

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of Study

This section will briefly introduce some of the basic issues in this research i.e. the research questions, the hypothesis, and the meaning of the terms most frequently used.

This research is a study of women, *warung* (small shops), and (Cicadas) *kampung*. It aims to answer two research questions: Why are there many warung in Cicadas? Why do more women than men run warung?

My initial research focus was on urban poverty and hence I selected the poor area of Cicadas kampung in the city of Bandung in West Java. When I started my fieldwork in early 2002 I found a large number of warung scattered across the lively kampung. I visited warung not for my research purposes, but to buy drinks after walking around the crowded streets. At midday, I often bought my lunch as well, such as rice and side dishes, *lotek* Sundanese salad or a noodle soup. While warung selling food are the most common type in Cicadas, there are other kinds of warung such as those selling vegetables, non-perishable goods, herbal medicine (*jamu*), and even eye glasses. I noticed that in some areas there are high densities of warung, while in others only a few warung exist. I began to pay more attention to warung and to compare one area with another. I explored as many warung as possible, most of the time by being a customer myself. I also began to spend longer at warung, not just to eat but to speak to the owners and to other customers. In the end I decided to shift my research focus to warung issue. I do not absolutely exclude urban poverty, which was my initial research topic, instead it is now part of my research. In this thesis, I analyse warung in the context of poverty (see chapter 6).

Generally one can easily find warung in both urban and rural areas in Indonesia. As a young girl, I remember having snacks (*jajan*) at warung just like the children of Cicadas, although only occasionally since my parents insisted I not have too

many jajan. In the 1970s there was only one warung in the neighbourhood where I lived in Bandung, just few metres from my home. However the warung I visited as a child was different to those in Cicadas. 'My warung' was more like a shop (*toko*); people came to buy something and went away when they had done so. It was not a lively and busy warung like those in Cicadas. I could not recall if anyone bought goods on credit. Nevertheless people in my neighbourhood called it a warung, not a shop (*toko*).

Until I came to Cicadas, my contact with warung had only been as a customer. I treated warung just like a shop, market, or supermarket. I visited them only when I needed to buy something and, unless necessary, did not spend too much time there. When I came to Cicadas, I saw warung in a different light. It was not the same as a shop, market, or supermarket. The more I explored warung the more I felt I knew little about them, and the more I became interested in them. They seem to have considerable importance for the everyday livelihood of low income households.

The above issues concerning women, warung, kampung and poverty, lead me to hypothesize:

1. In Cicadas kampung, operating warung is a strategy widely utilised by low income families, to survive economic hardship.
2. For women warung owners, operating warung is a strategy to extend limited family income to make ends meet.
3. For the urban poor community (the kampung people), shopping at warung is a strategy to survive economic hardship. This relates to certain services at warung such as credit provision and the possibility to buy goods in small quantities, which match the low-irregular income of the poor.

Considering that the terms warung and kampung are used frequently in this thesis, I feel it is necessary to define them as it meant in the following chapters, as follow:

Warung:

A small shop selling daily needs, normally owned by women, and located at the front part of the owner's house.

Kampung:

A low-income residential area, located at the back of the main streets, with alleys to connect one area to another.

1.2. Kampung in Bandung

Cicadas is located in Eastern Bandung, the capital city of West Java province, about 350 km South East of Indonesia's capital city, Jakarta (see map 1.1). The city has an area of 167.67 km² with a population of nearly 3,000,000 people. Sundanese culture is dominant in Bandung and about 90% of the population is Muslim.

Bandung is a city with a fast-growing population, not only as a result of natural population increase but also because of rapid urbanization. Bandung is one of the centres of education and industrialization in West Java, and the city, originally designed to accommodate 500,000 people¹ is now over-populated.



Map 1.1. Indonesia and West Java

¹ According to the Dutch colonial government's planning prior to Indonesia's independence in 1945.

Kampung is the term used for low-income residential areas, usually densely populated. Like all big Indonesian cities, Bandung has a high concentration of kampung. Based on research conducted by the Bandung Institute of Governance Studies (BIGS), within Bandung ‘There are 139 villages (*kelurahan*), of which 60 are categorized as [1] “tending to slum”, 43 as [2] “slum”, 19 are [3] “extreme slum”, and only 17 are [4] “not slum” (BIGS, 2002)².’ Evers and Korff (2000:153) wrote ‘There is hardly any city in the third world which does not have large areas of squatter settlements, slums, shantytowns or rundown housing estates. City planners have failed by and large to reconstruct these areas or to restrict their growth’, and Bandung is no exception in this regard.

While BIGS did not discuss in detail the criteria they used to define slum areas, the first three categories refer to the inadequate basic infrastructure facilities normally found in kampung. The BIGS definition is cited in this thesis to provide a broader picture on kampung within Bandung municipality. BIGS’s study reveals there are many villages (*kelurahan*) in Bandung with poor basic infrastructure facilities. The categorization however, does not include the social aspects of slum versus the non-slum, nor does it accommodate kampung people’s perceptions. In this thesis when I discuss kampung I will use the categorization based on the perception of Cicadas kampung residents. I will also include social factors which differentiate slum (*kumuh*), kampung, and city (*kota*).

The growing number of kampung in Bandung can be seen to be a result of the inability of local government to provide adequate housing for the fast growing population. Unlike Jakarta, where the origins of kampung are said to correspond to ethnic groups, such as kampung Melayu, kampung Pekojan, kampung Bugis, and kampung Kauman (Nas & Pratiwo, 2003:280)³, none of the literature on kampung in Bandung mentions the relationship between kampung and ethnic groups. Literature on kampung in Bandung mentions the kampung as the residence of low income people, although there are some variations.

² My translation.

³ This statement should be understood to relate to the origin of the kampung during the Dutch colonial era (i.e. before 1945). Today’s Jakarta kampung, even though they still bear ethnic names, do not necessarily correspond to the ethnic background of the residents.

People in different Indonesian cities have different perceptions of kampung. Regardless of the level of facilities however, the existence of kampung can be viewed as a solution to poverty, since they accommodate poor people who cannot afford better housing. Nowadays, some (lower) middle income people remain in kampung for reasons such as proximity and easy access to work places or to educational institutions.

Kampung in Bandung are often characterized by poor physical infrastructure. About three quarters of Bandung's population lives in kampung, which often lack adequate sanitation facilities, safe water and basic social services (IPS, 2003). In terms of house size, many houses in the kampung are very small with many residents. Very few of the kampung houses meet the World Health Organization standard which states that a house should have at least 10 m² of space per person (BIGS, 2002).

1.3. Cicadas

I met an old friend when I had been in Bandung for a few days, after spending the first year of my PhD program in Canberra. She asked me where I was going to do my field research. I replied that I had selected Cicadas. She promptly responded 'Cicadas the slum area?' I often found similar responses when people talked about Cicadas, sometimes with a negative tone, especially from non-Cicadas residents. The response illustrated the common image of Cicadas.

