajangan

Left: sawah Cultivation

Middle: irrigation stream

Right: garden and house clusters: edge of "outer" sphere
A further 1.5 hectares of dry field is *tanah kas desa I*, land given by the colonial government to help support the village schools. The remaining 45 hectares of agricultural land are distributed amongst a small number of villagers (approximately sixty five in August 1976), some of whom work the land themselves with help from their dependents. A further score of villagers (not owning land) work as agricultural labourers on this land in a full-time capacity. Usually, however, agricultural labour is drawn from outside Pekajangan altogether, either from nearby agricultural villages or from labouring teams (especially for harvest) of twenty or thirty people who circulate throughout a 20 or 30 kilometre area. Harvest labour may be paid in the traditional manner of *bawon J* (the labourer choosing one bundle of rice out of twelve as payment) or *unggul J* (*kiloan I*) (the labourer being paid a wage, so that the best rice is kept by the owner). Wages for ploughing, planting, weeding and applying fertiliser are generally paid in cash.

In 1976, for planting and weeding, women received Rp 150 per day with two meals. For ploughing, planting, weeding, and applying fertiliser men received Rp 200 per day with two meals. Labourers are not guaranteed fixed work unless they have a special arrangement. Few of the 8357 villagers know about or are interested in methods of cultivation for wet and dry fields; those who do are the village officials who arrange the cultivation and harvest of their *bengkok* land, the few landowners who work their own land, and those land owners (who are often pensioners who acquired land for their old age) who discuss these matters with their manager or sharefarmers. About one hundred villagers are involved in agriculture altogether, therefore making it a relatively unimportant

---

1. This figure excludes people who may keep fruit trees in a house yard.
occupation. Most of the food (rice, fruit, vegetables etc.) reaching the Pekajangan market place is brought into the village from outside.

Administratively the village is run by the headman (lurah or kepala desa addressed as Pak Lurah). He is elected for a five-year term of office by the adult male villagers. The headman appoints a secretary, three village policemen, the modin (responsible for religious affairs) and the officials in charge of village wards. The headman is financially supported by a small proportion of the village tax (the rest of which goes to the Regional government), by various fees and by his bengkok land. He is also nominal head of the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan. Other officials are supported by fees and by their bengkok land; they may also have a job, for instance working as accountant in one of the factories of the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan. In general, the village officials of Pekajangan are not amongst the wealthiest villagers.

I have preferred to translate the village administrative subdivisions as "ward" rather than the usual "hamlet". This is for two reasons: the usual term dukuh J (hamlet) is rarely used in Pekajangan, although it remains in one of the ward-names. Rather, these subdivisions are called daerah kekuasaan pamong desa ("area under the jurisdiction of a village official"), which I have translated more briefly as "ward". Secondly, in appearance and formation these wards now bear little resemblance to the clusters of houses separated by agricultural lands of the usual rural hamlet (which are still visible in neighbouring Pakumbulan and Tangkil). They are generally bounded by the straight lines of lanes, with closely-packed rows of houses. 'Ward', defined as "an administrative unit of a borough or city; originally under the jurisdiction of an
"alderman" (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary) more clearly reflects the urban nature of Pekajangan than does 'hamlet'. Solichin Salam (Salam 1968:13) recorded five such wards in 1968. There are now nine wards of uneven geographical and population size (see Map Two). Each ward has a village official in charge of it, although he may reside outside the ward. His duties to the ward are to record changes in status of inhabitants, (births, deaths, marriages, occupation, etc.) to do census work, and to "keep the peace" of the ward; in case of dispute he is called to decide the proper course of action.

The wards are not uniform; rather, they are structured by the long textile tradition of Pekajangan. A tendency to centrifugal development has been particularly clear since the Revolutionary period. Before then, villagers preferred to live inconspicuously off the road, avoiding the Colonial officials who used it. Most of the older stone houses from the Dutch period in Pekajangan - some with beautifully carved woodwork - are situated 15 or 20 metres down side lanes. Since 1949 the most sought-after land has been road frontage, and its length in Pekajangan is now closely packed. The most important village buildings (the new mosque, the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan offices and communal hall, the first Muhammadiyah high-schools for girls and boys (Mu'allimat - Mu'allimein), the Muhammadiyah headquarters and prayer-houses, (Plate Two) the market, two credit banks, several bank branches and the Village office which also contains a small government-run post-office) are all situated on the main road. The shops - for dye-stuffs, waxes, thread, starch, cloth, etc. as well as groceries and hardware - are situated there also,
PEKAJANGAN: WARD BOUNDARIES

Wards:

---

West Side

Pekajangan Utara

Logandeng

Dukuh

Babrik

---

East Side

Surobrajan

Kauman

Kebutuh

Gendingan

Pekajangan Tengah

Babrik Wetan

---

Ward Boundary

Boundary between settled area and cultivated land
PLATE TWO

A prayer house in "inner" Pekajangan

Note fine stone-work.
while food stalls (warung) are distributed down sidelanes, usually close to production sheds. The one hundred odd textile production sheds - often with rooftiles, generally of whitewashed stone - are located centrally, and the fine stone houses of their owners are generally central also. Often, a large production shed opens off the back of a fine stone house, giving the owners easy access to the production area. Owners, employers, Muhammadiyah and Koperasi officers live centrally; wage workers come into the village centre from the outer borders of the settled area, or collect work centrally to be taken back to be worked at home. Thus the Pekajangan settled area is divisible into two "spheres": an "inner" and an "outer" sphere. Some wards extend into both spheres; others are specifically "inner" or "outer" (see Map Two). My analysis of the differences between an "inner ward" (Pekajangan Tengah) and an "outer ward" (Kebutuh) forms the subject of Chapter 5.

There is not only a marked internal discrepancy in the development of Pekajangan but also a considerable difference between Pekajangan and its neighbours, particularly those to east and west. Pekajangan has the many service buildings already mentioned along its road frontage, plus two health clinics, one senior high school (Sekolah Mengenah Pertama, or SMA), one large Koperasi shop, and three Koperasi factories, all situated outside the village on road frontage along the north-south axis since centrally-located land in Pekajangan has become scarce. Distributed also through the village are two kindergartens (Taman kanak-kanak) five primary schools (Sekolah Dasar or SD) and a junior high school (Sekolah Mengenah Pertama, or SMP), thirty-odd prayer-houses (one or more per lane), and a football field - tennis courts area. This compares...
startlingly with the neighbouring village of Pakumbulan, where the only institutional buildings are several prayer-houses, two Islamic schools (madrasah), a small health clinic, and the village offices. Pekajangan has nearly five hundred permanent houses made of brick or stone, and another six hundred plus made of a mixture of stone and bamboo, with only about two hundred wholly bamboo houses. Pakumbulan, conversely, has nearly four hundred bamboo houses and only sixty of stone (in August, 1976). As noted, its houses form clusters of hamlets, while Pekajangan houses are regularly spaced in laneways in wards.

If the people of Pekajangan do not, unlike the people of Pakumbulan, work in agriculture, where do they work? The August 1976 figures for primary occupation (mata pencaharian) may be used here as a guide.

Primary occupation for inhabitants aged ten years and over


1. agricultural labourers  11
2. land owners  64
3. textile home-industry owners  102
4. employees in industry (textile)  3043
5. government employees  132
6. fishing and fishing-boat owners  5
7. construction workers  21
8. transport workers  23
9. pensioners  15
10. traders  1826
11. other (housewives, domestic, students teachers etc.)  2403

TOTAL  7642
Categories 3 and 4 account for 3145 villagers; these, together with those in category 10 (traders, which includes some people selling food, drinks, ice and so on, but which mostly means either traders of raw materials for textiles or of finished goods) adds up to more than fifty percent of the villagers who are earning a living in the textile industry. The village is open; inhabitants may go into Pekalongan to work, or they may work in a Pekajangan concern situated outside the village (a Koperasi factory, for example). People from agricultural villages may come into Pekajangan to work: Pakumbulan, for instance, has three hundred and sixty industry employees (out of 2,400 villagers), many of whom come into Pekajangan each day across the rice fields. As noted, owners are located mostly in the inner sphere and employees in the outer sphere, or outside the village altogether. Work which is taken home by workers from home industries usually flows from the inner sphere to be worked in the outer sphere (putting-out).

The main concern of the village, then, is textile production; the main work categories of this textile production being owners, traders, and wage-workers. The majority of villagers are able to read, write and count, since according to village statistics (August, 1976) only nine hundred and ninety two villagers had never been to school, and a further four hundred and eighty eight were not yet of school age. Thus, most villagers are literate, numerate and oriented towards textile enterprise, and wage-labour if they have no capital to set up a business of their own.
Categories 3 and 4 account for 3145 villagers; these, together with those in category 10 (traders, which includes some people selling food, drinks, ice and so on, but which mostly means either traders of raw materials for textiles or of finished goods) adds up to more than fifty percent of the villagers who are earning a living in the textile industry. The village is open; inhabitants may go into Pekalongan to work, or they may work in a Pekajangan concern situated outside the village (a Koperasi factory, for example). People from agricultural villages may come into Pekajangan to work: Pakumbulan, for instance, has three hundred and sixty industry employees (out of 2,400 villagers), many of whom come into Pekajangan each day across the rice fields. As noted, owners are located mostly in the inner sphere and employees in the outer sphere, or outside the village altogether. Work which is taken home by workers from home industries usually flows from the inner sphere to be worked in the outer sphere (putting-out).

The main concern of the village, then, is textile production; the main work categories of this textile production being owners, traders, and wage-workers. The majority of villagers are able to read, write and count, since according to village statistics (August, 1976) only nine hundred and ninety two villagers had never been to school, and a further four hundred and eighty eight were not yet of school age. Thus, most villagers are literate, numerate and oriented towards textile enterprise, and wage-labour if they have no capital to set up a business of their own.
MAP THREE

THE ISLAND OF JAVA
MAP THREE

THE ISLAND OF JAVA

1 Pekalongan
2 Semarang
3 Solo
4 Yogyakarta
5 Surabaya
6 Cirebon
7 Bandung
8 Jakarta
C H A P T E R  T W O

CRAFT TO INDUSTRY

TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN JAVA AND PEKAJANGAN

Explaining the fact that Pekajangan is a textiles centre, some villagers said that textile production in Pekajangan was once a "handcraft" (kerajinan tangan). Householders (usually women) spun and wove on simple equipment at home to produce cloth for their own family's needs. Gradually, textile production developed out of this domestic sphere, first into home-industry workshops and then into factories. Much of the impetus for the later part of this development is attributable to the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan (Pekajangan Textile Co-operative) which acted as a centre for financial assistance and technical knowledge, and which could afford to introduce such innovations in production as the Koperasi factories.

In this chapter I introduce textile production by delineating organisational and technical aspects of the change from handcraft to industry within the framework of Java as a whole. I describe processes of production as they are still practised in Pekajangan today, in order to clarify for later chapters the types of labour required by particular jobs in each process.

1. **Textile Production in the Domestic Sphere**

Traditionally, the woven products of the backstrap loom (gedogan) satisfied the needs for cloth of the average rural family (Aten 1953: Part 2). Women prepared
both yarn and cloth: "the operations of spinning and weaving are confined exclusively to women who from the highest to the lowest rank prepare the cloths of their husbands and their families" (Raffles 1817:168).

Considerable labour time and simple hand-made equipment formed the requirements: for spinning, a rolling drum, winding stick, and spinning wheel; for weaving, a warping reel, wefting rods, and the backstrap loom. Two kinds of cloth resulted from these time-consuming processes: lurik or lurik ging'gang (the latter originally made only in Japara), for which cotton yarn was dyed several different colours before being woven, and usually emerged striped or checked; and batik in which white cotton yarn woven with the backstrap loom was subsequently decorated with wax and dyed (Raffles 1817:168).

Batik production was rather more specialised than weaving; any household could produce woven white cloth, but by no means every household could undertake the batik process. Nonetheless, the idea that batik was a purely court art of noble women has been challenged by Tirtaamidjaja who points out that visitors who described batik usually only saw it being done inside palace walls, when actually many batik-makers worked outside them, though still producing for palace circles (Tirtaamidjaja 1966:18).

1. Equipment of this type is illustrated in Raffles 1817 between pages 168 and 169.

2. Japara is a north coast Javanese city.

3. This idea stemmed from the reports of early observers, e.g. Rijcklof van Goens, Governor General of the Dutch East Indies between 1678 and 1681. See C. Geertz 1960:287 and Wertheim 1969:237-238.
Batik along the north coast areas (where Pekajangan is located), however, was of a different character. There, motifs reserved by court protocol to express certain status rankings in the Central Javanese courts were used by peasants and townspeople quite freely; and batik-making, far from being an aristocratic monopoly, was "from the earliest times a normal way of making a living. For hundreds of years the batik made in the Pasisir [North coast] has been exported to Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and even to other parts of Java on a regular commercial basis" - batik being done by ordinary peasant women when there was insufficient work in the rice-fields (Tirtaamidjaja 1966:18). De Kat Angelino in 1930 reported that these travelling women in the northern areas who worked part-time as batik-makers were called pengobeng. Thus, batik-making in the general location of Pekajangan seems to have been closer to the household mode of production than it was in the Central Javanese areas, although unlike domestic weaving its workers earned a wage in cash or kind.

Batik in the 19th century was done on locally woven cloth (therefore, rather coarse) with beeswax from Sumatra, Sumbawa or Timor being applied to the prepared cloth with a wax-filled pen (canting). (See Raffles 1817: 168-169 for a description of the processes). Dyes were made from vegetable matter, Raffles' list including indigo and palm wine for blue, ting'i bark and mangustin fruit rind for black, tegrang wood and blue vitriol for green, tegrang wood and jackfruit (nangka) or plemdodol bark for yellow, and the roots of the wong-kudu for blood red.
A cheaper, less effective dye-substitute was to be found in rice-chaff (Raffles 1817:170). Dyes were made in small industries. An early association links Pekajangan with dye-production; a small industry producing indigo dye (tarum) was situated at the southern end of the village, lending its name to two of the wards: Babrik Wetan and Babrik Kulon (lit: east factory and west factory, from 'Fabriek', the Dutch word for factory).

Java had had a long tradition of cotton growing, in which three types of cotton could be grown either on dry land (ladang) or as a second crop on wet-rice fields (sawah). There was an Indian variety of better quality than the two Javanese varieties, but actually none of them were particularly suited to Javanese conditions, although they grew better in the non-clay, hilly dry-fields than in wet-rice fields. Indian cotton was considered to be of better quality. Nonetheless, according to Raffles, the cultivation of cotton and spinning of yarn "are in some degree promoted by an ancient custom, which imposes on every householder or village a certain contingent of cotton yarn for the sovereign or for the person who holds the land on his account: this custom is called panyumpleng" (Raffles 1817:134). Initially, the Dutch continued this tradition in areas which they successively annexed by making cotton yarn one of the goods to be delivered under the Tribute System, and by claiming a monopoly of the cotton trade throughout Java in 1754.
2. Transformation of the Domestic Sphere in Textile Production

As Raffles wrote, the character of textile production was, however, changing in response to new administrative measures. Early in the nineteenth century the Dutch government had repealed the delivery of cotton yarn in favour of the more productive (because less time-consuming) cash crops of sugar and rice under the "culture system". Cotton growing was limited to specified areas, where it was considered a "specialisation" (Matsuo 1970:11). Raffles, in fact, described (in 1815) an increasing shortage of cotton, women often lacking cotton to spin, and certain areas being wholly dependent on others for raw cotton (Raffles 1817:133-4). Moreover dry-field under the new system was considered less productive than wet-rice, which could be more intensely cultivated, so that, as wet-rice replaced dry-field, cotton came increasingly to be cultivated on wet-rice to which it was less suited.

More radical still was the introduction of textile imports from Europe. The first were British, but with the rise of the Dutch textile industry (centred in Twente) Java became a carefully encouraged market for Dutch exports. During the early part of the nineteenth century Javanese imports of cotton yarn and cloth rose steadily, until between 1823 and 1875 they occupied fifty percent of Java's total imports. Dropping back after 1875, they again rose steeply in the first quarter of the twentieth century (Furnivall 1939:339). Improved road and rail networks allowed these goods to penetrate the Javanese countryside with increasing thoroughness (Kadariyah 1958:6).

1. Raffles himself had been the first colonial ruler to implement changes at the level of the villages with his Land Rent system intended to free rural farmers from such forced deliveries. The new Culture System, however, by forcing farmers to cultivate for world markets represented a return to forced deliveries, and had an enormous impact on village life. "It was in particular the extension of the culture system to sawahs, for the purpose of alternating sugar and rice cultivation, that made deep inroads in village structure." (Wertheim 1969:92-93).
Cotton growing and spinning, already classified as "unproductive" because of the amount of labour required, declined quickly until in the early twentieth century only a few isolated areas still engaged in it: Matsuo (1970:12) mentions only Purworejo in all Central Java. This hitherto central occupation of women in the domestic sphere practically disappeared. Domestic weaving also declined, but not to the same extent. Rather, it made constant adjustments to the changing situation, emerging with quite different characteristics.

