

Chapter 5

Warung and Women

In this chapter I will discuss some theoretical analysis of gender and work and how it applies in Cicadas. To support the discussion I will present five case studies of women warung owners which will provide detailed data on how women run warung as well as how warung work.

5.1. Gender and Work

Warung is women's business. I found almost all warung in Cicadas are managed by women. Women who engage in the business are, in most cases, married with children. There are variations in terms of age and educational background of warung owners; some women are in their 30s while others are in their 60s, some are primary school graduates and others are junior or senior high school graduates. The majority of warung owners' educational backgrounds range from primary to senior high school graduates, while university graduates are in the minority.

Women are responsible for all aspects of warung business such as the provision of warung goods, business turnover, service to customers, and other aspects of the day to day management of the business. This leads them to work extremely long hours, from 16 to 18 hours a day, if one also considers their domestic chores. These long working hours can be discussed within the framework of gender and work. Eriksen (2001:126-132) notes that discussion of gender cannot be separated from issues of gender in the division of labour, the private and the public, dominance and submission, and culture versus nature. In terms of gender and work, particularly productive and reproductive works, Eviota (1992:11) states:

Work is generally of two types: productive, or work for exchange, and reproductive, or work for use and the satisfaction of immediate needs. Productive and reproductive works are both part of the process of survival and renewal: productive work satisfies such basic human needs as food, shelter and clothing; reproductive work is the production of people, not only the bearing of children but also the caring—the daily physical and ideological maintenance of human beings—which enables individuals to fit into the social structure of society.

In agricultural production systems in the past, productive and reproductive works were not clearly separated in terms of where the work was performed and who performed it. In this case, 'home' often meant 'workplace' too. In terms of division of labour within the household, there was no strict separation between women's work and men's. The introduction of capitalism had led to a stricter separation between women's work and men's and there has been a growing tendency of the sexual division of labour within the household. Women are mostly responsible for reproductive unpaid work such as child care, cooking, cleaning, and washing. On the other hand, men are responsible for productive paid work which normally takes place outside the home. According to Eviota, there is a tendency for:

1. women's relegation to household work and the fact that this work is not valued;
 2. their perceived and actual secondary-worker position in the production sphere;
 3. their intermittent participation in social production;
 4. their concentration in particular sectors of the economy and in particular levels of the work-force (that is, a sexual division of labour within the production process itself);
 5. their uniformly low wages; and
 6. their mediated position in the capitalist class structure.
- (1992:15)

The following will briefly describe how the above points relate to the Indonesian context, in particular the Cicadas warung situation.

First, *women are relegated to reproductive work and this work has no exchange value*. In Indonesia, the state has emphasised the relegation of domestic work to women. This situation applies to women regardless of their socioeconomic background. At macro level, data on the number of labour force mirrors this situation, as shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Number of Labour Force
(2003)

Sex	Working age population (population age 15 years and over)	Population age 15 years and over who are in labour force	% of labour force to population age 15 years and over
Male	75,983,823	64,837,186	85
Female	76,666,158	35,478,821	46
Total	152,649,981	100,316,007	

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics), 2003a

Table 5.1. shows there is a relatively balanced working age male and female population, although the number of the female is slightly higher than the male's. On the contrary, the number of female working age population who are in the labour force is much lower than the male's. Totally 85% of male working age population are in the labour force, while for the female it is only 35%. There is no explanation from the Central Bureau of Statistics on the low percentage of female labour force, but I assume it likely relates to women's status as housewives and mothers. My assumption is based on the definition of labour force which according to Central Bureau of Statistics:

“Labour force is persons of 15 years and over who in the previous week [of the survey] were working, temporarily absent from work but having jobs, and those who did not have work and were looking for work. *Not in labour force* is persons aged 15 years and over but not classified in the labour force, such as students, housekeepers, etc (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2003a:xxiii).

The definition explains women's “exclusion” from the labour force, because women status as housewives and mothers do not meet the criteria of labour force. Neither their reproductive work meet the criteria of working that is “an activity done by a person who worked for pay or assisted others in obtaining pay or profit for the duration at least one hour during the survey week” (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2003a:xxiii). Moreover for women, being in early stage of the working age (15-40 years old) means being in the reproductive age too.

With regard to women's status as housewives and mothers, the Cicadas case shows that one of the main reasons for opening a warung business is the

possibility of combining both income earning and domestic activities. Women warung owners generally view reproductive work as women's destiny (*kodrat perempuan*). It is a moral responsibility, God given, therefore unquestionable and unchangeable. Few if any recognise the economic value of the work. Such a situation leads to long working hours and the double burden of the women to both run the warung business and do domestic chores. Even if they feel overwhelmed with both tasks, they feel reluctant to ask for help from their husbands, since they feel it is not appropriate to challenge their fate. Ibu Cicih said she is *ridho* (reconciled) to carrying out the warung business and the domestic chores simultaneously, which leads her to work for up to 19 hours a day. Case 2 (Ibu Reni) and case 4 (Ibu Lina) of this chapter are substantially similar to the case of Ibu Cicih. They all represent women warung owners whose decision to open warung in line with Eviota's frameworks that is women's relegation to household work. Having a warung enable them to combine both income earning activities and domestic responsibilities, though the later are often not valued or valued less than working in the public sphere.

Second, *women are seen and often perceive themselves as secondary productive workers because of their primary responsibility in the home*. The 1974 marriage law (law number 1/1974) explicitly mentions that within the family, the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the housewife. As a result when women are engaged in economic activities, this is only considered secondary. This is also the case of warung owners, who perceive that their warung business is only secondary; income from warung is 'just enough to provide children's snacks', although in reality the income derives principally from the warung. The statement implies the notion of *kerja sampingan* or sideline activity, although this is not always true. The notion of women working as a sideline activity for additional income applies to women warung owners in all case studies in this chapter. The case studies however shows that such notion is not always true since warung business is often become the main source of income for their families. There is an exception for Ibu Tukiye (case 5) who is a single mother and therefore considers her warung business and *jamu* making not as a sideline activity but the main means of livelihood.

Third, *married women's employment patterns are rarely continuous throughout their adult life*. As a consequence of the social expectations of women's roles, the continuation of women's participation in the labour force is often affected by the life stages of marriage, child bearing and child rearing. A significant number of women warung owners, particularly those below 40 years old, mention that child care constraints made it difficult to remain in the formal sector. Case 2 (Ibu Reni), case 3 (Ibu Ani) and case 5 (Ibu Tukiye) of this chapter are examples of women warung owners whose decision to shift to the informal sector is due to life stages of marriage. Prior to having children Ibu Reni (case 2) worked as a high school teacher. She then decided to establish a warung after having children. Ibu Ani (case 3) was a shop attendant in optical stores in Subang and Bandung when she was single. She quitted working when she got pregnant with her second child and decided to establish her own optical warung. A similar case applies to Ibu Tukiye (case 5) who was a factory worker when she was single. She shifted to the warung business and *jamu* making after having a child. Although in Indonesian cities many people can afford to have domestic helpers, women warung owners are not in this category. Neither is asking help from kin for childcare always possible.

Several warung owners confirm that they had previously worked in the formal sector, for example as factory workers and shopkeepers. Some of them were factory workers in the period 1980-1990¹ in their 20s. My own research on women factory workers in the early 1990s indicates that some of them wished to save their wages to establish a warung later on when they were married, and particularly when they had children (Indraswari, 1995). It is widely known that employers of factory workers strongly prefer to recruit young unmarried women (Indraswari 1995, Wolf, 1992). Similar studies reveal that older women have less chance of entering the formal sector, in particular labour intensive industries such as textiles, garment, footwear, and electronics.

¹ This period saw a boom in the relocation of labour intensive industries from newly industrializing countries (*NICs*) to Indonesia, such as textile, garment, footwear, and electronic industries.

Fourth, women productive workers are concentrated in occupations consistent with perceptions of the proper tasks of women and men, and with sexual stereotypes of female and male attributes. Data in table 5.2 shows the national figures which mirror this framework.

Table 5.2
Population 15 years of age and over
by main employment status
(2003)

Main employment status	Male	%	Female	%	Male + Female	%
Self employed	12,011,005	20	4,643,883	15	16,654,888	18
Self employed assisted by family members/temporary help	17,938,883	30	4,094,675	13	22,033,558	24
Employer	2,388,660	4	319,173	1	2,707,833	3
Regular employee	16,792,359	28	7,036,753	23	23,829,112	26
Casual employee in agriculture	2,981,245	5	1,574,003	5	4,555,248	5
Casual employee not in agriculture	2,801,069	5	457,481	2	3,258,550	4
Unpaid worker	4,995,701	8	12,750,027	41	17,745,728	20
Total	59,908,922	100	30,875,995	100	90,784,917	100

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics), 2003a

I highlight the high percentage of female population who work as unpaid worker that is 41%, compared to the male which is only 8%. Unpaid worker is a person who works *without pay* in an economic enterprise operated by other members of the family, relatives or neighbours (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2003a:xxvi). This reflects the notion of the proper tasks for women, that is, it is more appropriate for them to work with and or for the family than working for somebody else.

Based on main employment status as presented in table 5.2, considering the nature of the warung business, I tend to put women warung owners to be in the “self employed” category rather than in the “unpaid worker” category. Despite this, the warung case in Cicadas also reflects societal notions of the proper tasks of women. Generally, a warung business is one task considered as ‘suitable’ for married women, since the business enables them to earn income as well as

looking after their families. Running a warung does not require a woman to leave her home. To some extent it also fits in with sexual stereotypes: the caring female role and certain skills considered as belonging to women such as cooking, giving credit to the warung business. Case 1 (Ibu Tuti) and case 4 (Ibu Lina) of this chapter are warung owners who fits in with such stereotypes. Ibu Tuti sells mostly ready to eat cakes and snacks which she bought from the dawn market. In addition she also sells fruit juices, coffee and chocolate drinks and a small amount of own-made fried snacks such as banana fritters. Ibu Lina sells cooked food including vegetables, tofu, soy bean cakes, fish, chicken and beef, each she cooked herself in various ways.

Fifth, women are paid lower wages than men because their paid labour is considered a supplementary activity. While this situation does not apply in the case of warung, wage discrimination is easily found in the formal sector, regardless of the fact that Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women, of which article number 11 stipulates:

State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, [including] the right for equal remuneration and social security (UN Commission on the Status of women, 1981).

The remuneration and social security system in the public sector in Indonesia has adopted the relevant article of the convention, but not the private sector, where discrimination still occurs. The most common form of discrimination in this sector is not paying the allowance component to women workers. In such a case, both men and women are paid a similar basic wage, but men get an additional amount known as ‘family and health allowances’. Women on the other hand, are not entitled to family allowance on the grounds that women are their men’s (husband’s) responsibility. In the case of health allowance, single and married women are entitled to it for themselves only. Unlike married men, married women are not entitled to a health allowance for their families. In such a system, the total amount of wages (including allowance) of men is higher than that of women, although both of them perform similar jobs.

Table 5.3. shows male and female wage gap in the formal sector i.e. the industrial sector in 2003.

Table 5.3
Average Monthly Wages of
Industrial Workers in 2003
(Rp. 000)

Level	Male	Female	% of Female to Male	Male + Female
Lower than supervisor (<i>mandor</i>)	992.3	764.1	77	858.0
Supervisor	1,353.6	1,058.1	78	1,289.2
One level higher than supervisor	1,850.6	1,024.0	55	1,744.7
Two levels higher than supervisor	2,520.8	1,104.6	44	2,365.5
Three levels higher than supervisor	3,430.0	2,557.0	75	3,400.8
Expert (<i>tenaga ahli</i>)	1,759.3	1,612.9	92	1,742.5

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics), 2003b

Table 5.3 shows that in all levels women are paid lower wages than men. This confirms the notion of women paid labour is considered as supplementary activity for supplementary income only. In the workplace, the notion becomes a discriminative policy by paying women less than men, although both of them perform similar jobs. The national data on industrial workers' wages reflects this situation, in which female workers' wages range between 44-92% of the male's.

Finally, *women's position in a capitalist class structure is a mediated one.* Women's relationship to the class structure is mediated, to a large extent, by the family-household system and the ideology of the family, male dominance, dependence on men, and reproductive work (Eviota, 1992:17). Women's position in the economy is therefore socially defined by their relationship to men (1992:17). As a consequence, women are labelled as bearing secondary wage

earner status, which then leads to the disadvantaged position women have in the work place in particular, and in the society in general.

Mies (1986) discusses similar issues, but from a different angle. She introduced a term housewifisation, which refers to the construction of a new image of the 'good woman' in the centres of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This term signifies woman as mother and housewife, and the family as her arena; the privatized arena of consumption and 'love' is excluded and sheltered from the arena of production and accumulation, where men reign (Mies, 1986:103). Mies developed the housewifisation theory by looking at how the ideal of the domesticated privatised woman, concerned with 'love' and consumption and dependent on a male 'breadwinner', became generalised, first in the bourgeois class proper, then among the so-called petty-bourgeoisie, and finally in the working class of the proletariat (1986:103).