Although Cicadas has an image of being a slum, there is significant economic diversity across the area. The term Cicadas has three different referents. Firstly, Cicadas is a business, trading, and densely populated area in Bandung. Secondly, it is the name of a *kecamatan* (sub-district). And thirdly, Cicadas is a name of a *kelurahan* (village). The three are located in the eastern part of Bandung. My research site focuses on the village (*kelurahan*) of Cicadas. However, I feel it necessary to first briefly describe the wider Cicadas context.

1.3.1. Cicadas—A Business, Trading and Densely populated Area in East Bandung

Geographically, when hearing the term ‘Cicadas’, people think of a certain area at the east end of the main Ahmad Yani street in Bandung. Here banks, offices, shops and department stores are located on both sides of the street (Plate 1.1). Within this commercial context, the term Cicadas also refers to a densely populated ‘slum’ area, located behind the offices, banks, and shops in the main street.

Cicadas is busy 24 hours a day with both formal and informal sector economic activities. During business hours, there is business activity of the formal sector: offices, banks, shops, department stores, as well as the informal sector. Street-side traders set up along the pedestrian paths on both sides of the street and on the edge of the street itself (Plate 1.2).

In the afternoon, from 5–9.30 pm, the street becomes more crowded. The number of street-side traders increases with the arrival of other sellers specializing in selling ready-to-eat meals such as fried chicken, banana fritters, satay, noodle soup, and various types of cakes. All of these street-side traders finish their work at about 9.30-10 pm when the department stores and shops close. From 12 midnight until 7 am, a traditional market takes place on the edges of the main street. The market is known as the ‘dawn market’, and it sells various kinds of commodities such as vegetables, fruits, fish, and meat at lower prices than to the day time market operating during normal business hours (Plate 1.3).

The main street is busy 24 hours a day, since it is one of the principal routes connecting the western and eastern parts of the city. As Cicadas is close to an intercity bus terminal, which is also busy for 24 hours, not only cars but also intercity buses pass along the street, as they enter and leave the terminal. In fact, nearly all kinds of transportation use the street including private cars, *angkot* (a kind of van for public transportation), buses, trucks, pedicab (*becak*), and a few bicycles (see Plates 1.1 and 1.2).



Plate 1.1. Heavy traffic in the main street of Cicadas



Plate 1.2. Street-side traders in the main street of Cicadas



Plate 1.3. Dawn market at Cicadas at 3 am

1.3.2. Cicadas Sub-district (*Kecamatan*)

Cicadas sub-district (*kecamatan*) refers to an administrative area in eastern Bandung, somewhat different to that described above. The population of this area numbers 15,021 people scattered across five villages (*kelurahan*).

Each of the villages has different social and economic characteristics, and range from urban to rural areas. Three of the five villages represent urban middle class areas, indicated by the existing and ongoing development of houses and apartments for middle and high income people. While there are some business activities in the five villages, most of the buildings are for residential purposes.

1.3.3. Cicadas Village (*Kelurahan*)—The Research Site

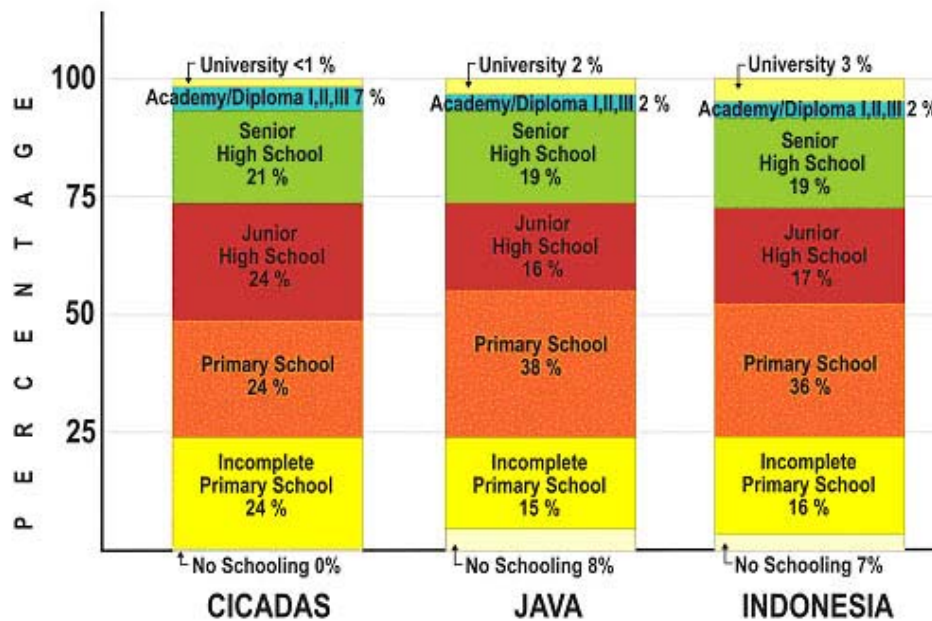
Cicadas village is part of the commercial Cicadas. The village is a densely populated housing area located at the back of the main street, behind the banks, offices, and shops. It covers an area of 55 hectares (Cicadas Village Office, 2001:3). In 2001, the population was some 12,869 people (2001:6) with a balanced population between men and women.

The number of people in the labour force in 2001 was 8,601 or 67% of the total population (2001:12). As for the educational level of the labour force, only 7% were university graduates, 21% were senior high school graduates, 24% junior high school graduates, 24% primary school graduates, and 24% did not finish primary school (2001:12)⁴. I would like to note that the last two categories together constitute nearly half of the total labour force with low educational qualification. This situation may contribute to the relatively high unemployment rate, with only about two thirds of the labour force being employed (2001:12). It may also contribute to poverty within the area, since low educational levels are most likely linked to low level jobs with poor income.

⁴ The original data are in numbers. Data on percentage is my own calculation.

The above figures however are not specific to Cicadas, where only a small percentage of the people are able to go to an academy or university. If we look at the broader picture of Java or even Indonesia, less than 10% of the population achieves academy- or university-level education. The following chart shows the comparison in educational level between Cicadas, Java, and Indonesia in 2001⁵.

Chart 1.1.
Comparison of Educational Levels
Cicadas, Java, Indonesia



Source:

Cicadas Village Office 2001:12, Badan Pusat Statistik, 2001: 45⁶.

The chart indicates that in general the Cicadas labour force shows higher educational achievement than Java and Indonesia. A higher percentage is apparent in the categories of ‘no schooling’, ‘junior and senior high school’, and academy or diploma. This is related to Cicadas being located in Bandung, a well developed urban area, and one of the centres of education in West Java region. In Cicadas and its surrounding area, it is not difficult to find public and private schools, from

⁵ I have to note the poor quality of data for Cicadas. I presume it means adults, but it is not clear who is included in the labour force (*angkatan kerja*). Data on Java and Indonesia are based on the criteria of labour force adopted by BPS or *Badan Pusat Statistik* (Indonesian Statistical Board): ‘Persons aged 15 years and over who, in the previous week, were working, temporarily absent from work but having jobs, and those who did not have work and were looking for work’ (BPS, 2001:xxii).