The first such adaption was to use imported Dutch yarn instead of domestically produced cotton. Second, weavers began to concentrate on special cloths which could be traded between their own and other areas for cash. Thirdly, weavers concentrated on maintaining the quality of their products, for although European machine-made cloths had a lustre which made them more attractive initially, they were often of very poor quality after washing. Reports from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show how the character of domestic weaving changed. The first report, from the late nineteenth century, shows the increasing importance of cash in the hitherto purely domestic occupation.

Javanese weaving as a whole takes a pure form of domestic production; that is, the females are engaged in weaving when they are free from household chores or farmwork and the woven cloth is used almost completely for domestic consumption. Their cloth is sold only when they need the cash to pay debts or similar reasons. However, there are some exceptions - areas where the woven cloth is traded widely. For example the sarong produced in the village of Tjikalong of Tjiandjur Prefecture (in West Java) is shipped to Sukabumi and Bandung, while the cloth woven in several villages of Purbolinggo is sent to Surakarta....
(Quoted in Matsuo 1970:17)
By the early twentieth century the Resident of Priangan (a weaving area of West Java) noted that the sound of handlooms "issued from every house in every village", and it was by then the common pattern for housewives to weave more than the family needed so that the surplus could be sold in the market as a source of cash (Matsuo 1970:18). Weaving was still clearly a female preserve, but it was beginning to incorporate a changed economic function with the introduction of money into the lives of Javanese peasants which came with the payment of wages to labourers in foreign-owned sugar factories and plantations. (Wertheim 1969:95). This, together with the innovations in technique which were about to appear, would cause the displacement of women by male weavers.

In Pekajangan at the beginning of the century, villagers were already making textiles for trading purposes rather than for domestic consumption. They had taken up what had become a "specialty" of the Pekalongan region: the making of waistbands. The backstrap loom was being replaced by a loom known in Pekajangan as deksit J, designed especially for making waistbands as it is too narrow and coarse to handle an ordinary lurik width. The waistbands, or bengkung J, ikt pinggang I, worn usually by women, were taken by villagers to other areas to sell; they travelled as far south as Yogyakarta and Solo.

1. Also known as bendong J.

.../21
The deksit is a narrow (about 25 centimetres wide) collapsible loom constructed of bamboo and string which hangs from a ceiling beam, taking up little space (Plate Three). Strings attach it to foot pedals anchored to the base wall of the room when in use. A warping drum (aba-aba J) is placed at one end, from which the warp thread slowly unwinds. The weaver stands beside the narrow loom, passing a roll of weft thread (coban J) through alternate warp threads with his left hand. With his right hand he "strikes" the weft firmly into place with a wooden batten (bendu J). The simple wooden foot pedals (genjotan J) are connected to the string healds (suri J); foot pressure on alternate pedals sheds the warp, allowing the weft to pass through every second warp thread. The finished cloth winds slowly onto a roll at the other end of the loom. Either a man or a woman may work this loom. In modern Pekajangan the few that are still operated are supposedly worked by men, with wives preparing the warp and weft threads; however, the couple I photographed worked interchangeably, both being equally skilled at both jobs.

Preparatory stages for deksit weaving are simple. The warping frame (palang J) stands person-high and about three metres long; it may be unobtrusively set in a cottage wall, as it is only 25 centimetres wide (the width of a waistband). The warp thread is wound around this frame the process of warping (ngeteng J). At the top left hand corner are the string healds through which the thread is also passed in the process of warp-setting (nyucuk J). The healds are lifted off with the completed warp roll; the former are set in the loom, and the latter in the warp drum. Pins are set in the warp roll where weaving is to start to make a firm backing for the wooden...
Deksit Loom.

Key:

1. (offside) Wooden warp roll for letting-off warp yarn (aba-aba).

2. Healds (suri) for shedding warp yarn. Metal loops attached to string set in wooden frame.

3. String connecting healds and top bar.

4. (off below) Wooden foot treadles (genjotan) attached to healds.

5. Wooden batten (bendu) for beating-up or striking weft into place.

6. Weft roll (coban) manually passed through alternate warp threads.

The weaver is striking the weft into place with her left hand.
batten to strike against. The weft, meanwhile, is wound around a wooden roll having two prongs to hold the cotton reels (kleteng J) which can be slipped into the weaver's own waistband if he needs to use both hands. The loom is specially designed for the waistband, being only 25 centimetres wide; all the equipment can be simply made.

The trading pattern established by the beginning of the twentieth century in Pekajangan with the making and selling of waistbands as a "specialty" is also visible in another aspect of village life. Some villagers farmed, but others made a living buying dried fish (or drying bought fish), taking it to the mountainous areas in the south of the Regency, and trading it for the tobacco leaves which grew in the colder air. Thus Pekajangan had the beginnings of business enterprise clearly working as it emerged into this century.

Domestic back-strap weaving seems to have survived in Java as a whole at least until 1914, when a new surge of imports occurred in the form of cheap cotton cloth from Japan and, to a lesser extent, India. In that year the importation of cotton yarn began to decrease. Backstrap weaving began to suffer, not just from competition with new cheap cloth imports but also from a decrease in the availability of yarn and from the high import taxes and distribution costs on the thread which was available. Before it reached the weavers, imported thread went through a distribution network involving at least five brokers, who all added their commission to its cost. Then backstrap weaving declined rapidly; it is rarely seen in Java now, except in some households in, for instance, the agricultural Cawas region between Solo and Yogya, where women work it to earn a little extra cash.
Batik meanwhile had also been suffering from competition with imports. Initially, imported European cambric was a boon to batik-makers, being finer and whiter than domestic cloth so that wax could flow onto it from the pen with greater fluidity and precision. This imported cloth was referred to as mori. Then, however, the British, followed by the Dutch, began copying batik designs in cheap cloth and with inferior dyes in an attempt to appeal to Javanese tastes. Batik, like weaving, made adaptations to survive. Initially this was done (during the 1850's and 1860's) by maintaining high levels of quality for batik tulis work, but this advantage did not last as cheap European imitations improved in quality and stamped batik (batik cap) caught on.

Stamped batik had first been taken up in Batavia and Semarang. By 1872 it had been adopted on a large-scale in the "new" batik areas of Batavia, Tegal, Pekalongan, Semarang, Surabaya, and Pasaruan (Matsuo 1970:79, quoting a contemporary study). The "old" batik areas of Yogyakarta and Solo remained faithful to the drawing pen and fine handwork. A cap is an engraved metal stamp which usually is made in pairs, so that wax may be applied to both sides of the cloth. Stamp-making is a skilled process demanding several years apprenticeship; tiny copper wires are placed according to the design drafted by an artist (tukang nyunging J) into a metal base (plat besi I, or strong iron mixture) in lines (klowongan J), fill-in dots (isen titik J) and fill-in dashes (isen bajelan J). The stamp is then filled with gondo J, a waxy substance which hardens on drying, allowing the stamp surface to be filed smooth without movement of the delicate copper wires. The gondo can then be removed and handles set into the back of the...
At least ten days, and usually longer, are required to make a set of two stamps which are the most expensive items of a batik-maker's equipment, since he needs anything from twelve to several hundred pairs in order to be able to vary the designs of his cloth.

With the introduction of stamped batik, the process of batik-making speeded up greatly. Production which had once taken between three months and one year to complete with the pen was now shortened to twenty-five days in Ponorogo and twenty days in Pekalongan. Other technical innovations gradually appeared. After 1860 chemical substitutes for the expensive beeswax began to be imported, and after 1905 cheap paraffin wax from Dutch petroleum plants appeared. In 1880 Germany began to produce synthetic dyes, and in 1901 a deep blue was made which could be sold at half the cost of indigo (Matsuo 1976:80). Bright new colours began to appear with stamped batik, particularly in the Pekalongan region where the mineral balance of water is said to be far more conducive to making bright colours than the waters of Yogya and Solo.

Such innovations opened the way to widespread production of stamp batik so that when cheap Japanese cloth began to enter Java at the beginning of the century a sudden boom in making stamped batik occurred amongst Javanese who could gather a little capital. "The profits to be drawn from the mass-production of cap immensely exceeded those from hand-drawn batik" (Tirtaamidjaja 1965:19). A contemporary account of Kota Gede (a town near Yogyakarta), for instance, shows that during what had

1. This description is based on my own observation of cap-making in a traditional cap compound of Pekalongan, August 1976.

2. This information was conveyed by a Pekajangan member of the National Organisation of Textile Co-operatives.
become known as the *batik* (*zaman batik*) era of 1900-1922, *batik*-industry owners, workers, and traders composed the single largest occupational grouping (Nakamura 1976:87). During this time according to Nakamura "everybody who had capital" went into the making and selling of *batik*, and highly developed trading networks existed between the town and other parts of Java: Batavia, Cirebon, Purwokerto, Pekalongan, Tegal, Semarang, Solo, Madiun, and Kediri (Nakamura, 1976:87). Most people of all ranks could now afford to buy stamped *batik*, and even in the central Javanese areas *batik* produced through this means became popularised (where previously only non-courtiers in the north coast areas had worn it, as I have already noted).

It was during this period (1900-1920) that the making of *batik cap* entered Pekajangan. The founder of Muhammadiyah, Kiyai Haji Abdurrahman first owned a waistband business and then adopted stamped *batik*. His brother Haji Abdul Aziz first began producing stamped *batik* in 1919 having acquired the technical knowledge and a little capital from his parents, who had acquired their knowledge in Pekalongan. Other villages in increasing numbers became involved. With the coming of Sarekat Islam (see the next chapter) a *batik* co-operative was formed, although it only lasted a few years. Sheds were built, processes learnt, labour sought, and by the 1930's (when the Koperasi was founded) Pekajangan had become the largest centre of stamped *batik* production in the entire Pekalongan region (Matsuo 1976:86).
The production units thus formed came to provide the basis later for organising production in the weaving industry in Pekajangan (Kadariyah 1958:12). The popularisation of batik cap production had meant that these units had altered drastically from their original domestic character. Firstly, the production process became divided up into specialised tasks, instead of having one or several women make a piece of batik. Those tasks that needed the most skill and claimed the highest wages became male-dominated, viz., the making of the cap itself, the stamping, and the dyeing. Male stampers (tukang cap) had originally appeared in Semarang and Surabaya in the early nineteenth century, and this job became increasingly a male task. Similarly, the dyers and boilers-out (called kuli keceh in the Pekalongan region, from keceh "water", referring to the wet nature of the job) demanded a certain amount of skill for mixing the right quantities of dye (especially chemical Indigosol dyes, which must be exposed to the sun for set periods to fix the colour). In place of the fine hand-drawn pen work they had done previously, women now did the filling-in of stamped wax outlines and scraping of the wax, neither of which demanded much skill. For all these tasks wages were paid, estimated usually on a piece basis (borongan) and paid weekly (in the Pekalongan area on Thursday, before the Friday holiday) according to the skill, sex, and age of the worker. Adults received more than children and men more than women, presumably following the allocation of complex and simple jobs.

1. Although in most areas of Java only women did cantiing-work, in Trusmi (Cirebon) and Indramayu the finest cantiing-work was done by men. Men often helped at the dyeing stage in all areas (Tirtaamidjaja 1966:18 from Batikrapport of de Kat Angelino, 1930).
Secondly, new forms of organisation appeared with the entry of Chinese and Arab entrepreneurs. Furnivall points to the "organisational" role of the Chinese; an enquiry in 1892 by the Dutch administration revealed that the "replacement of native (i.e. domestic) cloth by imported cloth which the batik-workers bought through Chinamen had resulted in the transfer of the whole industry to the Chinese, with native workmen in a position not unlike that of slavery" (Furnivall 1939:214). Elsewhere he describes Chinese cloth importers as holding the batik craftsmen "in a state resembling bondage" (1939:413) and subject to "oppression and extortion" by their Chinese employees (1939:452). The Chinese were thus able to adopt the "putting-out" system where mori cloth was given out by Chinese commission merchants to be made into stamped batik in the homes and workshops of the Javanese, who paid for the mori with their own finished products. Pekalongan itself was one of the first areas to be controlled in this way, already by the nineteenth century (Matsuo 1970:81). The trend grew throughout Java, and De Kat Angelino's Batikrapport of 1930 was written partly to alert the colonial administration to it. He reported the existence of 1195 batik cap manufacturers in the Pekalongan region, sixty of whom were Chinese, twenty five Indian, three European, and the rest (1107) Javanese-owned (Matsuo 1970:84-85), but this does not really show the extent of putting-out by non-Javanese commission merchants. Certainly, the largest of the stamped batik factories were in Chinese hands by 1930; de Kat Angelino reported one in Modjokerto where eighty men were employed as stamp-makers, one hundred were employed as "coolies" (for stamping and dyeing), and several hundred women were employed for wax-scraping and filling-in (Matsuo 1970:81). This situation was to alter almost immediately during the Depression years.
The traditional stamped batik of Pekajangan followed the Pekalongan format: birds, trees, and flower patterns were more brightly and realistically coloured than the subdued designs of traditional Yogyakarta and Solo batik. Hawkins (1961 Table V 60-60a) compares stamped batik processes in Yogyakarta, Solo, Ponorogo and Pekalongan, this forms a good basic guide, but it must be remembered that the use of a metal stamp does not prevent experimentation and innovation in design. Endless variations are possible.¹ A traditional Pekajangan sarung of batik cap could be made in the following way. The white mori is softened with chemicals in the workshop (nowadays mori may be prepared at one of the large factories e.g. Primatex near Batang). The dried cloth is then laid out on a stamping-table of prepared banana-leaf surface for softness, and the stamper (tukang cap) applies a first outline waxing with his copper stamp. Points on the edges must be matched exactly. This first waxing is termed rengsi (Plate Four). Then, the cloth may be patch-dyed (colet), a special Pekalongan area process whereby patches of different colours of dye (usually now the lighter Indigosol shades) are painted onto small areas - a flower, butterfly wings, a leaf - with a coconut-husk brush. Additional strokes of darker colour may be added, for instance to flower centres to make the colours glow as rays (sinaran). If light-fixing Indigosol dyes are used, the cloth must be exposed to sunlight for the right amount of time needed to fix the colours. The cloth then passes to the fill-in women, who, with a canting to which has been affixed a thick cotton brush (usar J) or with a cotton-and-bamboo brush (tonyok J), fill in (tutup I colet) the patch-dye areas with wax. The cloth is then given an overall dyeing (keler) usually in a darker napthol dye, set out to dry, and then boiled out, these

¹ One modern workshop in Pekalongan noted for its innovative designs has as many variations in the production process as it has batik designs. These are fixed by the workshop owner and his wife. An entire room is devoted to the storage of several hundred stamps.
FIRST WAXING (RENGSI) FOR BATIK CAP:

1. Prepared Banana-leaf surface.
2. Stamped white cotton cloth (mori putih).
3. Heated metal wax-plate.
4. Copper stamp (cap).
last tasks being done by the *kuli keceh*. Second waxings (*biron*, or heavy-wax *bajelon*) from the stamper may then follow, with second and third dip-dyeings (*keler*), and different types of pen and brush work: filling in a first waxing outline (*prentilan*), outlining (*plimpingan*) and filling in dyed areas (*tonyok*). Responsibility for planning which steps are to be taken for each design usually rests with the *batik* workshop owner and/or his wife, unless a designer is employed.

The Depression years brought about many changes. The Chinese tended to be pushed out of *batik*-making in Yogyakarta, Solo and Pekalongan (Hawkins 1961:45). Lower wages were forced on workers. The Pekalongan area as a whole made two adaptations: first, it lowered by several grades the quality of cloth used in its *batik cap*; and second, many producers changed to the new medium of handloom weaving, with the protective encouragement of colonial policy.

Seeing the rapid rise of unemployment between 1929 and 1934 (the number of people employed went down to half at that time), the administration evolved schemes to revitalise Javanese industries and simultaneously to protect Dutch capital. Two laws were passed in 1933. The Crisis Import Ordinance aimed to protect domestic industry and Dutch capital by controlling the import of foreign competitive goods through an import quota system and a licensed import system. The Ordinance for the Regulation of Enterprises set out conditions under which licenses to operate enterprises should be obtained. Moreover, increasing attention was paid to the various bodies set up to research into "Native crafts": the Weaving Institute in
Bandung (1921) and the Batik Research Centre in Yogyakarta (1927), recognising that the Dutch industrial centre at Twente had permanently lost its textile market in the Dutch East Indies (Wertheim 1969:17). While the latter never advanced beyond gathering batik motifs and methods, the former produced a new loom which was to radically alter the nature of Javanese weaving.

The new loom, ATBM, rapidly spread through textile-producing areas, particularly around Bandung. Kadarijah has described the dissemination:

Firstly there arose large factories owned by foreigners. The people who lived around them worked there. While they worked, they saved a little money, and when the savings were enough to buy one or two ATBM and several packs of cotton they left the factory to weave at home. This small weaving unit grew larger and took a labourer from the surrounding area. This labourer in turn left and set up his own loom at home, and so it went on, until finally the area developed into a weaving centre.

