

Cross-culture analysis of batik sub-culture Pekalongan: A case study on the complexity dimensions of representation, diversity and conflict

Analisis silang budaya sub-kultur batik Pekalongan: Studi kasus kompleksitas dimensi representasi, keragaman, dan konflik

Oktafiani C. Pratiwi^{1*} , Sofa Marwah¹ , & Wita Ramadhanti² 

¹Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
University of Jenderal Soedirman

²Department of Accounting, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Jenderal Soedirman
Address: Jalan HR. Boenyamin 993, Grendeng, Purwokerto Utara, Central Java, Indonesia
E-mail: oktafiani.pratiwi@unsoed.ac.id

Article History: Received 09 April 2023; Accepted 09 March 2024; Published Online 13 March 2024

Abstract

Pekalongan batik sub-culture development is influenced by three cultures namely Javanese, Chinese and Arabic. Most studies of batik use a cultural and socioeconomic analysis by focusing mainly its cultural aspects. This research aims to analysis transformation of social and economic assets, by using a different perspective namely cross-cultural theory and democratization framework in order to explain the political economic contestation among the entrepreneurs. This research uses Robert Dahl's conceptual framework regarding the development of democracy and only uses three of the seven relevant aspects, namely: (a) representation, (b) diversity, and (c) conflict. Case studies as a qualitative methodology are used with in-depth interview techniques, observation and literature reviews as data collection tools. The results of this study are, Pekalongan batik sub-culture has formed a kind of long acculturation formation in the cultural perspective, but secondly it also contributes to develop a kind of political contestation, conflicts and gender-bias political practices This study concludes that regional autonomy and decentralization policies have created space for political contestation and opened up opportunities to transform the social/economic capital of batik entrepreneurs as assets for political contestation and have even raised the issue of identity politics.

Keywords: Pekalongan batik; social and economic capital; political contestation

Abstrak

Perkembangan sub-kultur batik Pekalongan tidak dapat dilepaskan dari tiga kebudayaan besar Jawa, Arab dan China. Mayoritas studi tentang batik Pekalongan menggunakan analisis sosial ekonomi, dengan fokus kepada dimensi budaya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis transformasi aset sosial-ekonomi batik, dengan menggunakan perspektif berbeda yaitu pendekatan silang-budaya dan kerangka konsep demokratisasi untuk menjelaskan pola kontestasi pengusaha batik Pekalongan. Penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka konseptual Robert Dahl tentang perkembangan demokrasi dan hanya menggunakan tiga dari tujuh aspek yang relevan, yaitu: (a) representasi, (b) keragaman, dan (c) konflik/kontestasi. Studi kasus sebagai salah satu metodologi kualitatif digunakan dengan teknik wawancara mendalam, observasi dan tinjauan pustaka sebagai alat pengumpulan data. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan, sub-batik Pekalongan telah membentuk akulturasi budaya yang panjang dalam bentuk motif dan ornamen-ornamen batik yang multi-kultur; tetapi juga berkontribusi terhadap pengembangan kontestasi, konflik dan praktik politik bias-gender. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa kebijakan otonomi daerah dan desentralisasi telah menciptakan ruang kontestasi politik dan membuka peluang mentransformasikan modal sosial/ekonomi pengusaha batik sebagai aset kontestasi politik bahkan meningkatkan isu politik identitas.

Kata kunci: batik Pekalongan; modal sosial dan ekonomi; kontestasi politik

Introduction

Pekalongan batik is an intangible cultural heritage, that has the economic and socio-cultural functions which continue to be developed and preserved by Pekalongan people. Its cultural history was rooted in the Kingdomship period around the 17th Century, and it developed an acculturation under colonialism and after independence. A long history of tradition and cultural development has influenced to form a perspective of the majority of studies among scholars who commonly used an art and cultural perspective approach.