⁶ The original data are in numbers. Data on percentage is my own calculation.

primary to senior high schools. Many Cicadas parents send their children to local schools. Public schools offer lower tuition fees than private schools⁷. In 2002 a public primary school in Cicadas set a monthly tuition fee of Rp 8,500 only, which is very low compared to public schools in other parts of Bandung, which in 2002 may set up to Rp 50,000 a month or six times higher. Private primary schools in Bandung may charge as high as Rp 300,000 per month, or 35 times higher than the Cicadas public schools. Data on Java and Indonesia include the urban and the rural areas where there is a gap in educational facilities, in which the urban areas are relatively better off than the rural areas. There is also a gap in educational facilities between Java and other regions of Indonesia where the former offers relatively better facilities than the latter⁸. So Cicadas, being located in an urban area and in Java, helps explain why the educational achievement of the labour force in Cicadas is better educated than Java and Indonesia in general. Even the low income people in Cicadas have access to education in their local area.

The official data of Cicadas village records the occupational status of adults under the title 'people's livelihood' (*struktur mata pencaharian penduduk*). The 2001 data record 5,186 people working in the public sector and the military, 1,337 pensioners, 1,745 employees in the private sector (*pegawai swasta*), 8 people working in lodgings or renting rooms, 145 people working in transportation services, 1 person working as a notary, 161 people are skilled labourers⁹, 27 people are tailors, 4 people are hairdressers, 45 people in the rental businesses¹⁰, 2 people are described as doing 'miscellaneous', and 254 people work in the trading sector (Cicadas Village Office, 2001:10-11).

⁷In theory, public primary schools in Indonesia are free. In practice, many public schools set fees since they cannot rely on the small amount of government funding. The fees, supposed to be voluntary, in reality therefore become compulsory. Each school has its own policy on the amount of the fees.

⁸ I am aware that Catholic seminaries provide very good education as do some Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), regardless whether they are located in urban or rural areas, and in Java island or other regions.

⁹ Skilled labourers include carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and bricklayers.

¹⁰ The official data do not elaborate the rental business in Cicadas. However when I was in Cicadas I found some people engage in DVD rental business and party appliances rental such as folding chairs, tables, tents, sound system equipment, and kitchen utensils.

Warung are included in the trading sector. Of the 254 people listed as working in this sector, only 99 people are officially recorded as pursuing warung business. The remainder are in markets, kiosks, and shops. The data do not elaborate if these people are self-employed or are working for somebody else.

My own observation and data collection in Cicadas led me to conclude that the data from the village office did not reflect the real situation. For example in the case of warung in Cicadas, the official data only record 99 people as warung owners. I estimate there must be between one and two thousands people, mostly married women, conducting warung businesses in Cicadas. I have calculated these figures on the basis of the number of households in Cicadas village. According to the Village Office (2002) there are 3,404 households—and on my observation—in Cicadas kampung there is one warung every two to three houses¹¹. The inaccuracy of official data on recording data on the number of warung, or more generally data on the informal sector, should not be considered as specific to Cicadas. As far as I know, this problem occurs in many other places as well. In reality the number of people working in the informal sector could be much larger than the official figures. This is partly a result of the fact that such activities are not formally registered.

The data might also reflect how the government views the informal sector. It may consider the informal sector as less important than the formal sector. Government campaigns targeting street-side traders occur in many large cities in Indonesia, including Bandung. Banning street-side traders without offering alternatives, supports the notion that the government regards them not simply as unimportant, but as an eyesore that are best removed from sight.

Although there are no such bans on people trading in their homes, like warung, the fact that many warung in Cicadas (and elsewhere) are not recorded in the official data may reflect government views on women and work. State ideology

¹¹ I am aware that 'household' and 'house' have different meanings. For survey purposes the official data use the number of 'households' (*KK - kepala keluarga*), while I use the number of 'houses'— which refer to a concrete structure for residential purposes—to look at warung densities in Cicadas. I am also aware that in Cicadas kampung, some houses are occupied by more than one household.

regards women mainly in their capacity as mothers and housewives, regardless of the fact that many of them are in reality economically active. As most of the warung are conducted by women, whose activities in the public domain are often not officially recorded, the number of warung is therefore underestimated. Manning (1998:235-236) noted: 'Much of women's work, even outside the home, is missed in National Labour Force Surveys. Even in urban areas, surveys probably miss a considerable amount of work which contributes directly to household income'. More generally, Surbakti (2002:210) wrote 'The female labour force participation rate for women aged 15 years and over has always been lower than that of males in the same age group, although over the past 14 years the female rate has grown faster than the male rate'. It is often the case that working women, especially those engaged in the informal sector, are not recorded as economically active. The occupational column on their identity card (*KTP - kartu tanda penduduk*) records their status as housewives (*ibu rumah tangga*) or 'following husband' (*ikut suami*).

The relatively high number of Cicadas residents whose income derives from the formal sector—the civil servants, military, private sector employees, and pensioners—supports one of the findings of this research: most warung owners have at least one family member with a regular income. Although the official data does not break down their occupational status in detail, I observed that most of them are of lower rank. Therefore it makes sense that their families are involved in informal sector activities, including warung businesses, since their salary and pensions are low. It is a general knowledge that civil servants are poorly paid, especially those of low rank, and low ranking military personnel. I found pensioners are also poorly paid. Private sector occupations (*pegawai swasta*) in Cicadas, include factory work, cleaning, and other low ranking jobs.

Cicadas village is divided into 15 neighbourhood wards (*Rukun Warga* or RW), each consisting of 4-11 sub-neighbourhood wards (*Rukun Tetangga* or RT). It is the residency of various strata of people, but many of them are in the lower income groups. The kampung area can only be reached on foot since many of the 'streets' are only one to one and half metres wide, some are just half a metre.

When I was writing my research proposal, the busy commercial area of Cicadas was in my mind. At that stage I was already aware that the area could be too large to cover, so I planned to be selective and to focus on certain parts of the site. Cicadas village (this section) matched what I had imagined at the proposal writing stage as it is part of the Cicadas area described in section 1.3.1. so the constraint of having too large an area to cover was solved. Unless stated otherwise, in this thesis when I mention Cicadas, I refer to Cicadas village (*kelurahan*).

Another reason to choose the village is because in my on-going observations, I saw that this area consisted of slum (*kumuh*), village (*kampung*), and city (*kota*) areas, which I was interested in studying (map 1.2). Although I spent most of my time studying the *kampung*, the comparison with the other two categories was no less important.