(Kadarijah 1958:6)

Makers of equipment, repairers, and so on also appeared. In the Pekalongan area the Dutch set up a large ATBM mill (N.V.Jawa Textiel Maatschappij) in 1939, with spinning mills attached, making men's clothing and white mori; it was designed to absorb unemployed from a closed sugar factory in Slawi. The year 1936 also witnessed the first ATBM to enter the region in the manner described above by Kadarijah. In this way Pekajangan quickly developed into a weaving centre, with traders and small industry owners travelling to the Weaving Institute in Bandung and the weaving centre around Majalaya nearby to observe and learn what they could (Kadarijah 1958:12). Thus Pekajangan entered the sudden post-Depression boom in the weaving of

.../31
sarung palekat (the sarung of coloured checks which was becoming identified with expressions of Nationalism throughout the Dutch East Indies). In the year 1934-1936 the production of sarung palekat by Javanese weavers almost doubled, and after a crash in 1936 due to overproduction, came by 1937 to account for forty seven percent of the total sarung industry (Matsuo 1970:23). By 1938 the Pekalongan region was the third largest centre of small-scale weaving enterprises (i.e. ATBM) after the Priangan (which includes Majalaya) and Cirebon (Aten 1952:206). The production by ATBM of sarung palekat in small home industries attached to the houses of villagers has formed the backbone of Pekajangan production ever since.

Where the terminology of deksit is expressed in Javanese ngoko (lowest language level) forms, in ATBM and ATM weaving only the processes (ngikal, ngeteng, nuycuk etc.) have retained their Javanese names while most parts of the loom itself are referred to in Bahasa Indonesia. This reflects the novel nature of the ATBM, developed as it was in a government Institute in a Sundanese-speaking area of Java. The first stage in ATBM weaving is the winding of cotton into hanks (treng). The winding machine (alat treng I) is a large wooden revolving drum which picks up threads placed in cones on the floor and transforms them into long loose hanks, which are more readily dyed, starched, and spooled. Dyeing and starching, the next processes, are done in a cemented area next to a well, from which the dyer must continually draw buckets of water. Dyes are mixed, the hanks washed in a large tub, and a scoop of dye added to the tub for each hank dyed. Excess water is wrung out by twisting the hank with a wooden rod (tongat J) around a wooden post; the hanks are then hung to dry on high bamboo drying racks (Plate Five). Warp and weft may
Dyeing and starching

1. Dyed cotton hank.

2. Wooden wringing batten (tongkat)

The water must be wrung out before the hank can be hung up to dry. Only the warp yarn is starched.
be dyed, but only the warp is starched (dikanji I). For starching the same equipment of well, buckets, post, tongkat, tubs and bamboo drying racks are used, with the addition of a stove to heat the starch mix.

Warp and weft threads are wound onto bobbins of different shape using the same spooling instrument (alat ikal I) constructed of a bicycle wheel, bamboo frame and connecting parts. The spooler turns the wheel which revolves the bamboo frame on which the cotton hank has been placed; the cotton unwinds onto a small bobbin (Plate Six). Weft bobbins once spooled are ready to be placed in the shuttle (sekoji), but the warp bobbins undergo the further preparation of warping (ngeteng). Bobbins of warp thread are set on wire rods on a large wooden frame (rak); if a coloured pattern is used (e.g. for sarung palekat) the distribution of threads to make the pattern must be fixed here. The thread from each bobbin is then drawn out, fed through a double set of combs and fixed onto a large warping drum (gulungan). The warper (tukang ngeteng) winds the drum handle, the drum revolves and the threads feed onto it in their predetermined pattern. Wax may be run across the threads to smooth them (Plate Seven). This warp roll is then sectioned off and unwound around the smaller rolls to be set onto the back of the loom beam (boom D). Before the loom beam can be set in place at the back of the loom the warp threads must be drawn up and fed alternately through the tiny eyes on the two healds (sisir I), then through the thicker wire slots in the reed (goyangan I), in the process of warp-setting (nyucuk). (Plate Eight) Weaving can then begin.
Spooling instrument: (Alat ikal)

1. Bicycle tyre revolved by spooler.

2. Bobbin of spooled thread.

3. Cotton hank.

4. Wooden frame (kitiran)
Warping equipment: (alat mihane)

1. (offside). Rack with wires containing warp bobbins.

2. Warp yarn arranged in pattern.

3. Combs.

4. Combs.

5. Warping drum. (gulungan)

6. Warp roll to be rewound onto loom beam.
   (boom)
The ATBM itself is a large wooden object about 13 metres wide, 1.6 metres long, and 1.6 metres high, with a widest weaving width of about 90 centimetres. (It can also be scaled right down to a waistband width of 25 centimetres.) Developed in the Textile Institute in Bandung in 1926 on European handloom models, it was considered then an innovation, five times as productive as the backstrap loom. It possesses the European fly-shuttle invented in 1753 (the weft bobbin springs across the weaving width as the slay is drawn back) but not the later multiple colour-changing equipment - instead, coloured weft bobbins must be changed by the weaver's free hand. The weaver sits before the loom, but his task is strenuous. His feet press alternate foot pedals (esentrik D) which raise and lower alternate healds, shedding the warp. His left hand draws the slay back and forth with enough vigour to strike the weft firmly. His right hand pulls a cord attached to the top bar of the loom to change colour in the shuttle when necessary. (Plate Nine).

Two organisations of ATBM production units began to take on those attributes which had already appeared in batik cap units: specialized tasks were paid as wage-labour on a piece basis according to sex, age, and sometimes skill. Men received the most skilled and highest paid tasks of weaving, warp-setting, warping, dyeing - and starching. The more menial task of spooling was left to women, who had previously controlled the entire backstrap weaving process - that women are capable of ATBM weaving is illustrated by a 1936 account from Majalaya which included a small minority of women weavers (Matsuo 1970:41). This account also shows how by 1936 workers could be classified by task, and their wages predicted. Warpers received the highest wage, followed by dyers, then weavers - all male tasks (except.../)
Warp setting (ngucuk) for ATM mechanised loom

1. Healds (sisir) detached from loom (ATM) of wire set in metal frame.
2. Warp yarn (lungsin) fed through alternate healds.
3. Wire loops or eyes to hold yarn.
4. Loom beam (boom).

A similar process is used for ATBM handloom although ATBM healds are smaller, lighter, and made of wire set in a wooden frame.
1. Woven cloth drawn into take-up roller. (In this case the cloth is chequed sarung palekat).

2. Wooden slay (goyangan) containing shuttle for weft bobbin (sekoji); picker which places the weft thread; and wire reed which beats the weft into place.

3. Healds (sisir) for shedding warp yarn.

4. Warp yarn (lungsin).

5. Loom beam (boom).
for the few female weavers whose wage was lower than their male counterparts); the female tasks of washing and calendering followed, then winding, spooling, and sewing. Children who helped with spooling received the same wage as adult women. A similar division of labour developed in the home industry units of Pekajangan, which still characterise production today.

The second attribute of *batik cap* production taken on by weaving units was in finance. The Chinese also became involved in weaving as Commission agents in the selling of raw materials to workshops: in Majalaya this putting-out system was known as *makloon*. In Pekajangan there was no *makloon*, although a similar principle was involved in the distribution of spun yarn. Kadarijah has described how it operated in Pekajangan.

A broker (usually a Chinese or Arab cotton merchant in the Pekalongan Chinese or Arab quarters using the services of a middleman) sells cotton to a weaving owner on "credit". Because the broker is usually also a *sarung* trader he usually also receives the woven goods. These two interactions can then be counted as one and the broker only has to pay the remainder of the price of the *sarung* with the cost of cotton. In principle this is different from the *makloon* system but in practice it is almost the same.

(Kadarijah 1958:12)

How "the family of Pekajangan" responded to these non-Javanese influences in weaving and distribution of raw materials by formally organising itself into a textile Co-operative in 1937 is discussed in the second half of the next chapter, and in Chapter Four.
CHAPTER THREE

THE GROWTH OF PEKAJANGAN.

1. 1910-1922

Pekajangan became the territorial unit it is now in 1910, when the colonial government reorganised the administrative structure of Kabupaten Pekalongan by amalgamating several hundred villages. Before that, according to Haji Dimyati, who was headman for 30 years from 1927 onwards, the Pekajangan area had consisted of a cluster of desa (Javanese: "hamlet") which had merged into two separate villages of Pekajangan Wetan (East) and Pekajangan Kulon (West). As I noted in Chapter Two, some villagers cultivated agricultural lands while others were sellers of dried fish in exchange for tobacco grown in the southern mountainous areas; still others had already begun to trade waistbands made on the narrow deksit loom. Thus, a trading pattern was already clearly discernible.

The evidence from Pekajangan at this time supports C. Geertz's contention that there are historical connections between Islam and trade in Central Java, at least along the north coast if not in Southern areas. He saw the link between "itinerant, small-scale, catch-as-you-can trading and an assortment of informal, independent, freely accessible, virtually costless religious hotels scattered broadly over the countryside" (1968:68), to which he added the institutions of pilgrimage and religious schools (pesantren). The traders

1. Recent fieldwork in the town of Kota Gede near Yogyakarta has shown that this connection is not true for south central Java. There, a group of wealthy Javanese entrepreneurs had grown up (Pecina Jawa, "Chinese Javanese") who rivalled the Chinese in their trading networks and acumen. They were not devout Muslims until much later, when they adopted Muhammadiyah after 1912 (Nakamura 1976:11-12).
in Pekajangan were not so much wealthy entrepreneurs, as petty, smallscale traders who travelled taking their own goods through the countryside. Stone houses in the village were few at this time, and houses with expensive roof tiles (rather than bamboo thatch) could be "counted on the fingers" (Soediarjo 1968:7), indicating only moderate wealth at best. The connections between this trading activity, pilgrimage and pesantren was clear; those few villagers able to afford it had been on the haj (pilgrimage to Mecca), as for instance had Haji Abdurrahman, the textile maker who later brought Muhammadiyah to Pekajangan and Haji Dimyati. Other villagers sent their boys to pesantren outside Pekajangan to Pekalongan, Solo, and Yogyakarta. In 1918 the villagers asked an orthodox Islamic teacher (Kiyai Churnazi) from Salatiga to set up a pesantren in the village itself (the "Mathlabul Ulum").

Pekajangan traders had brought home to the village news of growing unrest amongst batik merchants in larger cities, which had culminated in the formation of the Perserikatan Dagang Islam (Islamic Trading Organisation) by a batik merchant, Haji Samanhoedi, in Solo in 1911. This organisation was especially distinguished by its linkage of textile trading with Javanese consciousness and orthodox Islamic sentiments; anti-Chinese riots broke out protesting the control held by non-Javanese Commission merchants over Javanese workshops (noted in Chapter Two), forcing the movement underground briefly. It re-emerged in 1912 as the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Alliance) under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto (Djadjadiningrat 1958:400). Locally, haji (returned pilgrims), kiyai (Islamic teachers in pesantren ), and other Islamic leaders all supported the Sarekat Islam; they were largely responsible for its rapid dissemination through broad areas of the rural
population (Nakamura 1976:108). Villagers in Pekajangan joined Sarekat Islam; interest was generated in co-operative activity between Javanese traders, and a batik co-operative was formed. It took the form of a shop opened by a member of Sarekat Islam, Kiyai Karim, which acted as a co-operative selling supplies (dyes, cloth, wax) to batik cap producers so as to cut out non-Javanese commission merchants.

2. The coming of Muhammadiyah to Pekajangan

The following account is derived from my own talks with villagers and from the two pamphlets. Haji Abdurrahman, a textile industry owner of some personal wealth and influence in Pekajangan returned from the haj. After what he had seen in Mecca, the backward state of Islam in Pekajangan struck him so forcibly that he called in a kinsman, Haji Dimyati, to set up Islamic classes for the benefit of villagers. Dimyati set up an informal gathering of young men in the house of Haji Tayib in 1921, where Qur'anic reading and religious instruction were taught. The classes grew, and had to be moved to a succession of bigger venues: Haji Abdurrahman's langgar (prayer house), Haji Usman's pendopo (open-sided meeting house), and finally to the village mosque. Then the colonial government intervened, fearing large organised gatherings of Islamic activity; and, because a licence for the classes had not been obtained as regulations demanded, police closed the classes. A group of villagers, including Haji Abdurrahman and Dimyati, and Kijais Chumai and Asmu'i, gathered to discuss the situation. Abdurrahman proposed the idea of travelling to Yogyakarta to investigate a new Islamic group which, he had heard, was able to hold Islamic classes freely, viz., Muhammadiyah. Chumazi, however, warned

1. Sarekat Islam membership reached a total of two and a half million by 1919 until its membership was severely weakened by a factional split in 1921 between Communists and non-Communists (Geertz 1960:135).
that Muhammadiyah was not Islamic but Christian!
Abdurrahman was not deterred, and set out with the others
to Yogyakarta. On hearing the explanation of the new
group, Abdurrahman suddenly realised the truth. Accompanied
by a group of Muhammadiyah officials they returned to
Pekajangan and held explanatory speeches for the villagers.
On November 5th 1922, the Pekajangan branch of Muhammadiyah
was officially formed. An authorization obtained by
Muhammadiyah the year previously from the colonial govern­
ment for permission to operate throughout Java (Salam
1968:32-38) put the seal of administrative approval over
the infant movement in Pekajangan, and classes in religious
teaching could begin without interference.

3. Nature of Muhammadiyah

What was Muhammadiyah? That it operated in
Pekajangan from this time onwards, and that it is still of
great importance in the lives of villagers is clear. Yet
there is some ambiguity in the nature of the part it played
in village affairs. It has been linked with the growth
of community action in economic matters.

In Pekajangan there is a very strong unity
and co-operation amongst the members of the
batik co-operative.... This seems to be true
because there is a close family relationship
in which the whole community operates as one
family.... All the members of the batik
co-operative are members of the Islamic
Association for Educational and social
purposes (Muhammadijah)
(Hawkins 1961:53)

There was held to be something inherent in santrism
(Orthodox Islamic activity) of which Muhammadiyah was
seen to be a part, which actively encouraged a modern
business acumen. The santri were seen to hold a possible
key to an overall "economic takeoff" in the Indonesian
economy through their entrepreneurial ability (Higgins,
Yet to see Muhammadiyah purely in these terms is to miss the significance of the movement.

... ichlas in Muhammadiyah ideology has been generalised to mean positive, willing abandonment of this-worldly concerns in the form of concrete deeds. In order to express the belief that this-worldly possessions do not have significance of their own but are only significant in God's creation and as material to glorify God, Muhammadiyah urges that actual deeds of negation of this-worldly concerns must be done in tangible and positive ways: surrendering of properties and human energies for the interest of Islam - the often-heard "shorthand" characterisation of Muhammadiyah as a "Religious, social and educational organisation" is less informative in the light of the foregoing. Instead of arranging the religious, social and educational on the same plane we must see that the first, the religious, is the sine qua non of the movement, and the latter two are the outward expressions and realisations of religion and are properly understood only when explained in terms of it (Nakamura 1976:312).

This was re-stated by a villager in Pekajangan who said "the purpose of Muhammadiyah has not been to advance economic prosperity, but this has been a by-product of its activity". This ordering of priorities is reflected in the Qur'anic verse which has come to be Muhammadiyah's motto:

"Let there be one group of you who call (people) to good, who urge them towards Virtuous conduct and restrain them from evil deeds. These are the ones who prosper".

.../40
It is also important to realise that Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the Islam teacher who founded Muhammadiyah in 1912 in Yogyakarta, had founded it for this specifically religious purpose. He was one of the santri in the Kraton (abdi dalem santri) who were urging greater devotion to the strict practise of Islam court circles. He was also an influential member of Sarekat Islam and of the nationalist teaching movement Budi Utomo. Yet he did not see ultimate fulfilment of religious obligation as being possible through either of these two movements.

Muhammadiyah literally means "the followers of Muhammad", indicating the source of authority (the Prophet) from which the actions of members derived. This authority was interpreted personally by members through the principle of *ijtihad* - the principle advocated by the Reformist teachers in general in the Middle East and elsewhere in order to allow any Muslim to make a personal study of the Prophet's teachings in Qur'an and Hadith. It was this kind of individual interpretation which so outraged orthodox Muslims.

In Java, orthodox opponents of Muhammadiyah described Dahlan as a deviate from orthodoxy who had rejected the accepted schools of thought, ruined the religion... a *kafir* (unbeliever) whose tongue when he died would come out two metres from his mouth (Federspiel 1970:47).

1. Like his father, K.H.A.Dahlan held the position of chotib (i.e.teacher and mosque official) in the Great Mosque of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, situated in the Kauman next to the Sultan's Palace.

2. He became a religious advisor to Sarekat Islam after he had founded Muhammadiyah, and considered it perfectly possible to belong to both organisations (Nakamura 1976:111).

3. The method of *ijtihad*, or individual interpretations, was the opposite of that of orthodox Islamic practice - *ijma* - where *kiyai* discussed possible interpretations of a passage together and then reached consensus on the "right" interpretation.
This criticism crystallised in the formation of the Nahdatul Ulama in 1926 and several smaller groups (Djadjadiningrat 1958:401).