In fact, batik Pekalongan history has also mixed with political dimensions and economic contestation. Study of Satya Paramandanahas shown, its golden age and the highest economic growth was in the early 1920s, but it slowly declined following the world economic depression. In the period of 1942-1945, the Japanese even created a propaganda motif namely 'Hokokai Javanese Batik,' and established an agency called Jumin Keizai Kyoku. All batik entrepreneurs, whether Javanese, Arab or Chinese must sell their products only to this agency (Paramandana et al. 2021:1-16).

In the independence era, development of Pekalongan batik has been supported by three major cultures, namely Javanese, Arabic, and Chinese. Most Chinese entrepreneurs adopt many Chinese ceramic motifs such as phoenixes, lions, dragons, and jewelry. The Arabic entrepreneurs united two cultures namely the coastal areas and inland-culture areas and incorporated the Middle Eastern ornaments such as fruit and palm leaves. Meanwhile, the Javanese entrepreneurs usually live in the batik villages as in Kampung Gringsing, Tersono, Batang, Limpung and Comal (Susminingsih et al. 2017:199-201).

In terms of theoretical debate of political science, the emergence of Pekalongan batik sub-culture is possible to be analyzed by using a concept of political culture, Voinea (2020:362) identified two essential perspectives in political culture research. One perspective appears as a process toward the identification of a basic concept, that could be the attitude as in the classic political culture theory. The second perspective appears as a fast process toward the identification of a basic (set of) processes and mechanism (s) which could explain the relationship between the *Citizen* and the *State*.

This study used the cross-cultural approach to analyze the transformation of batik in Pekalongan as a mode of social and economic capitals, that, in the context of decentralization and regional autonomy era, has been used as good assets for political contestation. Regional autonomy and decentralization provide a political arena for batik entrepreneurs, to utilize and to exploit the values and norms of batik sub-culture as their 'political identity discourses'.

Robert Dahl in his work titled *Polyarchy, Pluralism, and Scale* (1984:226-240) pointed to the shift in the practical and theoretical locus of democracy with its important consequences, although theory failed to keep pace with its practices. Dahl identified seven consequences of the democratic efforts under the issue of: (a) representation, (b) unlimited extension, (c) limits of participation, (d) diversity, (e) conflict, (f) polyarchy, and (g) organizational pluralism. This research will only focus on the relevant three aspects of Dahl namely the issue of representation, diversity, and conflict.

The study of the Pekalongan batik is dominant within the cultural theory with cultural acculturation among the three cultures as the main focus, and the cultural patterns or its ornaments. This phenomenon will be interpreted within the cultural domain and then a conclusion about the process of cultural acculturation as the main support for the Pekalongan batik development is drawn. In fact, the process of acculturation does not work in an empty space, rather, it is influenced by various factors including the local political dimension as an ethnic strategy for survival.

This research use a cross-cultural approach, that will focus on how the social and economic capitals of batik entrepreneurs are transformed in the political contestation during the era of decentralization and regional autonomy (Vellnagel 2020, Campeggiani 2021, Huang 2021, Caligiuri et al. 2022, Kochert et al. 2022). The cross-cultural approach will allow direct analysis into the political economy dimension of Pekalongan batik, and will be deduced with other concepts including the dynamics of socioeconomic and political contestation which do not appear explicitly on the surface.

Regarding this, the study will use three of seven dimensions of democratic development from Robert Dahl (1984). Firstly representation, which will explain how the politics of representation in the Pekalongan sub-culture batik have been dominated by batik entrepreneurs. Which political norms and values (Javanese, Chinese, Arabic) are dominated and exploited as batik entrepreneurs enter local practical politics, both for the regional head election and/or legislative election? Second, in terms of diversity issue, how is the acculturation between the three cultures (Javanese, Chinese, Arabic) emerged and in what kind of formats? Third, in terms of conflict, what complexity of contestations emerge when the batik entrepreneurs become a local politician?

