Majalaya as the center for textile industry in spatial historical perspectives

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Abstract. At the beginning of the 1930s, the Majalaya region located in Bandung Regency became one of the largest textile producers in West Java, around 60 percent of which was produced by Majalaya. The interesting thing to study, why land conversion functions, from agricultural land to industrial area. Whereas the geographical area of Majalaya in the Citarum watershed was originally known as a fertile agrarian region. This study used the historical method. The historical method had four stages of work, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The analysis carried out based on a spatial and anthropological approach. The results of the study show Majalaya as the center of the textile industry since the era of the Dutch East Indies government until the beginning of the New Order experienced its own ups and downs and dynamics. However, indigenous textile entrepreneurs managed to overcome various difficulties such as limited capital, equipment, and various government regulations from the colonial period to the New Order. Even in its limitations the entrepreneurs and workers have creatively diversified their products, and managed to market them to various cities, so they can survive today.

1. Introduction

Majalaya is located about 22 km from the southeast of the city center of Bandung, West Java. In the beginning of the 20th century, Majalaya, especially the Sukamaju Village, Majalaya District, Bandung Regency grew into an industrial city. Even Majalaya has an important role in the development of the national textile industry.

Majalaya is a sub-district which has been an industrial center since the Dutch East Indies administration. The growth and development of Majalaya as an industrial city is caused by geographical, economical, human resources, and other supporting causes. The production of the weaving industry, especially sarong has been marketed in various cities outside Majalaya, even outside Java. Majalaya’s weaving production can even compete with production from the Netherlands and Japan, especially during the financial crisis that hit the Dutch East Indies around the end of the 1930s.

The history of the bumiputera community weaving industry in Indonesia shows differences, both in terms of human resources and business scale organizations. Many changes in the pattern of society from agrarian to industry have been studied, but the attempt to reveal the history of the weaving industry with geography will find studies relating to changes in mentality, and the dynamics of society from subsistence to capitalistic industrial or market communities.

Hardjono’s study revealed the industrial sector workforce in Indonesia. What is the relationship between workers and employers, as well as work ties in home-scale industries and large industries. This description can provide a complete picture of the relationship between workers and employers [1]. Another study revealed how weaving workers in Majalaya had a large role in forming the weaving industry in Majalaya. The description of the bond between workers and employers, as well as the improvement of the status of workers into industrial business owners, provides a social picture of workers in the Majalaya weaving industry [2].

Furthermore, the results of Svesson’s review of the behavior of the elite of West Java or Priangan show different things from the elite of Central Java, where land ownership makes feudalism not as strict as Javanese, and this is what forms the entrepreneurial spirit for the elite in Priangan [3]. Another study from a Japanese historian who wrote about the history of the textile industry in West Sumatra in
Silungkang and Kubang found the fact that the dynamics of society had developed the weaving industry and persisted in various problems it faced. He also studied the Dutch government's policy in addressing the decline in the home weaving industry in West Sumatra, and how the Silungkang and Kubang areas deal with capital, equipment and marketing difficulties. The conclusion of his study states that dependence in carrying out the weaving industry makes Kubang more sustainable than Silungkang [4].

From this previous study, the author wanted to study the weaving industry in Majalaya through a historical perspective, so that it could explain why land conversion from agricultural land to industrial areas occurred, and how the Majalaya people transformed from an agrarian society into an industrial society. By reviewing the home weaving industry in Majalaya, the process of the emergence of different market communities in Indonesia from one region to another can be understood.