Dahlan's founding group was small. The first office bearers were, like Dahlan himself, *abdi dalem santri* and the other members were young men to whom Dahlan had taught religious instruction, and who therefore owed him personal loyalty. The organisational structure developed around this, the central group being referred to as Hoofdbestuur. Missionary and teaching activity proceeded outwards from this central core, the manner in which it occurred and the substance of what was taught being "co-ordinated" by a "Mission Council" (the Madjlis Tabligh), which had at its disposal "missionaries" (*muballigh*). Thus, interpretation of the sacred texts was not something made in a vacuum; rather, it was done by individuals who received the guidance and support of a peer group. Directions to the organisation came from the Madjlis Tabligh, which examined "the problems of religious law whose solution is necessary to eliminate confusion in the community" (Federspiel 1970:49).

The obligations of a true Muslim as taught by Muhammadiyah were two-fold: to educate in religion, especially the members of one's own family, and to promote the physical and material well-being of oneself and one's fellow Muslims, particularly at a time when Javanese were "suffering" foreign rule and the consequent degeneration of Islamic morality (Nakamura 1976:171ff). This latter activity (of providing social services) was seen not as an end in itself but as a fulfillment of religious duty. This was linked with the Muhammadiyah notion of *ummat* (religious community), which was...
not an ideal social or political order to be attained in the future but a religious reality which can be created here and now by the ritual action of individuals under any political or social circumstances. It is an immediate negation of the existing social order including one's social self (Nakamura 1976:99).

To do this, one could use the rationality (akal) given by God to take practical steps.

The subsequent emphasis of Muhammadiyah programmes on education and social welfare stems from this: the "urging towards virtuous conduct" and the "restraining from evil deeds" which demanded some institutionalised means to be put into effect. That Muhammadiyah has remained formally a non-political movement also stems from this; the political activity of Muhammadiyah members was organised within the Masjumi party after Independence (Boland 1970:49), and later within the Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Boland 1970:194). In fact, Muhammadiyah members are supposedly free to join any political party they choose.

A final feature of Muhammadiyah set out in this founding period was the emphasis on one's own family. It was particularly important to teach religion to members of one's family and to promote their well being. Dahlan had emphasised the importance of personal contact and shared prayer within the family circle. New members could be brought in and taught to think and behave in the same way as this family group. This contact is given by Muhammadiyah members as the reason why Sarekat Islam did not last in Kota Gede: Knowledge passed through close kin ties was

1. The Masjumi party was created during the Japanese Occupation in 1945, and finally banned by Soekarno in 1960.
far more effectively adopted than information coming from outsiders. This was to be an important feature of Muhammadiyah's presence in Pekajangan.

Nakamura argues that it is the "conversion experience" which makes Muhammadiyah more than a "religiously coloured expression of bourgeois interests" (1976:98). In Pekajangan we see a radical change in village thinking after 1922 which bears the marks of such a "transformation" or "conversion".

4. The transformation of Pekajangan

After the adoption of Muhammadiyah in 1922 a radical change is visible in the way villagers perceived themselves. They now invariably speak of these pre-1922 forebears as having been "naughty" (nakal) or "evil" (buruk), as having not yet learnt the "right way" of behaving. Some villagers describe themselves as having then been wrongdoers (penjahat). Soediarjo described the situation as buruk (bad), kurang (lacking), bodoh (stupid), rendah (low) and ketinggalan (left behind) (1968:7). S. Salam describes the situation as a "crisis period" in which the villagers valued their own needs above the general good, so that they lived in an atmosphere and spirit of "egoism" and "individualism". Morals were low, people were not directed towards Islam. On the contrary the people lived in a natural state of dullness and conservatism. Heresy, polytheism, and superstition ruled everywhere (1968:9-10).
The village was considered to be *lemah* (weak) economically, causing villagers to live in "poverty and misery" (S. Salam 1968:9-1), although Soediarjo says the village was not so badly off as to be considered *fakir-miskin* (poor and needy to the point of deserving Muslim alms) (Soediarjo 1968:7).

After the founding of Muhammadiyah the existing Islamic features of Pekajangan were denigrated. Classes were said to be misguided, the prayer-houses and mosques too small and narrow. The family members of each founding father joined each day to observe one or some of the five obligatory prayer times, knowledge of the new ideas was discussed, and kin-members from other families were drawn into shared group worship. As with Dahlan's own original group in Yogyakarta, kin-based contacts were a vital means of spreading knowledge and winning new members in Pekajangan. When a formal Muhammadiyah infrastructure was set up, the kinsmen of the original founders were the ones who took up positions: Abdurrahman became head, his brother Abdul Jalil became a deputy head, and his youngest brother Abdul Aziz (being one of the few literate villagers at the time) became Secretary.

The new group concentrated special attention on the correct teaching of Islam. An enormous job lay in front of them, which the *tabligh* (mission, or religious teaching) section of Muhammadiyah attacked with vigour:
...every night except Tuesdays and Fridays a school consisting of three classes teaches Islamic religion, writing in Arabic, Islamic History etc.

Every Monday and Thursday courses are held in the understanding of the Qur'an and Hadith.

Courses in religious education are held each Friday from 9 - 11 in the Muhammadiyah standaardschool [the first Muhammadiyah school which was built in the centre of the village].

Aisyiyah [the women's counterpart to Muhammadiyah] courses are held once a fortnight.

The Wal-Ashri course is held once a week.

Every night from 8.30 - 10.00 courses in Dutch language are held.

Every Thursday and Friday from 6 until 7 in the morning courses in interpreting the Qur'an are held in the school building of Al-Wustha...

(S. Salam 1968:21).

Certain ways of behaving were nurtured and held to be "right": the observance of the Five Pillars of the Islamic faith - the five daily prayers (which could be observed at home or later on in the prayer houses which increasingly were being built in the village), the fast during daylight hours during the month of Ramadhan, the performance of the haj if one could afford it, and the giving of the zakat religious tax to be redistributed among the needy (fakir-miskin). It was "right" to lead an upright life, work hard to educate others, become educated oneself, and to better the lot of ones fellow beings.

"Impure" customs dating from pre-Islamic Java (such as the ritual selamatan cycles) were abjured; witchcraft, magic,
healing ceremonies and other "non-rational" activities were forbidden; any activity not strictly focused on the dissemination of Islam and knowledge (such as wayang, folksinging, gamelan, dancing, etc.) were discouraged. No "fanaticism" has accompanied these directives; the attitude in Pekajangan then, (as it is now) was: There are so many important things to be done with money and time. Why spend it on things which are not essential? "Wasting time" in any form was not encouraged.

The social and educational programmes began to develop in Pekajangan. Activities at first were varied: contact meetings were held with the Pekalongan branch of Muhammadiyah (which was smaller than that of Pekajangan, having seventy five members to Pekajangan's ninety three in 1923), social activities were held for the two youth organisations for young men and young women, a library was established to lend out religious books, debating classes were held, and classes in economic management and efficiency (particularly as they concerned the textile industry) were established. The educational system began to be built up. In this, the concept of *akal* (rationality) played a significant role, and the whole orientation of the Muhammadiyah program was towards individual understanding and the pupils' ability to question and reason. Unlike the *pesantren*, only a small part of teaching was of religious studies; the secular curriculum, with its fixed hours of study and teaching of science subjects, concentrated on producing students who could read and write and think logically. These, and the giving of diplomas on graduation

from a fixed study course, all constituted a radical change from pesantren learning. Muhammadiyah students became trilingual, speaking Javanese at home and in the business sphere, Bahasa Indonesia in the Muhammadiyah organisation, and Arabic in Religious studies and services. Very often they spoke Dutch as well. As in Yogyakarta and Kota Gede the Muhammadiyah schools in Pekajangan became known for high standards and modern education: a Dutch government school set up in Pekajangan to teach similar subjects in the Dutch language closed down through lack of support. While the high schools were only in the planning stage, older village children (including girls) were sent down to the Muhammadiyah high schools in Yogyakarta, or to the Mu'allimat (girls teacher training school) and Mu'allimien (boys teacher training school) set up in Yogyakarta in 1922, enabling them to obtain a certificate to teach in Pekajangan schools.

The Muhammadiyah infrastructure in Pekajangan was organised formally from the beginning. The four main office bearers were the head, deputy head, secretary and treasurer. A number of committees organised activities in detail: the education section for schooling programmes; the treasury section for collection and distribution of funds; the religious teaching section for religious courses; the tabligh (mission) section to guide interpretation of the sacred texts, which was connected to the Central "Mission

1. Orthodox students learnt at pesantren from a kiyai who was often also a haji and may have studied in Mecca. The influence he had and the number of students he gathered depended on his personal ability. Students (santri) travelled from place to place until they found a kiyai who attracted them. There, they learnt Javanese scripts and Arabic, the latter being necessary for chanting of various sacred texts (Soebardi 1976:46-49). One did not necessarily understand what one was saying.
Council" (Madjlis Tabligh) in Yogyakarta; the youth section (Pemuda) to organise the young men (Pemuda) and women's (Naisyiah) youth groups; the Aisyiyah section to organise activities amongst women; and the wakaf section. This last was responsible for maintenance of religious gifts of land or property (wakaf) donated to the Muhammadiyah organisation. Each office-holder in the organisation was elected from Muhammadiyah members by the other members. Committees met frequently to discuss administrative matters.

Economically, the organisation was supported through three main sources. The first was the derma (membership dues): the treasury section decided on the amount each incoming member to Muhammadiyah could afford to pay, and he regularly (usually annually) paid them to the treasury section. The second source was the zakat (obligatory religious tax), which in Indonesia usually took the form of the zakat-fitrah, or tax (often in rice rather than money) given at Lebaran after the fasting month as part of the celebrations (Federspiel 1970:212). This zakat was paid as zakat fitrah in Pekajangan to the Muhammadiyah Treasury section according to the givers' means. The Treasury section in turn redistributed the money as the organisation determined. Possible recipients were the Muhammadiyah institutions (for the upkeep of buildings, salaries of teachers and other employees, books and equipment, and the building of new prayer-houses); and people in need (improverished widows and orphans, in particular). It was also used to support those who were unable to pay for basic religious needs, such as the doctor fees at the circumcision of boy-children, or to buy meat for general distribution at Hari Korban. Although individual members were able themselves to give to family members or dependent employees—for instance, rich families generally had their own gifts
Aisyiyah Committee: 1976

Committee members of Pekajangan Aisyiyah at a Lebaran week meeting for all Aisyiyah and Naisiyah members in Kabupaten Pekalongan.

Addresses: Head of Aisyiyah in Kabupaten Pekalongan, ibu Mar'ie Yahya (Pekajangan) on the purpose of Aisyiyah.

Other committee members from Pekajangan; and representatives from Wonopringgo and Bligo.

Qur'anic readings by Samarinda winner (Pekajangan).

Venue: Hall of Koperasi Batik Pekajangan.
to give at Lebaran, and meat to slaughter and distribute at Hari Korban - the main task of collecting and distributing in Pekajangan as a whole was in the hands of the Muhammadiyah organisation. The third source of financial support for Muhammadiyah was the donated property administered by the special *wakaf* committee. Any member could give land or property (such as a house) during his lifetime or at his death. Some of the early Pekajangan buildings were acquired as land or property *wakaf*.

It may seen surprising that this transformation of village affairs was able to gather momentum during the colonial period, with the Dutch administration growing increasingly wary of organised anti-Dutch (nationalist or Islamic-focused) activity. However, Muhammadiyah was established in Pekajangan at an auspicious time. At the time it was founded (1922), Dutch policy was undergoing a change. As part of a series of reforms designed to decentralise power back to indigenous Javanese officials from which it had gradually been taken, the *bupati* (regents) were given back some of the powers they had lost to the Dutch Assistant Residents (Benda 1966:597). The *bupati* of Pekalongan happened in the early 1920's to be a man sympathetic to Dahlan's non-political organisation (Muhammadiyah); in fact he had heard Dahlan preach and was impressed. With his newly-increased power he was able to approve the appointment of one of the Muhammadiyah leaders, Haji Dimyati, to the office of *lurah* (headman) in 1927. Furthermore, as part of this decentralisation programme the office of the lowest Dutch official who operated at village level (*controleur*) was abolished "thus breaking the chain of territorial Dutch control at village level" (Benda 1966:598).
Thus the lurah was allowed a little more control of village affairs than he had had previously. The organisation of Muhammadiyah thus became formally associated with the territorial unit of Pekajangan, with the village administration supporting and usually harmonising with Muhammadiyah programmes.

6. Muhammadiyah and textile production

What sort of role in economic development can we ascribe to Muhammadiyah? I believe this can be answered if we keep in mind, firstly, that economic development has never been an explicit, formal goal of Muhammadiyah any more than political development has been. Secondly, we should remember that the Muhammadiyah organisation itself has consistently stressed the religious experience of shared prayer, missionising, and religious education. The impetus and energy for transformations such as occurred in Pekajangan have flowed from religious motivation, although they have been structured and ordered in a rational manner, with a formally organised body to maintain them. It is this structuring and ordering that is most relevant to an examination of the results of Muhammadiyah programmes, but what I am seeking to establish is simply some sort of relationship between the social and economic programmes of Muhammadiyah and the growth of Pekajangan as a textile centre, rather than an absolute causal connection.

1. Although Dutch policy swung back towards one of centralisation in the 1930's, the Muhammadiyah infrastructure had been given the chance to be well established during the previous decade.
Why was Muhammadiyah able to survive and grow in Pekajangan when Sarekat Islam, and organisation bearing many similar characteristics, did not? The answer lies partly in the nature of the two movements: Sarekat Islam was broadly based, diffuse, with many points of appeal—religious, economic, political, nationalist, Javanese, or simply anti-colonial. It was susceptible to political division (for instance the 1921 factional split), and it had no highly organised internal structure. Muhammadiyah was highly organised, with a specific religious focus and not subject to political division. Moreover, the Sarekat Islam was perceived as something brought in from outside the village sphere; it had no immediate means of dissemination. Muhammadiyah, on the other hand, once Abdurrahman had made the initial contact in Yogyakarta, was "in the family". The first people to be taught its action and ideals were the family; kinsmen and kinswomen were a means of making the initial contact, trusted more than were outsiders. Also, I think that to join Muhammadiyah entailed some changes in one's way of behaving; ideally permeating all aspects of thought and action, whereas to join Sarekat Islam could simply be a formal expression of dissatisfaction with social and economic conditions. Where others made speeches, debated and argued, Muhammadiyah provided a blueprint for internal revolution and specific action; "action not words" was Dahlan's common entreaty to his followers.

Thus, the textile co-operative set up by Sarekat Islam in Pekajangan collapsed after a few years, and Sarekat Islam membership in Pekajangan faded away after the coming of Muhammadiyah.
There were some similarities in the people who founded Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta and Pekajangan. Both Dahlan and Abdurrahman were owners of batik enterprises, both had derived enough money from this source to be able to make the haj (which they each performed twice); both were outstanding men, leaders of their social groups and therefore influential in the spread of the movement, interested in the betterment of the lot of their fellow-Muslims, and passionately concerned with the reform of the Islamic faith. There was, however, much that Pekajangan (a small north-coast village with no outstanding features) could learn through the contact with Yogyakarta provided by Muhammadiyah. This was principally educational: until recently Yogyakarta was the centre of learning for high-school and university students from Pekajangan, and Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah schools soon became accustomed to these strictly brought-up but free-spoken inhabitants of the north-coast village who spoke only low Javanese (ngoko) fluently, and that with a north-coast accent. Trading contacts naturally accompanied this: Pekajangan families in Yogyakarta usually lived in the Kauman, the area beside the Great Mosque where Dahlan had founded the movement. Contacts encouraged by membership of Muhammadiyah were invariably those connected with textile-making, trading urban dwellers, who had begun to place a rapidly increasing emphasis on the value of education and modernisation. In Pekajangan, Muhammadiyah taught courses in modern business methods - "how to run an efficient batik business" - to members, and similar business topics would be discussed amongst villagers and when making outside contact.

1. North coast areas do not observe the complex status levels communicated by the Javanese language in the south central areas, where differences in rank are reflected in speech levels. "There are at least seven styles that relate to seven distinct social-status relationships. Among these, two may be considered the most basic, namely those called ngoko and krama" (Koentjaraningrat 1960:107).
The first formal co-operative move in Pekajangan since the collapse of the Sarekat Islam collective came in 1936, and at Muhammadiyah's initiative. The co-operative was made up of Muhammadiyah members for the purpose of buying dyes. In this year ATBM weaving was beginning to catch on in the area, and indigenous Javanese textile production in general was emerging from the Depression years in an initially more healthy state than Chinese textile interests. Pekajangan producers felt strong enough to try to keep non-Javanese interest at bay. In 1937 the first co-operative was founded: this was the Persatuan Dagang (Trading Alliance), which was run by Muhammadiyah members. The influence of Muhammadiyah in this organisation can be seen in the distribution of its profits (of four hundred guilders per month):

- ten percent to Persatuan Dagang Reserve funds, as savings for capital pool
- ten percent to the office-holders (all Muhammadiyah members) of the Persatuan Dagang
- ten percent to the treasury section of Muhammadiyah, which amounted to enough to pay all the teachers' salaries of Muhammadiyah schools that year
- five percent to the director of Persatuan Dagang
- sixty five percent to be divided amongst the forty original shareholders.