To understand the shifts from a business actor into the political actors, this research will use political economy approach to analysis these phenomenas. Grindle (1999:1-31) has discussed on how the political economy approach not only differs fundamentally about the structure and meaning of competition over policy decisions, but also to provide distinct ways of understanding institutions and the relationship between institutions and actions. There are some four questions of political economy that will be able to link the theory and the democratic practices, namely: (a) why and when are politicians interested in supporting policy change? (b) how do political institutions affect the choices made by politicians? (c) how are new institutions created or transformed? and, (d) what are the consequences of new rules of the game for economic and political interaction?

Based on Dahl's theoretical framework, this research created a mapping instrument for the analysis as in Table 1.

Table 1.
Conceptual Framework of the Research

Sectors	Main Issues	Aspects and Focus of Analysis
Politics	Representation	Norms/Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Norms and values in the process of batik production ▪ The concept of gender-based labor division
	Conflict	Roles and Legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The role division of batik entrepreneurs involving the three major ethnics. ▪ Forms and politics of accommodation and collaboration.
Economics	Conflict	Economic Contestation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The role division of batik entrepreneurs involving the three major ethnics.
Cultures	Diversity	Accommodation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The social, political, and economic cultural legitimacy of batik ▪ Forms and politics of accommodation and collaboration.
		Acculturation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Motive, Ornaments and Paintings

Source: Created by the author

The aim of this research is to analyze the patterns of politics and economics contestations, and how values and norms are exploited and in what ways? It analyzes all cultural, economics, and political contestations that will make it possible to offer a new analytical approach on how the local business actors of batik sub-culture Pekalongan use their social and political economic assets as their political capital. Using the political economy analysis, it also can identify the complexity and dynamics of local political contestation that use economic capitals as a foundation for political asset, that it cannot be explained by using a cultural study approach alone.

Research Method

This research uses a cross-cultural approach to analyze the political economy of batik sub-culture at Pekalongan by referencing to two theoretical dimensions. Firstly, it focuses on the acculturation mode of three influencing cultures namely Javanese, Chinese and Arabic. Second, it focuses on utilization and exploitation of cultural values/norms for the practical political purposes. The majority of Pekalongan batik entrepreneurs, especially with Javanese and Arab descent backgrounds, have important social and economic roles due to their involvement in Islamic religious organizations.

In fact, not all the Arabic descendants work in the economic sectors, but the Pekalongan people has accorded them the same privilege. Savirani in her dissertation at the University of Amsterdam (2015:88-89) found that Arabic descendants do not only involve in the batik economy but also in non-economic sectors. There are two groups, namely the Haba'ib and also the non-Haba'ib. The Haba'ib are Arabs who claim a direct lineage to the Prophet Muhammad, while the non-Haba'ib are not. The first group is usually involved in religious affairs, while the second group is mostly in economic trading and established an association called 'Al Irsyad' which is active in the education and health sectors.

Batik Pekalongan is not only influenced by the Arabic/Middle East values and norms. According to Basiroen & Kana (2019:1-11), there are two different types of batik in Java Island namely the Javanese Keraton Palace and Batik Pesisiran Coastal Java. The Keraton Palace batik grows within the Palace, and it is mostly based on the main Javanese cultural philosophy. But the Pesisiran Coastal Java batik has more enrichments in terms of foreign influences and produces a mode of acculturation in terms of motifs and patterns. According to Provincial Government BAPPEDA of Central Java, there are batik production culture in all 35 districts/municipalities in Central Java Province with Pekalongan and Surakarta have the longest historical period of development. There are several new development cluster areas for batik development as in Semarang, Rembang and Klaten and Magelang (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah 2018).

Batik Pekalongan is also influenced by the Chinese culture, and Dutch influences that are commonly identified as 'Batik Kompeni'. Adisasmito (2021:1-3) found that Batik Kompeni has influenced across Central Java and East Java, especially along the coastal areas of North Java. During the Dutch colonialism period, batik centers were developed in Semarang, Ungaran, Banyumas, Pacitan, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Pekalongan has also become an important center for batik industry in Central and North Java, and several Batik Kompeni motifs have emerged such as Vansolen/Zuilen motifs and Panastroman and others as Frankemon batik.