2. Methods
This study is a spatial historical study, so the method used is the historical method. The historical method is a way of reconstructing past events through the process of critically testing and analyzing past records, so that the dynamics and changes of society can be expressed chronologically. The historical method has four stages of work namely, heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography [5]. Heuristics is a step to collect data sources both primary and secondary. Criticism to determine the authenticity and credibility of the source of data. Interpretation to analyze the events being studied and historical reconstruction in the form of historiography. The analytical approach uses spatial aspects to limit the area of study and economic anthropology to examine the economic behavior of the community based on the perspective of the community itself.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Socio-Economic Life of the Majalaya Community
During the reign of the Dutch East Indies, Majalaya was a district in the upstream Citarum River. Majalaya region in the form of paddy fields and plantations. The large river flow is usually used and crowded before the road above the Dutch colonial government. Until the end of the 19th century, the Majalaya area was the same as other areas in the form of rice fields, gardens and forests. Most of the population switch job to agricultural laborers who cultivate land in a landlord (local landlords) or local officials (wedana or bupati). Besides planting rice, they also cultivate more land and plant it with cassava or other substitute food crops, to meet food needs, especially in times of famine. Most economic activities are carried out based on the utilization of resources in their environment [2].

Besides farming, women generally have a tradition of weaving. According to Reid, who conducted studies in Southeast Asia, weaving expertise came from Austronesian communities. Between the 16th and 17th centuries cotton has been widely grown in Southeast Asia, and cotton-based clothing has been used by the majority of the population. Traditionally the weaving process was carried out when women were not working on their agricultural land, or take advantage of the daytime break [6].

The loom used was very simple, cotton is made into thread, then inserted bobbin and cotton stick. The next step was coloring the cloth with materials around their environment, in the form of leaves, bark, or plant roots as natural dyes, then weaved using simple looms. To produce a piece of fabric, it takes a long time for about a month. In Raffles' writings on the history of Java, it was refined, almost every Javanese house contained looms. Weaving activities were only considered as a side activity, not considered commercial activities [7].

3.2. Majalaya Towards Pre-Industrial
How can the Majalaya region develop into an industrial area. Majalaya was part of the Priangan region during the Dutch Government. Initially the Priangan area was not attractive to local or migrant from outside because the topography of Priangan consisted of mountains and sparsely populated. With the economic system of farming, Priangan is a closed and isolated area of the world of international trade life. So, economically and politically, this Priangan area is considered unfavorable.

VOC (VereenigdeOostUndischCompagnie) glanced at Priangan for coffee cultivation, because the climate is considered suitable for coffee, besides coffee was a product that benefits the VOC. At first
the VOC made a commercial sale and purchased of coffee, then turned into a forced deposit system, and turned into the obligatory coffee or contingenten submission which became known as Preangerstelsel[8]. Furthermore, Muchsin in his dissertation stated that coffee plants can be planted in dry fields, yards, houses, and in slopes so as not to reduce paddy fields. Coffee plants are more beneficial to the Priangan community compared to other crops such as sugar cane [9]. However, in general Preangerstelselonly benefited the VOC, especially local bureaucrats. The VOC penetrated the Priangan under the pretext of expanding coffee plants through the Preangerstelsel system, not to developed Priangan [8].

Around the beginning of the 19th century Priangan gradually began to open after Daendeles made the Post Road from Anyer to Panarukan through the Priangan. The goal was to defend the island of Java from British attacks and open and develop the economy of the Priangan region. The construction of the Post Road from Anyer to Panarukan which transformed the transportation system from the river stream to the road brought the impact of river traffic flowing to roads [10]. Besides this, the construction of the Post Road has affected the demographic conditions and the Priangan community, one of which is in Majalaya.

The geographical location of the Majalaya region in the Citarum watershed, which used to be the artery of trade, turned to land, because Majalaya was close to the old district capital, DayeuahKolot (around Soreang now). At the time the district capital was moved to Bandung (the current centerof Bandung) by Daendeles. The move did not undermine the old cities around Soreang and Majalaya, because there were roads that connect this region. Even at the beginning of the 20th century a railroad network was built from Bandung to Majalaya which further facilitated the mobility of local people to carry out economic activities.

In the 1830s the Dutch East Indies Government issued a policy of forced cultivation, but for the Priangan region this policy did not make the Preangerstelsel system change. The Priangan region was still used as a coffee producer for the export products of the Dutch East Indies government. The consequence was that the forest opening will occur on a large scale to expand the area of coffee plants.