(S.Salam 1968:17)

A double advantage of the co-operative was immediately perceived. The profit could be shared out amongst the shareholders with enough to provide Muhammadiyah with funds for its activities, and the Chinese dye-shops which had opened up in the main street of Pekajangan were forced to close down through lack of custom. Next year, ninety percent of all batik producers in Pekajangan had bought a share in the Co-operative. Its aims were...
to try with all possible effort to establish harmony (kerukunan) (i.e. between batik-producers in the village) and to advance the trading of the Muslim community (kaum Muslimin) in Indonesia.

(S.Salam 1968:16)

The Co-operative was divided into two administrative sections, one to look after the shop for dyes and raw materials, and the other to engage in business activities in both agriculture and textile production. The division of profits was flexible, following needs. In 1937 ten percent was put in Reserve funds, ten percent went to the Directors, ten percent to the Muhammadiyah treasury, five percent to the running of the raw materials shop, and sixty-five percent to shareholders. Two years later a larger amount was being placed in the capital pool: twenty five percent to Reserve funds, ten percent to the Muhammadiyah treasury, ten percent to the Directors, five percent to the shop and fifty percent to the shareholders according to the proportion of their shareholding. The Co-operative had been renamed Koperasi Persatuan Batikkerij (Collective Alliance of Batik-makers) (S.Salam 1968:17). It was not until the post-Revolutionary period that the current name Koperasi Batik Pekajangan was coined.

That these co-operatives succeeded where the earlier Sarekat Islam collective had failed shows the changes which had occurred in village life. The broadening of village horizons which was a by-product of Muhammadiyah educational programmes gave Pekajangan textile producers a wider perspective. The careful organisation of the co-operatives owes much to the Muhammadiyah organisational model itself, which in turn was derived from the Dutch method of group administration. Producers had learnt much
from the Muhammadiyah classes in economic modernisation and efficiency. The close contact between the new co-operative and the already established Muhammadiyah organisation stabilised the new body. Its directors had gained administrative and fiscal experience with Muhammadiyah. Moreover, the network of close kin ties which Muhammadiyah had so successfully built upon now operated in favour of the new Co-operative. Personal contact, sharing of knowledge about financial and technical matters, and pooling of resources between close family members all operated for the co-operative in the way they had done for Muhammadiyah. The development of this link between two formal organisational structures (Muhammadiyah and the Textile Co-operative) forms the subject of the next chapter. But it is important to remember that Muhammadiyah initially was a purely religious movement, and is still considered in that light in modern Pekajangan.
in a society whose productive forces are growing, notably under the impact of capitalist accumulation, this social function of religion tends to disappear, all of which amounts to saying that such growth is accompanied - for reasons that must be specified - by a desacralisation of the social order, or again that the political and religious fields will tend to become autonomous (Houtart and Lemercinier 1976:352).

1. The Co-operative Movement in Java.

The decade of World War II and the Indonesian Revolution (1939-1949) had been a time of overall hardship, when lack of raw materials hampered production in all spheres. With the formation of the Republican government, after the Revolution had ended, a new era for economic growth in Indonesia began. Government attention was focused firmly - though in practice very erratically - on the development of indigenous batik and weaving. The chief government tool in this process so far as textile production was concerned was the Co-operatives, which had since the 1930's been a means for Javanese to organise co-operative economic activity.

In 1948 textile co-operatives in areas held by the Republican government (Solo, Yogyakarta, Ponorogo and Tulungagung) had been incorporated into one overall body,

1. The result of Japanese endeavour was that "what little industry existing in Java before the war dwindled away during the occupation...due to various factors, the most important of which were lack of adequate technical knowledge and the impossibility of importing essential machinery and raw materials" (Wertheim 1969:121).
the Gabungan Koperasi Batik Indonesia (G.K.B.I., Union of Batik Co-operatives). Other co-operatives, including Pekajangan, were able to join the G.K.B.I. in 1949 when the whole of Indonesia was declared a Republic (Susanto 1973:316). The postwar co-operative movement took on the original Sarekat Islam aim of by-passing non-Indonesian distributors of raw materials, and they also adopted a new plan to cut down on imports by building factories to produce mori for themselves. Consequently, during the period 1950-1964 weaving in Java expanded greatly, enterprises having benefited on and off from "government loan financing schemes for new equipment" which were available through the co-operatives generally and which were "tantamount to huge subsidies to aspiring entrepreneurs" (Palmer 1968:143). Small industries grew in number and size; and factories began occasionally to appear, drawing on capital accumulated from compulsory savings plans, which meant that every time a member of a textile Co-operative bought raw materials he paid extra as savings.

2. Growth of the Pekajangan Textile Co-operative during the 1950's

The 1950's in Pekajangan were marked by increasing capital accumulation and spreading financial interests, which were concentrated amongst a particular group of villagers. The instrument of this group was the textile co-operative, which entered this era as the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan. The group of villagers who controlled the Koperasi were its shareholders; in 1953 one share (one could have several)

2. The first batik Co-operatives were founded amongst enterprise-owners in 1935: in Solo the Persatuan Perusahaan Batik Surakarta and in Yogyakarta the Persatuan Perusahaan Batik Bumi Putera.

.../58
cost Rp 1,000, which was then equivalent to U.S.$87 (Compton 1953:5). The economic benefits which members received were various: supplies of cheaper raw materials for their textile industries; help with credit loans for investing in new equipment; the possibility of obtaining government contracts for finished goods; and preferential taxation. The Koperasi also provided technical assistance for home industries making innovations in production methods or management techniques. Besides aiding home-industry-owning members, however, the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan began in its own right to play on the favourable economic circumstances. It was able to follow through with the G.K.B.I. policy of establishing factories to supply batik cloth more quickly than could any other textile Co-operative.

The Koperasi compulsory savings plan, whereby members buying raw materials paid extra, accumulated enough capital to establish two factories. The first (Fabrik Tekstil Koperasi Batik Pekajangan) was set up in 1954 in Kemisan, a village in subdistrict Buaran to the north of Pekajangan along the main road. With ATBM handlooms it wove white cloth for batik before changing over to three hundred ATM mechanical looms. The second factory was established, also in 1954, in the village of Ambokembang (on Pekajangan's southern boundary) in subdistrict Kedungwuni on the main road. Later, a third
factory was set up by a Koperasi subgrouping (Persatuan Perusahaan Tenun or Association of Weaving Enterprises) in Bligo, also a village in subdistrict Buaran, in 1959. It was to be a pilot project in mechanisation for a group of ATBM owners from the Koperasi; they wished to learn from experience gained there how to manage the new ATM power looms in their own home industries.¹

Factory production was considered by villagers in general to require an entirely new attitude of mind; and the Koperasi took this responsibility seriously, studying information from Western management experience. Home industry units, attached to or nearby the houses of their owners, were held to be handcraft units grown larger and more complex in the manner I described in Chapter Two.

¹. For this factory the first looms bought were power looms, though of a rather old kind (Japanese Suzuki). Later, Chinese machines were introduced which had automatic shuttle change, whereby the colour of the bobbin thread in the shuttle was changed automatically, eliminating the need for the weaver to stop and do it by hand. The old models were then devoted to making coarser white blacu and the new to white and coloured prima, primissima, and occasionally voile. White batik cloth - mori - is of four main kinds:

i. **primissima** (very fine) warp=50 plus; weft=50 plus.

ii. **prima** (fine) warp=36-42 ; weft=32-42.

iii. **biru** (medium) warp=28-36 ; weft=28-36.

iv. **blacu** (coarse) warp=20-34 ; weft=20-34.
The distinction between home industry units and factories was held to lie not only in size and complexity, for some of the home industries were of large scale, having more than one hundred employed workers: rather, the distinction was organisational. Instead of a married couple with assistance from the family, a large management staff of accountants, personnel officers and public relations men were engaged. They employed foremen and labourers. No one contributed labour without being paid. The factory was completely separated from the home context - the Koperasi factories are all outside the village bounds - and situated within large modern buildings. A radical innovation, to villagers in the 1950's, in factory production, was the concept of shift-work; with three shifts a day, the factory made use of production constantly. "Efficiency" became the key-word of labour relations: thus the Friday holiday was declared to be "traditional" only, not actually ordered by the Prophet and therefore dispensible, along with a number of minor Muslim holidays. The only holidays allowed at factories are Hari Korban (one day); Lebaran (one week which gives the management a chance to bring in teams to overhaul equipment); and National day (August 17th, one day). Welfare schemes are institutionalised by the management for workers (as for instance the health fund covered in Koperasi dividend distribution) and do not depend on personal relationships between employer and employee. Absenteeism is severely discouraged by rigorous measures: one day's absenteeism without permission halves the workers' monthly rice-money bonus; two days' absence removes it altogether, while three or more days may lead to sacking of the worker. 1

1. A story told by a Koperasi official illustrates this change. The first late night shift which was run in one Koperasi factory made so much noise that pious worshippers at a nearby mosque could not hear themselves recite the dawn prayers. Mosque officials complained, and the factory management came up with a compromise. A thicker wall was built between factory and mosque to insulate the sound of powerlooms and allow dawn prayers to continue uninterrupted. Thus, during the 1950's the organisation of textile production in the village grew increasingly elaborate following modern Western models.

.../61
3. **Place of the Co-operative in village life.**

There are two aspects to Koperasi activity in Pekajangan, centering on the division of villagers into members and nonmembers. The importance of the Koperasi in the affairs of these two groups differs markedly.

The link between "home-industry" owners and the Koperasi became increasingly apparent as the former became members and looked to the Koperasi for guidance. As is a common pattern in Java, newly-married couples whose parents owned textile enterprises received a gift of capital to set up their own batik or weaving business; but in Pekajangan such couples also received capital to join the Co-operative by buying a share. These families in Pekajangan, already linked by ties of common descent through either the mother's or the father's side, also frequently encouraged endogamy amongst their children. Preferably, patrilateral parallel cousins who "bore the same name" did not marry, but even this practise was sometimes overridden by the desire for endogamy. Thus the members of the Koperasi came, literally, to resemble "one family", a group linked by consanguineal and affinal kinship obligations. A shareholder in financial difficulty who applied for help was not merely asking a group of business colleagues, he was asking a consanguineal unit already predisposed by kinship obligations to come to his assistance with financial help. A network of social activities subsumed the life of this group, which was formally composed of Koperasi members. The frequent visits between women family members, attendance at each other's celebrations of circumcision, marriage and engagements, customarily occurred between siblings and cousins until the third generation.

1. In south central Java this custom is called pantjer wali, and is due to the fact that during marriage ceremonials a bride's father's brother may stand in as guardian in the absence of her father or brother. Thus, if a girl married her father's brother's son "her guardian and the groom's might well be the same person" (Koentjaraningrat 1960:163 Footnote 15).
Within this group the Koperasi leaders provided guidance in the progress of home industries. This was particularly important in Pekajangan during the 1950's with mechanisation. The village was already supplied with the necessary electric power, but to change an entire shed of wooden ATBM handlooms to expensive, imported, mechanised ATM looms represented an enormous problem to villagers in 1953. "The Pekajangan enterprisers realise that their present method of production, lucrative as it is, will have to come to an end some day. The present plan is that they will participate in and profit from mechanisation, but they see many dangers and disadvantages in the use of machines" (Compton 1953:6).

In this change the Koperasi became an important source of capital and technical assistance. The "pilot project" factory at Bligo owned by the ATBM home industry owners was to accustom them to the new management skills that mechanised looms required, and allow them to become familiar with new equipment (See Plate 11). In this way, benefiting from low interest loans obtained through the Co-operative, a number of the larger home-industry units have been able to change to ATM production although almost all still use manual spooling, warping, winding and warp-setting workers. Mostly the looms used are old, imported ones, which require stopping by the operator to change colour in the weft or to mend broken threads in the warp yarn.

Leaders of the Koperasi organisation were drawn from the group of members; and the pattern I note in Chapter Three continued whereby Koperasi leaders and Muhammadiyah office bearers were often the same people. Economically, the Koperasi was well managed, with progressive policies towards growth and development, simultaneously retaining a protective attitude towards the workers in its factories. Shareholders received good dividends (in 1953.../63
This mechanical spooler of warp and weft bobbins is housed in the showrooms of BIPIK (Bimbingan Industri dan Pengembangan Industri Kecil or Industry Guidance and Development of Small Industry), an establishment set up in 1975 with government funds to disseminate the most modern information on techniques, marketing, and management of textiles to home industries.

BIPIK is housed in the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan Textile factory in Ambokembang.

Compare this machine with process illustrated Plate 6.
a "healthy seventeen percent dividend" Compton 1953:6), but funds were still laid aside for welfare programmes for non-members. For instance, in 1959 the profits for the year were distributed thus: twenty-five percent to Reserve Funds; twenty five percent to shareholders as dividends; twenty percent as interest to shareholders who had placed savings with the Koperasi; ten percent to the directors of the Koperasi as fee; five percent to an employees health fund; five percent to an area development fund; five percent for the education of members in the increasing development of Koperasi affairs; and five percent for a social fund (S.Salam 1968:18).

For the other group of villagers, the non-members, the Koperasi appeared in quite a different light. Some of these non-members worked in the Koperasi factories, and many more of them worked in the textile home industries of the Koperasi members. Workers in Koperasi factories received certain institutionalised welfare benefits, particularly to pay for medical costs. Workers in home industries had a rather more personal relationship with their employer, particularly if the relationship was one of long-standing. These workers were commonly referred to as being "in the family" or "looked after as part of the family" (meaning the employer's own family), although the two groups did not have equal social status. Compton, in 1953, for instance, noted that an employer's own children generally received more in pocket money per day than did the employees in their wages per day.

Muhammadiyah in Pekajangan, as elsewhere in Indonesia, never formally allied itself with political or economic groupings. Throughout this decade of growth, therefore, the Pekajangan branch of the Muhammadiyah continued to be structurally separate from the Koperasi organisation. In fact, however, the two were so closely linked in some of their activities that economic and religious spheres of activity merged.

As noted, the interrelated group of Koperasi shareholders formed the pool from which both Koperasi and Muhammadiyah leaders were drawn. Because these leaders were very often the same people, the social welfare activities of the Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi became blurred, and Koperasi funds were increasingly used to finance welfare or even religious activities without formally going through the Muhammadiyah treasury committees. As well as the welfare schemes instituted for the direct benefit of employees, the Koperasi began to finance several large-scale religious activities for non-members without financial resources. An annual public circumcision ceremony was provided for boys whose parents (who did not necessarily have to be Koperasi employees) could not afford the cost themselves, and who were also possibly rather indifferent to the religious importance of the ceremony. Koperasi funds paid the doctors' fees and covered the cost of the usual gifts of rice, money, and sarungs to the boys concerned. On the 24th of July, 1976, I attended one such ceremony:
The circumcision (khitanan) ceremony began with prayers at six o'clock in the morning. Ninety-eight boys of eight to ten years had gathered with their parents and siblings in the schoolrooms of the Mu'allimien school building, a further two having dropped out at the last minute. They came from Pekajangan and neighbouring villages. Five doctors were engaged for the occasion, and it took an hour for all the boys to be circumcised. As his turn came, the child entered the doctor's booth set up on the school lawn. After the operation, he returned to the classroom assisted by relatives, who made him lie down comfortably on bamboo mats. Rice, cash, a blue shirt and a brown sarung were given to each boy. Members of Muhammadiyah, Aisyiyah, and the Koperasi were present to see that the ceremony went smoothly, but none of their children were actually involved, since most of them are circumcised privately.

Another annual ceremony which was supported by the Koperasi funds was the slaughtering and distribution of meat at Hari Karban, which again is still held in the grounds of the Mu'allimien school building.

Besides these official Koperasi ceremonies, however, there is a range of private activities undertaken as obligatory charitable duties by Koperasi members who fall into the category of "haves" as opposed to non-Koperasi-member "have-nots". There is a whole range of personal charitable duties, ranging from private distribution of meat to a family's own dependants at Hari Korban, to the regulations governing ill, pregnant, or menstruating women who are not able to fast during Ramadhan, who must give a
specified amount of rice "to the poor" for each fast-day missed, through to the general responsibilities of pious employers to poor relations, domestic servants and employees. Certain activities still remained in the control of the Muhammadiyah organisation, chiefly the distribution of the religious tax (makat-fitrah) paid by all Muhammadiyah members according to their means at Lebaran to people in need. The Muhammadiyah schooling system, which was growing constantly during the 1950's, also benefited from some Koperasi funds. Aisyiyah during the 1950's embarked on a vigorous campaign to provide a medically trained midwife for each subdistrict in the Regency, a campaign which culminated in the early 1960's in the building of a childbirth clinic (Rumah Sakit Bersalin Aisyiyah) just outside the southern boundary of Pekajangan in Ambokembang on the main road.