Being a Bandung resident myself, I was familiar with the local perceptions and cultural distinction of *kumuh*, *kampung*, and *kota*. As I walked around Cicadas at the beginning of my fieldwork the differences in the residential areas was very apparent. Physically the *kota* area is indicated by streets which can accommodate at least a car, and permanent comfortable houses. The *kampung* is indicated by alleys which cannot accommodate four-wheeled vehicles, but allow pedicabs, motor cycles, and bicycles to pass. Houses are permanent but smaller than those in the *kota*. Alleys in the *kumuh* area are narrower than those in the *kampung*, and only accommodate foot traffic. Houses are what are regarded as semi-permanent, with only the base walls made of brick extended to the roof line with bamboo, wood or even cardboard. As a *kota* resident, I did not initially differentiate *kampung* and *kumuh* areas when I first came to Cicadas. I only felt that *kumuh* areas were ‘more *kampung*’. It is the *kampung* people who differentiate themselves from people from the *kumuh* area.

While the taken-for-granted use of the categories focuses on the physical characteristics to differentiate the three areas, it is important to also take into account the differences in social situation. Socially, the *kampung* is busier and more lively, with people hanging around the alleys or sitting on benches in the alley, than the quieter *kota*. Consequently, I found it easier to contact people in

the kampung than the kota. People in the kampung are also more open, even when dealing with strangers. In Cicadas kampung I had no difficulties meeting and talking to people. I often just joined them on a bench in an alley or at a warung and joined in their conversation. I also did this even if it was the first time I had met them. Of course the more often I met them, the more easily we interacted. I also had no difficulties knocking on the door of someone who I had never met before, briefly introducing myself, and engaging in enjoyable conversation. On one occasion when I visited one of the kampung residents for the first time, I was warmly welcomed by nearly all the family members—father, daughters, son-in-law and grandchildren—and engaged in a lengthy conversation. I rarely needed to make an appointment to contact people in the kampung.

In kota, contacting people is not as easy as in the kampung as nobody is ‘hanging around’ in the street or sitting on a bench (if one exists) and people tend to stay in their relatively comfortable houses. When I needed to meet people I had to either make an appointment first or if I just knocked on a door, I had to prepare myself for the fact that they normally do not warmly welcome visitors who they are meeting for the first time. It is also relatively difficult to engage in lengthy conversations as people do not normally talk too much with strangers. I do not mean to say they are unfriendly, but I would like to emphasize the differences in social environment between kampung and kota, which leads to people behaving in different ways. People say that living in a kampung is ‘warm’ (*hangat*), which refers to the relatively high level of interaction among its residents. However, I never heard people talking of kota as ‘cold’. People normally say that living in the kota is ‘different’ from living in the kampung. Generally people will understand ‘different’ to mean a relatively low level of interaction and individualistic behaviour among kota residents. Guinness (1986:169) wrote ‘In Yogyakarta kampung propinquity remains the basis of both social and cultural patterns, retained not as a rural tradition, but reaffirmed as a vital principle of urban society and culture’.

During my fieldwork, I could not find anybody who could explain what the term ‘Cicadas’ means, who named it, neither could I find such information in written

texts. However, some informants in Cicadas tell stories about the beginning of Cicadas.

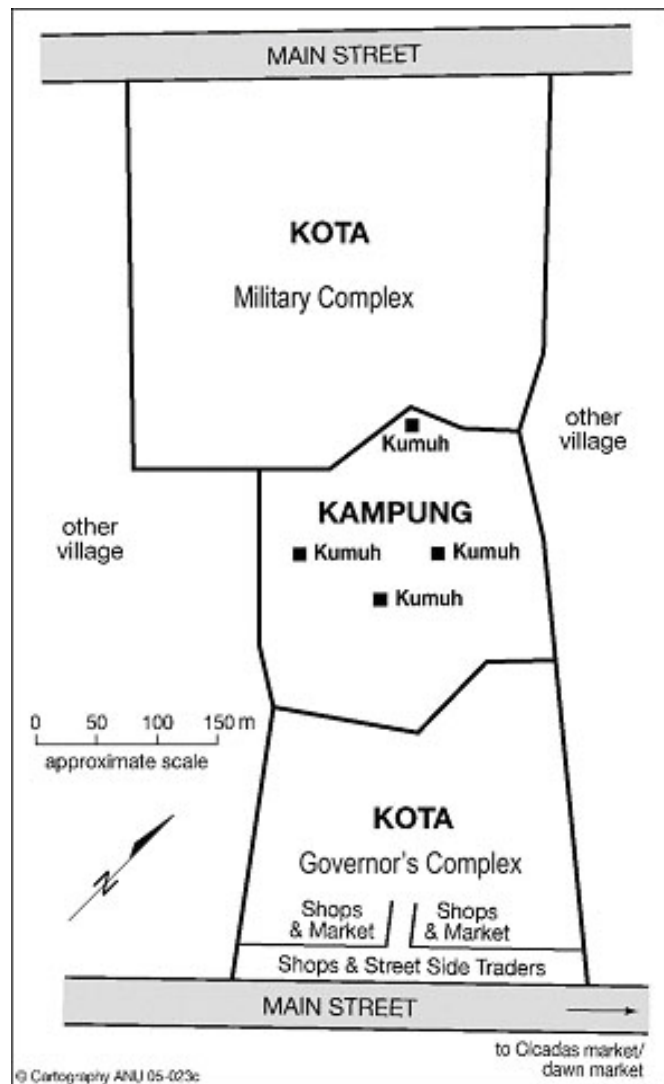
It is said that the first residential area was started in the 1950s with the development of a 'Governor's staff housing complex' or 'Governor's complex', which is now regarded as a kota area in the rice fields at the South Eastern side of Cicadas village, not far from the main street. The houses were developed by the government and sold only to the staff of the West Java Governor's office. Over time, the houses were sold to the general public and were no longer exclusively owned. At present only 25-30% of the houses are still owned by pensioners from the governor's office or their immediate families, and the rest belong to the general public, though today people still call the area the 'Governor's complex' (see map 1.2).

Another kota area within Cicadas area is a military housing complex on the North Eastern side of Cicadas village, known by locals as the 'complex', and developed in the 1970s. Some informants said that the area was previously rice and watercress fields. While houses in the Governor's complex belong to individuals, houses in the military complex belong to the army. Only active military personnel can have access to the houses.

Ibu Wiwi, a 72 year old Cicadas resident, confirmed that when she came to Cicadas for the first time in 1965 she was working as a watercress picker in the area currently known as the 'military complex'. She then became involved in a warung business when there were no more watercress fields. Ibu Euis, another old woman who has lived in Cicadas since 1965, recalled the time when she had to walk through the muddy pathways in between the rice fields, from the main street to her house in the kampung.

