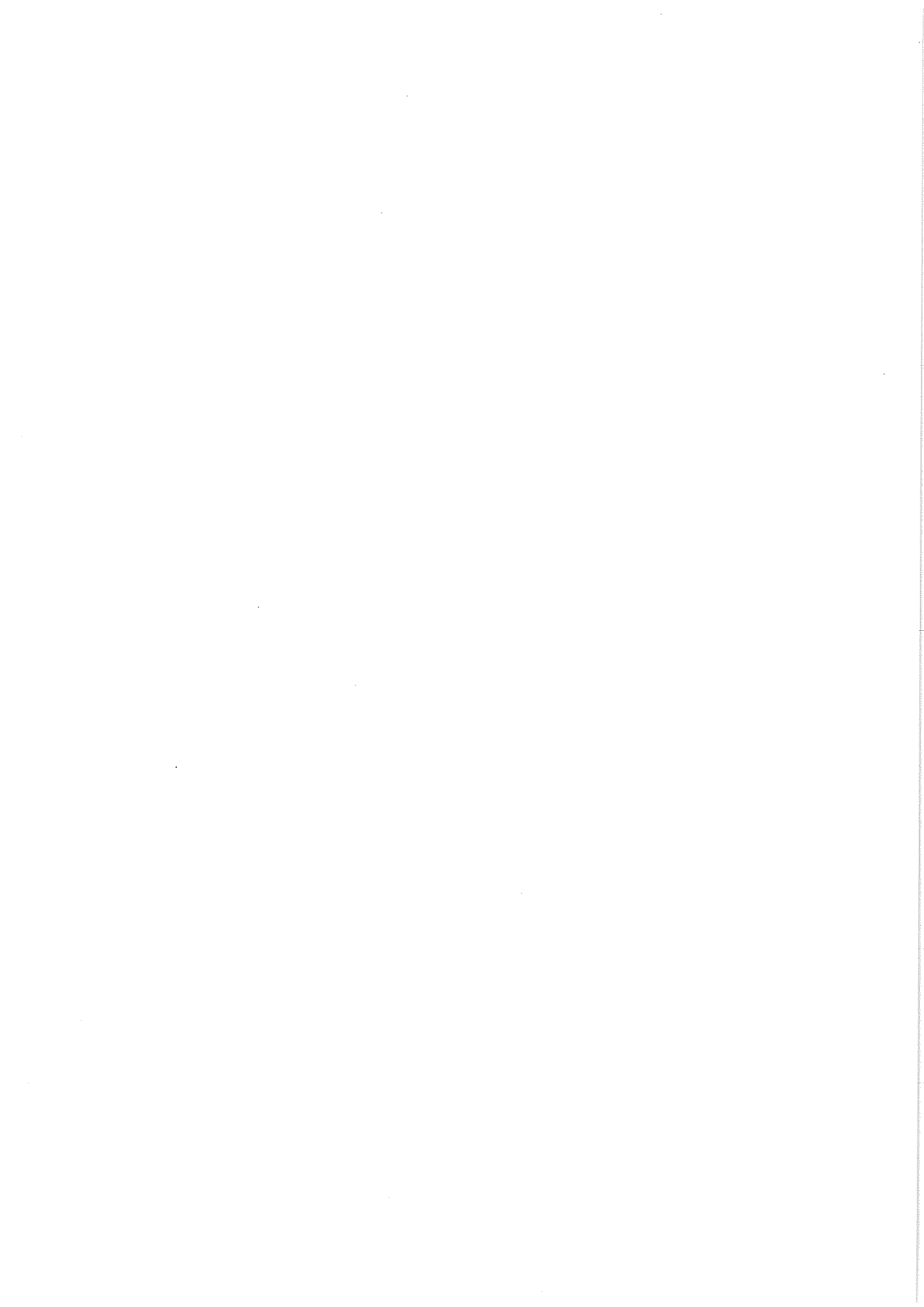


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**DIFFERENTIATION AMONG PETTY COMMODITY  
PRODUCERS: THE EFFECTS OF A DEVELOPMENT  
PROJECT ON HANDICRAFTS PRODUCTION IN A  
SUNDANESE VILLAGE (WEST JAVA - INDONESIA)**

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## SUMMARY

The region around Tasikmalaya, West Java (Indonesia), is noted for its handicrafts, usually produced in the rural areas and marketed through networks centered in the urban centres. Previous research in the area (Smyth 1986) had shown that local handicrafts producers have little autonomy in matters of production and trading, because these activities are under the control of intermediaries. The same research also concluded that anyaman producing units were not homogeneous but could be ranked according to their degree of access to capital (from different sources, such as land or salaried occupations), markets and skills. Another form of differentiation, in levels of earnings and control over production, was found to exist between male and female producers.

This report summarises the results of a recent re-study in the area, devoted primarily to the impact on anyaman producers, of a development project of the Indonesian Department of Industry. After analysing the general changes which have taken place in the kampung in the last five years, the paper presents findings on differentiation among the producers, and the way in which this was, indirectly, reinforced by the practical strategies adopted in the course of the project implementation. The paper contains some remarks on the operations of the project, and concludes with stressing the importance of understanding differentiation processes in the study of rural development.



DIFFERENTIATION AMONG PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCERS:  
THE EFFECTS OF A DEVELOPMENT PROJECT ON HANDICRAFTS PRODUCTION  
IN A SUNDANESE VILLAGE (WEST JAVA - INDONESIA)

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the changes brought to a Sundanese (West Javanese) kampung (hamlet) by the implementation of a government project.

The study is based on previous research (1981-82) and a re-visit to the same location in 1987 (1). The aim of the original research (Smyth 1986) was to find out the degree to which non-agricultural rural activities can provide viable sources of additional or alternative incomes to rural people. In particular, it examined the relation between women's participation in productive activities and their personal welfare and social standing.

As a case study, it concentrates on rural enterprises producing anyaman bambu setengah halus (half refined bamboo goods, from now on referred to only as anyaman), located in a small hamlet in West Java.

During the period of the initial fieldwork, BIPIK, the Small Scale Industries Office of the Department of Industry, had started the preliminary phases of a development project aimed specifically at the enterprises which were the subject of this research. Since then, the project has been fully implemented, providing the ideal opportunity for an instructive follow-up study. The new research intended to gather information on the following issues:

- The project: its aims, the thinking behind it and its practical implementation. The presence of a government sponsored project in the area is evidence that the State recognises the potential of this economic sector. Furthermore, the characteristics of the project are an indication of official priorities, of the awareness of certain issues (such as differentiation among producers or gender differences

in work), as well as of the efficiency with which resources are being used.