This clinic is in principle open to anyone. Generally, however, the decade of the 1950's was marked by the increasing association of the roles of the Muhammadiyah branch in the village and the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan. Other features linked the two institutions in village life. Muhammadiyah gatherings (Committee meetings, Aisyiyah, Naisyiah and Pemuda meetings, the celebration of Muhammadiyah's birthday, Qur'anic readings, etc.) began to be held in the large hall inside the Koperasi building on the main road; and Koperasi funds underwrote special Muhammadiyah activities, such as the printing of the pamphlet on Kiyai Haji Abdurrahman after his death.
5. **Decline of textile home industries in Pekajangan.**

If the 1950's was a decade of growth and capital accumulation in home industries and factories, the decade since the mid-1960's has been the reverse. Begun initially under Guided Democracy when "socialism" rather than "capitalism" was encouraged, and when the political outlet of many Muhammadiyah members, the Masjumi party, was banned, the traditional bases of wealth in Pekajangan began to be subverted from outside the village.

Over the past decade, the New-Order (Orde Baru) central government has favoured the growth of large-scale factories, often supported by foreign capital, at the expense of smaller home industry units. In the words of one villager, there is practically "no competition" between large factories and small scale production units: in the amount of capital available, in skill (especially management skills), in the modernness of equipment and technical proficiency, and in facilities, large-scale factories are way ahead. Moreover, as a multi-national joint venture a new large-scale textile factory obtains from the Indonesian government long tax holidays and has no import duties placed on raw materials they bring into the country (entrepot). In other words, they are getting the kinds of government concessions (though on a larger scale) that home-industry owners received during the 1950's.

Village opinion about this is sometimes extremely vocal, at other times quietly accepting. Some villagers hold foreign capital (modal asing) to be the instrument of evil causing the collapse of small textile enterprises. Others blame the fact that, now the buying market is quiet, the Pekalongan buyers take up to three months to pay for cloth delivered where previously they were obliged to pay immediately; and this delay cripples small enterprises which depend on the capital from the sale to start the next
order. Villagers with access to greater knowledge, particularly those in the G.K.B.I., point to unsympathetic government attitudes which allow special facilities to foreign companies, so widening the gaps between rich and poor. One Koperasi and G.K.B.I. official in Pekajangan claimed that for every unit of capital "badly needed", home industries only get five percent; he also pointed to examples of foreign companies abusing the entrepot facilities which the government had allowed them by illegally selling cloth in Indonesian markets which they had supposedly imported for making batik cap under their entrepot licence. He claimed the only reasons why the government did not entirely give all its support to these factories and to importing were as follows: the government would lose the tax it obtained from domestic weaving enterprises; it would cause unemployment among the weavers and other employees; and it would lead to stagnation in government spinning mills whose cotton was distributed to the enterprises by G.K.B.I. through the Co-operatives.

The response of home-industry owners to these disadvantageous conditions had been varied. Some small- and medium-scale producers simply keep producing sarung palekat on ATBM handlooms for which they receive negligible profit (in 1976 about Rp 500 profit per kodi\(^1\)). One such couple said "we are still producing a little while waiting for a boom, which might come before Lebaran\(^2\). Another couple, who had work for only six ATBM in a shedful of fifty said they had put their fate "in the hands of God". Only a few ATBM home-industry owners relied solely on their weaving enterprise to support the family. Commonly they sought such other means as running grocery shops, taking in poultry or other animals to raise, buying the Japanese-made trucks to run as transport up and down the road from Pekalongan to Wonopringgo. One rather exceptional man bought a

1. 1 kodi = 20 sarung
2. Before Lebaran the demand for woven and batikked sarongs is usually greater since customarily new clothes only can be worn for the celebrations of Hari Raya.
small amount of sawah after his ATBM business had collapsed and was working it himself.

There is a distinction between those owners who carry on at half-force or less with negligible profits "for the sake of the workers", earning wages for the work they actually produce, and those ATBM owners who have actually been broke, having no more capital on hand with which to keep the business going (rugi). Many villagers have been rugi in Pekajangan since the early 1960's.

There are, however, still ways in which home-industry owners have kept economically afloat with textiles. Firstly, those couples who with Koperasi help have changed to mechanised production are much better off. Their profit per kodi in 1976 was Rp 1000, twice that of ATBM production, and the looms produced twice as many sarungs per day (8 - 10). All of them were able to continue working at full capacity in 1976. Alternatively, some villagers are returning to the production of batik cap and to the new cloth-printing technique of silk-screen printing (sablon) which draws profits of approximately Rp 500 per kodi (1976). Indeed, these villagers pointed to the failure of some of the more adventurous non-textile investments of fellow villagers: one respected Haji who had turned from weaving to investment in a fishing boat was reported to be rugi, while another Haji left the management of a fishing boat to his wife because he became ill from high blood pressure (naik darah) every time it returned without making a profit - which it frequently did. Such projects, if they are financed by Credit from the bank are seen as speculation (spekulasi) by villagers who still produce textiles, and who more strictly adhere to Muslim conventions against borrowing. Many home industry owners do not wish to take on the risks of being a daredevil (pemberani) unless they have already accumulated a reasonable amount of personal
capital (modal sendiri) through business. Those home-industry owners who changed to ATM during the profitable weaving period had managed to collect enough capital of their own to necessitate only a small amount of borrowed capital (kredit investasi) from the Koperasi. Owners of ATBM home industries now consider the situation so unstable for weaving that to borrow large amounts to mechanise would definitely be the action of a "daredevil", for if profits did not materialize one would lose one's house and other possessions.

The other course of action is quite different: one becomes educated to tertiary level, but instead of returning to Pekajangan to be a pengusaha one obtains a job in a University or Government department in an urban centre—preferably Jakarta, Semarang, or Surabaya, or even on another island. One then has a steady salary. This goal has replaced that of being pengusaha, in village aspirations.

In this process, the Koperasi and Muhammadiyah institutions have been weakened, not simply from the decline in prosperity within Pekajangan but through incursions from outside. Where previously Pekajangan was a kind of oasis providing education and health services to many people in neighbouring villages, government schools and health clinics now appear with increasing regularity throughout the area. Muhammadiyah schools in Pekajangan are in difficulties; their teachers are paid only half what teachers in government schools receive, and as of January 1977, government subsidies are needed to support them. Increasingly villagers look to the government as a means of solving problems, by providing steady jobs for educated villagers, and by helping with health and educational services where Muhammadiyah funds are no longer sufficient. Symbolically, the headman of Pekajangan stood for Golkar, the government party, rather than the Muslim party, at the 1977 elections, pointing out
that Muhammadiyah is an organisation which has never dictated the political stance of members.\(^1\) He went so far as to tell the 1976 Birthday celebrations of Muhammadiyah that one must be "orderly" or "correct" (tartbit) in relations with the government and with government officials of all kinds, an attitude which he felt was lacking amongst members of Muhammadiyah.

6. **The Organisation of Home Industries in modern Pekajangan**

Pekajangan home industries have remained fairly steady in their overall organisational structure for several decades; but the data for this section is from my own observations of 1976.

A home-industry unit may be small-scale (employing five to twenty people), medium-scale (employing twenty to one hundred people), or large-scale, (employing over one hundred people).\(^2\) Units are usually set up in large white-washed sheds attached to or fairly close by the houses of their owners. The usual pattern of ownership in Pekajangan is for a husband and wife to jointly run their business, with help in folding, pressing and running errands from family members and domestic help. The wife usually manages the business internally. She watches the workers, arranges provision of tea and snacks, solves petty disputes, decides on the design and motifs of the work to be produced, and must have a thorough knowledge of household accounting and the equipment being used. Her husband usually goes outside to arrange the buying of raw materials (through the Koperasi), and obtains contracts for the work with merchants in Pekalongan, through the services of middlemen to whom the finished cloth is delivered in an unwrapped state.

1. One new supporter of Golkar stressed that Golkar and Muhammadiyah are "fellow travellers" because both are concerned with social organisation and development.

2. This is the classification system used in government statistics.
a. Management

I describe here several case histories of these husband-wife management teams, showing how they have fared over time.

The first case is of a husband and wife who own one of the largest of the village home-industry units. The husband is a prominent office-holder in both Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi, the wife an active committee member of Aisyiyah. They began a batik cap industry in 1941 soon after marrying, with capital from their parents. In 1958 they began building up ATBM handlooms, and weaving sarung palekat. In 1963 batik cap was no longer as productive as weaving, so it was phased out. With accumulated capital and Koperasi low-interest loans the couple were able to make the critical jump to mechanisation, and began a programme of replacing ATBM with ATM, which was completed in 1972. The home industry now produces sarung palekat on ninety-five ATM power looms in a large shed attached to the back of the house, employing more than one hundred workers, and therefore classifiable as a "large-scale" production unit. In 1972, having completed the change to mechanised looms and wishing to expand the business further, the couple chose not to continue with textile production. Rather, they bought an interest in five fishing boats in Pekalongan harbour, and, to keep fish fresh, set up an ice factory with five units producing one ton of ice per day. This move away from textile production represents a common trend amongst villagers today.

The second village couple began batik cap production in 1953, the year of their marriage, with a gift of capital from parents. From 1959 onwards they began buying ATBM looms for sarung palekat which they began replacing with ATM in 1964, with capital from their own accumulation and low-interest loans from the Koperasi. In 1964 batik cap was
discontinued, and by the early 1970's the ATBM had all been replaced. Now, there are sixty ATM all producing sarung palekat, and thirty-five women and girls employed to do the spooling by hand. The home industry is large-scale. The husband is an office-holder in Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi, and the wife on the Aisyiyah committee. Both of these couples receive their work contracts from non-Javanese merchants in Pekalongan, arranged via middlemen.

The third couple began weaving with ATBM in 1943 with capital from their parents, the husband also working briefly as a weaver himself. In 1947, when mori again became available, batik cap was taken on, until 1955. The change to ATM weaving has not been made. Orders are obtained from a Chinese merchant in Bandung as "Verke-Ordre"; this means the Chinese firm provides capital and cotton, and the finished cloth is sent to Bandung to be sold by the Chinese firm. The Pekajangan home-industry owners pay the labourers themselves, and receive a fee for the finished cloth. The unit, attached to the house, is a medium-scale one. The couple are members of Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi; the wife is a former head of Aisyiyah in the village.

The fourth example is of a widow. She and her husband began producing batik cap with capital from their parents as a newly married couple in 1938. During the war years production virtually ceased, picking up again in 1948. In 1965 a double calamity occurred: her husband died, and political upheavals of the coup made production very difficult. So, from being pengusaha besar the widow struggled to make a living for her children, trying weaving (ATBM) unsuccessfully between 1967 and 1970. Then, she opened a shop to sell groceries from her house to the neighbours, and in 1975, with the help of a married daughter...
who ran an ATBM home industry received four winding drums which are placed in her courtyard. Thus she now takes cones of cotton belonging to home industries and turns them into hanks for dying - a form of sub-contracting. The widow receives a fee for this, out of which she pays the boys employed a wage. Having only four employees, her business is not classed even as small-scale.

The fifth case is a couple who began producing sarung palekat with ATBM in 1960. Only two years later they were rugi due to the sudden decline of the weaving industry throughout Java which accompanied what Higgins called the "anti-capitalist" policies of the Guided Democracy period of Soekarno (Higgins, in Hawkins 1961:36), and which only the largest ATBM and ATM concerns readily survived. No textile production was done until 1975 when a small batik cap business was begun. However, instead of using the old weaving shed and paying workers, the couple now prefer to subcontract; that is, they give out cloth, wax, dyes and stamps to production units owned by relatives, who in turn work the cloth and pay the labour. This subcontracting system is known as congok in Pekajangan, and is preferred by this couple because they do not have the labour problems of paying wages, counteracting absenteeism, solving disputes, and paying the gifts at Lebaran and other occasions.

b. Wages and labour tasks

Payment for work still follows the principles noted earlier: men receive more specialised tasks and higher wages than women, who in turn receive more specialised tasks and higher wages than children. Labour is of two main types: paid workers who come in to the home industry each working day; and workers who take work to be done at home in their own time. Workers coming in to the home industry are usually paid by piece (borongan) on Thursdays before the Friday holiday. The table below shows wages commonly paid by home-industry owners to labourers in 1976:

.../75
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Category</th>
<th>Worker</th>
<th>Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batik cap</td>
<td>wax stamper</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rp500 per <em>kodi</em> = Rp600 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tonyok</em> work woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rp400 per <em>kodi</em> = Rp200 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyeing/boiling</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rp250 per day plus lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patch dye</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rp400 per <em>kodi</em> = Rp150-200 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 <em>kodi</em> = 20 sarung lengths)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ATBM weaving       | weaver     | man                                 |
|                    |            | Rp300 (approx 4 - 5 sarungs) can earn up to Rp500 per day. |
|                    |            |                                     |
|                    | winder     | boy                                 |
|                    |            | Rp250 per day (15 packs)            |
|                    | dyer       | man                                 |
|                    |            | Rp65 per pack                       |
|                    | spooler    | woman, girl                         |
|                    |            | Rp100 per day                       |
|                    | warper     | man                                 |
|                    |            | Rp250 per loom beam = Rp500 per day (x 2 loom beams per day) |
|                    | warp       | 2 men or 2 women                    |
|                    | setter     | Rp450 per day for 2 men or Rp255 each (2 loom beams per day) |
|                    |            |                                     |
| ATM weaving        | weaver     | man                                 |
|                    |            | Rp300 - Rp500 per day (8 - 10 sarungs per day) |

.../76
These wages represent the maximum paid to labourers each day. If the home-industry unit does not have a contract to fill the worker does not obtain any wage – or, he may be given half the maximum amount of work. Thus, the weekly wage quoted by workers is usually less in practice. An ATBM weaver may be able to earn only Rp 700 per week, and most weavers commonly quote their weekly wage as between Rp 1000 and Rp 1500. Warp setters quoted Rp 600 - Rp 1000. Warpers quoted nothing to Rp 1500 per week for ATBM and a steady Rp 2000 for ATM. Wages depend on whether lunch is provided or only a cup of tea. Workers in Koperasi factories receive a daily meal, twenty kilograms of rice per month, (if they have been present consistently) and fifty percent paid on medical costs: but weavers received only Rp 1000 per week and repairers Rp 1500 per week in actual wages, in both cases paid monthly. Factory wages and benefits are thus fixed more regularly than home industry wages, which depend on the owner’s getting a contract to work at all and on the industry to make a profit if they are to receive good Lebaran and other gifts.

Wages paid to people taking work home to complete are paid on the same piece (borongan) basis, except in the case of some women who mend broken threads. Putting-out operates on the same rates as work in factories and home industries, but because many workers are often engaged in childminding and other household tasks, they range more widely. A dyer and starcher taking home cotton hanks receives between Rp 1000 and Rp 1500 per week, paid on a piece basis. Women spooling cotton receive between Rp 100 and Rp 700 per week, depending on how much time they can spare – the most commonly quoted wage being Rp 250 – Rp 300. Women winding the cotton hanks (treng) are paid.../77
Rp200 per kilo, taking at least one week to complete a kilo, thus Rp 150 - Rp 200 per week. Menders (nyitir) of broken thread usually earn Rp 200 - Rp 300 per week, though several make Rp 700 - Rp 900 per week by buying and selling for themselves and others, combining the roles of labourer and petty trader (Plate Twelve). Of the two deksit weavers, one earned Rp 400 per week, paid as wage on a piece basis, and the other Rp 900 per week when he was well enough to work. The only batik done at home was tulis work, which earned Rp2000 per kain paid as wage on a piece basis. Most of these women needed at least one month to finish one kain, thus receiving between Rp 200 and Rp 500 per week.

The additional Lebaran gifts given by one ATBM home-industry owner were as follows:

(for each worker employed):

- **clothing**: 1 sarung (male) or kain batik cap (female), 1 shirt or bodice
- **rice**
- **sugar**
- **tea**
- **money**: approximately Rp 500 depending on value of worker

At Hari Korban each worker received:

- **meat**: 3 ounces
- **clothes**: 1 set of baby clothes
- **money**: Rp 200 - Rp 300 for medicine, etc.

All these gifts depended on the financial position of the home-industry owner at the time (since, if he or she had made no profit, he or she could not very well give gifts), and on the strength of the personal bond between employer and employee.