Apart from the two kota areas, the rest of Cicadas is mostly kampung areas. Administratively, nine out of fifteen RW are kampung, only six RW are kota areas. As for kumuh areas, they are scattered throughout the kampung. Map 1.2. shows the kota, kampung, and kumuh areas in Cicadas. The map shows that

although only six RW are kota areas they constitute more than two thirds of the area of Cicadas village.



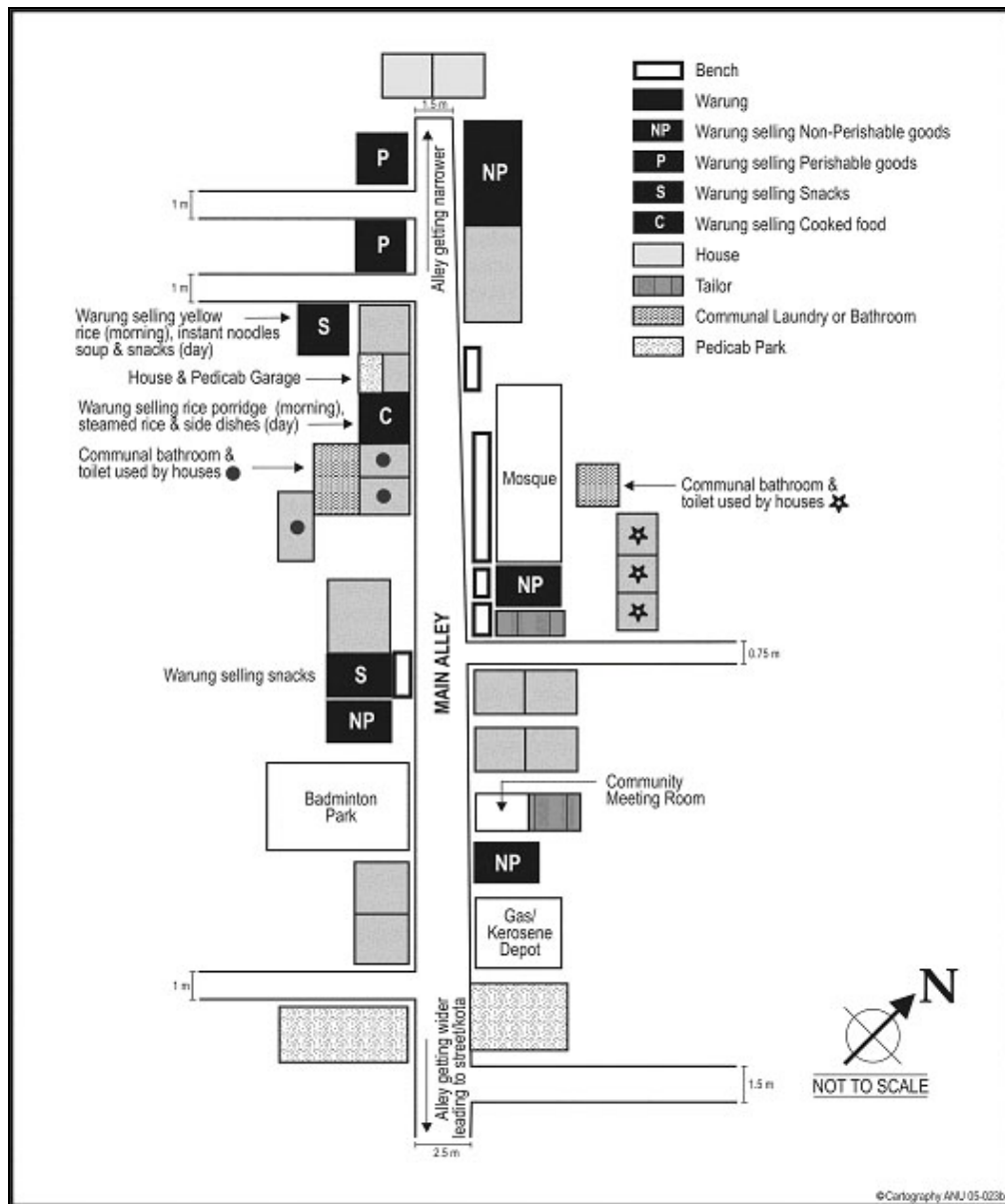
Map 1.2. Kota, kampung, and kumuh in Cicadas

The map shows that the kampung is located behind the main street while the two kota are on the street sides, which is substantially similar to the Yogyakarta case where Guinness (1986) distinguished between street side and alley side issues. According to Guinness, kampung people in Yogyakarta refer to street side people as ‘the people of *pinggir jalan* “street side” (1986:22) or kota people in my case. In both places those who live on the alley side are the kampung people.

Generally there is not much social contact between people living in the kampung and the kumuh areas on the one side and kota people on the other. Interaction

between them is limited to working relations between women from the first two areas, who are employed as domestic helpers to some families in the kota areas. As for the men, interaction with the kota people is in relation to their work as pedicab drivers and well diggers.

I found more warung in poorer kampung areas, and fewer warung in richer city (*kota*) areas. In the kampung there is one warung for every two to three houses, while in the kota there is one warung for every ten to fifteen houses. Map 1.3 shows an alley in Cicadas with a high density of warung. There are nine warung among the eighteen residential dwellings, meaning there is one warung for every two houses.



Map 1.3. Alley, Houses, and Warung

The development of warung in Cicadas follows the population growth in the area: the higher the population, the more warung. Although there is no accurate quantitative data to support this argument, a substantial number of warung owners, particularly the older generation and some other key informants, confirm that in the past there were not so many warung as today. Ibu Marni a warung owner who has lived in Cicadas since 1962, confirms ‘In the 1960s and 1970s in one street [alley] there was only one warung, today there is one warung for every two to three houses, two or three warung can exist just next to each other’. I checked the alley she referred to, and found thirteen warung, with the total number of houses

in the alley at 25, meaning one warung for every two houses. Regarding her warung business, Ibu Marni says ‘In the past there were only a few warung, with many customers, nowadays there are many warung with a few customers’. She adds ‘In the past I used one gunny sack of watercress a day for *lotek* [Sundanese salad] for my warung, nowadays I rarely expect to go through a bunch of watercress by the end of the day’ (emphasis added).

1.4. Research Subjects

This research studies warung owners and the Cicadas community. Warung owners, are for the most part women who constitute 90% of warung owners in Cicadas. Most of them are also married with children. Very few men run warung, but there are a small number of warung run jointly by husband-wife teams. I also found some warung run by women who are single parents. In this thesis I am interested in exploring why and how they run their warung enterprises.

I am also interested in the Cicadas community and its relationship to warung. Studying Cicadas is important for understanding the place of warung in the wider community context. Here I assume that members of the Cicadas community, many of whom have low incomes, also need warung and therefore there is a mutual interdependence.