In 1870 the Dutch East Indies government issued the Agrarian Law (Agrarissche Wet) which basically regulated the granting of land rights to private industrial entrepreneurs and residents. Residents were not allowed to open land without the permission of the government, and the government leases public land to entrepreneurs who open large plantations based on certain conditions. The government provides facilities for foreign private entrepreneurs, in the form of loan capital from banks, building road access to plantations, and trying to prepare crude labor. With the existence of private companies there has been a change in the employment of the bumiputera community, where the bumiputera people are more free to choose, especially for the lower layers, the majority of whom do not have arable land.

The Agrarian Law has an impact on the price of agricultural land affected by the project for plantations or industrial factories of private entrepreneurs. Land prices are high because they are purchased according to market prices. This is different from the awareness of elites and residents on the commercial value of land. According to Boomgard until the 1800s, as far as the peasants were concerned, ownership of free land and leasing of land in accordance with custom was common [11]. The right to individual land ownership is recognized, which is called land. The pattern of land ownership in Priangan before strengthening monetization flows is influenced by a relatively sparse population, while large lands so that land values are low and not profitable. Thus, the land has not become the center of attention for the authorities, so the authorities have not controlled the land in absolute terms.

Since the Agrarian Law was implemented, land prices are expensive. The Agrarian Law has raised several village elites or landlords in Priangan. With the increase in the selling price of the land, the Priangan people began to view the land as something that could be commercialized. Farmers who have small land sell land to the owner of the capital (in this case bought by a bumiputera farmer). Money traffic in the countryside was increasing because there was commercialization of land. In the end, a new class of landlords grew up as farmers and traders. Land and labor in turn also become one of the important commodities in the capitalist market and that's when society as a whole has been subject to market law and become a market society or market society [12].

The new bumiputera middle class in Priangan was different from the previous landlords. In the old community structure, the main capital of the people was land that is supported by human resources,
land ownership as a manifestation of social structure. Land ownership basically brings more meaning to social status than economic activity, thus impacting on less than optimal land management. In Priangan there is no emphasis on property rights, because the regent of Priangan did not get strong pressure from the authorities.

At the beginning of the 20th century the new class of Priangan emerged from the industrial sector, with features that were different from other social classes that had dependence on mobile capital. The main characteristic of this new elite is that it can control the land, own land with private property, control all labor, and can control capital. These elites can grow and escape from traditional local rulers blocking the expansion of land ownership. They can focus on new economic business activities, namely promoting trade, crafts and industry. This new elite of rural capital dominates the capital of economic enterprises because it can control the land, own vast land and control the source of labor. They invest their capital in small industries, run the economy, and dare to take risks and take the initiative to take advantage of the market [13].

The process of capital starts from the process of commodities, people produce goods not because of the value but because of their exchange value [14]. Socially capitalism moves forward into all areas of life and makes exchange rate production increasingly dominant. People make a living through the exchange mechanism because fewer and fewer goods and services are directly produced to meet immediate needs. In other words, commodity production is increasingly common where all goods including human labor and land can be traded. It is in this context that free labor emerges and commoditization of land as a sign of expansion without expansion of capital.

The difference between communities in the nusanteran in the face of invasion of colonial capital varies. In the nusanteran there is no single power over the entire region. The power of a king must be shared with the aristocracy at a lower level. Land became important, in the late 18th century when commodity production was stable, and the key to stability was the supply of labor. If the integration of labor and land into the capitalist production process can go through various channels, the market relations in social life follow the same logic everywhere. Slowly the lives of people change to be more controlled by market relations. The things that were originally to be produced and consumed by themselves were then controlled by market relations. As production grows, society becomes increasingly dependent on the market, and in turn the market takes on an unequal role, in history as an internal institution that governs social life.