The discussion on housewifisation firstly focussed on European women during the colonial period, with particular attention to middle class white women. At that time the construction of the new image of a 'good woman' emerged as a mother and housewife. Later this image became extended to all women regardless of their class, or race. The 'sacred' duty of mother and housewife was then further strengthened by various justifications based on cultural and religious values. Very few if any see the 'sacred' duty as encompassing important economic activities. Folbre (1991:81) said that:

[The state] treats this [domestic] work as a moral responsibility, not an economically important activity that might be organised along different, less gendered lines. This was family labour, not domestic labour—its aims were the fulfilment of God-given responsibilities—not economic efficiency, its motive not self-interest, but love.

Mies (1986) notes, while middle and upper class women can adapt to the housewifisation expectation, that is, economically they can afford to be dependent full-time housewives, this is not the case of lower class women, especially those in developing countries. Many men in third world countries cannot afford to be the sole breadwinner for their families.

Although, the housewifisation theory was first developed from the situation of the colonial period, Mies mentions that this is also the case of today, particularly in the context of the new international division of labour. Women in third world countries are also increasingly defined mainly as housewives and mothers, although this is not the case of the mass of lower class women who have to work to survive.

In Indonesia, Mies' housewifisation theory has been adopted using the term *ibuism*, the word *ibu* literally meaning mother². *Ibuism* refers to the state's ideology surrounding gender. The term *ibuism*, first introduced by Suryakusuma, refers to the domestication of Indonesian women as dependent wives who exist for their husbands, their families, and the state (1996:98). Substantially, *ibuism* conveys a similar ideology to housewifisation, that is, the main role of women is to be housewives and mothers.

At a practical level, *ibuism* is implemented by Dharma Wanita and PKK programs. Dharma Wanita is the organisation of the wives of civil servants. *Dharma* means duty or responsibility, while *wanita* means women. So Dharma Wanita can be translated as the duty or responsibility of women. PKK stands for *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Empowerment Program. Both programs emphasise women's domestic role as housewives and mothers.

During the new order government, membership of Dharma Wanita was obligatory for the wives of civil servants, and offices were stratified according to the husband's position. For instance the wife of a minister automatically became the head of Dharma Wanita in her husband's department. The wife of a governor automatically became the head of Dharma Wanita in her husband's provincial office. Similar rules applied to all levels of government offices. At all levels, the appointment of women as head of Dharma Wanita had nothing to do with their

² *Ibu* has a wider meaning than just mother. *Ibu* is used to address any adult woman, regardless of her marital status, and whether or not she has children. It is impolite to address an adult woman by her name only, without firstly mentioning *ibu* before her name. This means that the word *ibu* also implies a sign of respect for a woman. A similar case applies to men with the word *bapak* which literally means 'father'. *Bapak* is used to address an adult man regardless of his marital status or whether or not he has children. The words *ibu* and *bapak* can be used to address adult women and men from all classes, religions, and races.

capabilities, education, or organisational skills, nor did it consider whether or not the women themselves were willing to accept the appointment. Only the husband's position counted. Suryakusuma (1996:100) notes 'Dharma Wanita established a "follow the husband" culture, which epitomizes the ideology of state *ibuisism*'. While Robinson (1998:209) writes of Indonesia:

Official organisations stress women's responsibilities as citizens based in their wifely and motherly roles. In the hierarchy of these organisations, women's relations in the private domain determine their status in the public domain, as they take their place relative to their husband's official position in the state hierarchy.

According to Dharma Wanita, the main duty of a wife as faithful companion is 'To support the official duties of her husband by creating a harmonious atmosphere, avoiding anti-Pancasila³ behaviour, in order to create a state official who is authoritative and clean' (Suryakusuma, 1996:99). This duty is further elaborated into Panca Dharma Wanita or the five responsibilities of women adopted by Dharma Wanita which defines women as: 1) appendages and companions to their husbands; 2) procreators of the nation; 3) mothers and educators of children; 4) housekeepers; and 5) members of Indonesian society; in that order (1996:101).

The fall of the new order government in 1998, and the *Reformasi* era, has led to some changes to Dharma Wanita. The name is now Dharma Wanita Persatuan (unity). Membership is now voluntary and the appointment of the head of Dharma Wanita is no longer based on the husband's position only. Although, at policy level, the changes sound substantial, at practical level the old 'follow the husband' culture has not yet disappeared. Many civil servants' wives still feel obliged to become members of Dharma Wanita Persatuan for the sake of their husbands' careers. It may take time to change the old culture and to develop a more independent Dharma Wanita Persatuan.

³ *Pancasila* are the five principles of national ideology proclaimed by President Soekarno on June 1, 1945. The following is the official Ministry of Information English version: believe in the one and only God; a just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia' democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations among representatives; social justice for the whole of the Indonesian people (cited in Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings, 2004:700).

The *Reformasi* era has also led to some changes to PKK, which previously stood for *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or family welfare development program. It has now become *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or family welfare empowerment program. However, the change seems to be only in name, not substance, since it has not yet been followed by changes in the program.

Although the current PKK retains a substantially similar ideology to Dharma Wanita, it applies a different organisational structure. In terms of membership, PKK attempts to reach as many women as possible, regardless of their husbands' status. Any adult women may join PKK in their neighbourhood. However the appointment of the head of PKK at all levels is still based on the husband's position. For instance, the head of PKK at the national level is occupied by the wife of the Minister of Domestic Affairs. The head of PKK at the provincial level is occupied by the wife of the governor. At the village level, the head of PKK is occupied by the wife of the village head. In Cicadas, I found that the *Reformasi* has meant some women question this practice. A wife of an RW head said 'today after the *Reformasi*, [government] official's wives do not automatically become the head of PKK'. She referred to the community's demand that she, as the wife of an RW head, should become the head of PKK in her neighbourhood ward. She added 'the head of PKK could be any woman who is willing and capable of becoming the head'. She was not willing to accept the responsibility, and nominated somebody else to replace her. Some women in her neighbourhood wards commented that her unwillingness was because of her lack of capability in organisational skills, literacy, and public speaking.

PKK provides the following 10-point formula for its members:

1. the creation of good relations within and between families;
2. correct child care;
3. the use of hygienic food preparation techniques and close attention to nutrition;
4. care that clothing is suited to its proper functions—protection, morality, modesty;
5. intelligent use of house space to meet the needs of hygiene, privacy, entertainment, etc;
6. the securing of total family health—in physical, mental, spiritual, and moral spheres;
7. effective household budgeting;

8. efficient basic housekeeping, calculated to maximise order and cleanliness;
 9. the preservation of emotional and physical security and a tranquil environment in the home;
 10. the development of family attitudes appropriate to the modernisation process—planning for the future
- (Norma Sullivan, 1983: 154-155)

Both Dharma Wanita's 'five responsibilities of women' and PKK's '10 point formulas', highlight numerous female domestic responsibilities, but no rights. Nor do they mention anything related to women's public role. Only a very general statement is mentioned in the fifth women's responsibility listed in the Dharma Wanita 'as members of Indonesian society'. As Dharma Wanita and PKK are agents to implement housewifisation and state *ibuism*, both organisations have little interest in women's public role, including women's economic activities. As a result, they pay little attention to women's problems in the workplace.

By criticising both Dharma Wanita and PKK ideology, I do not mean to oppose women becoming housewives and mothers. However, I do not concord with the state limiting women to their domestic capacity as in the state ideology. Implicitly, the ideology 'forces' women into the home arena and 'ignores' other aspects of women's life in the public sphere. My disagreement is mainly due to the fact that this is not the case of many women in Indonesia who cannot afford to become dependent full time housewives and mothers, due to economic reasons. For them it is unrealistic (if not impossible) to stay at home and not be involved in income earning activities. According to Robinson (1998:209):

The emphasis on women's roles as wives and mothers has the effect of obliterating other aspects of their lives, making invisible the burdens of the 'dual role' which all but the most privileged women face, combining their necessary duty to contribute to household income with their domestic duties as wives, mothers and daughters.

While Wolf (2000:94) writes 'The image [of Dharma Wanita and PKK] is very class-based, since only well-off families can afford to have the wife out of the labour force, and it is in dire opposition to the realities of most Indonesian women's lives'.

I now turn to the relationship between the discourse on housewifisation and *ibuism* and its implementation through Dharma Wanita and PKK programs on one hand, and women's work in warung in Cicadas on the other. The discourse supports the ideological explanation of women's status in the household and in the community, of how women perceive themselves, and of how they perceive their work and their family life.

I argue that housewifisation and state *ibuism* which are implemented by Dharma Wanita and PKK, may significantly influence women. Although theoretically the 'five responsibilities of women' and the 'PKK's 10 formulas' are for members of the organisations only, in fact the message is for all women. Mass media play a significant role in the delivery of the message on the expected role of a 'good woman'. Moreover, since the head of both Dharma Wanita and PKK are prominent public figures, they also become role models. As a result, many women try to adopt the expected role of 'dependent full time housewife and mother' and believe that it is the appropriate one for them. Only a few women have the courage to openly question the role considered as 'God-given'. Even fewer consider domestic work as an important economic activity.

At a practical level, both Dharma Wanita and PKK programs may not be suitable for certain groups of women, especially low income groups. The main constraint preventing women from following the 'ideal' expressed in these programs is financial. This is particularly related to the PKK's 10 point formula which, according to Norma Sullivan (1983: 155):

To meet most of the 10 points adequately, the responsible female would require quite substantial funds. Reasonable child care; adequate clothing, medicine, shelter and living space, levels of hygiene, and nutrition; physical, mental and emotional well-being, tranquillity, and so on, demand expenditures which, it could be argued, are beyond the incomes of a great many contemporary Indonesian families.

In Cicadas, many low income households cannot rely on the male breadwinner only. As I have noted earlier, income from warung makes a significant contribution to the families of warung owners. For example, it may ensure the continuation of children's education, in many cases at least until senior high

school. Having a warung can enable the women to extend their families' income from members who have a regular job, to make ends meet.

Various studies on urban households (Norma Sullivan 1983, Jellinek 1991, Murray 1991, Guinness 1986) also show the strong tendency of kampung or low income women to actively engage in economic activities, usually marginal, to survive. In such cases, many make a significant economic contribution to their families. It is also important to note that these marginal economic activities performed by women rarely become something more substantial. These activities help the women and their families to maintain subsistence living only. This is also the case in Cicadas, and the many women engaged in the warung business.

In relation to the ideological notion of women's expected roles as mothers and housewives, it is important to note how women warung owners themselves perceive their work. Generally, the women and the community regard this type of business as 'suitable' for married women, based on the sexual stereotypes of female attributes reflected in the notions of housewifisation and *ibuism*. Doing the business does not require a woman to leave her home. Therefore she can still be a 'responsible' mother and housewife.

As noted previously, most women perceive their warung income to be 'supplementary' only, although in reality it can contribute as much as 40-100% of their total households' income. 'Just enough for my children's snacks'⁴ is the response they gave almost automatically when I asked about their income. This reflects the common perception that warung are a sideline activity to earn additional income only. In other words, women presume their husbands to be the breadwinners, even if their family income derives principally from the women's work. Whitehead (1981:89) argued that male and female money wages are valued differently when they enter the household: therefore whatever the level of income, a woman's earnings may not always be recognized in the same way as men's.

⁴ Translated from Indonesian language '*sedikit, cukup aja buat jajan anak*'.

5.2. Case Studies

This section presents five case studies of warung businesses in Cicadas, those are:

- The case of Ibu Tuti with her cake and snack warung.
- The case of Ibu Reni who sells non-perishable goods (*barang-barang kelontong*)
- The case of Ibu Ani with her optical warung.
- The case of Ibu Lina who sells cooked food.
- The case of Ibu Tukiyeem who sells traditional herbal medicines (*jamu*).

These five cases are selected to provide an insight about general and particular elements of warung in Cicadas. In terms of the commodities warung sell, Ibu Tuti, Ibu Reni, and Ibu Lina are fairly representative of warung in Cicadas. The three of them sell commodities which are common to find, namely snacks, non-perishable goods, and cooked food. Other aspects such as their long working hours, family background, and the existence of family member(s) with regular income, also mirror many cases of warung owners in Cicadas. The case of Ibu Reni however offers a particularity in terms of her educational achievement; she is a university graduate who is a minority among warung owners in Cicadas.

The cases of Ibu Ani and Ibu Tukiyeem are somewhat exceptional examples of warung in Cicadas. Both of them sell commodities which are not common to find among warung: eye glasses and *jamu*. Other aspects such their skills and their family background are also different to most warung owners. Ibu Ani sells eye glasses and is knowledgeable in optometry. Ibu Tukiyeem sells *jamu*, is knowledgeable in traditional herbal medicine, and plays a role similar to a 'traditional chemist'. In addition, neither of them have family members with regular income, and their livelihood, is entirely depend on the warung business.

Case 1: Ibu Tuti

Family Background

Ibu Tuti is 59 years of age and originally comes from Garut, a town approximately 200 km South East of Bandung. She has nine children, four of whom are married, and eleven grandchildren. The married children are living separately, but within the same neighbourhood as their mother. I found many people in Cicadas have families or relatives living in the same neighbourhood.