1.5. Research Methodology

‘Anthropology distinguishes itself from the other social sciences through the great emphasis placed on ethnographic fieldwork as the most important source of new knowledge about society and culture’ (Eriksen, 2001:24). Most anthropological fieldwork is time intensive and may last for several months, one year, or longer in order to obtain as much comprehensive in-depth data of the phenomena investigated. In the field, researchers, and possibly some assistants, use themselves as the main ‘research instrument’ to collect data.

I was pursuing my fieldwork ‘at home’ in Bandung where I had spent most of my life. Despite being on ‘home’ ground I found it was no less challenging than a

similar exercise elsewhere. Eriksen notes that a general argument in favour of anthropological research ‘at home’ is that the most fundamental questions we ask about culture, society, and so on are equally relevant anywhere in the world (2001:30).

How were the subjects of this study to be approached ethnographically? At the beginning of my research, I notified various levels of state authority of my presence and intentions in the area. A letter of recommendation from Parahyangan Catholic University (Unpar) where I am employed, in addition to a similar letter from The Australian National University (ANU), made things easier. I spent 12 months continuous fieldwork in Cicadas during 2002.

I used a combination of in-depth interviews, observations, and participant observation to collect data on kampung, warung and women. Most of the time, the three methods were carried out in very informal situations. I talked and chatted with (most often) women at their houses, at a bench in an alley, or at warung. I participated in Qur’an reading sessions (*pengajian*) at a local mosque, attended night prayers (*tarawih*) at the mosque during Ramadhan fasting month, and went to rotating credit (*arisan*) meetings and the monthly integrated mother’s and child’s health post (Posyandu) meetings. With warung owners, I accompanied them when they went shopping at the Cicadas dawn market at 3 am, stayed at their warung during the day, and was one of their regular customers.

I have to note however that because of ‘gender constraints’, during my fieldwork I was unable to participate directly in men’s community activities. For instance, it would be strange, socially unacceptable, and ‘impossible’ for a woman to attend men’s Qur’an reading sessions in the mosque. Therefore data on men’s community activities are based on interviews only with both local women and men, while data on the women are based on both interviews and participant observation.

Close interaction with people and participating in community activities, helped me collect data more easily. By doing so, I felt that the data ‘came to me on its own’, rather than having to search for it. For instance, staying and chatting at

warung enabled me to collect data on how warung work including the relationships between warung owners and their customers, transactions, prices, business turnover, and division of labour within warung owners' families. Warung are also central points to collect data on broader community issues, they are meeting points and places to informally discuss various community matters. I also participated in annual community activities such as the celebration of Indonesia's independence on 17 August 2002. All this has given me comprehensive data on the kampung community, with warung as the central point of my research.

I developed one to one interactions with people by visiting them in their houses, having lunch at warung during quiet times, shopping with a warung owner at the dawn market, and talking to a neighbour while washing in our shared bathroom. All provided me with information which would not be revealed in a group situation, such as information on one's cumulative credit at warung.

Among older women, many of whom only had primary school level education, I rarely had 'critical' questions in relation to my research. They mostly regarded me as an *ibu-ibu*, literally meaning mother or adult woman like themselves. Warung owners regarded me as one of their regular customers. Younger women were more aware of my research activities. Their better education and more exposure to information, contributed to their awareness and understanding of what I was doing.

In addition to collecting primary data in the kampung, I visited government offices such as Cicadas village office (*kantor kelurahan*), some sub-district offices (*kantor kecamatan*) in Eastern Bandung, West Java Central Bureau of Statistics, and Bandung municipality office of the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN), to obtain secondary data to support my research, such as data on demography and poverty.

1.6. Literature Review

This research is situated within several bodies of scholarship on Indonesia, literature concerned with urban kampung, the informal sector, women and work, and women and trading. I will attempt to briefly acknowledge some of the literature which has influenced my writing, its relationship to my research, and how my research will add to this. In this section, I introduce the major works which I use in my later discussion.

There have been a number of studies of urban kampung, including Jellinek (1991), Murray (1991), Guinness (1986), John Sullivan (1992), Norma Sullivan (1994), Habsjah (1995) and Evers and Korff (2000). Jellinek (1991) and Murray (1991), studied poor communities in two different kampung in Jakarta. Jellinek studied Kebun Kacang kampung, and Ibu Bud, a small-scale trader living in the kampung, is a leading character. Her study extends to the neighbourhood where Ibu Bud lived. She discusses how the poor in the kampung survive and the dynamics of the kampung over several years. Murray's (1991) research was based in the Jakarta kampung Manggarai, where she studied poverty by focusing on street traders and prostitutes. Both of these writers provide analysis of women's work in the informal sector of urban kampung, which has assisted my analysis of warung owners in Cicadas. Jellinek (1991) and Murray (1991) both focus also in urban poverty.

Guinness (1986) discussed the Yogyakarta kampung of Ledok, and especially focused on the social interaction between different ranks of kampung people. He examines the concept of social harmony (*rukun*) among kampung residents. His work has been useful to me in analysing relations between people of different social rank (and kota-kampung-kumuh relationship) in Cicadas.

John Sullivan (1992) studied Yogyakarta kampung communities and their relation to the state. He is particularly concerned with: 'Examining among other things the state's reliance on community relations in its practice of local government, the effect of that reliance on the communities themselves, and the various costs and benefits for all parties involved' (1992:1). His study covers a wide range of

kampung life including social class, local administrative government, and the notion of neighbourhood and sharing. His work informs understanding of community relations in the practice of local government.

Norma Sullivan (1994) discusses gender relations in the Yogyakarta kampung of Sitiwaru. She looks at women's position and status within the family and the community. Her study also compares the situation of kampung women and the state ideology of women embodied in the PKK (family welfare development)¹² program. Norma Sullivan concluded that state ideology which stresses the sexual division of labour in the household—that men are responsible for public affairs and women are within the domestic area—does not match the reality of the kampung people's life. Her approach is useful in understanding the contradiction between the economic significance of women's work in warung to their own households and to community, and to the absence of the warung owners in official statistics.

Habsjah (1995) discussed women's and children's life in some poor kampung in Jakarta. She highlights family circumstances and child care issues, and how different family situations led to different child care patterns, which affected the children's health and nutritional status. She found that extended families, in particular the grandmothers, play an important role in looking after young children (grandchildren). Her work alerts us to the ways in which households and women in particular balance the demands of child care and income earning.

Evers and Korff (2000:228-242) studied and compared kampung life in the cities of Jakarta, Manila, and Bangkok. In all three cities they found that the informal sector played a significant role for the kampung people to cope with poverty. It appeared that many of the kampung people were engaged in small-scale trading. They also found a substantial number of women engaged in the trading. Their study underscores the importance of women's work in the informal sector as a

¹² When Norma Sullivan conducted her research in 1994, PKK stood for *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Development program. It now stands for *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Empowerment Program.

means to cope with poverty, and the importance of women's role in subsistence production.