On the other hand, farmers who have narrow land that depend on the economy for agricultural products were increasingly becoming marginalized in their economic lives. In addition, the population increases while agricultural land remains. This causes social inequality among the bumiputras themselves, namely the large landowners with small landowners, especially with farm laborers. Social institutions that accommodate cooperation are used for social and economic purposes, where new entrepreneurs do not accumulate capital for themselves, but they invite farmers and craftsmen who lack capital as work partners. This happened in Majalaya which developed into one of the industrial centers in West Java.

In the pre-industrial period, most of the Majalayapopulation were still agricultural laborers, managing landowners or local bureaucrats (wedana or bupati). At the beginning of the formation of a home weaving industry, bumiputera entrepreneurs recruited workers around the area. There was also a gathering of small producers under the auspices of a skipper, the purpose of organizing several small industries in one roof in order to save time, labor, quality control so that quality standards were maintained, and the production cycle becomes short. The social structure of client patron relationships, reciprocity, and loyalty will support small industries. So entrepreneurs as patrons and labor as clients [13].

Social relations in society are regulated in social institutions, behaviors in economic, social and cultural aspects are interrelated based on mutually agreed norms and values. The agreed values emphasize interdependence, balance and cooperation in social relations, which historically involves patterns of cooperation in exchanging and mobilizing labor. The social mechanism of farmers in the form of the practice of exchanging labor, capital, and consumer goods, which effectively concentrates on a point of space [15]. Cooperation based on a high sense of mutual respect will be the reciprocal value of each participant, not general ethical values. Labor relations are arranged in a traditional pattern called mutual cooperation, in the sense that expressive symbolic aspects are more important than the technical and instrumental aspects [16].
In the era of traditional feudalism, a person used his wealth to obtain personal followers rather than capital accumulation to get land, because the land at that time did not contain economic value. When population pressure increases, the bond of personal dependence becomes more prominent. For patrons, the place where a person depends on his life becomes very important, because this is considered to be the key to achieving social status, power, service, and enjoyment of life. As for clients, insecurity about property and family life makes them need patrons [17]. These patron client ties are used by the new elite as entrepreneurs to manage the weaving industry. Sundanese entrepreneurs are more able to maintain entrepreneurial independence compared to other manufacturing sectors located in Central Java or East Java that are truly controlled by Europe or China [3].

3.3. Majalaya: Towards a Home Weaving Industry
Beginning in the 20th century in line with Ethical politics, the Indies government began to pay attention to small bumiputera industries, which were part of the welfare program. The Dutch colonial era weaving tradition was developed into a form of home industry. OndjoArgad inata and Abdulgani are thought to be the first bumiputera to spearhead the local weaving industry in Majalaya with a simple tool, which is a loom instead of a machine [18].

At the same time, the home weaving industry was initiated by the bumiputera people. Changes occur as new rural elites grow that have vast land, can control labor, and have capital, begin to change their economic behavior, where capital was not bought land for agriculture, but was used as capital to establish local industries, namely the weaving industry and its products sold around the Majalaya market.

As time goes by, the home weaving industry was growing. In fact, in 1927 the government began introducing machine looms (ATM, AlatTenunMesin) to manufacture fabrics, especially sarong fabrics. In addition to the involvement of workers in the weaving factory, there were also workers who managed to open a home weaving industry. Almost every Majalaya resident has weaving equipment and opens his own weaving business [18]. In 1935 the government facilitated the weaving industry with electricity [19]. Since then Majalaya has become an industrial center in West Java whose products are marketed outside Java. Majalaya's weaving industry develop because the government limited imports of cloth and yarn, and limited the weaving factory which had looms to more than 14 looms on Java [15].

Weaving activities take place quickly, because of the high percentage of landless households and marginal farming. In addition, the involvement of weaving factory workers who later pioneered their own weaving business has resulted in an increasing number of home weaving industries. Most people move from agrarian economic activities to home industry businesses because they are considered more profitable. In subsequent developments, the weaving industry grew. With the development of the weaving industry, little by little agricultural land has turned into an industrial area [2].