Ibu Tuti married Bapak Koko in 1957 when she was fourteen years old, through an arranged marriage. As soon as they got married, the young couple moved to Bandung and spent the first two years in North Bandung. They then moved to Cicadas where they have lived ever since. The young couple earned a living by running their own small-scale shoe production business. Bapak Koko already had the skill of shoe making and wanted to open his own business. They relied on the shoe making business for about 10 years. Ibu Tuti said the peak of the business was when they had up to five workers to cope with the volume of orders.

After ten years, the business collapsed. Ibu Tuti seemed very reluctant to talk about the causes of the collapse. On several occasions, she only said that there were some disturbances (*ada gangguan*) which made the business collapse, but she was unwilling to say more about what the disturbances were. She was more willing to talk about her family and the current warung business.

Bapak Koko is now 60 years old and works as a shoemaker in a small-scale Chinese owned shoe making industry in a nearby suburb.

Warung Business

Ibu Tuti recalled that the warung business started ‘when the oldest child was a junior high school student’, meaning that the business was started in around 1972. In the past, the main commodity of her warung was non-perishable goods such as bath soap, shampoo, washing powder, cooking oil, children’s snacks, biscuits,

coffee, tea, milk, bottled drink, rice, eggs, and non-prescribed medicines. Since 1999 she has changed the main commodity of her warung and now sells:

1. Various kinds of cakes such as *lapis* (layer cake), *lapis legit* (sweet layer cake), *hunkwe* (mung bean pudding), *jenang* (pudding made from sticky rice), *dodol* (another kind of pudding made from sticky rice), *bubur sumsum* (porridge made from rice flour).
2. Fruits cut into small pieces: papaya, watermelon, and banana.
3. Fruit juice sold in cups: orange, mango, and watermelon.
4. Coffee and chocolate drinks, with or without milk, sold in cups.
5. Fried snacks such as banana fritter, *bala-bala*, *comro*⁵.
6. Children's snacks and crackers.

Shopping for the warung has to be done every day. There are two reasons behind this: first many of her warung goods cannot last for a long time, and second she has no refrigerator to store the goods. As a result, Ibu Tuti starts her day very early. She wakes up at 3 am to go shopping to the dawn market at 3.30 am. She either walks or takes an *angkot* (a kind of small van) on her way to the market, and takes a pedicab on her way home.

Ibu Tuti shops on her own, with nobody accompanying her since (as she said) 'at 3-4 am, everybody is still sleeping; when they wake up later on they are all busy with their own business' (such as washing and preparing themselves to go to work or to school). The Cicadas dawn market starts at 12 am and finishes at 7 am. The market takes place on both sides of the main street and some of the parking lot of the Cicadas daytime market. The traders simply put rugs on the street or drag in a cart to display their goods such as vegetables, fruit, meat, fish, eggs, tofu, *tempe* (soy bean cakes), and various kind of snacks and cakes. The dawn market serves as a grocery store for warung owners around Cicadas, and for Cicadas market traders who operate in normal working hours. The prices of most commodities are 20-30% cheaper than those sold at the daytime market. The only 'disadvantage' is it requires the customers to sacrifice their sleeping time and do the shopping as early as 1 am.

⁵ See the glossary for the meaning of *bala-bala* and the abbreviations for the meaning of *comro*.

I had several opportunities to accompany Ibu Tuti to the night market. She knocked on my door at 3.30 am, then we walked to the main street before taking an *angkot* to the dawn market. We each paid Rp 400 for the *angkot* fare, which is cheaper than the daytime fare of at least Rp 600. I followed her and helped her carry some cakes, fruit and vegetables, and bought a few things for myself. While doing so, I noted and memorised, the commodities she bought. On one occasion these were:

- A bundle of scallion
- A plastic bag of bean sprouts
- 250 grams of carrots
- A medium sized cabbage
- Three medium sized pieces of soy bean cake
- Three kilograms of oranges
- A water melon
- Ready to fry *cireng*⁶ dough
- Various kinds of cakes such as *onde-onde*, *kue mangkuk*, *odading*, doughnuts, and bread filled with cheese, chocolate, or milk.
- Various kinds of crackers (*kerupuk*)
- Three mangoes

In most cases she only shops at the dawn market for her warung. She may buy a few things for the household, but not often. She said ‘I only occasionally buy something for the household, while I shop at the dawn market. Shopping for the household is easy. I can do it anywhere, there are many places to do that’ (emphasis added). The underlined words refer to the many warung which provide most of the daily necessities of the community. This is because the neighbourhood where Ibu Tuti lives is one of the areas where there is a high density of warung. Moreover, the warung density is enriched by the variety of main commodities each warung supplies.

⁶ *Cireng* is a fried snack made from a mixture of tapioca flour, water, and salt, and cut into small pieces.

Ibu Tuti further explained that when she needs to buy lunch, for practical reasons she goes to one of the nearby warung to buy a portion of wrapped rice (*nasi bungkus*), meaning one portion of steamed rice plus some side dishes (vegetable, and/or tofu, soy bean cake, meat, chicken, egg), wrapped in paper. I then asked what she meant by practical reasons, and she said that she finds it difficult to combine tending the warung, serving the customers all day, and at the same time doing domestic chores such as cooking. The construction style of her house may contribute to the difficulties as the warung is located at the front of the house while the kitchen is at the back. Therefore buying ready-to-eat meals is a solution to the difficulties. I found out that the cooked food is relatively cheap⁷ especially when compared to the high cost of cooking: the labour, the kerosene and especially for Ibu Tuti, the strong possibility of losing customers because it is not possible to combine the cooking and serving customers in the warung. Moreover, except for cakes and snacks, cooked food (for main meals) is not available at the dawn market.

The warung situation

As soon as the dawn shopping finishes at about 4.30-5 am, Ibu Tuti (and I) took a pedicab which cost Rp 3,000 for the fare. As soon as she arrives home, she displays the snacks and cakes recently bought from the market on her warung counter, while at the same time serving early customers. The warung is opened very early in the morning to serve breakfast for the local community. The following notes are examples of what happened in the first two hours, that is, from 5-7 am.

1. A man comes to a warung next door to buy cigarettes, then he goes to Ibu Tuti's warung. The following is the conversation in Sundanese language between the man and Ibu Tuti:

⁷ See chapter 4 section 4.1, case study 4 in this chapter, and chapter 6 section 6.2..

Man	Ibu Tuti
<i>Bu ci kopina hiji</i> Can I have a cup of coffee please?	(makes a cup of coffee, then pours it into a plastic bag)
<i>Bala-balana aya bu?</i> Do you have <i>bala-bala</i> ?	<i>Aya, ke heula.</i> Yes, could you wait for a moment please? (Ibu Tuti goes inside the house to get some <i>bala-bala</i>).
<i>Bala-balana opat, ketan opat.</i> I buy four <i>bala-bala</i> and four <i>ketan</i> . (The man helps himself to puts <i>bala-bala</i> in a plastic bag, pays Ibu Tuti Rp 2,800, and leaves the warung).	<i>Jadi dua rebu sareng ci kopina dalapan ratus.</i> The <i>bala-bala</i> and <i>ketan</i> total Rp 2000 plus Rp 800 for the coffee ⁸ .

2. A senior high school student in his school uniform and ready to go to school, visits the warung first to buy his breakfast.

Student	Ibu Tuti
<i>Bala-balana opat bu.</i> Can I have four <i>bala-bala</i> please?	(Puts four <i>bala-bala</i> into a plastic bag and gives them to the student)
(Pays Rp 1000 for four <i>bala-bala</i> and leaves the warung)	

3. An old man comes to buy four pieces of fried food items and cakes for Rp 1,000.
4. A woman brings a tray of *risoles* (fried pastry containing minced meat and vegetable) and *ketan*, 35 pieces in all, to be sold by Ibu Tuti. This woman is not a warung customer, but one of the local entrepreneurs who uses warung as a medium to sell her own goods. Ibu Tuti buys the 35 *risoles* and *ketan* from the woman at Rp 200 each, and sells them at Rp 250 each. So she makes a profit of Rp 50 or 25% each.
5. Another woman brings a tray of 22 *serabi* cakes and asks Ibu Tuti to return the tray she left the day before. Ibu Tuti buys the *serabi* cakes at Rp 200 each, sells

⁸ *Bala-bala* and *ketan* are sold for Rp 250 each. So eight pieces of *bala-bala* and *ketan* are Rp 2000 plus the coffee drink of Rp 800.

them at Rp 250 each or 25% higher. In addition to selling the *serabi* cakes through Ibu Tuti, every morning from 5-7 am, the woman sells the *serabi* herself by putting a small table at the south end of the alley.

6. A man brings two plastic bags each containing ten *ali agrem* (traditional doughnut). Ibu Tuti buys the doughnuts from the man, and sells them in her warung. She told me while showing me the bags of doughnuts ‘I buy these doughnuts for Rp 2,500, then I sell them at Rp 150 each [20% higher]’.

7. A woman comes to the warung with her two small children. At first, one of the children would like to buy an orange juice, but in the early morning the ice cubes are not yet available. Then his mother asks him if he would like to buy something else. Finally they buy some cakes, sit on a bench in front of the warung, and have a chat. By this time I found out that Ibu Tuti has to buy ice cubes for fruit juice, from a neighbour who has a refrigerator. Every day she buys three bags of ice cubes for Rp 400 each. She commented ‘I practically have “nothing”. I do not have my own refrigerator, nor a TV. I had a TV before, but it broke down. Rudi [a neighbour] tried to fix it, but something needs to be replaced [and she needs money to buy the part]. So I just gave up’. She further commented that she had recently bought a blender for Rp 100,000 from that person ‘who regularly hangs around [in Cicadas]’ meaning a mobile trader who sells various household utensils, either for cash or credit. Unfortunately, the new blender was currently not working, so she had returned it to the seller to be repaired. She bought the blender to make a fruit juice to add more variety in her warung commodities.

Since I stayed in Ibu Tuti’s warung nearly the whole morning, I became one of the warung customers by buying *odading*, *onde-onde*, *risoles*, and *serabi oncom*, for Rp 250 each or Rp 1,000 in total.

Financial

I have the impression that Ibu Tuti does not ‘think too much’ about financial matters and her warung business. On many occasions she often looked ‘confused’

when asked about her business turnover. Then I tried to ask something more specific and simpler, such as the amount of money she spends every time she shops at the night market. Some of her prompt responses are:

- 'When I have a lot of money I shop a lot, when I have little money I shop a little.'
- 'When I don't have money I buy some goods on credit. When I have no money, I occasionally borrow some money from my son. I will pay him back when I have money.'

I also asked her how much money she may get in the evening before she closes her warung, and she replied:

- 'I am not sure how much money I get in return, sometimes I get a lot of money, at other times I only get a little.'
- 'Just enough for my children's snacks.'

I noted that, on average, Ibu Tuti spends Rp 80,000-90,000 each time she shops at the dawn market. She said in the evening she may have Rp 92,000-108,000 in hand, of which Rp 80,000-90,000 is to be spent the next day at the dawn market. This means in a day she may have a net profit of Rp 12,000-18,000. This is not always the case, however, considering that not all of the warung customers pay for the warung goods in cash. As discussed in chapter 4, Ibu Tuti is among the majority of warung owners who provide *nganjuk*⁹ to many of their customers.

The case of Ibu Tuti is typical of warung owners in Cicadas: her warung only makes a relatively small profit which may not be commensurate with her labour and long working hours. Despite this, Ibu Tuti and many other warung owners keep on doing their warung business. No matter the long hours and small returns, warung enable them to have their household purse regularly filled with cash to cover day to day needs.

How much money she spends at the dawn market also depends on whether or not there are leftovers of the warung snacks and cakes. When there are leftovers,

⁹ For further details on *nganjuk*, see chapter 4 section 4.3.

some can be sold. I observed most of the snacks and cakes can be stored at room temperature for two to three days, although the longer time will reduce the quality. For leftovers which have to be refrigerated, she can store them in the refrigerator of one of her daughters who lives nearby.

Case 2: Ibu Reni

Family Background

Ibu Reni is a 37 year old woman, married with two children of eight and four years old. Bapak Edi, her husband, is 34 years old, and works as a civil servant at the Department of Industry and Trade in Bandung. Both of them are university graduates; they met when they were university students in Medan, North Sumatra. As a Batak-Christian family, they are in the 'minority' among the Sundanese-Muslim community. I noted that this does not make them any different from other people, except that they do not participate in religious community events such as the Qur'an reading (*pengajian*).

As soon as they finished university, the unmarried couple moved to Jakarta in 1992, in search for job, which they found was difficult. Ibu Reni said:

I thought before that [with the bachelor degree] it would not be difficult to find a job [in Jakarta]. Later on I found out that it was difficult for non-Java based university graduates [such as Ibu Reni and her husband] to find a job in Java [island]. On the other hand it is easier for Java based university graduates to find a job in the outer islands [those apart from Java].

Her statement should be regarded not as a particular case only, but implies a more general picture of Java versus non-Java issues. This is due to the fact that most of the nationally recognised universities are located in Java. So it makes sense that many Java-based university graduates find it relatively easy to find a job in the outer islands, but it does not work in the reverse situation as shown by the case of Ibu Reni and Bapak Edi.