Some of the writers on kampung such as Jellinek (1991), Murray (1991), Guinness (1986), John Sullivan (1992), and Evers and Korff (2000), mention women's involvement in the informal sector, including warung, but this is not a central theme in their discussion. I seek to fill this gap by focusing on warung within a kampung context and examining the importance of warung for urban poor livelihoods.

The literature on the informal sector in Indonesia, includes Forbes (1981) who conducted his research in Ujung Pandang¹³, and Manning, Effendy, and Tukiran (1984) who conducted their research in Yogyakarta. Forbes (1981) used the term 'petty commodity production' for the sectors he studied: the peddling of fish, fruit and vegetables, the manufacture and sale of ice cream, and trishaw riding. The discussion covers the area of the structure of petty commodity production, urbanization, circular migration, and urban-rural interdependence. Manning et al., (1984) conducted research on the informal sector and poverty in Diraprajan, Yogyakarta. The research investigated the relationship between types of work and income level, work stability and the household's socioeconomic status (Manning et al. 1984:4). In their discussion, both Forbes (1981) and Manning et al. (1984) included the trading sector as part of the informal sector. Forbes (1981) placed considerable emphasis on fish, fruit, vegetable, and ice cream trading in Ujung Pandang; he did not discuss in detail women's involvement in the trading nor the case of warung. Manning et al. (1984) covered a wide range of informal sector workers in Yogyakarta, including skilled workers (*tukang*), transportation workers (public transportation drivers, pedicab drivers), and traders (warung, mobile traders). I seek to extend this literature by focusing on women's involvement in trading, in particular in relation to warung.

There is considerable literature on women's work in Indonesia. Among the authors is Wright (1997), who recorded the experience and views of some

¹³ Ujung Pandang is now called Makassar.

working women in Yogyakarta and Central Java. She presents the women's own narratives regarding their work. Most of the women she studied are relatively well educated and have a middle class background. Within the formal sector, they include a school teacher, university lecturer, and medical doctor (1997:17-45). Within the informal sector, the women work in the areas of cake making, dress making, warung, gold and silver jewellery trading, and real estate (1997:46-76). She does not locate their work experience in their family and community relationships.

Some studies which primarily discuss women's work in the formal sector are Indraswari (1995), Tjandraningsih (1991), Yusuf (1991), Wolf (1992), and recently Warouw (2004). These authors have discussed female industrial workers in labour-intensive large-scale industries in Java, mainly the textile, garment, and footwear industries. They discuss their working conditions, what work means for women factory workers (Wolf, 1992), and factory work as part of 'modernity' (Warouw, 2004). These studies reveal the importance of factory work. However it also emerges that this is an option principally available to unmarried women.

Indraswari (1995) conducted research in Tangerang and Bogor; both Tjandraningsih (1991) and Warouw (2004) did their research in Tangerang, and Yusuf (1991) studied the South Bandung case, which all are in Sunda (West Java). However, most of the research subjects in their studies were not Sundanese people, nor did the researchers discuss specifically women and work in Sundanese culture. The women factory workers who became their research subjects were mostly migrants from other provinces in Java or even from other islands. The industrial sites they studied, including the neighbourhood where the workers lived were places where people of various ethnicities come from many parts of Indonesia. By contrast my research engages almost exclusively with Sundanese people, the residents of Cicadas. My focus on women's work in one sector of the urban economy will extend the knowledge of Sundanese women's work presented in Grijn, Smith, Van Velzen, Machfud, Sajogyo, (1994).

Compared to the industrial sites in Tangerang and Bogor where I did my previous research on women factory workers, the atmosphere in Cicadas kampung is

generally ‘more Sundanese’. In the industrial zones, although they were located on Sundanese land, many people spoke Javanese. In Cicadas kampung I found more people spoke Sundanese. I noticed people spoke Indonesian only to a small minority of kampung dwellers who are not Sundanese or not able to speak Sundanese, to newcomers, and to strangers.

The edited collection of Grijn et al. (1994)¹⁴, focuses on non-farm employment in rural West Java, covering the tea and coconut industries, poultry and dairy industries, cassava starch processing, small-scale food processing, large-scale garment production, textile industry, embroidery industry, handicrafts, metal-work industry, building material industry, chemical, plastic and rubber industries. The writers discuss women and work in relation to their status as entrepreneurs, wage workers, and unpaid family workers.

Grijn et al. confirmed ‘Women in West Java take a very active part in production in the non-farm sector of the rural economy. This sector provides a large and growing proportion of women in rural West Java with employment and earning opportunities’ (1994:191). On the other hand, the study concluded that women were marginalized, which—following Scott (1986)—they see:

- 1) As exclusion from productive employment;
 - 2) As the concentration of women at the margins of the labour market;
 - 3) As feminization of productive sectors or as sexual segregation of activities;
 - 4) As the widening of economic inequality between men and women.
- (cited in Grijn et al., 1994:194).

They argue:

To some extent marginalization is taking place on the last three dimensions: women are found at the bottom of all sub-sectors and in the stagnant sectors, jobs are segregated in such a way that women perform the less skilled, less secure and lowest paid jobs, and women as entrepreneurs, wage workers and unpaid family workers have less access to resources than men. In all the dimensions of marginalization variations exist between sectors and between women and there is a strong correlation between these differences and the stages in a woman’s life cycle (1994:198).

¹⁴ In their book, Grijn et al. (1994) also compiled research conducted by other writers, including Sajogyo, Utrecht, Van Velzen, Smith, Wahyuni, Machfud, Hutagalung, and Sjaifudian.

Sajogyo, Hastuti, Surkati, Wigna, Suryanata, White, (1979) conducted a case study on women and work in two villages in West Java. Their principal findings are relevant to the organization of women's work in Cicadas:

- 1) Women should not be considered a homogenous or uniform group, but must be distinguished into different groups or classes. The primary bases of this heterogeneity are wealth and income. Other sources of heterogeneity must also be recognized, for example differences in education, experience and exposure to the outside world.
- 2) There is apparently a strong norm that a wife should participate in income earning activity alongside her husband. Beside this, household tasks are still considered the tasks of women or wives.
- 3) National statistics show that almost one fifth of household heads in rural Java are women. It is therefore incorrect to assume that rural women can be represented by or depend upon men in such matters as: 1) obtaining government services (credit, etc), 2) income earning, 3) participation in social institutions, public life and community decision making.

(1979:17).

Wright (1997), Wolf (1992), Grijn et al. (1994), and Sajogyo et al. (1979), discussed both the women's work and their family circumstances, but do not discuss the community and the neighbourhoods where women live, or the interaction between the women and other community members. Studies of women workers such as Wright (1997), Indraswari (1995), Tjandraningsih (1991), Yusuf (1991), and Warouw (2004), are not centrally concerned with the workers family backgrounds and the communities where they live. In this thesis, I will discuss women's work, in this case the warung business, in relation to their family circumstances and the Cicadas kampung where they live. I will also discuss the interaction between women warung owners and other community members in their warung businesses.