.../78
Mending Broken Threads: *(nyitir).*

1. Skein of mended cotton.

2. Revolving bamboo frame.

3. Twisting broken cotton to rejoin separate strands.

This woman works in a bamboo cottage in Kebutuh, she owns it jointly with her husband.
c. Distribution of textile skills amongst inhabitants of Pekajangan

With the centrifugal development of Pekajangan it is logical to suppose that inhabitants with managerial skills have clustered towards the village centre to live, whilst those with labouring skills have gravitated to the outer edges where land is cheaper. This supposition is supported by my own census data for an inner ward (Pekajangan Tengah) bordering the road, and an outer ward (Kebutuh) bordering the wet-rice fields (See Map Two). The following table shows the distribution of textile workers through each of these wards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(% in each work category)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[2\] = secondary occupation \% \[3\] = tertiary occupation \%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pekajangan Tengah</th>
<th>Kebutuh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>females males</td>
<td>females males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGERIAL</td>
<td>23.2 21.3</td>
<td>1.0 3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="80.0">2</a> <a href="71.4">2</a></td>
<td><a href="16.7">2</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="100.0">3</a> <a href="62.5">3</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADE</td>
<td>37.7 23.7</td>
<td>18.1 10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="10.0">2</a> <a href="19.0">2</a> <a href="66.2">2</a> <a href="33.3">2</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="25.0">3</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLD-WRAP</td>
<td>- 1.3</td>
<td>1.9 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICE</td>
<td>- 2.5</td>
<td>- 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="16.7">2</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEAVE</td>
<td>- 37.5</td>
<td>- 57.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="100">2</a> <a href="33.3">2</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOOL</td>
<td>17.4 2.5</td>
<td>55.2 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="4.8">2</a> <a href="33.3">2</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIND</td>
<td>10.2 3.7</td>
<td>1.0 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="10.0">2</a> <a href="4.8">2</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARP SET</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYE-STAR</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="12.5">2</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEND BROKEN THREAD</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TULIS</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TONYOK</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAMPER</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATCH-DYE</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYE-BOILOUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKE EQUIPMENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>100.00</th>
<th>100.00</th>
<th>100.00</th>
<th>100.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="10">2</a></td>
<td><a href="21">2</a></td>
<td><a href="3">2</a></td>
<td><a href="6">2</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="2">3</a></td>
<td><a href="8">3</a></td>
<td><a href="1">3</a></td>
<td><a href="0">3</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL N in WARD | 249 | 229 | 261 | 267 |

For both men and women, management skills are clearly concentrated in Pekajangan Tengah rather than in Kebutuh. Most managers own jointly or individually their own home-industry unit and are members of the Koperasi. Many of them double as traders selling their own textile products. More people in Pekajangan Tengah than in Kebutuh have both a labouring skill and a managerial or trading skill (note the frequencies of second and third occupations). Kebutuh people are more likely to be labourers only, lacking the wherewithal to gather capital to enter employer or independent enterprise status.
Amongst men in Kebutuh the largest concentration of skills is in the weaver category, which may be ATBM or ATM home industries within the bounds of Pekajangan or in ATM Koperasi factories outside the village borders. The exceptions to this are the two deksit weavers who work at home,¹ and one man whose employer rents him a handloom and pays a wage on a piece basis for the sarung palekat he completes.

Amongst women in Kebutuh the largest labour concentration is in spooling, which in the majority of cases is done in the home proper rather than in a home industry. The woman takes what time she may from childrearing tasks to work on a spooling instrument which is usually her own (sometimes made at home), but may belong to the employer. Although some women in Pekajangan Tengah spool, wind and dye for wages (dyeing in both cases is done in partnership with the husband), it is striking that none engages in what is considered generally to be the most menial task of all: mending broken threads. This job is practised by Kebutuh women, and, together with spooling, represents the most important means whereby women bound to the house and totally lacking any capital may make a small addition to the family income.

These dependent relationships may be direct, that is with home-industry owners who live in Pekajangan Tengah or in other parts of the inner village sphere. Or they may be indirect, that is, with the managements of the various Koperasi factories, which in turn are responsible to a membership group living mostly in the inner area of Pekajangan.

¹. The one woman weaver helps her husband with deksit weaving (Kebutuh, second occupation).
...on the main road are most of the houses of the *batik* enterprisers: modern, expensive, and electrified. The *batik* sheds stand behind these houses, usually one enterprise for two or three homes. The houses of the workers are down the narrow side streets and alleys. The workers' houses I saw were typical Javanese bamboo huts, few of them with roof tiles. As the guest of an employer, however, my chances of seeing the workers' living conditions were almost nil (Compton 1953:4).

The concentration of enterprise owners in the centre of the village, and the gravitation of wage-workers towards the periphery, which I described in the last chapter, was already marked in 1953. The pattern since then has remained, filling in somewhat as the population of the village has grown. (Compton in 1953 put the village population at 7,000). In this chapter I examine some of the differences between the two wards I became most familiar with and gathered census data for: Pekajangan Tengah and Kebutuh. The statistical comparisons I make are purely between these two wards and are not necessarily valid for other parts of the village. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the comparisons I have made are a convenient way of ordering data to consider certain questions: Does the concept of "one family" which is

1. Village growth since then has been due mainly to reproduction, since over ninety percent of all villagers have been born in Pekajangan.
used to describe Pekajangan include all villagers? Does this imply that all villagers have similar living standards, values and aspirations? Given the status differences between employers and employees which I have discussed, is it still possible to consider Pekajangan as a homogeneous village? Partial answers may be provided by the data from the two wards analysed here; a more complete answer may be obtained from an analysis of other wards.

1. The two wards

Two extracts from my notes are presented here to convey the sense of contrast which exists not only between the two wards but also within the first ward, Pekajangan Tengah.

10 November 1976: Pekajangan Tengah

We called first on two small bamboo houses set close together, where children bustled and crowded into the room. We talked for perhaps an hour and then moved to the neighbouring house. The difference was startling. Inside a fine stone house, shuttered and barred, we were led into a family courtyard. It seemed, after the bustle we had just left, enormous and totally silent. Sunlight poured into an ornamental garden in the centre, but it took a minute for me to pick out the silent inhabitants resting on the tiled floor of the shaded area. Then, the household head came forward; an old, dignified, white-haired man dressed in a sarung palekat and shirt. We explained our purpose, but the old man would not speak before he had satisfied himself about me: was I Dutch? What was my native tongue? and so on. Finally he pronounced that although I looked like a Dutch person, being white, I was clearly much better, and he would speak to me. He was a member of
Muhammadiyah and the Koperasi, but had lately turned away from textiles to buy fishing boats. As we talked, his wife, three daughters, a son still at school and several maids watched curiously, silent except for an occasional prompting. They showed no interest in the television set which was on without sound. Two of the daughters were married to government employees from outside the village, both of whom had post graduate degrees and were working in Jakarta.

26 November 1976: Kebutuh

Such simple houses... most are of bamboo raised on a platform of earth perhaps one foot high for the rainy season floods which have not yet arrived... "Kulo Nuwun" says Pak Thalib, using a Kromo greeting recognised easily; apologetically we enter the black doorway, chickens scatter in alarm from the pitted earth floor. Framed in the square of light at the back door is the householder, pulling on a kebaya [woman's jacket] in haste, coming forward to greet us. We sit down on a bamboo bench, the only furniture... bare bamboo walls, except for a black pici cap on a nail... No privacy at all in a house like this, for everything may be heard through the thin bamboo walls and the gaps between wall frame and floor; illness, coughing, quarrels, childbirth... Children crowd into the doorway... This is yet another woman aged twenty-five I am speaking with - perhaps because it is a much easier number to remember than twenty-three, twenty-four or twenty-six... she has a spooling instrument made entirely of bamboo, no bicycle tyre, made by her husband... We return, for outside light is fading, it is nearly Maghrib [sunset prayer time], the dappled leaf patterns in our path are sunset red. Women arrange the cooking stones for the evening wood fires, children lead home the goats, all call out in friendly greeting as we pass.
PLATE THIRTEEN

Bamboo Cottage in Kebutuh

The cottage is of common bamboo type except for the roof tiles. It is set in a garden of fruit trees, bamboo clumps, and bushes.
Pekajangan Tengah shows an overall level of affluence which is much higher than that of Kebutuh. Over half (fifty-one percent) of the seventy-two Pekajangan Tengah houses are made of stone where only eighteen percent of the ninety Kebutuh houses are. Bamboo houses in the first ward amount to twenty-seven percent, and houses made of a mixture of stone and bamboo twenty-two percent. In Kebutuh the vast majority, sixty-eight percent, of houses are of bamboo, with a further fourteen percent utilising both bamboo and stone.

In Pekajangan, as elsewhere in Java, the stone house is a symbol of higher status. Stone houses generally have a number of expensive additional features lacking in most bamboo houses: cement or tiled floors, plastered interior walls, glass windows, lockable doors, roof guttering and tiles, outside pathways, fences and water drains, and interior tiled cooking and washing places. The expense in some Pekajangan stone houses is clearly visible: there may be large courtyards, interior staircases leading up to a second story, and furnishings may be sometimes described as opulent. Bamboo houses are cheap to erect and almost always very simple. The outer wall is made of plaited bamboo lashed together in sections around a central frame and renewed every five years. Windows rarely have glass, having instead closeable wooden shutters. Floors are earthen, interior walls of bamboo, and cooking and washing usually are done outside; wood fires are used instead of expensive gas burners, and wells instead of internal running water. The house is usually built on a two-metre high mound of hard earth to eliminate the need for outside drains in the rainy season. Bamboo houses in Kebutuh very often lack chairs or tables, the only furniture being a wooden bench which doubles as a bed.
On first impression, the composition of households within the two wards looks similar, the household size ranging from one to fourteen members. Pekajangan Tengah has four hundred and seventy eight inhabitants distributed amongst seventy-two households and Kebutuh has five hundred and twenty-eight inhabitants distributed amongst ninety households. On closer examination, however, differences emerge in household composition between the two wards.

First, in Pekajangan Tengah one in four of the households has a woman as household head (kepala somah). By contrast in Kebutuh only one in six of the household heads are women. Two points emerge here. In Pekajangan Tengah women are more likely to own joint property (viz., a home industry) which is worked in partnership with the husband. While the husband lives he is household head, but on his death the woman, who has developed good administrative skills and who owns half (or if so willed, all) the property takes on the title of household head in preference to her son. In Kebutuh where ownership of home industries and other property is less common the title of household head much more readily passes to a woman's eldest son or son-in-law on the death of her husband. In the first ward age has a greater bearing on the title; in the second ward, sex does.²

1. Household head is kepala somah. Head of nuclear family is kepala keluarga. These are formal categories, and may have no relation to the process of decision-making within the household, although kepala somah should be able to speak responsibly on behalf of the other household members.

2. Koentjaraningrat in south central Java (1960:105) reports that if a man decides to resign from the headship position a son or son-in-law who resides permanently in the house takes it up. Kebutuh is closer to this pattern.
Further, in Kebutuh three of the female household heads are women who inhabit a house alone, and so are automatically household head. They are middle-aged women who earn a living, having been widowed with no children to take them in. These single-person households are not found in Pekajangan Tengah.

Second, it is striking that in Kebutuh no household has living in it an individual who is not connected to other members by kin ties. In Pekajangan Tengah fifteen of the seventy-two households have one or more non-kin members, all of whom are paid domestic servants. It is a status sign in Pekajangan not just to have servants, but to have servants who can speak Kromo, preferably with Yogyakarta or Solo intonation, to visitors who come to the house. Servants receive a wage\(^1\) as well as board and lodging, so can be afforded only by wealthy Pekajangan Tengah households.

Third, it seems that household composition in Kebutuh is more likely to be "irregular" than in Pekajangan Tengah. By this I mean that although no Kebutuh household has non-kin members, nineteen households in this ward are composed of individuals none of whom are connected by marriage ties: they are related by parent- (or grandparent-) -child, sibling, or cousin bonds.\(^2\). In Pekajangan Tengah there are only three such houses, all the rest containing at least one married couple. This needs more information than I have available at present, but I feel there is definitely a link between irregular composition of Kebutuh households and the greater economic stress. Furthermore

1. In 1976 these wages were Rp 2000 per month for a mature woman and Rp 750 per month for an adolescent boy or girl.

2. According to Koentjaraningrat (1960:103) household composition is usually based on a central married couple. "...among urban priyai families the average household consists of the kepala somah, his wife, five to ten children, the widowed mother of either the husband or the wife, and from three to five servants. In rural villages the household lacks servants and has fewer children because of the higher infant mortality rate, but it is augmented by the families of a married daughter or two living in initial uxorial local residence".

the size of families in Kebutuh is on average smaller than in Pekajangan Tengah, a fact which contradicts the common assertion of wealthy village women that "poor women have more children" and which is very likely to be a result of the "involuntary restriction" of economic stress which operates in keeping down the size of poorer families in other parts of Java by separating husbands and wives through economic necessity. (Hull 1976:17). Despite the Aisyiyah childbirth clinic many poorer women still do not receive medical attendance at childbirth; they do not have enough money to spend on medical care for children during childhood, so that, although I did not collect fertility histories of all women, I gained the definite impression that one reason for the smaller families in Kebutuh was a higher mortality rate: children born in Kebutuh families have less chance of surviving birth and childhood than those in Pekajangan Tengah.

2. The status of women

It is frequently stated that Javanese women have a strong, if not dominant, position within the household economy, due at least partly to the fact that they are economically able to contribute to the family finances. Moreover, it has been argued (Stoler n.d.:9) that, because the labour demands of the colonial government worked within the framework of the Javanese household economy, "men and women were forced to participate in both economic sectors; in the export sector to meet cash demands imposed, for example, by money taxes levied by each household, and in the indigenous sector by increased intensification to meet their basic food requirements". Thus, even though the total responsibility which women traditionally had in household textile production has been lost as textiles moved out of the domestic sphere (Chapter Two), women are still able to proffer managerial, trading and wage-working skills to continue contributing to the family finances, as we see in Pekajangan.
This is not to argue that there is no sexual division of labour, for in Pekajangan there quite clearly is. Within both batik and weaving systems of production in home industries women do specific, less highly-paying types of labour (spooling, mending broken threads, *tulis* and *tonyok* work, and sometimes, with their husbands, dyeing and *deksit* weaving). These divisions of labour are also in factory production where men weave and warp, and women spool bobbins. Within the management categories, also, women have a particular task, that of managing the home industry internally; the task of arranging buying and selling contracts generally being left to the men.

Yet in Pekajangan this division of labour according to sex is only a part of the picture. Stoler's argument for a rural South Javanese village is also applicable here: that "the relationship of both men and women to the production process is not indicated by gender alone, but more importantly by access to strategic resources which cross-cut sexual distinctions" (Stoler n.d.:2). In Pekajangan the type of work which a woman will undertake within the textile industry is influenced partly by her sex, and also partly by the position she holds within the village structure. Women born into the families of the Koperasi members are likely to be married to husbands of the same social grouping. They are most unlikely to have an occupation in wage-labour; rather, they manage the internal running of textile businesses owned jointly by them and their husbands, or they jointly run some other form of enterprise. Amongst the youngest members of this group we find schoolteachers in the Muhammadiyah schools and wives of the new generation of professional people. Women born without property, and marrying without property, are forced into the dependent economic roles of wage-earning or of trading, in forms that require only minimal amounts of capital outlay. Quantitative evidence of this division may be gleaned from my table on the distribution of labour (Chapter Four). How this division results in unequal distribution of opportunity for education is discussed in the next section.
A specific set of values is associated with women of the enterprise-owning group. Most of these women are committee members of Aisyiyah, the women's counterpart to the Muhammadiyah, which in Pekajangan has played a particularly active part in promoting the health, welfare and education of women in line with the Muhammadiyah principle that women be educated so that they may be fitting partners for Muhammadiyah men. Aisyiyah follows this faithfully, promoting the goal of enlightened motherhood; a frequent exhortation in Aisyiyah speeches is that women, as the "pillars (tiang) of society" have a particular responsibility. The eloquence, intelligence and dynamism of Aisyiyah women is immediately striking in Pekajangan. Their very strong economical role as an authority for decision-making within the actual production organisation of home industry units (which has allowed them to become household heads in many cases on the death of the husband) and as teachers of Muhammadiyah values to their children makes the home very much their sphere of activity. The symbol which they have adopted is the veil (kudung), which generally takes the form of a transparent coloured or embroidered cloth draped over the head. School girls at the Mu'allimat wear a white veil which obscures the whole head and neck, and this also is the type of veil worn at Aisyiyah meetings by committee members (see Plate Ten). Two decades ago, women students from Pekajangan at school in Yogyakarta wrote home pleading to be allowed to put off the kudung and kebaya in favour of Western dress, so that they could go out with other girls without feeling conspicuous; now, most young women in the village wear Western dress most of the time. It is
when they attend traditional ceremonies (wedding preparations, weddings, Muhammadiyah occasions, etc.) they must wear Javanese dress and a veil. The *kudung* among older women in Pekajangan is still a symbol of allegiance: an Aisyiyah member will never appear in public without one, whereas non-Aisyiyah members, particularly when they are hard at work, very often do. As a symbol of Aisyiyah values the *kudung* is clearly more rigorously adhered to by the "inner" social group members than those of the labouring and petty trading groups; although a growing preference for Western dress amongst the younger members of the "inner" group is impingeing on this.