- The impact on the enterprises. The study intended to identify the changes in the technical aspects and in the social relations of anyaman production and to see whether these changes have been advantageous to all producers or have increased the difficulties and inequalities identified by the original research.
  
- Impact on women. This second study aimed to assess whether this intervention had removed or exacerbated the disadvantages women suffered as anyaman producers, and to examine whether changes were the result of interventions specifically targeted at women or were instead the unintended by-product of a failure to perceive their separate situations and needs.

In the original research, certain conclusions had been drawn concerning the low returns most producers, and especially women, obtained from their work. It also concluded that rather than being an homogeneous group, the enterprises displayed a degree of differentiation.

In the literature the term differentiation is commonly used in connection with peasant households involved in agricultural production. In particular, Lenin (1974) used it to refer to the process through which the mass of Russian peasants were being transformed into a class of proletarians. It appears that among anyaman producers differentiation is close to what Lenin called simple differentiation, meaning the presence of inequalities in the producers' capacity to have access to capital on one side, and to markets and new technologies on the other. It does not extend to the more complete form of differentiation, described by Lenin as the process through which different access to the means of production causes the emergence of a class of proletarians among poor peasants and of a bourgeois class from among rich peasants. Among anyaman producers this division is still absent, despite the control one group of producers exercises over the activities of the others, and its higher earnings.

The re-study showed that differentiation among producers was crucial both to the way in which the project was put into effect and to its impact. A great deal of the project activities were aimed at setting up co-operative marketing groups, ignoring completely that the existence of producers of different status may hinder the process, since the formation of such groups could go against the interests of the more powerful entrepreneurs. At the same time the project reinforced the position of such entrepreneurs in a number of ways: by appointing them to official (though mostly unpaid) positions in the co-operative structure, and by selecting some of them for training and other paid activities. Another level of differentiation ignored by the project was that existing within enterprises between male and female producers.

The findings on differentiation and on the position taken by the project in its regard, are perhaps the most valuable outcome of this research. The concluding part of this paper will try to show the importance of these considerations for the understanding of rural small scale industries in general and for relevant policy.

The paper is organised in two parts. The first contains information on the conditions found during the earlier study in the research site (I.1) and on anyaman (I.2); it also describes the characteristics of anyaman, in terms of the differentiation found to exist among production units (I.3). The second part describes the overall changes which have taken place in the area during the last 5 years (II.1), the project aims and implementation (II.2), and the changes which have occurred in anyaman in the same span of time (II.3). This last section also tries to trace some of these changes to the project and draws some concluding remarks.

#### Research Methods

Much of the background information used in this report is derived from the original research. Techniques used were varied, the unifying element being the adoption of an anthropological approach in dealing with concepts and in handling information.

Primary data was collected over the course of one year (October 1981 to October 1982) in S., a kampung (2) in West Java, where there was a high concentration of enterprises producing anyaman. The bulk of the information came from direct, participant observation, supplemented by long informal interviews with a number of regular informants. More structured methods were also used, including a census on a sample of the households in the village, a consumption survey and a survey of the warung (food stalls).

The more recent part of the study uses the results of three weeks fieldwork (in August 1987). Much of the work consisted in re-establishing contact with people and familiarity with places. For most of the new information, direct observation and conversations with key informants played a major role. Information concerning the project is based on official records, which proved hard to find and rather scant; on discussions with personnel involved in the project and with local people. The same questionnaire used in the previous household census was again utilised, but on a slightly different sample of households. The results of this survey have been processed and partially integrated in this paper.



## PART I

### 1. The Research Site

The site of this research is kampung S., located in one of the 28 kecamatan (sub-districts) of Kabupaten (Regency) Tasikmalaya. Kampung S. rests between hills, sawah (wet rice fields) and ponds, about 7 km from Tasikmalaya.

At the time of the first research (5 years ago) there were about 150 households in S., living in 120 houses and grouped in three Rukun Tetangga (neighbourhoods). Houses were of a great variety: a third were still bilik (plaited bamboo), the others were of bricks, varying in size and in the comforts they offered their inhabitants. Most houses were surrounded by a small pekarangan (home garden), but only in a few cases did these contribute more than marginally to the diet and other necessities of the family.

There were several warung in the village. They had important functions: they provided incomes for those women who had few other work opportunities; they allowed consumers to acquire basic necessities on credit and finally they had a social role as places where people met informally and exchanged greetings and news.

The village had a madrasah (religious school), but no facilities for secular education. Young children walked less than a kilometre to the nearest primary school, and older ones used the public transport system to reach their schools in town. In terms of health services, people made use of a PUSKESMAS (Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat = Community Health Centre) about 2 km away. Locally, there are several health practitioners: dukun (healers); tukang pijit (masseurs) and a well trusted paraji (midwife). S. was connected to other localities by a busy network of buses and mini-buses. The main traffic was with Tasikmalaya, which represented the nodal link with the rest of the region and the country.

Land in S. was either bought or inherited, offspring receiving it from both parents in equal parts regardless of their sex. However, some practices did result in daughters and sons having unequal access to their parents' land. Rice land was considered the most important possession, and was less unevenly distributed than other types of land. Among the sample households 33.4% had no sawah and, of the rest, 10% owned 62% of the total rice land. Kebon (garden land) and hutan (forest) were distributed more unequally, with 80% of the households owning none of the former and 57.1% none of the latter. Despite the more even distribution, ownership of sawah was characterized by the very small size of holdings, the average being 106.14 bata or 0.15 ha, and by unequal distribution, as shown by the following table.

Table 1; Distribution of sawah ownership among households in the sample

quantity (3) (bata)	a (no.of households)	b (%of households)	c (%of total <u>sawah</u> )
no land	20	33.4	----
up to 35	8	13.4	2.0
36 to 70	13	21.7	16.0
71 to 140	5	8.3	7.0
141 to 280	5	8.3	16.0
281 to 560	3	5	19.0
561 to max	3	5	43.0
unknown	3	5	
TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0

Clearly most people in S. owned very small quantities of rice land, and this meant that in only a few cases did such land provide a considerable contribution to subsistence.

In this regard, the calculations of a farmer estimated that 0.14 ha of rice land would give about 400 kg of gabah (unhusked rice). After milling this would give about 70 kg of beras (milled rice) per each 100 kg of gabah, for a total of 240 kg. This is calculated to be the minimum necessary to satisfy basic subsistence needs for one person for a year (Penny and Singarimbun 1973; Hart 1978). In S., only 18% of the sample households owned this or superior amounts of rice land, while the rest had much less or nothing at all. Consequently, only a very small number of households in S. could rely on their rice land to supply even a part of their subsistence requirements.

This meant that most people sought paid work. Some earnings were available from agriculture: men and women worked on the land owned by others.