To analyze the combination of cultural, economic and political phenomena in batik Pekalongan, the study uses a qualitative method by using several techniques for data collection processes. Primary data collection used in-depth interview and observation, while the secondary data were collected by using the desk/literature review. Presentation of the report will use a case study model, as one of the models in the qualitative research methodology.

Priya (2021:94) identified four criteria of case study as one of a qualitative research method, namely: (a) case study is a research strategy, and not just a method/technique/process of data collection, (b) a case study involves a detailed study of the concerned unit of analysis within its natural setting, (c) a case study research allows the researcher the leeway to use any method of data collection which suits their purpose, and (d) the unit of analysis in a case study research can be an individual, a family, a household, a community, an organization, an event or even a decision.

According to Levy (2008:1-18) there are some relevant definitions from political scientists, such as by George Bennett who defined a case study as 'the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or to test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events.' Lijphart also has divided several types of case studies in the political study namely a theoretical, interpretative, hypothesis-generating, theory-confirming, theory-informing, and deviant case studies.

This research uses type of case studies, namely 'theory-guided case that aims to explain and/or interpret a single historical episode rather than to generalize beyond data'. Unlike inductive case studies, they are explicitly structured by a well-developed conceptual framework that focuses on some theoretically specified aspects of reality and neglects others.

Informants selection was determined by using a purposive random sampling method, and divided in several categories: (a) batik industry communities (batik entrepreneurs, brokers, workers), (b) people with knowledge as to batik sub-culture Pekalongan (academics, historians), (c) local politician, (d) and the local community, with the total informants 45 people.

Study fieldworks were done in the year of 2022, and all primary and secondary data were analyzed by using a codification and triangulation to be in line with the theoretical frameworks. Analysis was done by using three aspects of Dahl's framework, and conclusions were drawn based on the knowledge generated from the data collected.

In general, the authors conclude that both cross-cultural analysis approach and political culture theory can contribute to further development of study in political science. First, cross-cultural analysis can explain the local political contestation phenomenon using the local identity (norms and values) of

Pekalongan batik sub-culture. Secondly, using three of Dahl's democratic dimensions, in the context of decentralization, it would be able to analyze the combination of political and economic contestations which cannot be done by only using solely cultural anthropology, sociology and/or economic approaches.

Results and Discussion

In this section, the study results are focused on explanations related to several things, including: (1) Representation: Transforming values into political arena; (2) Diversity: Political economy of sub-culture batik Pekalongan; and (3) Conflict: Cultural and political contestation.

Representation: Transforming values into political arena

This research found that the batik entrepreneurs (Javanese, Chinese and Arabic) have enormous socioeconomic capital in the whole of Pekalongan batik sub-culture communities. However, it is only batik entrepreneurs with Javanese and Arabic background that have a great access to utilize it to be involved in the local politics. Entrepreneurs with a Chinese cultural background, do not have a much access to utilize their privileges and resources for joining local political contestation.

It is in line with Dahl's concept of representation (1984), that development of democracy will need representation politics 'because of the practical impossibility of having an assembly consisting of all citizens, or even a significant proportion of them, representation, which was anathema to Rousseau in the Social Contract became an unavoidable consequence of the enlarged scale of the political system.'

This research found interesting phenomena regarding the representation issues. Firstly, Javanese and Arabic batik entrepreneurs have a privilege to use religious and culture identities in entering the local political contestation. Javanese entrepreneurs used the political representation as 'santri' community, while the Arabic descendant entrepreneurs used their privileges as 'the Prophet descendant' (habib or habaib). This is interesting, since Alkatiri & Hayaze (2022:1-16) found that the role of 'habaib' in all Indonesian regions was important, but there have been two types of 'habaib' categories that affected their roles. The first group generally works as scholars and/or religious leader, and the second one works in the field of education, military and trade.