The social life of women in the "inner" kin-related group is internally very highly organised. The distributions of food found in the *selamatan* cycles are also found in Pekajangan; and the closest kin-related women of a particular family gather before any major ceremony - circumcision of a boy or marriage - for a group cooking session. Maids do the heavy work while the women wrap rice cakes in banana leaves, seizing the occasion for family gossip. Women are invariably seated in inner rooms at weddings, men sitting outside; indeed women's entire social lives - working, visiting, ceremonial occasions seem to be far more closely interconnected with kinswomen than with the family men. The distribution by women of food boxes, and the lists of guests invited to ceremonies constantly reaffirms the social status of this group of kinswomen. Towards women in dependent economic status - employees, domestic servants - the same sense of being social equals does not apply. These latter women also have kin-related networks of social activity, but they do not overlap with those of the higher status group.
3. Educational Levels

High levels of tertiary education are increasingly a measure of status in Indonesia, particularly amongst the civil services. In Pekajangan, however, modern education has been promoted as one of the most important aspects of Muhammadiyah activity within the village since as long ago as 1922. There are two aspects to this concern for education: first, enterprise owners frequently stress that they have an interest in education in its own right, so that although some of their well-educated children may have returned to the village to become *pengusaha*, the type of education received by a child may not be geared to economics and commerce at all, and the child may take the opportunity to enter an entirely different profession. Second, the Muhammadiyah organisation has promoted the notion that education should be universally acquired regardless of sex or wealth, and Muhammadiyah school fees have accordingly been adjusted to include poorer children. The following table shows the actual distribution of educational levels, past or current, through the two wards.
## ATTENDANCE AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS %

### Current or Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kindergarten (T.K.K.)</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School (S.D.)</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Junior High (S.M.P.)</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High (S.M.A.)</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Technical School</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'Allimat/Mu'allimien</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Teachers' College</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akademi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Madrasah/pesantren</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N**  
154 | 157 | 111 | 148

Total in Ward 249 | 229 | 261 | 267

### SUPPLEMENTARY

#### BASIC EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kindergarten - Primary</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.K.K. and S.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. High School</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP, SMA, STM, Mu'allimat/Mu'allimien</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tertiary</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers College, University Akademi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Non-Graded</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasah/pesantren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the cases of both males and females, it is clear that, although the Muhammadiyah educational programmes have been effective in providing a number of poorer children with at least some basic education, there are still great disparities between the educational levels of the two wards. Clearly, in both wards, women do not have the same inclination or opportunity for education in higher education that men do, although it is my definite impression that Pekajangan women in general are much better educated than those of surrounding villages. However, differences in wealth cut across these male-female divisions so that women in Pekajangan Tengah are much more likely than those in Kebutuh to have some high-school education. Moreover, women in Pekajangan Tengah are twice as likely as those in Kebutuh to graduate or have graduated from their educational institution, rather than leaving part of the way through. Women who do have tertiary education are rather more practically oriented towards teachers' college than university.

Amongst men, the same distinction applies. Kebutuh men are less likely to attend or have attended high school, and are less likely to have graduated from their educational institution than are men in Pekajangan Tengah. They are also unlikely to reach tertiary levels. Indeed, the number of males in Pekajangan Tengah who are attending, or have attended, tertiary institutions is very striking, necessitating a number of years spent away from the village at an urban centre.
4. Land Use.

In neither ward do more than two and a half percent of inhabitants own agricultural land, which supports the notion that agriculture is not important to villagers. Yet there are slight differences between the two wards in the pattern of land use. A small number (about ten) of families in Kebutuh use the land around their houses (called garden (kebun)) to cultivate fruits, beans and chickens, which are vital to the household economy, being eaten by the household or sold for cash on an informal basis. Only one family in Pekajangan Tengah grows vegetables to sell, although all families in both wards eat fruit from their own trees. Further, some twelve families in Pekajangan Tengah own land outside Pekajangan, which no Kebutuh household does; this land is for building only as the pressure on land within Pekajangan itself increases.

5. Pilgrimage

In a village where the pilgrimage (haj) is considered a religious obligation if one can afford it, the group of village haji (those who have been to Mecca) bears analysis, as a group linking piety with economic wealth and (presumably) social status. I examine here some of the characteristics of haji in the light of the preceding information.

There are more haji in Pekajangan Tengah than in Kebutuh. Pekajangan Tengah has sixteen haji: five married couples, four widows, and two widowers (married now to non-haji). The oldest (a male) was born in 1901, the youngest (a female) in 1938. Kebutuh has seven haji: two married couples, one widow, and two widowers (again remarried to non-haji). The oldest (a male) was born in 1891, the youngest (a female) in 1926.
All except one Pekajangan Tengah male who married into the village from subdistrict Buaran were born in the village. Of the Pekajangan haji, eight hold office in Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah. None of the Kebutuh haji does, but one of them has played a key role in the founding of Muhammadiyah and in the growth of Pekajangan; he retired to Kebutuh some years ago in order to live quietly.

All haji in both wards are senior members of their households. In both wards single haji are household heads whether they are male or female, supporting the argument advanced earlier that if a woman is important in the household she, rather than a son, will become household head on her husband's death. All married men are household heads, with one seemingly curious exception in Pekajangan Tengah where the wife (a hajjah) is household head rather than her husband (also a haji). This is explained by the connection between headship and property: in this household, the position of headship entails being head and shareholder in a large family company (ATM industry and fishing boats). The husband is now too old to manage, so the wife has taken the title household head in preference to two resident sons-in-law, as she is able to play an active part in decision making through her long experience as shareholder.

Haji in Pekajangan Tengah all live in stone houses, whereas only half of Kebutuh haji do. Pekajangan Tengah haji are much better educated than Kebutuh haji, especially remembering that amongst middle-aged and old groups education is inevitably of a lower standard than amongst younger adults. No Kebutuh female hajjah has any formal education, while two Kebutuh male haji have none; one attended pesantren and one graduated from S.D. In Pekajangan Tengah, however, two female hajjah attended madrasah, two graduated from SMP, two attended Mu'allimat.../97
(one graduated), one reached fourth class S.D., and two have no education. Two male haji attended pesantren, two graduated from Mu'allimien, another reaching Grade 3, one graduated from SMA and one from University.

All haji are (or were, till they retired) owners or joint owners of home industry units. Ten Pekajangan Tengah haji still run large-scale or medium-scale businesses: three ATM home industries, three ATM/ATBM home industries, and one batik cap home industry are distributed between them, along with three large fishing-boat concerns and two ice businesses. In fact, in this group is concentrated a considerable proportion of village wealth. No Kebutuh haji currently run industries, although all except one used to own either a weaving or a batik cap enterprise. Instead, we find a curious pattern amongst Kebutuh haji, every one of whom (male and female) owns not just land but wet-rice fields. All pay workers to cultivate it, except one who works his land himself with help from the family. Only two of the Pekajangan Tengah haji own wet-rice fields, and they pay workers to cultivate them. Twelve others own tracts of land for building houses or home industries on, which are not cultivated. In view of this return to wet-rice cultivation amongst the small privileged group in Kebutuh, can we assume that Kebutuh people have retained the closeness to agriculture presumably held by their forebears, and that they still aspire to the idea of owning and cultivating wet-rice, which has long since been rejected by people in Pekajangan Tengah?

It is, however, clear that even in the privileged group of haji there are distinctions between the inner sphere of Pekajangan Tengah and the outer sphere of Kebutuh. Again, it hinges on the fact that haji of the former ward are largely the officers of the Muhammadiyah and Koperasi, and thus leaders of the group with highest status within the village.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Over the span of one hundred years the nature of textile production within the area which became Pekajangan in 1910 has changed enormously. From production dominated by women, who either wove cloth for the family needs on the backstrap loom or made handdrawn batik cloth in the time they had free from the cultivation of the family crops, textiles came to be made specifically for trading purposes with the advent of the deksit loom. From the second decade of this century onwards, textile enterprise in Pekajangan flowered into a steadily growing batik cap industry and, later, a handloom-weaving home industry, which utilised technical innovations from outside Java and employed specialised wage labour for most of the tasks.

This period of development in the textile enterprises of Pekajangan was paralleled by the growth of the village as a centre for the Muslim reform movement Muhammadiyah, which was brought to the village by, and initially disseminated through, the families of a group of kin-related villagers: Haji Abdurrahman, Haji Abdul Jalil, Haji Abdul Aziz, and Haji Dimyati. As these were the people who also owned the textile home industries, the link between textile production and the Muhammadiyah organisation was inbuilt. Moreover, Muhammadiyah is considered to be a purely religious movement, and it is true that it never formally allied itself with political or economic groups; but the Islamic religion itself specifically encourages the advancement of the well-being
of all fellow-Muslims as part of religious obligation. It provides specific directives as to how this well-being can be achieved. Thus, in Pekajangan, the strict observance of pious behaviour calls for an elaborate system of wealth redistribution mechanisms (the zakat-fitrah, the Hari Korban distributions, and many individual regulations). The principles of reformism also called for the setting up of a modern education system to spread the Islamic faith, but also to teach the individual child to develop his own rational understanding of the world. This necessarily entailed the child's learning to read, write and count, and the subsequent development of his or her understanding of the teachings of the Prophet as set out in the Qur'an and Hadith - which is an essentially egalitarian notion.

Because these ideas developed in close parallel with village textile production I feel that it is difficult to separate out one from the other. This is not the same as saying that one caused the other; rather, it is a result of the fact that within the Islamic religion itself the total social situation of the community of the faithful is considered to be an integral part of the religious domain.

What this does allow, however, is for us to ask: if these are the notions inherent in Islam - in this case inherent in Reformist Islam - then how closely have they been followed through in practice? Can the village of Pekajangan be truly considered an Islamic community in which everyone has equal access to the interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith, making it unnecessary for anyone to be dependent for interpretation on a higher religious authority?
As the village developed, this egalitarian notion seems to have been only partly realised. The fact that the kin-related group who had initially begun the Muhammadiyah programmes within the village was also the group which owned and directed the growth of the Koperasi Batik Pekajangan, especially through the decade of the 1950's when capital could more readily be accumulated and new forms of factory organisation introduced into textile production, gave this group a particular economic advantage over other villagers. The members of this group individually owned lucrative home industries, and had shares in a lucrative textile co-operative which played on favourable circumstances and developed modern (Western) notions of factory production. That the redistribution mechanisms of the Koperasi became increasingly elaborate and increasingly acted autonomously from the Muhammadiyah distribution networks did not mitigate the social and economic cleavages within the village structure. In a sense they exacerbated them. For instance, a child being circumcised at a large public ceremony sponsored by the Koperasi was by this ritual act being included into the adult male community of Islam, it is true; but at the same time this act was being done as one of "charity" by one particular social grouping towards a member of quite a different social grouping. The children of the Koperasi members did not take part in these public ceremonies.

Similarly, although the Muhammadiyah organisation recognises in some senses the individual rights of women and pays particular attention to care at childbirth and to women's education in all spheres, in practice the social and economic roles of women are based as much on their status as Koperasi or non-Koperasi members as on their gender. All women wearing Javanese rather than Western...
dress, for example, are required in Aisyiyah ideology to wear a veil in accordance with the Prophet's injunction that all women be covered; but whereas it is excuseable for a woman of petty trading or labouring status to leave her's off as she works, it is not excuseable for a member of Aisyiyah to do so. The employers, who compose the Aisyiyah committee membership, economically control the employees; thus it is the Aisyiyah group which sets the example and initiates social and religious acts. Again, in the case of education, we see that many poor children have benefited from at least a few years' schooling in Muhammadiyah schools, where children of employees are known to have to pay large fees. Poor children may thus become more literate, numerate, and theoretically as able to study and interpret religious texts as anyone else, but this may not amount to much when the positions of power within the village system are reserved for members of the employers' group, who have the monetary resources to continue their education at tertiary level.

Is there, then, any truth in the oft-repeated claim by members of the employers' group that "Pekajangan is one family"? If the person is referring to his or her own social group, then indeed it is an accurate description of the network of kinship relationships which binds the group together. The difficulty arises when a person of the employers' group uses the phrase to refer to the rest of the villagers, to their own employees in the textile business, or to mean the village unit and inhabitants as a whole. Is it then just a ploy on behalf of the power-holding group to provide an ideological justification for their ascendancy over another group who are, in fact, a captive labour market? If the notion of the family
is equated with the traditional central Javanese one, where an individual's needs are filled only according to his position within the family status scale, and where these distinctions in status constantly affect even the language level used as well as all other forms of outward behaviour, then the notion of family is not inappplicable to Pekajangan. But given the fact that Pekajangan is not situated in a traditional central Javanese area but on the north coast where central Javanese modes of differentiating status in speech and behaviour are not practiced at all rigorously, I feel that some additional explanation of the notion that "Pekajangan is one family" must be sought.

Gellner has advanced a paradigm of the traditional Muslim society, and it is this model which seems pertinent, though on a much smaller scale, to the totality of the Pekajangan situation. In a traditional Muslim state, towns are the centres of trade and Muslim learning, but "the central power, however, does not fully control the rest of the society, either in a territorial or in a qualitative sense: for all that, the rest of the society nevertheless remains in some sense one political or at least moral unit" (1969:131-133). Towns are strictly monotheist, ordered by rules, puritan and moderate; they theoretically accept the idea that there is egalitarianism between believers. Paradoxically, they partially control outer rural spheres which tend towards ritual specialisation and consequently towards religious hierarchies, and mystical practice (1969:130). In Pekajangan the inner group members interact in an egalitarian manner; the behaviour which they have set up as ideal for the village is that advocated by Muslim Reformism: puritan, moderate and ordered, rational. These are the qualities which have consistently characterised Muhammadiyah social and educational programmes and Koperasi economic

.../103
activity. It was considered quite acceptable to accumulate capital (a notion which strictly orthodox Muslims have sometimes questioned) if it was done in properly ordered businesses. The two major modes of textile production which they have taken up in parallel with their adoption of the Muhammadiyah movement reflects this: batik cap, a popularised form of batik production without the inbuilt status rankings batik tulis traditionally had; and the nationalist checked sarung palekat. The outer sphere people in Pekajangan are partially included in all of this, receiving various benefits in return for their labour. Yet they are clearly not of the same economic and social category as are members of the inner group, and I believe that their religious values are not nearly so clear-cut as those of the inner group. It is my definite impression that irregularities which have long been exorcised from the inner group consciousness as being a waste of time - especially traditional non-Islamic healing and ritual practices employing the services of dukun - amongst the outer sphere villagers, although many of them have joined the Muhammadiyah. They are excluded from the inner group, whose defining features are the possession of funds to buy shares in the Koperasi and family contacts within the Koperasi.

How may we situate Pekajangan within Javanese society as a whole? Its importance lies not in the dichotomy between wong cilik and priyayi (Koentjaroningrat 1960:89) so much as in the dichotomy which cross-cuts it horizontally: that between santri and abangan. Referring back to the quotation in the frontispiece to this thesis, it is clear that the Pekajangan inner core people display many of the characteristics of the kauman santri. They are
inextricably (at present and in the past) bound up with commerce and entrepreneurship; they lead an exclusive social life, mixing only with kin-related members of the same group; and they distinguish themselves by a special style of dress — the veil for women, the black cap for men. Like the *kauman santri*, Pekajangan inner-core people value as the people of highest status the *haji*, whose position necessarily implies a combination of economic wealth and religious piety. On the other hand, Pekajangan is technically a village, and Koentjaraningrat has said that in rural areas *santri* do not separate themselves into separate quarters as they do living in the *kauman* of a town or city. The ambiguous position of Pekajangan - administratively a village but actually bearing many urban characteristics - puts it into a kind of intermediate category somewhere between urban and rural. Because it is an enclave of Muhammadiyah in an area where there are also many orthodox Muslims, and because it is internally divided into an inner and an outer sphere which are partly determined by social and economic differences, and are linked to the practice of Islam, I prefer to see the village as a tiny enclave - a miniscule "traditional Islamic state" articulated by the interaction of two spheres, similar in principle if not in scale to the ones described by Gellner.

The future of this enclave cannot really be predicted, but there will clearly be changes in the pattern, chiefly resulting from the breakdown of the textile production units which have formed the backbone of village interrelationships for a number of decades, and which provided their owners with a means of accumulating capital...
to buy shares in the Koperasi. With the subversion of the traditional source of wealth of the inner sphere people by external forces (chiefly government policy), the institutionalised, public forms of religious practice may very well come to be removed through lack of funds. If the religious ideals of the Muhammadiyah truly have meaning - and I have no doubt that to many villagers they are of vital importance - then, presumably, Muhammadiyah will survive as a set of private beliefs held by some people. Textile production in home industries meanwhile, unless it is helped by the current trend towards valuing the personal and handmade as works of art or craft, will probably merge into large-scale factory production. At least the Pekajangan Co-operative will still have its small factories.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

ATEN, A.

1952-3. "Some remarks on Rural Industry in Indonesia". [Enige Aantek eningen over de nijverheid in Indonesia]
Indonesie V.6. 1952-3.

BATESON, G.

1973. "Style, Grace, and Information in Balinese Art".

BENDA, H.


BINTARTO, Hardjosuwignjo.


BIRO PUSAT STATISTIK


DEPARTEMEN PERINDUSTRIAN DIREKTORAT JENDRAL PERINDUSTRIAN
TEKSTIL.


DEWEY, A.


DIMYATI, M. DRS.


EISENSTADT, S.N.


FEDERSPIEL, H.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fryer, D.</td>
<td>1963.</td>
<td>&quot;The Development of Cottage and small-scale industries in Malaya and Southeast Asia&quot;.</td>
<td><em>Journal of Tropical Geography</em> No. 17. (May)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title and Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGARIMBUN, M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEACOCK, J.L.</td>
<td>(n.d.) &quot;Dahlan and Rasul: Indonesian Muslim Reformers&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Balai Penelitian Batik dan Kerajinan,
Lembaga Penelitian dan Pendidikan industri, Departemen Perindustrian.
Jakarta.

Lewis. Leigh-on-Sea.

"Class structure and female autonomy in Rural Java". Columbia University.
New York.

Jambatan. Jakarta.


*Development and Change.* Vol.7. No.3 (June).