All agricultural work was gender specific, with men responsible for the preparation of the soil and women for planting, weeding and harvesting. It is important to note that in most parts of Java, the introduction of HYV of rice combined with new harvesting practices have led to a loss of agricultural employment, especially for women (Collier 1981, Stoler 1977, Murai 1980 and many others). This is true for S., but at the same time the majority of women here were still responsible for traditionally female agricultural jobs, including harvesting.

Given the uneven distribution and scarce availability of land, and the decline in agricultural employment, the majority of households in S. had to find sources of income additional to agriculture or entirely outside it. Others have made the same observation for many areas of Java (Collier 1981; Husken 1979; White 1976). The participation of individuals in various activities is regulated by many factors: by the material resources they own, principally land; by the opportunities offered by the local economy, such as the presence of factories or of a large public sector; by existing infrastructures such as roads; by their individual characteristics in terms of education and skills; and finally, by the social norms which allocate men and women to different and unequal productive areas.

The survey showed that village men were employed in a range of 10 paid activities, both locally and outside the village and mostly consisting in waged work. A considerable number were engaged in construction work, either as skilled or unskilled labourers, in the vicinity of S. or in other cities, where many of them resided for considerable periods of time. Women, on the other hand, had a choice of 6 activities, including that of unpaid housewife. Among the women who found employment outside S., there was a number (between 8 and 15 during the time of the fieldwork)(4) of unmarried girls who worked in nearby factories for very low wages (around Rp 1500 per week).

To summarise, most jobs in and outside the kampung were gender specific. Women's work was, on average, paid less than that of men; it was less diversified in terms of the range of occupations and more restricted in geographical sense. In addition, women were responsible for the majority of the tasks connected with childcare and housework, though with some help from men and children.

Finally, it is important to stress that many of the occupations available to S. people had very low returns, and as a consequence people tended to be involved in a number of jobs. In the sample, this was the strategy adopted by 63% of the households.

## 2. Anyaman Bambu

Among the activities carried out alongside or instead of agricultural ones, the most common in S. was anyaman bambu, the weaving for sale of bamboo goods such as decorative vases, trays, hanging baskets and lampshades. At the time of the original research 30% of the households in the sample were involved in this sector.

The type of bamboo weaving to be found here was exclusive to this kampung. Narrow geographical specialisation of production is, as Alexander remarks : "...a striking feature of the Javanese rural economy" (1987:100). This craft is a relatively recent development: it was introduced in the

settlement at the end of the 1930s by Pak Samri, a local man who had learned it at a Dutch vocational school. He slowly introduced kin and neighbours to the craft, teaching them weaving techniques and controlling the sale of the goods, under an apprenticeship system. In the course of the years, separate enterprises were set up which, however, still marketed their goods through Pak Samri, until they developed their own contacts with intermediaries (bandar) based in Tasikmalaya and other urban centres. Even after the death of Pak Samri, kinship relations and those between close neighbours have remained important for anyaman, since they regulated the transmission of skills and many of the exchanges between producers.

Bamboo weaving was carried out in household based units, which employed only family labour; the entrepreneurs were all producers themselves, who owned the means of production. Because of these characteristics it seems that such enterprises could accurately be classified as petty commodity producing units, according to the definition given by Kahn (1980).

Within production units there was no formal division of labour and, though informants talked about the initial stage of the work (cutting, cleaning and sawing the bamboo) as men's work, once the producer was in possession of the basic raw materials, there was no fixed gender division of tasks. In each unit work took place following a flexible routine, which varied according to the other tasks to which individual members were committed and to the actual demand for bamboo goods.

The pengrajin (artisans) only rarely produced goods on their own initiative to sell directly on the market (see Fig.1). Normally, they received orders from a tengkulak (local producer who functioned also as intermediary) or a bandar (outside intermediary)(5), for a specific number of kodi (20 items) of goods of a certain design, to be completed by a given date. Payment was on delivery.

There were important differences between tengkulak and bandar. Clearly, the most important was that the former, unlike the latter, were also producers; this placed them in an analytically different category. At an empirical level, the most relevant differences were that bandar were

always people from outside the village and that they tended to pay higher prices for bamboo goods. Also, unlike the tengkulak, they were not very punctual with payments or regular with orders, thus explaining the preference of some producers for the local intermediaries. On the other hand, they had contacts with larger and more varied markets, which resulted in their bringing producers orders for more diverse goods, thus giving them the opportunity to become acquainted with more and better designs.

What has been described so far indicates that, while the petty commodity producing enterprises were independent in terms of internal work organisation and relations of production, in marketing their degree of autonomy was limited, and that this also influenced the technical aspects of production. It was the intermediaries who brought in the orders from the buyers, and allocated them to this or that producing household, specifying quantities and setting time limits for delivery. Some producers did occasionally sell nearer the final outlets, travelling to Jakarta or other major cities. But this often presented problems in terms of lack of capital outlay, lack of transport facilities, and the forfeiting of potential earning from other sources (from agricultural work, for example). Above all, because of the nature and small size of the enterprises, most of the producers were not able to take on large orders, even when these were available. The exceptions were those tengkulak who had access to capital from other sources, often land, from which they could finance these activities. Such people also had, for historical reasons, contacts with large buyers and could count on the work of neighbouring producers who were tied to them by long term semi-economic ties.

Earnings from anyaman were low. The literature on the subject testifies that incomes from non-agricultural rural activities, and especially handicrafts, are normally poor and generally below the wage rates for casual agricultural labourers (Stoler 1978; White 1976).

In S., costs of production were minimal: the tools (knives, saw and scissors) were in possession of most households for daily use; raw materials consisted of bamboo, costing between Rp 300 and Rp 400 per pole (from which several kodi of baskets can be made), and tins of varnish costing about Rp

500 each. For those who sold to intermediaries in town there was the additional cost of transporting the goods: about Rp 150 for one or two kodi, if public transport was used and several thousands Rupiahs if the goods were to be moved with larger, private means such as a rented car. Prices on the market were not constant: they varied according to the size and complexity of the article. For example, small but intricate vases were sold to a bandar for Rp 3000 per kodi; a set of three baskets for Rp 6000 and a set of 3 shallow trays for Rp 2500. Each could take from one to three days to complete.

Perhaps the most reliable indicator of the poor returns from such work was the opinions of the producers themselves, who constantly remarked on this aspect of their work. People believed anyaman to be a very unreliable and poorly paid occupation. Because of this, they were often seeking alternatives to it and when these were found, bamboo weaving was dropped. This was the strategy adopted by many men, who alternated periods of weaving with others working in the construction industry, but much less for women, for whom very few alternatives existed.