In Jakarta, the young couple lived with a relative for a while before they got married and rented accommodation of their own. With a bachelor degree in

Indonesian language education, Ibu Reni got a job as an Indonesian language teacher in a private junior high school in Jakarta. She worked as a teacher for one and half years, while her husband worked, as she said at 'whatever was available', before he was eventually appointed as a civil servant in the Department of Industry and Trade in Jakarta.

Ibu Reni recalled the first few years in Java as 'the difficult time'. Her salary as an Indonesian language teacher was very small compared to the living cost in Jakarta. Moreover, she was depressed, facing the 'very naughty' junior high school teenagers who became her students. At this time, Ibu Reni had a miscarriage in her first pregnancy, since she was too exhausted and depressed from life in Jakarta.

Due to financial constraints, the young couple was only able to rent a cheap room in a boarding house where factory workers also lived. They had the experience of being raided by Jakarta's local government on the grounds that they were suspected of being illegal migrants and an unmarried couple living together. The Jakarta government regularly conducts such raids to prevent too many newcomers moving to the over populated city. Those who 'pass' the raid have to be able to produce a valid identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) and a letter of permission to move (*surat keterangan pindah*) from the local government at their place of origin. This also applied to Ibu Reni and Bapak Edi, who were asked to show their identity cards and the letter of permission to move from Medan. Tampubolon (1998) in her study of *rumah susun* (walk up flats) in Jakarta also mentioned this issue. She revealed that those who cannot produce relevant documents were subject to a fine or were required to obtain the documentations, which in 1995 varied between Rp 5,000-120,000 depending on what kinds of documentations are required and how close their relationship with the RT head (1998:101-104).

Although Ibu Reni and Bapak Edi eventually managed to find jobs in Jakarta, they were still financially subsidised by their parents living in Medan as their salaries were too small. Each month, Ibu Reni's parents sent Rp 100,000 to support the cost of living in Jakarta.

The couple lived in Jakarta for three years, before moving to Bandung when Bapak Edi was transferred to the West Java regional office of the Department of Industry and Trade. During the first few years in Bandung, they lived with a relative. Then they rented a house in North Bandung, before they moved to Cicadas. Their two children were born in Bandung and the warung business was started soon after they settled in.

Starting the Warung Business

At the beginning, Ibu Reni did not want to open a warung. It was her husband who wanted the business, but he was unable to manage it on his own because of his work as a civil servant, and suggested his wife manage it.

Over time during my fieldwork I gradually got the impression that Ibu Reni's engagement in the business was not because she wished to do so but because she has no other choice. She frequently expressed her wish to return to school to teach. Furthermore, she said that among her extended family, she is the only one who operates such a business. None of her family members engage in warung business. She feels that the business is boring and narrows her world view. She also complains that she has very limited opportunity for physical mobility, as she has to tend the warung all the time.

On several occasions, she asked me if I knew of any vacancies for the position of Indonesian language teacher. She is willing to be a teacher, although at the same time expresses her doubt about whether or not she is able to due to lack of information about the current Indonesian language curriculum. She says that if she had an opportunity to be an Indonesian language teacher, she would close her warung or give it to other people. She has no intention of improving her warung business into something more 'substantial'. She often complains to her husband that she is getting bored and tired of running the warung. The husband responds by saying that whenever she is bored or tired, she can close the warung for a while, go to bed, and re-open it later on. She replies that if she does that, people will no longer come to her warung.

A question arises as to why Ibu Reni keeps on with the warung business when she does not enjoy it and often complains about it? I think that she has no other choice due to the following factors:

1. Difficulties in finding a job commensurate with her educational background, which is also the case of many other Indonesian university graduates.
2. Constraints in relation to her position as a mother of two young children. Having young children has to a certain extent limited her chances to enter the formal sector. Since she moved to Bandung in 1995, she has never applied for a job as an Indonesian language teacher.
3. Her husband salary as a civil servant is not sufficient to cover household needs. Although this is a relative term, I would think she comes from a middle class background, indicated by her educational qualifications and financial ability to migrate to Java. Living in Bandung with two young children, relying only on a civil servant's monthly salary of Rp 1,000,000 makes it hard to make ends meet, if one considers not only basic needs but also other needs such as providing a good education for the children.

In a wider context, Ibu Reni's case mirrors a problem in labour market opportunities for women. Manning (1998:239) wrote:

[There is] a strong relationship between participation in the female urban workforce and age, marital status and family structure. Marriage and the presence of young children were negatively associated with participation. Despite the much discussed role of extended families, the presence of young children clearly discouraged female participation in urban Indonesia.

Ibu Reni opened her first warung when she lived in North Bandung in 1995. However the first few years of her business were not successful: 'my warung goods were gone but the money was gone too'. She blamed the many relatives who came to her warung to take some goods without paying. Since the beginning, she has specialised in selling non-perishable goods such as bath soap, washing powder, dishwashing liquid, shampoo, dried milk, cooking oil, sugar, plain flour, rice, bottled drinks, tea, coffee, canned food, tissues, eggs, cigarettes, sweets, snacks, body lotion, ice cream, instant noodles, and cooking ingredients. The family moved to Cicadas in 1998 and re-started the warung business.

The Warung Situation

Unlike her neighbour, Ibu Tuti (case 1), the physical construction of the warung and the commodities sold at Ibu Reni's warung lead to a situation where people come to her warung purely to buy something they need. None of them visit her warung to chat or socialize with others. The physical construction of her warung does not allow people to do that. No chairs are provided for sitting and chatting with other customers. The narrow space in front of the warung can only accommodate two or three people standing to do their transactions. The main commodity of the warung also does not encourage people to stay for a long time. People just come when they need to buy something, and go when they have what they need.

As noted previously, people normally buy warung goods in very small amounts, which last only once. This is shown in the following two hours evening observation in the warung, from 6.30-8.30 pm.

- A male teenager buys one 'Jarum Super' cigarette for Rp 400.
- A little girl buys two sweets for Rp 50 each
- A woman buys a sachet of 45 ml 'Bendera' sweetened milk for Rp 800, normally mixed with water, enough for one cup of milk only.
- A little boy is asked by his mother to buy a sachet of 40 grams 'Dancow' milk powder.
- A man buys a pack of 'Jarum Super' cigarettes for Rp 4,500 (this transaction may be considered as 'exceptional' in terms of the amount of money spent by the customer).
- A man buys a sachet of 'Extra Joss' energy drink for 500.
- A man buys one 'Jarum Super' cigarette for Rp 400.
- A child buys a small bag containing several spicy crackers for Rp 100.
- A child buys an ice cream for Rp 100.
- A woman buys ¼ kg of eggs for Rp 1,650
- A man buys a sachet of 'Kapal Api' coffee powder for Rp 400.
- A man buys a 6 ml sachet of 'Head and Shoulder' shampoo for Rp 400.

The above data shows that there were 12 customers within two hours. This means that there is one customer every 10 minutes at least. With the exception of the man who bought a pack of cigarettes, each of them was involved a small transaction of no more than Rp 1,000. My observations show that this is a typical situation for a warung. The customers come and go to buy very small amounts. Sometimes the same customers come to the same warung more than once a day, keeping the warung owner very busy. I observed there was no time for Ibu Reni to relax. As long as the warung is open, she continuously has to serve the customers and deal with their small transactions. She confirms that she feels busy and tired. She commented that 'It is often [during the hot day time] when I am about to fall asleep that a child wakes me up only to buy a sweet for Rp 50. It is worth it if somebody wakes me up for a pack of cigarettes of Rp 4,500'.

Since everybody knows that Ibu Reni does not provide *nganjuk*, very few of the customers ask for it, and most of them are prepared with some cash prior to coming to her warung. I was in her warung when somebody tried to ask for *nganjuk* and she replied in a straightforward manner 'I do not normally give *nganjuk*. If you want to buy something please pay in cash now'. She further comments to me 'If I am not straightforward [with my customers], there are always people who want to buy something and to pay later on. The problem is some of them tend to ask for some more [warung goods], while the previous ones are not yet paid'.

Transactions at Ibu Reni's warung and at other warung in Cicadas, contrast with transactions at markets, where it is common to find people bargaining. Jennifer Alexander (1987:167-188) in her study of trade, traders, and trading in the market in Kebumen, Central Java, revealed that bargaining marks transactions at the market. She wrote that such bargaining is partly related to the fact that 'Prices within the *pasar* [market] are always conceptualized as a range' (1987:173). In contrast bargaining can also be found in traditional markets in Bandung, including at Cicadas dawn market where many warung owners buy their goods. Prices at

warung are fixed, and transactions are brief, direct, with no bargaining¹⁰. At warung it is easier to find people asking for credit than bargaining. Regardless of the difference, both market and warung are women's domain (Jennifer Alexander 1987, Jellinek 1991, Murray 1991)

In terms of gender, the evening warung customers tend to be men buying consumer goods such as cigarettes, coffee, and bottled drinks to accompany their social gatherings which normally occur in the evening. Customers in the morning are mostly women. The following is a two-hour morning observation in the warung, from 5.20 – 7.30 am.

- A woman with a plastic bottle buys one litre of kerosene for Rp 1,100.
- A woman buys a 200 gram pack of 'Kapal Api' coffee powder for Rp 1,000.
- A woman with a plastic bottle buys one litre of kerosene for Rp 1,100.
- A woman buys ½ kg of rice for Rp 1,250.
- A woman buys two packs of instant noodles for Rp 700 each
- A woman with a plastic bottle buys one litre of kerosene for Rp 1,100.
- A woman buys 2-3 eggs in a plastic bag for Rp 600.
- Some men chatting in front of Ibu Tuti's warung next door buy one or two cigarettes, for Rp 400 or Rp 800, each.
- Some women buy cooking ingredients, which are packed in a sachet of 2X3 cm containing either 2-3 cloves of garlic, or 2-3 pieces of candlenut, or a teaspoon of coriander seeds or tamarind. The 'standard' price applied in all warung in Cicadas for such quantities is Rp 100 per sachet.

The above data shows that in the morning, most of those coming to the warung are female, buying goods related to the preparation of breakfast or daily meals of the family. Kerosene, cooking oil, instant noodles, eggs, rice, and cooking ingredients are the main commodities bought by the morning customers. Kerosene buyers can be recognized from the small plastic bottles they bring with them. Cooking oil is normally sold in a plastic bag, to be carried by hand. Instant

¹⁰ This is not to contradict my previous statement in chapter 4, section 4.2, where I mentioned that warung act as a social centre. The actual transactions at warung are typically brief, but people may stay longer for other reasons such as looking after young children, feeding a baby, and discussing various community issues

noodles buyers can also be easily recognized, since they leave carrying one or two packs of noodles in their hands.

As noted previously, the purchases warung customers make are for single act of consumption. For instance, a cigarette will not last long once the customer leaves the warung. A litre of kerosene will last for no more than one day. For a family with two or three children, ½ kg of rice will last for about one or two days. A woman who buys two or three eggs will finish the eggs soon, assuming that the eggs are for the breakfast of the family, or they will last until the end of the day. A woman who buys two packs of instant noodles will cook them immediately assuming they are for the breakfast of her family.

I commented to Ibu Reni on the small amount of each transaction. We discussed the possibility that this may relate to the socioeconomic condition of the local community, that is, people of low or irregular income. She replied that her warung goods sell well probably because Cicadas is dominated by low income people. She pointed out that a warung of one of her friends who lives in a housing 'complex' in another suburb, is not as 'successful' as hers. 'Complex' refers to a non-kampung city area. Ibu Reni considers her neighbourhood as a kampung. 'Successful' refers to her warung goods selling better than those of her relative. The relative said that, unlike in Cicadas, in the 'complex' only a few people shop at warung. Many shop in supermarkets or shops to buy their daily needs, where people normally buy in bigger quantities than warung.

Financial

Ibu Reni buys her warung goods at a grocery shop in Cicadas market. Her domestic helper, Wawan, shops there every day. Although it may not seem practical, she prefers to do the grocery shopping daily. She gives two reasons for this: to monitor price fluctuations and to ease the calculation of the warung turnover.

Monitoring price fluctuations

Prices of certain commodities such as sugar, rice, cooking oil, plain flour, and eggs, fluctuate a lot; some even fluctuate markedly within days. For instance, at one point in 2002, the price of eggs was Rp 6,750 per kg, within two days it became Rp 7,500 per kg. The price of eggs may be as low as Rp 6,000 per kg and as high as Rp 8,500 per kg. Religious events such as Lebaran are among other factors which lead to price fluctuation of certain commodities.

Ibu Reni mentioned that she needs to closely monitor the price of certain commodities to avoid a loss. She takes the price of eggs as an example. She said, 'If I buy the eggs for my warung all at once, I will not be able to monitor the price'. This was the case when I bought eggs to stock for a week when the price was Rp 7,500 per kg; two days later it became Rp 6,750 per kg. In order to avoid a loss, I could sell the eggs at a higher price, but my customers would move to other warung, looking for cheaper ones. If I follow the decreasing price [at the regional market] and sell the eggs at a lower price to attract my customers, I will have a loss'.