Febriani et al. (2023:16) concluded that batik is not just the national icon of Indonesia, but in its history it also has a spirit of the local political identity. The reign of the Sultan Agung produced batik as a 'political identity icon,' that batik was truly 'a product of Java, a symbol of local power, and a cultural symbol to challenge the Dutch colonialism.' The interesting conclusion is in line with the perception of most Pekalongan people found in this study, that batik has been politicized by the local entrepreneurs to enter political arena, as said an informant.

"Batik has been popularized recently. This means that batik itself is indeed already popular in the people of Pekalongan but only recently has it gained more strength. In the past, batik was mediocre for the people of Pekalongan. But now since the political map has changed, meaning that the world of politics has changed as if there were direct regional elections, well, that actually has quite an effect. Because these candidates will usually wear batik. So, these candidates will become trend centers..... And this is actually how it is if I try to infiltrate, who are the players behind these local politicians. I see that on average they are also batik entrepreneurs. The current mayor is also a batik entrepreneur. So, behind all this, what is interesting is the team, the behind-the-scenes team, on average, is also a network of batik entrepreneurs." (Informant RIB).

Secondly, political contestation has occurred between the batik entrepreneurs with the cultural background of Javanese and Arabic by utilizing religious organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. It is in line with structural functionalism theory introduced by Geertz who connected the concepts of market, village and bureaucracy. Geertz divides three Javanese political cultures namely: (a) *santri* who tie themselves to social structures affiliated with the traditional NU and Masyumi parties; (b) *abangan* referring to rural Javanese farming communities applying Islamic traditions partially and

are strongly influenced by pre-Islamic traditions and tend to vote for the PNI or PKI parties; (c) *priyayi*, namely Javanese nobles influenced by Hindu cultural traditions who tend to vote for the PNI Party (Marijan 1999:61).

In addition, the Nahdhlatul Ulama (NU) organization has also grown in Pekalongan rural areas by developing Islamic boarding schools or pesantren. This batik sub-culture then cannot be separated with their business interests, religious tolerance and religious-based economic networks. Haryati in her dissertation mentions the role of *Kyai* and *Habaib* in Pekalongan batik economy as ‘cultural brokers.’ The interaction between *Kyai* and *Habaib* with the Pekalongan community, including batik entrepreneurs, consists of three main domains, namely religious, social and economic (Haryati 2018:156).

“The relationship between religion and trade is cool.... I said earlier that one cannot be said to be rich if a businessman does not maintain a *Kyai*. Actually, the symbol of a businessman is when they are able to take care of a *Kyai*, so he goes up a class..... In the *Kyai*’s circle, ... the first ring is *santri*...., but this second ring is filled by entrepreneurs. The first ring was chosen to maintain the scholarly position of this *Kyai* figure. Meanwhile, to support turnover or economic needs in the taqlim assembly or even symbols later in their development, this is what entrepreneurs support. So, as a symbol they can stay close to *Kyai*, in fact they have a network, then their business network can be even wider. So, it’s a kind of communal economic system ... because it doesn’t use the cooperative model, just because it enters/involves in the same assembly, then they can turn the wheel of the economy and it’s very influential.” (Informant RIB).

During the 2014 General Election, Mutho’in (2015:282-294) found that even though the roles of influential religious figures are important in Pekalongan, the people of Pekalongan are also known as a ‘short-fused’ society since they are easily provoked, angry, explosive and hot-tempered. Mardimin’s study explained this phenomena because of three reason namely: (a) the relatively low education level, (b) scripturalistic Islam understanding among local people which leads to be fanatical, and (c) a socioeconomic context in terms of economic business competitions (batik) among several business families influencing the social economy (Mardimin 2016:10). Hence, the economic culture of batik cannot be separated from the appreciation of the Javanese for the *santri* political culture to gain the economic and business advantages, as explained by this informant before.

Diversity: Political economy of sub-culture batik Pekalongan

This research found that Pekalongan batik was long rooted in terms of complexity of motifs, patterns, and ornaments. Foreign influences were adopted from the Dutch, Japanese, Chinese and Arabic. The cultural diversity does not hinder economic cooperation and collaboration among batik entrepreneurs. In general, the cultural diversity forms an acculturation and does not close economic cooperation and collaboration between batik entrepreneurs.