### 3. Differentiation among anyaman enterprises

From the above descriptions it should have appeared evident that anyaman producers were not homogeneous. Access to resources such as land and capital on one side, and to direct contacts with buyers and other producers on the other, resulted in the emergence of a separate category of producers (tengkulak) characterised by their ability to exercise a degree of control over the activities of other producers and to derive higher earnings from anyaman. It must be stressed that the control exercised by intermediaries over production was a direct result of their control over marketing (through their access to marketing outlets), but that it was also linked to some of the characteristics of the enterprises, especially their size. In the previous section, the small size of the enterprises was mentioned as an obstacle to the more direct control over production for most anyaman producing households. This should not be interpreted as an attempt to apply Chayanov's ideas on demographic differentiation and assert that household

size determined the character of involvement in anyaman work among local households. The demographic characteristics of the households, their size and composition at any given time, were factors which influenced the way individual households operated, but within the separate social categories already created by access to material resources, especially land.

In addition to controlling the activities of other producers, tengkulak were also able to obtain higher profits. They could add to their own earnings from direct production, that part of the difference between buying and selling prices which they could appropriate as intermediaries, as described above. It is worth remembering that the fundamental reasons for the low earnings accruing to handicrafts producers are related to the position the enterprises occupy in the economy as a whole. At the same time, the existence of long and complex marketing chains diminished further the already poor returns producers could derive from their work, while strengthening the relative position of the tengkulak.

These considerations apply to some degree to the relations between bandar and producers, but with different implications. Because the bandar are not involved in production, and to a minor extent because they are located outside the village and thus have less intense and direct relations with the producers, the latter are unlikely to have an impact on the structure of the enterprises. For the tengkulak, on the other hand, these implications go beyond the immediate consequences on earnings and on degree of control over production, but also have relevance for the future. Tengkulak are also producers and in the process of differentiation they could be altering drastically not only the scale of their activities but their structure, and possibly that of the other enterprises with which they interact.

There was another aspect of anyaman production worth noting here. This was the poor quality of the finished goods and the deterioration of the skills necessary to produce them. From oral reports, and from the few objects remaining from the 1950s, it was clear that goods produced in the past were of better quality, and required superior skills. The weaving was much closer and designs more complex. Producers only employed the external,



stronger, layer of the bamboo (hinis = skin), and needed to use iron rods and pliers because of the closer weaving.

According to older informants, the onset of this deterioration dated from the time of the death of Pak Sarmi (in the late 60s), since this caused the end of his teaching and of his control over the goods produced. Additional reasons can perhaps be found. One is what Bernstein (1979) defines as simple reproduction squeeze, i.e. the process through which increasing costs of reproduction together with decreasing returns result in a squeeze which forces producers to lower costs of production. In this case, it was done by eliminating some of the tools used and by simplifying the production process. Gradually this resulted in a loss of skills and in a deterioration in the appearance and durability of the goods. Another reason which explained such deterioration was the lack of information on more advanced techniques of bamboo work. As indicated, only a few producers were in contact with external markets or other sources from which such information could be gathered. Finally, the fragmentary nature of the marketing system could also be blamed: bandar, like the producers, lacked marketing expertise, while the final outlets (stalls in markets etc.) were usually of such small size that those who owned them found it too risky to introduce untested goods.

This poor quality of the final products and the stagnation in levels of skills were not in themselves the reason for the poor earnings derived from this work. The goods produced in S. are not luxury items; they are directed to the cheap end of the market (flower stalls, souvenir shops) and are priced accordingly. At the same time, the deterioration in appearance and durability was creating a danger of excluding them even from this restricted market, especially because of the competition from other producers who had developed more sophisticated skills which could satisfy the growing demand for artifacts of higher quality.

Finally, in this section on differentiation, it is necessary to mention another level and type of differentiation found in anyaman production, that existing between male and female producers(6).

Although it is true that, as already mentioned, there was no rigid gender division of labour in anyaman, considerable differences existed in the way men and women were involved in this activity and in the benefits they derived from it. Women worked longer hours than men at weaving and on a more regular basis, since they had more limited earning opportunities outside it. At the same time, their productivity tended to be lower, as they had to interrupt their work frequently to attend to their children or to the needs of other household members.

Qualitatively too, their position was different. At the beginning of the production process women depended on male relatives or neighbours for access to the bamboo because of their real or perceived inferior physical strength. This could mean a delay in starting on an order and, consequently, in earning. They also suffered restrictions at the other end of the production process, i.e. in marketing. Unmarried women were limited in their movements by the dominant norms of conduct which dictated that they should remain within the confines of the village for most of the time. Older, married women had more freedom, but they were tied to the home by their responsibilities as mothers and housewives. For these reasons, local women sold their goods mostly to village tengkulak, or to a bandar with whom they had long term contacts. Because of this, they had little chance to seek higher prices for their goods in outside markets or from a new bandar. As a consequence, their earnings were generally lower than those of men.

For women who supported themselves and their children on their own because they were widows or divorced (10.4% of all the households in the sample were headed by women), this situation could result in severe hardship. For those who shared such a responsibility with a husband or with other household members, the consequences would depend on relations within the household.

To summarize: anyaman producers relied on this activity partially or entirely to provide the means for their subsistence. At the same time, earnings were very low and the future threatened by deterioration in skills. Furthermore, differentiations between units and within units aggravated these problems for some categories of producers.

## PART II

### 1. General Changes

The following are brief observations of the changes which have occurred in S. between the two periods of fieldwork. This information is simply recorded here, and there is no attempt to discuss the causes of such changes or to relate them to those which have taken place in the country as a whole, in the social as well as in the economic field.

Most of the concrete features of the village have remained the same, as have the main norms which regulate social practices. Obviously events have taken place: people have died and been born, married and divorced (or vice-versa). Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the details of such occurrences, however important they were for those concerned. It is perhaps relevant to note that individual households have changed in size and composition, as a consequence of their members' reaching specific moments in their life cycle. Thus, for example, where married offspring have set up a separate home, the original household has diminished in size and complexity. Others have become larger and more complex by the birth of a child or by the return of a migrant. These alterations help to confirm the view that the household is not a static entity, but a unit which changes according to periodical reorganisations and to unexpected, irregular events.

From the physical point of view, there have been some changes in S. For example, 19 new houses have been built during this time. They vary in size, some large and well furnished. It is customary for married women (more rarely, for men) in West Java to reside with or near their parents. Because of this, they are frequently given a small piece of pekarangan (home garden land) on which to build a house, though this does not usually happen at marriage, but several years after. Some of the new houses belong to such people, and in particular to those who have worked away until recently and are now settling down in the vicinity of their parents, or other close relatives. Culturally determined patterns of residence are an important

element of the social organisation of S. They also show that transfer of resources and investments do take place from rural to urban areas (and not only vice-versa) and they help illustrate the nature and frequency of kin based economic exchanges.