On the other hand if Ibu Reni buys the eggs when the price is low, and within days the price goes up, she will lose nothing and will still be able to make a profit by selling them at a higher price. Nevertheless this will lead to her being unable to monitor price fluctuations. Therefore, daily shopping at the grocery is a way to monitor price fluctuations at the regional market, later to be applied in her warung. As noted before, warung customers are active agents in monitoring and comparing prices among warung in Cicadas.

Similar reasoning is applied to other warung commodities such as rice and plain flour. In the case of rice, climate change contributes to price fluctuation. During the drought season in 2002, the price of rice increased a lot due to the decreased supply caused by the drought. As with eggs, plain flour also tends to rise during religious events such as Lebaran and Christmas, since they are both ingredients for making Lebaran or Christmas cakes.

Jennifer Alexander (1987) revealed that price knowledge is related to the position in the market: *bakul*, *juragan*, *agen* and *depot*. These terms refer to traders, but each of them refers to a different trading scale and position in the marketing structure. According to Jennifer Alexander (1987:55-85) *bakul* are involved in retailing, both *juragan* and *agen* are concerned with bulking or bulk-breaking activities, wholesaling in some senses of the word, but *agen* is of a higher level than *juragan*. *Depot* are traders who may buy goods directly from producers (1987:142). *Depot* may gain a higher profit than *bakul*, *juragan* or *agen*, which reflects two factors: 'Their better access to price information and their ability to resell in a wide range of markets' (1987:141)¹¹.

In Jennifer Alexander's terms, Ibu Reni occupies the position of *bakul*. I did not investigate in detail the grocery store and others in the higher position at the marketing structure, but from her explanation, I infer that the grocery store could be classified as either *depot* or *agen*. As a *bakul* Ibu Reni's price knowledge is more limited than the grocery store. Therefore in her case, shopping at the grocery every day is the most effective way to get information on price fluctuations to be applied in her warung. As a *bakul* there is no other source of information to monitor the fluctuation. Nothing is available on the internet, and even if there was, she is not an internet user, has no computer at home, and knows nothing about computers or the internet. This is not to say that there are not no internet cafes in Cicadas, but only a certain category of people make use of them, such as university students. Other media such as newspapers or radio only provide some general information regarding price fluctuations, not market prices.

Warung Turnover

Another reason for the daily shopping at the grocery is, as she said 'to make the calculation easier' of the warung turnover. She explains that it is easier for her to calculate on a daily base how much capital she spends, and how much profit she has. She said 'it is easier to calculate this way, some of the return I have today can

¹¹ For more details on the position of *agen*, *juragan*, *bakul*, and *depot*, see Jennifer Alexander, 1987:55-85, 142, 134-161.

be spent tomorrow'. 'Spend' (*belanja*) here refers to the money she spends for shopping the next day, both for warung purposes and for the household's needs.

On average, Ibu Reni spends Rp 700,000-800,000 on shopping at the grocery store each day. She spends only Rp 600,000 during slack times, and could spend as much as Rp 1,000,000 during busy times. She further explains that 'I generally make a profit of Rp 100 per item for most of my warung commodities. For certain commodities I make a profit of Rp 50 or Rp 200 per item'. In other words she sells the warung goods to her customers for 10-15% more than the grocery store price.

With a daily capital of Rp 700,000-800,000, a profit of 10-15% means that she has a net daily income of Rp 70,000-120,000. Assuming that her warung is open for 25 days¹² a month, she may have a net monthly income between Rp 1,750,000- 3,000,000. As a comparison, this amount is higher than her husband's salary, who is a civil servant, and is paid Rp 1,000,000 per month. Income from the warung business is used to cover the day to day household expenses, while the husband's salary is for saving purposes. None of his salary is used to cover the family's living expenses, unless there is an emergency situation.

The relatively high income is also related to the warung being in the large-scale category which is a minority among warung in Cicadas¹³. Therefore when compared with other warung owners, who are mostly in the small-scale category, she earns a much higher income. For instance Ibu Reni earns six to seven times more than Ibu Tuti (case 1), who earns Rp 12,000-18,000 per day only, or equal to Rp 300,000-450,000 per month (25 days¹⁴). Moreover, Ibu Reni has a better cash flow and the income from her warung is more reliable than Ibu Tuti's. Part of the reason is that she does not provide *nganjuk* to her customer, while Ibu Tuti does, which tied up some of her money.

¹² Ibu Reni normally closes her warung on Sundays.

¹³ See chapter 3, section 3.3.1.

¹⁴ Ibu Tuti normally opens her warung seven days a week or 30-31 days a month. The 25 days calculation is for the purpose of comparison with Ibu Reni who opens her warung six days a week, from Monday to Saturday.

Division of Labour

Ibu Reni, in her position as a warung owner, a wife, and a mother, has to bear the burden of both income-earning activities and the domestic chores, much more than her husband. One main indicator can be seen from the long working hours she has every day, which is also typical of other women warung owners.

Ibu Reni is the one who first wakes up in the morning and goes straight to do the house cleaning. Many times during my stay in Cicadas I saw her cleaning the front room of her house. She commented that she has to do it very early in the morning, before the warung opens. She said ‘when my warung is open, I will not be able to do anything else apart from tending the warung and serving the customers’. To the best of my knowledge, I never saw her husband serving warung customers. All warung related matters are her business. My observation confirms her comment that she is ‘not able to do anything else apart from tending the warung’. I saw how busy she is handling the small transactions of her customers. Her case is not as Guinness (1986:64) writes in his study of a Yogyakarta’s kampung that ‘In some cases where husbands have other sources of income, the warung, people say is merely to keep the women amused, for neighbours tend to gather around the stall to exchange news’. Nevertheless, he does go on to say that ‘This view is inapplicable to many warung and ignores the value of the stall as a supplementary source of income when other sources fail, or as a means of conserving monthly salaries’ (1986:64).

I would like to note that it is not just the monetary value of warung which is underestimated in such views, but also the value of women’s labour. It is true that when one visits a warung for a short time only, one may only find a woman sitting down—apparently doing nothing—or just chatting with visitors, but not when one stays longer at a warung. ‘Tend the warung’ does not mean that Ibu Reni is only sitting and relaxing. Considering the characteristics of warung customers in Cicadas—people who buy small amounts of warung goods and sometimes come to warung several times a day—‘tending the warung’ makes her very busy and unable to do other things. During peak times there is one customer

every 5-10 minutes. The following table shows that she spends a total of 16-18 hours a day doing both domestic and public chores.

Table 5.4.
Division of Labour

Time	Ibu Reni	Bapak Edi
4-5 am	Clean the house	Sleeping
5 am	Open the warung	Sleeping
5.30 am	Tend the warung	Wake up
5.30-6.30 am	Tend the warung (busy time)	Prepare to go to office, help children to prepare to go to school, have breakfast with children.
6.30-7 am	Tend the warung (busy time)	Ride his motor cycle to transport his two children to school, go to work.
7-8 am	Tend the warung, have breakfast in between.	
8 am-4 pm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tend the warung, check the warung goods, organise shopping at the grocery store (to be done by Wawan). - Occasionally purchase goods from mobile traders. (I several times saw her buying goods for her warung such as sandals, cleaning equipments [brush, broom, feather duster, etc]. - Buy lunch for the family at nearby warung 	Work at office
12-1 pm	Children arrive from school.	
4-6 pm	Tend the warung while supervising the children doing their homework in the warung or in the living room next door.	Arrive at home from work, take a rest
6-9 pm	Tend the warung (busy time), have dinner in between.	Watch TV, read newspaper, play with children, have dinner. Accompany children doing their homework.
9-9.30 pm	Prepare to close the warung (sometimes the warung opens until 11 pm, especially at the week end)	As above
9.30-10 pm	Go to bed	Go to bed

Case 3: Ibu Ani

Family Background

Ibu Ani is a woman in her late 30s. She is married with five children: three girls and two boys. The youngest child is a six year old girl, while the oldest one is a senior high school male student. Both Ibu Ani and her husband Bapak Ahmad are opticians and community organisers. Ibu Ani is the head of her sub-neighbourhood ward (RT), while her husband is the secretary of his neighbourhood ward (RW).

As soon as Ibu Ani graduated from senior high school, she was forced to look for a job. She tried to enter the university, but failed to obtain a place at a state university due to tight competition. State universities generally offer a cheaper tuition fees than private universities. She said ‘perhaps it was because I was a stupid pupil that I did not pass the exam to get a place at a state university’. Studying at a private university was not possible for her due to financial constraints.

Ibu Ani is the third of nine siblings. With her six younger siblings still of school age and the financial constraints, she had no other choice than to search for a job. She got her first job as a shop attendant at a small optical store in Subang, a small town near Bandung, which lasted only six months. She could not stand working until late at night, while the salary was small, insufficient to cover living costs. Afterwards she got a job at Kasoem optical store in Bandung, which was one of the leading optical stores in Indonesia, and worked there for six years. At the beginning she was a store attendant but then gradually became involved in lens production. She says that the six years at Kasoem was like going to school to study optometry.

She continued working at Kasoem until she got married. She recalled that her boss at Kasoem did not mind her being married and having children. But she had problems balancing work and home when she was in her second pregnancy, while

her first child was less than one year old, so she herself decided to resign from Kasoem and start her own business.

Optical Warung

Optical warung is my own term to refer to the small optical store run by Ibu Ani. I call it an 'optical warung' not 'optical store', since it operates more with a 'warung style' rather than a 'store style'. Ibu Ani never refers to her optical store as a 'warung'. She would rather call it an 'optical shop' (*tokoacamata*). One may ask what is the warung style? What are the differences with a shop or supermarket? As mentioned in various parts of this thesis, a warung generally sells its commodities at a relatively low price, in small amounts, for either cash or credit. In contrast, shops sell their commodities at a relatively high price, in larger amounts, and for cash only.

Ibu Ani's optical warung was started when her first child was about two years old, meaning some time in 1985 or 1986. The original capital to develop the business was her savings from her previous work. She has never had credit. Even now, she seems to be unsure whether or not to accept a loan to further develop her business. She told me that she has to consider her income and the amount of monthly instalments if she takes a loan from a financial institution.

She has developed her optical warung little by little. At present she has two medium-sized glass shelves, each approximately two metres long and one metre wide, on which she displays a collection of spectacle frames. She also has some basic equipment for eye testing. In the past, she had the equipment to produce lenses, but during the worst part of the Indonesian economic crisis (1997-1998) she was forced to sell this (along with her refrigerator). She regrets this and said to me on several occasions 'the purchase price was high, but I had to sell it cheaply'. At that time she had no other choice, since there was no income and her savings were running out. 'I had no other choice [than to sell it], otherwise I could not eat'. There was no income at all for a certain period of time, since nobody asked for eye glasses. There was not even any demand for small eye glass repairs.

Currently, the price of the equipment is Rp 40,000,000. She said it would be very hard for her to buy it again due to the high price.

The optical warung was originally in the living room of her house. She eventually built an additional room in her front yard for it. She showed me the unpainted window of the warung, saying ‘this is not yet painted, because I have no money’.

The optical warung primarily serves the neighbourhood. As Ibu Ani said, ‘at least people in my neighbourhood ward (RW) know about my optical business’. The prices of the frames and lenses sold at the warung range from Rp 90,000-500,000, which is very cheap compared to those sold at some leading optical stores in Bandung such as Melawai, Cobra, Tunggal, and Kasoem. None of these stores offer frames and lenses below Rp 700,000. In spite of the very low price, most customers in Cicadas buy the glasses on nganjuk¹⁵. As for the quality, the low price does not necessarily mean poor quality. At least this is what I experienced as one of her customers. I also heard positive comments from other customers who were satisfied with her service.

As an optical warung owner, Ibu Ani has to have a comprehensive knowledge of optometry. I found that she plays a role similar to optometrists in leading optical stores in Bandung, although she has not obtained formal educational qualifications in optometry. Her skill has been obtained from her previous experience in optical stores in Bandung, as well as from ‘learning by doing’ when running her optical warung business. Ibu Ani said that her husband is more knowledgeable than her in optical science. He was an optician at Cobra optical, one of the leading optical stores in Bandung, but now helps Ibu Ani run the optical warung in their home. Nevertheless, I get the impression that it is Ibu Ani who is the driving force of the business. She admits that her husband is ‘unable’ to deal with customers, or do the marketing. Both jobs are hers.

In addition to the optical warung offering good prices, customers at her warung can choose whether they are going to pay in cash or on credit. Such an option is

¹⁵ For further details on nganjuk, see chapter 4, section 4.3.

not available at optical stores, where people have to pay in cash. Regardless of whether her customers pay for the glasses in cash or on credit, Ibu Ani has to pay cash to the manufacturer of the lenses. Since she cannot produce them herself any more, she has developed a network with some optical manufacturers in Bandung which enables her to use their facilities or to be given a discounted price for the production cost of lenses. She also has to pay cash for the frames.

Ibu Ani is therefore not free from financial risk. If some of her customers do not repay their credit, she will lose some of her money paid up front to the manufacturers. As noted previously, to minimise the risk, she only gives credit to those with 'good character', basing her judgement on people's reputation in the kampung and her own past experience in dealing with people.