Majalaya District has a higher population density compared to other regions included in the Priangan Residency. In addition, specifically for Majalaya district, the population living in the upland area is more than other regions, resulting in a differentiation of the work sector, which was originally a food crop farmer, becoming a craftsman in weaving small businesses [13].

A major feature of the weaving industry in the Priangan Residency, especially Bandung Regency, is made by small businesses that have no more than 14 pieces of looms. Small weaving industry continues to grow in Bandung Regency, where out of 1,633 small industrial companies, it turns out that 774 are in Ciparay which include Majalaya Rayon with 6,822 looms [13]. In 1937 the sarong industry was more developed than other weaving industries, sarong production from West Java entered the West Sumatra market, and this affected the Silungkang and Kubang textile industries as the West Sumatra sarong industry center. This indicates the level of progress in the weaving industry, especially the Majalaya sarong, can expand markets outside West Java [4].

During the Japanese occupation and the beginning of independence, Majalaya's weaving industry suffered a setback, due to the conditions of the East Asia war and armed conflict with allies. Beginning in the 1950s the number of hand looms was only around 25 percent [2]. In 1950, the makloon system began to grow in Majalaya. There was a kind of yarn subsidy from the government related to the scarcity of yarn as the basic material for making the fabric industry. The system is more profitable for large factories, and the majority of factories were controlled by Chinese, but local residents do not feel
the benefits. It was only in 1959 that there were regulations that Chinese traders and businessmen could not enter the countryside, but had to reach the sub-district.

In 1960 Majalaya's weaving rose again, about 40 percent of the fabric production in Indonesia was produced by the weaving industry in Majalaya. End of 1964 Majalaya controlled 25 percent of the 12,882 machine looms (ATMs) in West Java. Most industries in Majalaya were located in the villages of Sukamaju, Padamulya and Sukahati. Until the 1970s the sarong cloth from Majalaya was much in demand.

In 1980, the sarong fabric industry began to experience sluggishness, because large industries with large capital began to dominate the market and have financial strength. Small industries that are mostly carried out by bumiputera experience setbacks. The decline was also the result of the inability of small industry owners to restructure old and outdated machines to modern machines that were more efficient while reducing competitiveness.

In the early days of the small industry, the Majalaya community managed to become a modern society. However, the development tends to stagnate. The stages of the transition of the employment sector from the agrarian community to the industrial community stage then to the service sector stage as passed by the European community did not occur in Majalaya. The Majalaya community is only able to reach the stages of industrial society, but not to the extent of services, and even many of them are only able to become factory workers. If they were engaged in the service sector, most work in the informal service sector, this is probably due to the low level of their education.

4. Conclusions
Majalaya grew into a weaving industrial area since the beginning of the 20th century because there were factors that pushed it. The existence of a new elite that understands about capital, can read market opportunities, dominate capital in the countryside, labor, and can control capital resulting in a growing entrepreneurial spirit. This new elite pioneered the weaving industry in Majalaya.

The development of the local weaving industry can grow, because entrepreneurs use village ties that have been managing their companies through patron-client ties, so that the management of home industries is very different from large capital-intensive industries. With patron-client ties, the home weaving industry develops in accordance with the management of local wisdom understood by the community.

Various new things introduced by the government can be responded well by the Majalaya community, such as the use of machine looms. Then the existence of roads and electricity has grown the industry and facilitated product marketing. The home weaving industry which developed rapidly around the 1930s resulted in changes in land functions from agricultural land to industrial estates. This has resulted in changes in people's livelihoods from agrarian to industrial society.

In the era of independence, the home weaving industry became a small industry that can still survive until now, even though its conditions faded somewhat eroded by the forces of the times that small industrial entrepreneurs could not follow. For this reason, it is necessary to find the best solution, so that the designation of dollar cities for Majalaya will return, by building adequate infrastructure and supporting product marketing. This is in line with the central government's program that will build toll roads from Bandung to Tasikmalaya planned through Majalaya. The Governor of West Java also plans to revive the railway line to the south of Bandung which will facilitate the movement of products from Majalaya to the outside.

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