A few of the old houses have been renovated. Indoor washing facilities, connected to a nearby well, are now much more common than in the past. Five years ago there was electricity only in a minority of houses. Now out of 140 houses only 38 have no electricity, and the rest are connected either directly or through a neighbour's line. This has encouraged the spread of consumer goods such as radios and televisions. One family even has a video cassette recorder.

S. is connected to the provincial road by a rocky and uneven path. There has been no improvements in this, but the means of transport owned by local people have increased in number: in 1982 there were 4 motorbikes in S., now there are 22, plus one small van used for commercial purposes.

New and more varied leisure activities have been introduced. In the past the most popular pastime for young men and women was volley ball. Now young men and boys often play football, badminton and table tennis, though this is not the case for women of comparable ages. Children too have a share in this: they now have manufactured toys rarely seen 5 years ago, and also take part in several new school activities, such as swimming and camping.

Some may dispute whether all of the above should be considered as improvements, but there is no doubt of the progress inherent in other changes. Both the Mosque and the Madrasah have been repainted and refurbished. The former is also to receive a water pump from the kabupaten authorities. There is still no secular school in S., but a nursery has been set up recently with 12 children under 5 attending. At the moment it is a local initiative which uses the labour of two unemployed teachers; because of this, the nursery has to charge entry fees (Rp 2000 per month), which prevents the children of poorer families from attending. It is, however, hoped that it will obtain some government recognition and support in the

near future. In the past, family planning services were provided at the nearest PUSKESMAS; now there is a pos KB right in the kampung under the coordination of a local woman.

There has been little change in the pattern of occupations of households. Most households still rely on a combination of income generating activities (85% of the sample households versus 73% in 1982, the difference being made up mostly of households which have started working in anyaman). Many (65% according to official records) are still involved in agriculture to some degree. But it is interesting to note here that wage rates for agricultural labourers have increased considerably, from Rp 600 to Rp 1200 for a day's work for men, and from Rp 300 to Rp 750 for women. Whether the increases are a consequence of a lower availability of labour force caused by the growth in anyaman activities is possible to speculate but not to ascertain here. The higher growth in women's agricultural wages can be attributed to the increase in the intensity of seasonal agricultural activities.

Participation of individuals in the various economic sectors has undergone some changes: most men still have unskilled occupations (45% now; 42.5% in 1982) as primary activity, either as construction workers in urban areas or as agricultural labourers locally; less women, however, declared to be labourers: 5%, as opposed to the 21% of the sample in 1982 (7). A noticeable change is in the decrease, from around 10 to only 4 in the whole village, of the number of young women employed in factories. Two hypotheses can be advanced. One is the fact that basic wages have virtually remained unchanged (to around Rp 2000/3000 per week) in five years, and the other is the new opportunities which have opened up within anyaman production. The other change concerns the increase in the number of people involved in bamboo production, which will be discussed later.

Other changes are in the prices of basic commodities. At the village level prices for rice have increased from Rp 250/300 to Rp 400 per kg. Prices for protein food such as meat and fish have also gone up: on average (there are variation according to the type and quality of the food) from Rp 2300 to Rp 4200 per kilo and from Rp 1200 to Rp 2500 per kilo respectively.

The same has happened to certain vegetables and spices; for example, the prices of cucumbers, cabbage, spinach and green beans have all doubled. Kerosene prices have registered a considerable rise: from Rp 85 to Rp 220 per liter. In many cases this seems to have forced women to return to the use of wood fires for cooking. This represents an increase in the work burden not only for the women who search for wood in the hills around the village, but also for those who buy it. It must be remembered that cooking is already the most time consuming activity for women: some sources calculate that the latter spend up to 34% of their daily workload preparing food (Cecelski 1987).

It is difficult to ascertain whether such changes amount to an improvement or to a deterioration in local standards of living. The prices of major commodities would seem to show an increase in real wages in this period, particularly if we consider that prices for rice, the staple foodstuff, have increased by about 45%, while wage rates increased by 100% for men and 150% for women.

National data confirm this view:

Table 2

National Consumer price inflation and rural Javanese prices 1981-86

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Consumer price inflation	n.a.	9.7	11.5	8.8	4.4	9.2
rural Java basket of commodities (a)	15.3	12.2	20.5	13.2	-2.2	n.a.

Source EIU (1987:21)

(a) this is a basket of nine basic commodities: rice, salted fish, coconut oil, sugar, salt, kerosene, soap, textiles and batik cloth.

At the national level, inflation is 52%, thus below the % change in the daily wage. A more accurate measure of price changes is provided by the changes in the basic basket of commodity for rural Java. Despite the noticeable increase in the early 1980s, there is little indication that prices of such commodities in later years (around 63% in 1982-87, assuming a 9% inflation rate for 1986) have kept pace with the increase in agricultural wage rates thus indicating an improvement in living standards, for those with access to agricultural wage employment.

This positive view is tempered by a number of considerations. It is possible to see the higher wages as a recent response to the price changes of the early years and that, in fact, welfare in the initial years of 1980s was negatively affected. Also, daily rates for agricultural work do not reflect the seasonality of wage work and do not indicate how many days of the month or year wage labour may be available, or whether this availability has increased or decreased. Finally, wage labour, as shown, is only one option in a situation of multiple occupation for both individuals and households, so it cannot be taken to provide a complete picture of the changes in the overall standard of living of the population of S.

## 2. The Project

Having sketched briefly the most easily identifiable changes which have taken place in S. in the last 5 years, it is now appropriate to concentrate on anyaman, starting with the project.

BIPIK, the Small Scale Industries Office of the Department of Industry had drawn up plans in 1979 for a project directed at the development of handicrafts in the Tasikmalaya area. In 1982 the project got under way with a series of visits and meetings with the producers. These had the aim of identifying the problems of the sector which, in the terms of one of the official documents, were summarised as being:

- the technology: the skills used were too simple to result in goods of acceptable quality and quantity;
- individual producers lacked sufficient capital;
- the producers also lacked managerial and marketing expertise.

In view of these problems, the overall aims of the project were outlined in terms of improving production techniques and marketing practices in order to upgrade the performance of the enterprises and increase earnings. Already in 1979 there had been a nominal setting up of groups of artisans to function as marketing units, responsible for distributing orders among the members. These groups did not have any effective existence until the project was properly activated in 1982. At that date, 5 such groups were formed with the name of PERKESIT (Persatuan Kerajinan S.), each composed of about 7 production units. PERKESIT had a number of unpaid officials, drawn from among the families which already had a certain standing in the village. In 1983 practical help arrived in the form of materials (bamboo, varnish, glue) worth Rp 500.000 and tools (2 sawing machines, scissors, knives) of the same value.