Future Plan of Warung Business

Ibu Ani plans to expand her optical warung business in two stages: first, expanding the physical construction of the current optical warung, and second, looking for any possibility of getting a loan to expand the business.

For the first part of the plan, Ibu Ani approached a neighbour who owns the rented house next door to ask if she could take over the tenancy of the house when the current tenancy finished at the end of November 2002. The neighbour agreed. The house has a larger space than the current room used for the optical warung. Ibu Ani plans to move the current warung into the rented house, which she will name 'Ani's Optical'. In the future the plan is that her husband will be more in charge of the warung while she will concentrate more on the optical business at PLN office or in other places. Just as the above plan was about to proceed, I had to leave Cicadas since it was about time to finish my field work and had to return to Australia.

When I left, Ibu Ani had not yet acted on the second part of the plan, to apply for a loan to expand the business. I got the impression that Ibu Ani is the kind of person who is careful with credit. Several parties have offered her a loan, including one of the local banks which sent representatives to assess her business

and offered a loan, known as small-scale credit (*kredit usaha kecil*), of Rp 25,000,000-30,000,000 to expand the business. She decided not to accept the offer because she was not sure of her financial security and ability to repay at the time. She said ‘I have to think carefully about how to pay back the credit’.

In the Cicadas context where credit is ‘common’ and generally part of people’s daily life, her reluctance to accept credit seems quite ‘exceptional’. One can compare her case with that of Rudi and Neneng¹⁶ whose views on their warung business are quite simple: ‘The most important thing for us is that the warung business goes on and we are able to have some money to pay instalments (*cicilan*) each month’. The two cases are quite different in terms of business scale, skills, and social network, in all of which Ibu Ani seems to be in a better position than Rudi and Neneng. However, the potential of Ibu Ani and Bapak Ahmad to expand their business may not be good enough. Their education is not too low, but inadequate to further develop the business. They have no formal qualification in optometry, only optical skills gained from working experience. Although formal educational qualifications are not always the main factor to determine the success or failure of somebody’s business, their lack may become a constraint. Ibu Ani has, however, taken some steps to improve her optical business by expanding it beyond the warung through approaching prospective customers outside Cicadas by selling glasses door to door.

Selling Eye Glasses Door to Door

Not long after she resigned from Kasoem optical, Ibu Ani started to sell eye glasses and offer optical services door to door. She normally visited government offices and schools to look for customers. Ibu Ani remembers the time when she was pregnant with her third child, she brought a suitcase, and went across Bandung to offer eye glasses and optical services. At the beginning she approached some schools, which she admits ‘was a hard time’ meaning it was not easy to sell such a service when many people were not yet aware of the importance of good sight as part of overall health. She found that people did not

¹⁶ See chapter 3, section 3.1.

yet understand the relation between good sight (healthy eyes) and other parts of the body. Even when she met people who understood this, she had to face the fact that some of them underestimated her capability as a 'door to door' optician, and the relatively cheap price of goods she sold.

Implicitly, 'hard' is also related to her pregnancy, indicating how it looked for a pregnant woman to move around the city offering glasses. In this discussion, Ibu Ani only mentioned briefly her husband's role, driving her by a motor cycle for the door to door business.

The hard time eventually ended when, in 1998-1999, she got regular customers at West Java regional office of electricity (PLN Jabar - *Perusahaan Listrik Negara Cabang Jawa Barat*) located in one of the business districts in Bandung. This is now the place she visits most often to offer optical services and to sell eye glasses to its employees. She acknowledged that at the beginning it was difficult to approach a big government office such as PLN and to attract its staff to become her customers. She had to compete with branded optical companies such as Melawai, Kasoem, Tunggal, and Cobra, who also approach government offices as one of their marketing strategies. The high-ranking officials of PLN also challenged her with their doubts about the low-priced eye glasses she offered. This is because they were used to patronising branded optical stores in Bandung, which normally charge a higher price, and are assumed to sell glasses of a better quality. At the beginning, nobody at PLN paid attention to her. Nevertheless, she never gave up, and she applied every effort to gain the customers. Once she got her first few customers at PLN, she did her best to satisfy them. When some of them complained, for instance that the lenses they bought from her did not suit their eyes, she responded by offering to fix them or even to replace them at no cost.

So gradually Ibu Ani built a network with some PLN officials, including the high ranking ones. She also approached the finance section of the office which deals with the reimbursement for the cost of eye glasses for its staff. Each staff member is entitled to reimbursement for a pair of eye glasses up to Rp 350,000. While this amount is 'not much allowance', when compared to the prices in branded optical

stores, it is however worthwhile to have the reimbursement rather than nothing. Another problem when dealing with these stores is that they always ask customers to pay cash for glasses. For instance, if a staff member buys a pair of glasses for Rp 900,000, he/she has to pay in cash once the glasses are given to him/her. Then he/she gives the receipt to the finance section for reimbursement.

The same procedure also applies for the cost of eye testing to determine the correct measurement for the lenses. Through her connection, Ibu Ani is able to give a receipt for the test and to ensure that the cost is reimbursed by the employer. She charges Rp 60,000 for private service and Rp 15,000 for public service.

For the lenses production, she gets supplies from some lens manufacturers in Bandung, is allowed to use some of their facilities, and is given discounted prices because she is a regular buyer.

After continuous approaches to some key staff in the finance section at PLN office, the latter agreed that the reimbursement can be given directly to Ibu Ani. This means that once a PLN employee has her/his eyes checked, and it appears that she/he has to buy a new pair of glasses, Ibu Ani will inform the finance section, 'Mrs Somebody from Department Something, needs to buy a new pair of glasses which will cost Rp 1,000,000'. The finance section will proceed to give the Rp 350,000 reimbursement directly to Ibu Ani, meaning that when an employee needs to buy glasses from her, they just pay the gap between the amount of the reimbursement and the actual price of the glasses.

This arrangement has indeed eased the financial burden on the staff, which leads them to prefer to use her optical service than others. Ibu Ani does not stop at this point. She goes further to satisfy her customers at PLN by offering credit. For instance, if a pair of glasses costs Rp 1,000,000, the customer has to pay on his/her own the remaining Rp 650,000, after the reimbursement of Rp 350,000. Ibu Ani will allow her customer to pay either in cash or on credit. In the case of credit, the remaining Rp 650,000 can be paid monthly: Rp 150,000 per month for 5 months, so the fifth and final repayment will be only Rp 50,000.

According to Ibu Ani, in most cases her customers at PLN ask for credit. Repayment is no problem, and many settle the debt quicker than in the agreed time. When they see her at the office, some of them feel obliged to repay their credit as soon as possible. Some of them say that they feel a bit embarrassed for not yet finalising their debt. Although she never asks them to pay if it is not yet the due time, they do feel it is their responsibility to pay off the credit as soon as possible, or as soon as they have money.

Regarding credit repayments, the customers' attitude at PLN office is therefore very different from those in her neighbourhood. At the office, there is some sort of guarantee of return, while in Cicadas there is a bigger risk that some credit is not paid. This indicates that the socioeconomic position of PLN staff is relatively better than in Ibu Ani's neighbourhood. As government civil servants, the PLN employees have a more regular income as compared to the Cicadas people. In spite of the relatively low pay of Indonesian civil servants, including those at PLN, their regular income gives Ibu Ani a much better guarantee that her credit will be repaid.

Ibu Ani currently has a small office space at PLN headquarters where she can put her eye-testing equipment. She feels happy with the situation, having an optical warung at home and regular customers at PLN office. At the moment she is very concerned to do her best to satisfy the customers, maintain the relationship, and when possible to expand the business.

Income

Ibu Ani receives a monthly income from her optical business in the range of Rp 3,000,000-6,000,000, based on 10 to 25 pairs of glasses sold to both the warung and the PLN customers. She makes 30-40% profit on each pair of glasses she sells. She reckons that in slack times (*musim sepi*) ten pair of glasses, which is equal to Rp 3,000,000 a month, is 'not bad' (*lumayan*). In peak times (*musim ramai*) she may be able to sell as many as 25 pair of glasses, which equals Rp 6,000,000 profit, though this is rarely the case. She admits that she receives more income

from selling the glasses to PLN staff than from the warung. In addition, as noted above, customers from the PLN are generally more reliable financially. In contrast the warung business poses a greater risk of having some delay before she gets the return, or even not getting all of the money back¹⁷.

Fluctuation of income in the optical business mirrors the situation of the informal sector and shows how income from this sector cannot be relied on. Income from the formal sector, such as a government salary for civil servants or wages from working in a factory, shows that having a fixed salary, however small, ‘smoothes’ the irregularity of the informal sector. In a rural Java context, Wolf (1992) revealed that despite the small salary received by women factory workers, income from the formal sector (the factory) is more reliable than income from the informal sector (in this case, farming). She wrote: ‘Workers adjust their contributions to the family economy, particularly if the household is experiencing strain, as in the period right before the harvest when cash and food supplies are low. During months when there are sufficient rice or cash returns from farming, workers may contribute less and may receive a greater degree of subsidization from parents’ (1992:185).

The case of Ibu Ani and her eye glasses warung is slightly different from most warung owners who have at least one family member with regular income from working in the formal sector to ‘back up’ their warung. Ibu Ani and her husband entirely rely on their eye glasses business, no other ‘regular income’ as is the case of other warung owners. She and her family can survive since the business—especially that at the PLN office—gives them a relatively high income. Her optical business with the PLN office serves as a ‘back up’ for the warung. For Ibu Ani, whose warung is in the large-scale category, the impact of the irregular income is not as great as other warung who are in the small-scale category. Nevertheless, lack of financial support from the formal sector did lead the optical business to nearly collapse during the economic crisis in 1997-1998, and the family livelihood was threatened. During the crisis nobody offered her credit. In comparison, it is much harder for smaller warung to rely on the income from the

¹⁷ See chapter 4, section 4.3.

warung business only, without a back up of one or more family members working in the formal sector.

In Cicadas, people like Ibu Ani have a relatively high status socially and economically. Her income, educational background, optical business, and her network with the 'non-kampung middle class' people (PLN staff), mean that none of the Cicadas people will consider her as poor. Nevertheless, a family with five school age children, living in a city like Bandung, with a monthly income of Rp 3,000,000-4,000,000, can only afford a modest style of living, even though they may be able to cover basic needs such as shelter, food, education, and health costs.

Division of Labour

When I first met Ibu Ani, I sensed that she, not her husband, was the one who played the major role in the optical business, despite the fact that she said that the business belonged to both of them. This was confirmed later through my on going contacts with her.

Ibu Ani described the situation as 'I am "out" more than my husband'. 'Out' refers to the fact that it is Ibu Ani who goes out more often to meet customers outside the warung.

My interviews with Ibu Ani and my observations show that Ibu Ani does more of the core activities of the business than Bapak Ahmad. As well as being the one who regularly visits the customers both at the PLN office and at other places, dealing with them in all aspects of optical matters, she is also the one who deals with the lens manufacturer for the lens production. It should be noted that her husband occasionally drives his wife by motor cycle to visit customers, the lens manufacturer, and to collect repayments from those who have bought glasses on credit.

In their warung, Bapak Ahmad also serves the customers, but only when his wife is not at home. When both are at home, it is Ibu Ani who meets the customers, tests their eyes, helps them to choose the right frames, and deals with the financial

matters arrangements: whether they would like to pay in cash or on credit. If the customers would like to pay on credit, she is the one who negotiates with them the length of the credit and the amount of repayments.

As a consequence of playing a major role in the business, Ibu Ani has to leave home more often than her husband. Therefore, Bapak Ahmad spends more time looking after the youngest child, who is not yet old enough to be left alone at home. He is also responsible for transporting other children, especially the young ones, to and from school, using his motor cycle. However this does not mean that Bapak Ahmad does more of the domestic chores than his wife. The washing and the cooking are Ibu Ani's responsibilities, as is the sideline business of selling fruit juice. Overall, it is Ibu Ani who spends more time and labour on both public and domestic chores.

Sideline Business

In addition to the optical warung, Ibu Ani has another small warung selling fruit juice. She has placed a small stall in front of her house, next to the optical warung, to hold fruit such as oranges, mangos, melons, avocados, a blender, and some ice cubes. Juices are sold in cups for Rp 500 each. There are also some light snacks on the stall.

The optical and the juice warung are separate units, the latter targets mostly children having jajan in between their play. However, the juice warung may in a way 'support' the optical warung by providing fresh fruit juice to optical customers waiting their turn for eye testing. At least this is what I did when I had my eyes tested. I have never found such (personal) services in any optical store in Bandung.

I noticed that the juice warung not always open. It may open for a few days a week, and close on other days. The reason is related to the slack and busy times of the optical business, since Ibu Ani has to close her juice warung when there are many orders for glasses, which means she has to leave her house for longer periods of time to go to the lens manufacturers, and to visit customers. Although

Bapak Ahmad is at home, he does not seem willing to be in charge of the juice warung.