There are a number of studies of women and trading in Java, which include Jennifer Alexander (1987, 1998), Chandler (1984) and Brenner (1991). The first two writers studied women market traders in rural Central Java. Jennifer Alexander conducted her research in Kebumen, and discussed the market, its traders, and transactions in the market. She argues that 'trade, traders, and trading' should be seen as three analytically distinct systems. She (Jennifer Alexander, 1998:207) outlines them as follows:

The *trade* conceptualization treats the market as a system of material exchanges, examining the geographical distribution of marketplaces and the

production and circulation of commodities. In the *traders'* perspective, the approach usually adopted by anthropologist, the market is a social system, and the emphasis is on describing the types of traders, their careers, and the social institutions that link them into complex webs of social relationships. The *trading* perspective, one that is too often ignored, conceptualizes the market as a structured flow of culturally grounded information and examines the ways in which traders make their living by acquiring information and concealing it from others (italics added).

The market, which is the focus of Jennifer Alexander's study, and the warung, which is the focus of my study, are two sites with different types of trade, traders, and trading. Nonetheless some aspects of Jennifer Alexander's study of the market are relevant to the warung case, such as the marketing structure which involves *bakul* (retailers), *juragan* and *agen* (both are suppliers), knowledge of price, business scale, and credit issues (Jennifer Alexander, 1987). Throughout this thesis I will refer to these relevant issues and discuss how they relate in warung practice.

Chandler (1984) studied periodic markets in Sleman and Muntilan. She primarily observed three aspects of market trade: market periodicity, trader mobility, and the distribution of consumer goods. Her work is useful in understanding the distribution of warung goods in Cicadas.

Brenner (1991) studied women batik traders in Solo, where she raised the notion of *alus* (refined, civilized, smooth) and *kasar* (unrefined, rough, uncivilized). *Alus* carries the additional connotation of high status, while *kasar* is associated with low status (Brenner, 1991:6). Brenner analysed the activities of women batik traders in relation to the two notions. The insights from her work illuminate the strategies Cicadas women employ to manage their households' finance, including asking warung owners for credit, which is most likely done by women, since for men it is considered as shameful (*memalukan*) or low status (*kasar*).

Jennifer Alexander (1987), Chandler (1984) and Brenner (1991), who all conducted their research in Central Java, confirm that the market is a women's place and it is women who handle the marketing and trading. This is slightly

different to the West Java case in rural small-scale food processing industries.

Grijn et al. (1994:104) wrote:

In Sundanese villages women manage production whereas their husbands take care of marketing and trade. In the northern and eastern parts of West Java where the Javanese culture is more dominant, women are clearly the heads of marketing and trade. Financial management in all locations is handled by women.

In Cicadas, this issue relates to the analysis of warung business as a strategy to extend a limited salary to make ends meet.

Herawati (1988), studied warung and household economy in Klitren village of Yogyakarta. Her study mainly covers the economic background of women warung owners and their business performance. Jennifer Alexander (1987), Chandler (1984), and Brenner (1991) focus on women in their position as traders trading in the market. Except for Brenner (1991), they did not discuss the interaction between the women and people in their places of residence. Nor did Herawati (1988) who, although she studied women warung owners conducting warung businesses in a kampung, did not provide a detailed picture of the kampung community where the warung exist, nor the relationship between the warung owners and the kampung residents. In Cicadas there is no separation between the home, kampung and the warung business. As a result, women warung owners, when conducting their work, cannot avoid interacting intensively with people in their neighbourhood. This research will look this specific trading activity within the kampung context, a form of trading largely conducted by women as an extension of their household responsibilities.

In brief, this literature review basically covers three key areas of women and work, women's contribution to household economies, and kampung and poverty.

With women and work, the literature has indicated that women are involved to a great extent in the public domain, both in the formal and the informal sectors of the economy including trading. It appears in some of the literature that women's economic involvement is for subsistence only. This explains why in the formal sector they are generally employed the low(est) level of the company's hierarchy such as the case of the women factory workers. In case of the informal sector

where women are doing businesses (trading) they are on the small-scale level and their businesses are rarely improved into something more substantial.

To a significant extent, women's involvement in the extra household economy relates to poverty or more generally the needs to provide 'additional income' for their families. This is the case of women in both the formal and the informal sector. However, the literature has shown that the assumption that women are merely providing 'additional income' does not apply to the cases studied in this thesis nor to Indonesian women generally. Rather, women's work contributes significantly to household economies.

Poverty and the kampung are another substance drawn from this literature review. It appears that both poverty and the kampung are related to each other. This is due to the fact that kampung are the residential areas of low income people. Issues of interest in studying kampung life are not restricted to the poverty issue. It also relates to the social life of the kampung, in particular the high level and density of social interactions among kampung dwellers compared to more affluent urban residential areas.

This thesis will thus extend our knowledge of small-scale trading in the informal sector, the economic interactions of poor urban households and women's contribution to household economies.

1.7. Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 will discuss social and economic aspects of the urban kampung of Cicadas. The picture of the kampung will be based on my observations and experience of living in the kampung. I will describe a typical day in the kampung and how it differs from non-kampung areas. I will also discuss social rank in the kampung and women's community activities. Social rank differentiates women in respect of their ability to join community activities, like savings (*arisan*) and cooperatives. Some community activities, such as *arisan* are also related to the warung issue.

Chapter 3 will discuss various aspects of warung businesses in Cicadas. I will begin by discussing warung owners' perspectives on why they established warung, and warung as an informal sector economic activity. I will also discuss the typology of warung as it applies in Cicadas. Warung as a category are far from homogenous. They are varied in their business scale and the commodities they sell. The last part of this chapter will discuss the relationships among warung owners, looking at cooperation as well as competition between them.

Chapter 4 discusses the relationship between warung and Cicadas residents. I begin by discussing perspectives of Cicadas people on why they need warung. I specifically focus on the phenomenon of jajan (buying snacks) and nganjuk (buying warung goods on credit) which both mark the relationship between warung owners and their customers. Part of the reason why warung exist is the jajan phenomenon widely practiced among Cicadas people. The people also need warung since they provide services, among them small-scale credit (nganjuk), which is not available in other retail outlets.

In chapter 5 I will address the question of why more women than men run warung, I develop an 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.

Chapter 6 explores the issue of warung and urban poverty. In particular I address of the poorest of the poor, their survival strategies, and how they relate to warung. The warung characteristic of selling goods in small quantities and allowing credit has helped poor people, many of whom have difficulty accessing the formal trading sector, to fulfil their basic needs.

In the final chapter, I will show how this research adds to the relevant literature. I will also answer the research questions: Why are there many warung in Cicadas? Why do more women than men run warung?