According to BIPIK officials, projects such as this would proceed by providing assistance to groups of small scale industries - rather than to individual ones - through the Mini Industrial Estate (LIK) and the Technical Service Centres (UPT). Unfortunately the failure of the PERKESIT groups to become effective meant that they could not be included under these programmes. Another system used by BIPIK for supporting small firms is to group a number of them around a Bapak Angkat (patron) by linking them to a larger enterprise which provides them with small inputs and marketing outlets through sub-contracting. What the local BIPIK intended to do with the anyaman bambu artisans was to bring one or two of the larger enterprises under LIK to encourage their growth to the point where they could take on the bapak angkat role for the remaining enterprises. This proved to be impossible as all the enterprises were considered too small and undeveloped to be chosen for this treatment.

Clearly, in the case of the anyaman producers of S., all possible forms of assistance depended on the existence of the pre-cooperative groups.



It was hoped that with the provision of tools and materials, the very first step in the project, the enterprises would be encouraged to form such groups. As part of these initial efforts, the Department of Industry at the national level requested the intervention of PEKERTI (Persatuan Kerajinan Indonesia = Union of Indonesian Handicrafts), a trading company affiliated to the Indonesian People's Handicraft Foundation, with the function of encouraging the creation of the pre-cooperative groups, organising training initiatives and facilitating marketing. Training has mainly taken the form of sending individual producers to other areas of artifacts production; in all cases these have been the producers (male) who had some official position in PEKERTI. The same people have also been sent to teach their own skills to students in various institutions, and artisans in various parts of Java, one (Pak Y.) as far as Jambi. Until recently, there had been no initiative to provide training for the rest of the producers in the village itself.

PEKERTI has also been concerned with encouraging diversification in production, especially with the introduction of rotan, for which there is great export demand. A training session on rotan goods manufacture was programmed to take place in S. during July 1987, but it was re-scheduled for an undetermined date. Another attempt at diversification was in 1983 with mushroom cultivation, which however gave very poor results and was shortlived.

In terms of marketing, PEKERTI has been much more effectual. It has been instrumental in bringing large orders to the kampung through its own trading network. Though they have not intervened directly in more recent times, their earlier activities seem to have opened up many new marketing avenues for the local artisans.

As with PEKERTI, the activities of BIPIK have slackened considerably since 1983. There have been no material inputs given after that date and the only initiative has been the compilation of a brief report by the Department of Industry in 1986; it lists the total of active enterprises (70), the number of individuals they comprise (183) and their productive capacity (Rp 2.100.000 gross output per year). It is impossible to comment

on the accuracy and the real significance of these data. What is noticeable, however, is that the document does not attempt to assess the progress of the project as such, or to relate the present situation either to the one existing before or to the goals set by the project itself.

### 3. Changes in Anyaman

It is now possible to outline briefly the major changes in anyaman production, and consider whether they are a direct or indirect result of the project.

In S., the most visible change consists in the sheer size of anyaman related activities. According to informants and to direct observation, there is a much larger amount of orders circulating, as well as more people involved. Just from Sarinah, the Jakarta based Department store, local producers receive monthly orders valued at around Rp 1.700.000 (in the slack season). The number of households involved in this activity has also increased in the samples from 30% to 42%. In terms of individual participation, the surveys show that among the households in the samples, participation in anyaman has increased from 32.3% to 36.2% among women, and from 26.% to 27.5% for men (including both those who declared bamboo weaving to be their main and secondary occupation). The rest of the increase is made up of other members of the households: children or relatives who take part in production.

The increase in the number of people involved in anyaman in S. fits in with the increase recorded between 1979 and 1985 in those working in cottage industries in the whole of Indonesia (from 2,794,833 to 2,850,795; Hasibuan 1986:44). Although it seems that the percentage of total industrial employment for which cottage industries are responsible has decreased from 62.2% to 53.7%, this still represents a substantial share, especially if put in the context of the increase in non-agricultural employment from 43.7% to 45.3% of total employment.

To return to S., it should be noted that the really new aspect of the situation (not mentioned in the official accounts) is that there are now producers outside S., in fact spread through 9 or 10 of the surrounding hamlets, and linked to the local network through tengkulak. Nearly all of the new producers are either originally from S. or are related to people from S.: for example, one artisan living in a hamlet about 3 km away is the brother of Ibu E., who has already been mentioned, while another used to be the husband of an S. woman, from whom he is now divorced; both sell their goods to Ibu E.

Another aspect of the increased activities is the frequency of visitors. In the past, once or twice a year representatives of charities (such as Oxfam or PEKERTI), or of government agencies visited the village. Also, the students of a technical school in Tasikmalaya have for a long time spend a few days each year training with anyaman artisans. Now, such visits are much more frequent: during the three weeks of the second fieldwork, for instance, the village was visited by two Perindustrian officials from Jogjakarta, a bus load of students from Diponegoro and two other sets of researchers.

Prices of raw materials have increased: bamboo from Rp 300-400 per pole (according to whether it was delivered or not) to Rp 700-800; varnish from Rp 500 to Rp 900 for a tin sufficient for 1/2 kodi of large baskets. From the technical point of view, basic techniques have not changed, but the range and sophistication of designs and skills have increased considerably. For instance, one of the largest tengkulak (Pak Y., mentioned above) has a list of 137 types of goods for sale, most of which he can make himself. Many are coloured and varnished and their designs are certainly more complex than they used to be. Some artisans have already attempted to introduce rotan, mixed with bamboo. These have only been experiments, as the rotan is considered far too expensive and difficult to obtain, since it has to come from Kalimantan, usually via Jakarta. Most of the new designs are requested from the buyers, but many are also developed by the artisans themselves, or at least by some of them, who adapt them from goods seen in stores or photographs. It is usually the tengkulak who introduces innovations of this type.

Still concerning production, there have been new trends in its organisation. Because of the increased demand for anyman goods, some artisans are now splitting up the production process, in order to speed up production. They often buy the bases of baskets and other objects already woven, usually from children, women or those new to the craft, then complete the more complicated parts of the weaving. The labourers (they refer to themselves with the term buruh = labourer) are paid around Rp 300 per kodi. There is also a "top-up" kind of fragmentation, with some producers putting out the more difficult parts of the weaving, for example the heads of duck-shaped baskets, to artisans known to be particularly skilled. Relations between producers in these cases are like the ones existing between bandar and simple producers.

The nature of individual production units and the relations dominant within them have not altered: the former are still household based, petty commodity producing units. They have grown in numbers, but their individual size has not increased. On the contrary, it is interesting to note that in many cases fragmentation applies to the production unit as well as to the production process. More children than in the past now work independently of their parents, and even husband and wife may operate separately from each other.