Ibu Ani said that the juice warung is only 'to kill time rather than doing nothing'. However, in my view she does not 'do nothing'. On the contrary, she is an active, very busy woman, and the driving force of both the business and domestic matters. Selling fruit juice is relatively easy, does not require a lot of capital nor skill, and has some sort of guaranteed return, even if it is only for a small amount of money. Unlike the optical warung, she did not seem to be interested in speaking about it in detail. She said that the juice warung was 'just for fun'. Furthermore she said that the fruits she bought were not for warung purposes only, but for the family as well. So when the fruits are not finished by the end of the day, they will either be sold the next day or used for the family's consumption. No matter how small the amount, the fruit juice warung enables her to have her purse regularly filled with cash to cover day to day needs (K. Robinson, personal communication, March 16, 2005) and as a 'safety net' for the family, to anticipate the slack time of the optical business.

Case 4: Ibu Lina

Family background

Ibu Lina is a warung owner in her late 50s. She originally comes from Garut, a small town approximately 200 km South East of Bandung, and has been living in Cicadas since 1972. Ibu Lina is married to Bapak Dudu, and they have seven children, six of whom are married, and fourteen grand children. Currently she lives with her husband, the youngest unmarried son named Yaya, and one of the married daughters named Ibu Dewi and her two children. Ibu Dewi's husband currently works in a small town near Bandung and comes back home at weekends only. Among Ibu Lina's seven children, only the oldest son is a university graduate, and he currently working as a civil servant. The other children are senior high school graduates.

In the past, Bapak Dudu was a full time employee in an ice factory in Bandung, which belongs to the regional government of West Java (BUMD - *Badan Usaha Milik Daerah*). He retired at the age of 55. Since he was a casual employee (*karyawan honorer*), he was not entitled to a pension as is the case of civil servants. He was only given a lump sum at the end of his service at the factory. In his mid 60s, he looks fragile and is in ill health.

Yaya, the youngest son, is currently trying his luck at establishing his own business, selling onions at Cicadas market. Several times I found some jute sacks containing onions stored in the family's living room. His mother describes him as someone who has become a 'psychological burden' (*beban pikiran*), not necessarily financially but more because of his behaviour. She complained to me that he does not seem willing to work seriously.

Warung Business

Ibu Lina started her warung business in 1972, soon after she moved to Cicadas. She said that during the past 30-year period, the business has been 'on and off'. Pregnancy and taking care of young children are among the main reasons for fluctuations in the business. In addition, at that time the family could rely on Bapak Dudu's small but regular income. Since his retirement, however, the warung business has become the only source of income for the family.

The main reason of conducting the warung business is therefore to support Ibu Lina and her husband. Moreover some of her children and grandchildren still 'rely on me [her] for meals (*masih ikut makan*)'. She particularly refers to Yaya, and Dewi and her two children. Some of the married children occasionally give financial assistance to buy rice and to pay electricity bills, but it is not sufficient to cover all the living costs since each of them has dependants as well.

Ibu Lina specialises in selling cooked food including vegetables, tofu, soy bean cakes, fish, and a small amount of chicken and beef, each cooked in various ways. The food is relatively cheap since the main customers of her warung are the well diggers and pedicab drivers in the neighbourhood. As noted before, well diggers

have very irregular income and pedicab drivers can generally be categorised as the poorest in the Cicadas community¹⁸.

Some of the dishes sold in Ibu Lina's warung are as follows:

- Sweet fried soy bean cakes (*tempe bacem*), Rp 500 per piece.
- Fish cooked with yellow sauce (*ikan mas bumbu kuning*), Rp 1,500 each.
- Chicken cooked with sweet soy sauce (*ayam bumbu kecap*) and cut into medium pieces for Rp 1,500 each.
- Eggs cooked with red chilli sauce (*telur bumbu merah*), Rp 800 per egg.
- Tofu cooked with red chilli sauce (*tahu bumbu merah*), Rp 200 per piece.
- Smashed potato ball (*perkedel kentang*), Rp 200 each.
- Fried cabbage mixed with plain flour (*bala-bala*), Rp 250 each.
- Mixed bitter melon and tofu cooked with red chilli sauce, Rp 500 per portion.
- Large shrimp crackers (*kerupuk*), Rp 200 each.

Division of Labour

Ibu Lina starts her day at 3 am, performs the night prayer (*sholat tahajud*) first, then leaves for the Cicadas dawn market at 3.30 am. I had the opportunity to accompany her to do the shopping on several occasions. She knocked on my door at 3.30 am and we walked to the market. On her way home she either takes an *angkot* or pedicab or sometimes walks 'depending on the amount of goods bought from the market'. She told me that if she shops for a little only, she prefers to walk home to save the transportation cost.

As in the case with other warung owners, the aim of shopping in the early morning at the dawn market is to get cheaper prices. The purchases are for the warung and the household. The shopping finishes 'when there is a call for dawn prayer from the mosque' meaning at about 4.35-4.45 am. As soon as she arrives home, she performing the dawn prayer (*sholat subuh*) and then starts cooking the

¹⁸ For further details, see chapter 6, section 6.2.

dishes for both the warung and the household. The cooking is complete by 9.30 am, which is the time her warung opens.

The warung is closed at 5 pm regardless of whether or not the warung dishes are sold out. However, in the evening people may knock on her door to buy some dishes, even when the warung is already closed. She said ‘you know people selling [food], sometimes all is finished [by the end of the day], at other times it is not’. Some of the left-overs are re-sold the next day, some others could be for the family’s dinner although it is very rare that the family consumes the warung dishes. The family meals and the warung’s are two different things. She said that her family gets ‘bored’ with the warung dishes, which are similar every day, so she cooks different meals for them.

Most of the warung customers buy the dishes to take away. No chairs and tables are provided in the warung. Nevertheless, those who would like to eat in are invited to come into the living room to use the family’s dining table, and are given the family’s steamed rice for free.

During the day, Ibu Lina is responsible for serving the warung customers most of the time. She has a short break for 30-60 minutes in the afternoon to sleep. ‘I need to sleep for a while in the afternoon because I start my day very early in the morning’. Only during the short break does her daughter, Ibu Dewi, serve the warung customers for her mother.

Financial

Every day Ibu Lina spends Rp 30,000-50,000 to shop at the dawn market. By the end of the day she may have a return of Rp 40,000-60,000 of which Rp 30,000-50,000 is to spend the next morning, while Rp 10,000 is the profit. She said she never counts the profit and the loss (*untung rugi*) of doing the warung business, nor does she separate the budget for business and domestic purposes.

She admits that the warung only gives her a tiny income, but she has to do it no matter what. She commented 'income from my warung will never be sufficient to build a high rise building [which costs a lot of money], but I have no other choice'.

Perception of Work

I noticed that Ibu Lina is in ill health but maintains her warung regardless. I was wondering whether her poor health was related to her being too exhausted through working all day long: shopping in the early morning, cooking, and serving the customers during the day. In total she works for 12-14 hours a day. Doing the shopping at the dawn market means she continually sacrifices sleeping time and goes out in the cold night air. I would imagine it must be physically harder for an older woman like her to deal with the long laborious warung work.

On some occasions, I expressed my concern that she could be too tired because of the early shopping, cooking, and serving the warung customers all day, seven days a week. In a year the warung closes for a few days only, on and around Lebaran day. I suggested that she should have some more rest. However, she knows she is responsible for the family income. She responded to me that for economic reasons she has no choice other than to do the business. Closing the warung would mean there is no income for the family. She added 'I do not feel like I am tired, since I do 'nothing', even the cooking is just the same dishes every day'.

Her response indicates how she perceives her work. Ibu Lina, as is the case with many other women warung owners, has probably never realised the significance of her labour for the family's survival. Moreover, such women never regard what they do as significant. Even though she works very long hours and has become the main breadwinner of the family, she still considers herself to be doing 'nothing', and keeps on forcing herself into hard work, which leads to poor health and a lower quality of life.

Winning Arisan

By coincidence I was with Ibu Lina when she won an *arisan* for Rp 160,000¹⁹. The *arisan* was held at a neighbour's house in the afternoon. As soon as the *arisan* meeting finished at 5 pm, she went straight home and asked her daughter to go shopping with her. She spent Rp 75,000 of the Rp 160,000 *arisan* money buying a kerosene stove and a baking pan, while the remaining Rp 85,000.00 was saved for emergency purposes.

So the *arisan* money was invested in the warung business. Prior to winning the *arisan*, she did mention to me her intention to buy a new kerosene stove. She often had a problem with one of the old stoves which led to delays in cooking the warung dishes. The new stove bought with the *arisan* money was to replace the old one, while the baking pan was to cook some cakes and cookies for Lebaran.

Ibu Lina's purchase of goods for her warung business with the *arisan* money shows how a warung owner uses her money from her informal saving scheme. I found that Cicadas women in particular widely use informal financial institutions such as *arisan* and local cooperatives for saving and credit instead of going to formal institutions such as banks. Ibu Lina's case shows how she saves her money through *arisan* and uses the savings for something productive: to buy some equipment to support the warung business. She has joined several *arisan* groups, and says that joining *arisan* has helped her to be disciplined to save, since an *arisan* will only work if all participants commit to pay their contributions on time.

Case 5: Ibu Tukiye and Ibu Sutiyah

Family Background

Ibu Tukiye (35 years old) and Ibu Sutiyah (50 years old) are daughter and mother. Both of them originally come from Central Java. Ibu Sutiyah has three children, two girls and a son. Ibu Tukiye is the second child, currently living in

¹⁹ She is a member of Ibu Susi's *arisan*. For further details on this *arisan*, see chapter 2, section 2.3.1.

Cicadas with her mother and nine year old daughter. Both are mobile *jamu*²⁰ sellers (*penjual jamu gendong*). They also have a warung in their home which specialises in selling *jamu*.

Ibu Sutiya is illiterate, though she is able to do simple calculations with Indonesian currency. Ibu Tukiyem finished senior high school in 1988 in her home town in Central Java, then moved to Bandung to work as a garment factory worker for three years. She stopped working in the factory due to marriage, pregnancy, and particularly, childcare demands. When her little daughter, Diah, was 1.5 years old, she started her *jamu* business under the guidance of her mother. Her husband left her when the daughter was 2.5 years old. Since then she has been a single parent. She further added 'because there is no husband, I am "married" to my mother. I discuss all household matters with her'. Currently, the family of three generations of grandmother, mother and daughter, entirely rely on the *jamu* business.

As is the case of warung owners in general, Ibu Tukiyem is a kampung woman with a relatively high educational level, and she has been able to access financial assistance to establish her warung. She is able to own a house while still young, and to have access to an electric well water pump of her own. The house of 15 m² was bought in 1998 for Rp 6,500,000, of which Rp 2,500,000 (38%) was from her savings while the rest, Rp 4,000,000 (62%), was borrowed from her brother. She had to borrow a further Rp 8,000,000 from her brother to install electricity, electric well water pump, and flooring in her house. In total, she borrowed Rp 12,000,000 from her brother. She had already paid back Rp 3,000,000 of the loan when she was forced to borrow a similar amount of money for her warung business, so her debt remains the same.

Ibu Sutiya has been a mobile *jamu* seller since she was a teenager. She and her family are used to living apart. She lived in Bandung selling *jamu* while her husband and children remained in Central Java. She regularly keeps in touch with

²⁰ *Jamu* literally means traditional herbal medicines, which originally come from ancient Javanese tradition. They may take the form of *jamu* drinks, powder, and pills, which are often considered to be 'modern' *jamu*.

her family in Central Java; at least once a year on Lebaran day she, her daughter and grand daughter, travel to Central Java.

Jamu Business

The *jamu* business conducted by the daughter-mother team is divided into two: selling home-made *jamu* door to door (*jamu gendong*) and selling factory-made *jamu* at their warung. Each of these will be elaborated further below.

Selling Jamu Door to Door

Ibu Tukiye and Ibu Sutiya start their days at 4 am cooking the *jamu* ingredients for door to door selling. They prepare the *jamu* from various kinds of plant materials such as turmeric, ginger, tamarind, rice, galingale, and coconut sugar. All these are mashed, cooked with water, and mixed with each other based on specific recipes. When finished, the liquid *jamu* is placed in bottles and then put into two containers made from bamboo (*bakul*). Each container holds several bottles of *jamu* of different kinds, such as a bottle of turmeric *jamu*, a bottle of mixed rice and galingale *jamu*, a bottle of mixed tamarind and coconut sugar *jamu*, as well as some drinking glasses, spoons, and eggs. A small amount of factory-made *jamu* packed in sachets is also included in the container. Each bamboo container contains 6-8 bottles of *jamu*, and is carried on the back of the seller with the support of a piece of a batik cloth (*kain*). The sellers also carry a bucket of water to wash the dishes.

The home-made *jamu* is sold for Rp 300-1,000 per glass. Differentiation in prices depends on who buys the *jamu* and how much *jamu* is required. As both Ibu Tukiye and Ibu Sutiya confirm 'children may have my *jamu* for Rp 300 per glass'. Whereas for adults, it is sold for Rp 500-1,000 per glass, depending on how much the glass is filled. A sachet of factory-made *jamu* mixed with a glass of hot water is sold for Rp 2,000-2,500 per glass, or Rp 3,500 per glass if a raw egg is added to the *jamu*.