In the areas of marketing, there is no doubt that demand has increased, as all informants confirmed. Marketing activities have grown and also become more organised. The most active among the intermediaries now make use of professional transport firms, though the majority of the producers still rely on public means of transport or on a hired becak (pedicab). Intermediaries also keep records of sales, coded lists of goods and even numbered photographs, which they use in their communications with buyers.

Exchanges have also become more complex. Because of the segmentation of some production units, the increased fragmentation in operations and the participation in production of people from outside S., new levels of exchange have appeared, below that existing between bandar and producers. As

already said, only very early in the project, did PERKESIT function as a marketing co-operative, obtaining large orders and distributing them among the members according to productive capacity. At the moment some of the tengkulak still use a language applicable to such a system and even operate under the name of PERKESIT; but what happens in practice is that the tengkulak receives the orders and allocates parts of them to others, at prices which allow a profit.

Earnings from anyaman appear to have gone up, but more because of the growth in the quantity and frequency of orders than from increases in prices. According to informants, market prices for bamboo goods have increased, but only marginally. Also, they tend to be higher during the busy periods which precede the feasts of Lebaran and Christmas. Prices paid to the producers also vary considerably between different tengkulak, much more than in the past (up to Rp 1000 per kodi). According to informants, the cheapest rates are paid by Ibu E., who, however, is not too concerned with quality. It appears that many who now sell to her are young and inexperienced. The best prices are offered by Pak A., who is very particular about the quality of the goods. It is also common for Pak A. to advance credit on orders on a regular basis, a facility that in the past was extended only in rare circumstances.

In this context, perhaps the most noticeable difference from the previous situation is the expansion in the number and importance of the local tengkulak, comparatively to outside bandar (See Fig.1A). Originally, only two tengkulak had such a position on a permanent basis, while several others undertook the buying and selling of bamboo goods only occasionally. At the present time there are six established tengkulak. The volume of goods handled within S. has increased, and so has the number of artisans who deal with them rather than with outside bandar: on average each tengkulak has relations with between 10 and 12 producers' households.

The reasons for this shift are complex. They lie in the combination of three factors: the importance of this branch of production in West Java (in the 1986 statistics, 38.8% of employment in home industries in the province is attributed to the wood and furniture branch; Heinen 1987:24);

the existence in S. of households with different status within anyaman production (the tengkulak), and with available capital from other sources (in some cases derived from land ownership, in some from access to regular salaries and in others from the project itself); and the selective interventions of the project, of which such households made immediate use.

In relation to the analysis of the impact of the project, the last factor deserves more attention. Certain producers were chosen by the project to hold positions within the project organisation which entailed distributing and managing inputs (tools, raw materials), and to participate in training activities in various parts of the country; they were also made responsible for allocating parts of incoming orders to individual productive units. It should be noted that these people were already from the most successful anyaman producing households or from those which already enjoyed a superior economic position, due to their members being large landowners or government officials. Because of the capital available to them, they were able to take advantage of these new opportunities to expand their anyaman activities.

An example might help to illustrate this. Pak Y. is 26 years old and a very skilled artisan, having been involved in anyaman production since he was a young boy. He is the son of one of the most established producers. Three years ago Pak Y. married one of the daughters of Pak E., who, in addition to being one of the largest landowners in S., was also the President of PERKESIT, a position given to him as the oldest anyaman producer. Pak Y.'s father, and Pak Y. himself, were also among the PERKESIT officials, in charge of marketing for the cooperatives.

Soon after the beginning of the project, Pak Y. was sent to Jambi for two weeks, to teach weaving to local artisans. For this, he was paid Rp 100.000: he spent half of this sum to set up home in view of his imminent marriage, the rest he invested in anyaman. According to Pak Y. himself, soon after the formation of the cooperatives, he was in charge of dealing with the trading organisation PEKERTI on behalf of his cooperative group, which entailed negotiating orders and distributing them among the other members. Although the pre-cooperatives groups are not functional anymore

and PEKERTI has ceased to provide direct orders from buyers, Pak Y. still performs the same function; now, however, this is for his own benefit. The transition to being a tengkulak has been made possible by various factors: the position he occupied in PERKESIT, the contacts (among local producers as well as among buyers and outside bandar) he established through his father and his father-in-law, and, above all, the capital provided by his work for the project in Jambi. Finally, his travels on behalf of the project have introduced him to sources of new designs, as well as new marketing outlets.

There are several immediate consequences from this shift in the relative importance of bandar and tengkulak, many of which seem to be to the advantage of the producers. First, relations between tengkulak and other producers are embedded in neighbourhood and kinship ties. This means that on both sides transactions are carried out with consideration for the additional obligations involved. Informants were agreed in saying that there are now fewer instances of delayed payments or other unfair practices. Also, selling within the kampung eliminates the time and expenses required by deliveries to outside bandar. Thirdly, and most importantly, profits from anyaman remain within the village. It is already clear that in some cases such profits are being re-invested in the business. For example, at the time of the fieldwork, Pak A. was using payments from a previous large order to finance the production of stock he calculated was needed during the busy Christmas season. He had also invested some money in building a closed shed to house his stock. Thus both investments were generating work for a number of producers and helping to distribute their earning capacity more evenly across active and slack times. Finally, there are technical repercussions. As producers themselves, the tengkulak make use of their coming in contact with new goods and techniques. The considerable expansion in the range of items produced and the improvements in their quality is a result of this.

The long term consequences of the shift are more difficult to assess, as they might involve radical changes such as the possible transformation of the productive enterprises. There is a tendency among petty commodity producers towards forms of expansion which leave unaltered the unit of production. One could, however, speculate whether the availability of

capital, the increased fragmentation of the labour process, and the progressive acquisition of new productive techniques, might be the conditions which in the long term could lead to a transformation of the units from petty commodity to capitalist production. The fragmentation which is taking place within the household, and the presence of a new, fairly unskilled group of producers (which includes people from outside the village) without direct links to factors of production, could provide the source of wage labourers. Though such a development seems but a remote possibility, it should be considered, because of the consequences it would have for the quality and quantity of employment available to people, and especially to women, who already seem to have a weaker hold on the production and marketing of anyaman. In a condition of scarce agricultural and non-agricultural employment, tendencies towards a reduction in available work opportunities have indeed serious implications.

For the women concerned, their participation in anyaman production has increased more than that of men (from 32.4% to 36.2%, compared to that of men from 26% to 27.5%). Although it is difficult to reach a definitive explanation for this difference, it could be attributed to the fact that in general women have less formal and more localised jobs than men (see earlier part) and have hence been freer to become involved in the expanded ayaman sector.

The research carried out in 1981-82 had shown that the position of women in anyaman production was different from that of men. The more recent study has shown that most of the conditions which caused such differences still exist. Only in one aspect has the situation altered and this is related to the question mentioned above, of the new prominence assumed by village-based producer/intermediaries. We must remember that women were restricted to dealing with a limited number of intermediaries, most of them local tengkulak. Given the enhanced role of the latter, this has now ceased to be a disadvantage, although some women still choose to deal with the old bandar.

A new circumstance, which also should be helpful to women, is the practice of some tengkulak to advance credit on orders, since women, more



than men, have limited access to cash. Some new disadvantages have emerged: the new weaving designs which are being introduced in the village also require new skills to create them. Unfortunately, those who are introducing such improvements are men, since it is male producers (and mostly male tengkulak) who travel more extensively and who have been given the opportunity to receive formal and informal training through the project. This is creating a situation which is in contrast with what used to be the norm earlier, when the knowledge of skills and designs was mostly passed on by women producers through the daily interaction with their children or other relatives. Women, as well as men, are learning the new designs, but their role in the transmission of skills and information is being eroded.

It is now possible to try to identify which of the changes anyaman has undergone in the last 5 years can be attributed to the implementation of the BIPIK project. Given the limited scope of the project, it is not surprising to find that the general impression is that only a small part of these alterations can be traced back to it.

The project contribution to the changes is limited to two areas. The increased scale of anyaman activities can be attributed in part to the role played by PEKERTI in opening up new marketing outlets, at least initially. Also, the improvements in the technical aspects of production can be linked to PEKERTI's encouraging local producers to travel and establish contacts with other producers, skills and designs. On both counts, such new opportunities were made available to limited and selected people: nominally those who had some official position within PERKESIT, all of whom were male.

Given the importance of the new role assumed by local tengkulak, it could be said that the most noticeable effects of the project were unplanned, and emerged as a result of its ignoring the existence of differentiation in anyaman production.

Although these developments were unplanned and unforeseen, it would be a mistake to believe that they were unrelated to the aims of the project and to its methods of implementation. On the contrary, it is clear from the practices common in similar initiatives in the same region, and from discussions with officials, that in such projects great reliance is placed on

the progressive role of individual entrepreneurs. In S. itself the attempt at setting up cooperative groups relied - in theory as well as in practice - on the more entrepreneurial units to perform a leading role, at the centre of each cooperative group.

It has been suggested (8) that this apparent contradiction reflects the coexistence of both attitudes in official thinking. The Indonesian government has always stressed the importance of cooperatives; in fact, cooperatives are presented as the natural embodiment of the principle of mutual aid (gotong-royong), basic to social relations in many parts of the country. In the words of the ex-Vice President Hatta :

"That co-operation is the basis of our national economy no longer requires propaganda and need no longer be defended. The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia itself stipulates in the first paragraph of article 38 that the national economy shall be organised on a co-operative basis" (1957:63)

At the same time, Indonesian development plans single out entrepreneurs as a dynamic force, to be encouraged. In REPELITA IV (the fourth development plan, covering 1984-89) there are specific measures for what is referred to as the informal sector and which includes cottage industries and handicrafts. Among those, leadership and entrepreneurial training receive considerable attention (Sethuraman 1985). Clearly, in development planning circles the encouragement of both cooperative structures and individual entrepreneurs is not considered contradictory.

### CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it would appear that most of the effects the project has had on the technical aspects and on the relations of production of anyaman, were unplanned. This includes its impact on women, since the project did not contain any mention of female producers as a category of producers deserving

special attention. In particular, the project ignored the existence of internal and external differentiation among productive units.

On the more general policy implications of such considerations, the most serious danger inherent in ignoring differentiation (internal or external) is the probable introduction of measures which reinforce the advantages of some categories of producers, and weaken the position of the others. This applies to internal differentiation, as it is the norm for most development interventions of this type to direct their efforts at the entrepreneurs, with the assumption that any improvements in their position would be of necessity advantageous to the rest of the labour force, regardless of the conditions under which they are involved in production.

Furthermore, the study of the causes and the nature of differentiation among rural enterprises is crucial to the understanding of industrial development in general. This is so because, as some scholars have stressed (Cook 1985), instances of differentiation may reveal that enterprises involved in petty commodity production contain in themselves the seeds for progressive developments, a capacity which they are usually denied. The importance given to sub-contracting as a mechanism which encourages the growth of small scale industries, can be seen as one of the outcomes of this denial. Thus the insistence of the BIPIK approach on entrepreneurship and the use of sub-contracting is an indication of the poor faith in the endogenous possibilities of small scale rural industries. Sub-contracting can have a positive role in industrial growth, as Watanabe (1971) has amply made clear, but it can also lead to situations in which small scale industries are entirely dependent on and exploited by parent firms. Thus, in terms of policies, the lack of understanding of differentiation may lead to negative consequences for small producers via diverse routes.

Finally, it seems appropriate to make some comment on the more practical aspects of the project. After the initiatives of 1982/1983, the project became dormant and had very limited follow-up activities (the 1986 report was one of these). While this can be explained partially by the fact that the personnel involved in the project experienced it as a failure, it would

still appear to be bad managerial practice to fail to revive earlier investments, or even to assess their outcome.

Parallel to this, there is the paucity of written documentation concerning the project (9). Beyond the problems and disappointments this may cause researchers involved in studies which require material of this kind, it is difficult to understand how it is possible to follow the progress of any programme during or after implementation, in the absence of accurate records. Such absence also excludes the possibility of learning from past successes or mistakes, in the development and implementation of new initiatives.

## NOTES

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2. A kampung (settlement, village) is a geographically delimited settlement with no official administrative status. It is usually a grouping of Rukun Tetanga (Neighbourhoods), 3 in the case of S. Several kampung form a desa.
3. Quantities of land here are given in the local unit of measurement, 1 bata = 14mx14m = 0.02 ha.
4. In these factories, there is a high turn-over of the female labour force, which explains the variation in the number of S. girls employed in this sector.
5. This is the terminology used by the local people, openly in the case of the term bandar. The term tengkulak had a vaguely derogatory meaning and was never used in the presence of the person concerned.
6. Internal differentiation is not less important than the external one. This is discussed at the end of this session only because certain information had to be given before the point could be made.

7. This difference reflects the fact that the recent interviews were carried out by assistants to whom the women preferred to define themselves as Ibu Rumah Tangga = housewife (74%, as opposed to 40.8% in 1982). During the the earlier survey it was insisted that the reply concerned what women really did.
8. For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr J. Breman.
9. An exception is the publication of an article in the magazine Galang (1986). The article contains detailed information on the project, but is far too optimistic about its achievements.

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