The mother and daughter sell their *jamu* door to door, seven days a week. Mobile *jamu* traders have their own working area, although this ‘rule’ is applied flexibly. While Ibu Tukiyeem and Ibu Sutiyaah work in two different suburbs in the kota area of Bandung, other mobile *jamu* traders hang around the kampung area of Cicadas. I found traders working in these two different areas apply different prices for their *jamu*. For instance, those in the kampung sell their *jamu* for Rp 500 per glass, while those in the kota mostly sell it for Rp 1,000 per glass. I tried both *jamu* in the kota and the kampung and found the two are substantially the same in quantity and quality

Both the daughter and mother leave home at 6.30 am, each of them walking to their own suburbs. They finish at 11 am, taking public transportation home. Ibu Sutiyaah said ‘whether or not all of my *jamu* is sold out, I finish work by 11 am because I already feel tired’. Whereas her daughter said ‘you know [*jamu*] traders, sometimes all [*jamu*] is sold out sometimes not’. The warung is opened as soon as they arrive home at 11.30 am.

Selling Jamu at Warung

The warung is Ibu Tukiyeem’s business. Her mother very rarely engages with the warung business due to poor literacy and numeracy. The *jamu* sold at the warung is factory-made *jamu*, in the form of a powder or pills packed in sachets. The package gives some information about the brand names²¹, the ingredients, and the merits of the *jamu*. Thus an illiterate person such as Ibu Sutiyaah will never be able to respond appropriately to warung customers asking to buy particular *jamu* for a particular problem, such as *jamu* for a headache, *jamu* for a fever, or *jamu* for a period pain. Furthermore, some warung transactions are of higher amounts as compared to the morning mobile trading since the warung also serves as a supplier for local mobile *jamu* traders. While Ibu Sutiyaah is able to deal with the morning door to door small transactions, which are only few thousand Rupiah, this is not the case for the larger warung transactions in the afternoon.

²¹ Some brand names are Sidomuncul, Jago, and Nyonya Meneer.

The warung business started in August 2001. It required Rp 3,000,000 to start the warung to buy:

- Some shelves on which to put the warung goods (Rp 1,000,000).
- Various kinds of factory-made *jamu* for Rp 2,000,000, bought in cash from a grocery shop in a nearby suburb.
- In addition, there was another purchase of factory-made *jamu* of Rp 500,000 on credit. The grocery store allows Ibu Tukiyeem to buy *jamu* either in cash or credit. She can accumulate the credit or pay off some of the credit while obtaining more stock. As far as she is concerned, how much *jamu* she purchases from the grocery store depends on two factors: the demand in the warung and the amount of money she has. If she needs to buy *jamu* while her money is not enough, she can ask for credit. In the past, Ibu Tukiyeem rode her bicycle to the grocery to buy the warung goods. Currently, she just calls them using a nearby public phone, and the *jamu* are delivered to her home.

The starting capital of Rp 3,000,000 was borrowed from Ibu Tukiyeem's younger brother, who works in Japan. She is not clear what her brother does in Japan. The brother's house next door is leased out and she borrowed the rent money to start her warung business. It has been more than 2 years since she borrowed the money and I doubt that she will ever return the money to her brother. Economic constraints could be one of the reasons, but I also got the impression that it was not really a loan which obligates the borrower to return the money. It could be 'half loan half gift' (*setengah pinjam setengah kasih*), an expression meaning that the deal between the two siblings is that the money is a loan that should be paid back. However, if for some reason the borrower is not able to return the money, it should not be a problem. As far as the lender is concerned, right from the beginning there was an intention to help the borrower financially. In addition, while Ibu Tukiyeem borrowed from her brother to start the warung business, in return, the brother relies on his sister to take care of his house, such as dealing with the tenants, while he is away.

The warung is open from 11.30 am - 9 pm. Ibu Tukiyeem said 'when I feel tired I close my warung at 8 pm. Even when I do so, occasionally some people knock on my door late in the evening either to buy some *jamu* or to change money'.

The warung serves the neighbourhood as a 'traditional chemist'. It also serves local mobile *jamu* traders as a grocery shop. It is common to find people buying *jamu* to cure light ailments such as a headache, common cold, stomach upset, or light skin disease. Many people tend to cure themselves either by buying *jamu*, visiting a traditional healer, or asking local religious leaders for some prayers. When all such efforts fail to cure the sickness, they visit a medical practitioner. This does not mean that there is lack of modern medical facilities in the area. There are government health centres (*puskesmas*), privately owned health clinics, even hospitals, which all are located in the kota not far from Cicadas kampung. Nor does this phenomenon mean that people cannot afford the cost of modern medical facilities. *Puskesmas* in particular charge their patients relatively little.

The *jamu* warung operates in a similar way to other warung: people buy goods in small amounts, and some of them may ask for credit. In the case of *jamu*, the small size of purchases also relates to the nature of the *jamu*, which is a medicine to cure illnesses. Therefore people are not necessarily buying *jamu* in small amounts for financial reasons as is the case with other commodities²². Once the illness is gone, there is no reason to buy more *jamu*.

I observed that tending a warung selling *jamu* is different in nature compared to tending other warung selling snacks or non-perishable goods²³. Tending a warung selling mainly *jamu* requires know-how of what kind of *jamu* is suitable for what illness. At the beginning, warung customers normally inform the seller of the symptoms they have, such as a headache, a cough, or a stomach upset, then ask her what *jamu* will cure such symptoms.

Local mobile *jamu* traders are another type of customers for the *jamu* warung. They normally buy the factory-made *jamu* in larger amounts than ordinary customers, using the warung as their supplier. From the warung owner's point of view, serving the mobile traders is not as profitable as serving ordinary people. The traders often ask for a lower price in order to keep their own selling price low,

²² See case 2 Ibu Reni.

²³ See case 1 Ibu Tuti, and case 2 Ibu Reni.

which leads Ibu Tukiyeem to have a lower profit per unit compared to selling *jamu* to non traders. For instance a sachet of preserved *jamu* which she buys for Rp 1,000 is sold to mobile traders for Rp 1,200 each. The same *jamu* can be sold to non traders for Rp 1,500, or 25% higher. However, the mobile sellers account for greater volume.

Financial

It is easier to calculate the income from the door to door selling, which can give Ibu Tukiyeem and Ibu Sutiyah a net profit of Rp 15,000-25,000 each, equal to Rp 30,000-50,000 per day for both of them. Income from the door to door selling is more reliable than income from the warung. This situation is related to the targeted customers of the door to door selling, the kota people who always pay in cash for the *jamu* they buy. This facilitates the turnover of the sellers. Another factor that contributes to this situation is the nature of the home made *jamu* sold door to door, which mostly aims to maintain one's physical fitness instead of curing illnesses as is the case of *jamu* sold at the warung. Some people believe that drinking home-made *jamu* regularly is good for health and will prevent them from getting ill.

On the other hand, income from the warung is not as reliable. Several factors contribute to this: the type of customers, the neighbourhood situation, and the nature of *jamu* sold. As the warung serves as a grocery store for local traders, and the latter buy the *jamu* to be re-sold, they 'insist' on not just a cheaper price, so they are able to make profit, but also to buy on credit. I was at Ibu Tukiyeem's warung when I saw two mobile *jamu* traders buying some *jamu* powder. One of them paid Rp 5,000 in cash and the other obtained credit for Rp 20,000.

In Jennifer Alexander's (1987) terms, Ibu Tukiyeem occupies the position of both *bakul* and *juragan*²⁴. Her warung serves as a retailer to the surrounding neighbourhood, where people can buy a small quantity of *jamu* for personal use. For the local mobile traders, Ibu Tukiyeem is a *juragan*. She buys *jamu* in larger

²⁴ For the definition of *bakul* and *juragan*, see the case of Ibu Reni earlier in this chapter (case 2).

quantities from the grocery store—which is an *agen*—to serve local mobile traders. The latter are *bakul*, concerned with retailing, or to be more specific *bakul keliling*, one who ‘Vends produce while moving through the market or visiting houses in the village’ (Jennifer Alexander, 1987:55). Ibu Tukiye and her mother are also *bakul keliling*, who vend their home made jamu in the morning, visiting houses in particular suburbs.

While Ibu Tukiye was able to promptly tell me the amount of profit she gets from the door to door selling, this was not the case for the warung sales. She is only able to provide information on how much she spends at the grocery store when shopping for *jamu* for her warung. For instance, she said that she had shopped at the grocery twice in a two week period. On the first visit she explained ‘I bought some goods [*jamu*] for Rp 1,500,000, but I only paid Rp 400,000 in cash. I told the grocery store I had just spent Rp 1,100,000 on my daughter’s medical costs. I would like to have some goods [for my warung] but I only had Rp 400,000 in cash’. With regard to the second shopping visit she said ‘I bought some goods [*jamu*] for Rp 1,200,000, but I only paid Rp 300,000 in cash’.

The first statement refers to her daughter being ill and having to stay in hospital for six days, which cost her Rp 1,100,000. I asked her if she had to use her savings to cover the cost, but she said that she ‘borrowed’ money from the grocery store instead of using her savings (in fact, she has no savings). It appeared later on that ‘borrow’ meant not paying the debt from her previous transactions with the grocery store, which she was supposed to do so before being allowed to have more credit. However, Ibu Tukiye and the grocery store have been working together for three years so they have built trust in each other. Therefore she can rely on the store financially for emergency needs such as the medical costs of an ill family member. Apart from specific circumstances such as an ill child, she is used to the ‘goods first, pay later’ system when shopping for *jamu* at the grocery store. A similar system applies to her warung customers who can collect whatever *jamu* they need and pay later on.

In Forbes’ (1981) terms, the relationship between the grocery store and Ibu Tukiye is called *punggawa*-trader relationship. ‘In the widest sense, a

punggawa is someone with greater amount of power and control in an economic relationship (1981:135).’ In his study of traders in the fresh food markets in Ujung Pandang, Forbes stated that

The *punggawa* do not, in any sense, organize the traders in the market. However, their influence on the movement of commodities through the market and in particular the discriminating distribution of their credit, has had a significant impact on the fortunes of the small dependent traders. The small trader is forced to use the credit provided by the *punggawa*, for this is the only way he is able to ensure his place in the marketing chain and hence his income (1981:136).

The grocery store from which Ibu Tukiyeem buys her warung goods and obtains credit is a *punggawa* in Forbes’ terms. Although the store owner does not directly control how Ibu Tukiyeem runs her warung, she depends on him for her *jamu* supplies and the credit. At this stage, maintaining a good relationship with the grocery store is the only way to ensure the continuity of the warung business and hence her income from warung. The *punggawa* is also the first point to contact for emergency cash, such as for unexpected medical costs.

Ibu Tukiyeem acknowledged that it is difficult for her to count precisely how much profit she has from her warung. I get the impression that her warung is no more than a mechanism to extend the limited cash she has, which at the same time ties her into continuous debt with the grocery store. For daily needs she relies more on income from the door to door selling. Regardless of how much money she earns, she spends it immediately for the household’s needs (such as meals) and, when necessary, to buy some materials for home-made *jamu* for the next day.

5.3. Conclusion

In addition to chapter 3, this chapter provides a deeper insight from the women warung owners on the reasons why they do the warung business. While economic is one of the main reasons, a factor such as the women’s life cycle plays a significant role to their decision to do the business. The cases of Ibu Reni, Ibu Ani and Ibu Tukiyeem represent the younger generation of women warung owners. They are under 40 years old, relatively well educated, and previously worked in the formal sector. Their shift to the informal sector (the warung business) is due to

changes in their marital status: from single to married, and particularly to being a mother. The cases of Ibu Lina and Ibu Tuti represent the older generation of warung owners, with lower educational qualification, and no experience of working in the formal sector. Nonetheless, in all cases their decision to run a warung business is very much influenced by the possibility to combine income earning activities and the domestic chores. All the women have to deal with the double burden of doing both public and domestic work. They all spend many more hours to perform both tasks than their husbands.

At the ideological level, the above situation is related to the position of women in the capitalist society, and the related notions of housewifization, and *ibuism*. The last two are implemented through the Dharma Wanita and the PKK programs. Whatever the program all have the same voice with regard to women's position and status in the society. Women are supposed to be at home and are responsible for the domestic matters. This implies that public activities are secondary for them. Although the 'ideal' notion does not fit most Indonesian women, nearly all instruments in the society (the media, etc) continuously promote such notions. As a result, women's activities and their problems in the public sphere receive 'less attention'. This is also the case of the women warung owners, who although they make a significant financial contribution to the family through their warung business, are often underestimated. Few people, if anyone at all, pays attention to their labour and their extremely long working hours.

With regard to one of the main themes of this thesis 'Why do more women than men run warung?' this chapter explains that this is because of two principal factors: economic pressure and the ideological notion of 'good women', that is women who are mothers and housewives and who are responsible for domestic matters. The warung business solves the economic problem, at the same time it does not require a woman to leave her home and so she can still be a 'good' housewife and mother.

While this chapter discusses case studies of women warung owners who are 'the not so poor' the following chapter on warung and urban poverty will discuss women who are the poorest in Cicadas.