This is in line with Dahl’s identification in his framework that ‘although the relation between scale and diversity is less clear-cut, as a political unit increases in size, its inhabitants will tend to exhibit greater diversity, in ways relevant to political life: local and regional, ethnic, racial, religious, ideological, occupational, and so on. The relatively homogeneous population of citizens united by common attachments to city, language, race, history, myth, and religion that was so conspicuous a part of the classical, city-state vision of democracy now becomes for all practical purposes impossible.’

Acculturation is not a short term process but a quite long period of both the historical and cultural that rooted in the pre-history period of Indonesia. That is why, even the national effort to make batik as a National Fashion icon in Indonesia has been started in the period of New Order Regime of Indonesia, its history could be found since the Kingdomship period. A recent analysis and study found that batik’ oldest record referred in the Hindu-Budhist Kingdom of Kalinga in Jawa around the year period of 650 to 850. A Chinese source that translated and mentioned in a book published in Batavia in 1889 stated that several Javanese Kingdoms were possibly involved in the old China’s Silk Road. The connections have influenced other several Budhist Kingdoms as Sriwijaya of Sumatera Isand that also already has a long period of trading relation with India and Arab countries (Febriani et al. 2023:3-4).

In terms of cultural acculturation, there are at least two motifs and ornaments in batik Pekalongan influenced by the foreign cultures and making an acculturation with Javanese tradition. Alvatika & Atrinawati (2020:2-3) found that Pekalongan batik is commonly categorized as ‘batik pesisiran’ (coastal batik), to differentiate with the Yogyakarta and Surakarta batik as the standard (pakem) of Javanese batik. One of the oldest motives in the Pekalongan batik is Jlamprang and other four motives are liong, lunglungan, semen, and tujuh rupa (seven faces).



Figure 1.

Liong motif which is strongly influenced by the Chinese motifs and patterns

Source: Pekalongan Media (2023)

A more recent study has also found that Jlamprang batik motif as an acculturation product with the traditional Javanese and influenced by two foreign values and cultures namely the Indian and Arabic. Patola cloth, is a silk-made fashion from Gujarat India that firstly influencing local Javanese motifs namely Jlamprang with a character of geometric shape. The geometric shape was appeared as a manifestation of Budhist and Hindu beliefs and has a sacred value, with a meaning of connecting or to link between the human world and Gods. In the Islamic period of Java, the Jlamprang motif was added with several geometric shapes of dots, squares, circles and other motifs since in Islamic values people not allowed to illustrate a human creature-like painting (Rahmaputri 2023:97-98).

In terms of Chinese influences, Nuraryo et al. (2020:5), concludes that there are at least two acculturation motifs in Pekalongan batik sub-culture with Chinese influences, namely ‘*Batik Encim*’ and ‘*Batik Liong*’. Batik liong design is strongly influenced by Chinese culture through Chinese ethnics who settled in Pekalongan and contributed to the creation of this batik liong ornament based on imaginary creatures of serpents and phoenixes. According to Chinese mythology, the two creatures are symbols of fertility, prosperity and goodness. Using a batik liong, it is expected for someone to have the same effect on its users.

As Figure 1, while batik liong is mostly influenced by the Chinese culture and motif, batik encim is more complex and also influenced by the Chinese and European culture (Figure 2). According to Sudardi (2018:151), batik encim was developed since the Chinese people liked to use their cultural motifs that suitable to their taste. This batik takes inspiration from Chinese paintings such as dragons, *hong* birds, *banji*, kilns, butterflies, Chinese legends, and so on.



Figure 2.

Batik Encim motif is an acculturation of Javanese, Chinese culture with European style

Source: Picture Muh Arif Jati Purnomo in 2008 (Purnomo 2016)

Alvatika & Atrinawati (2022:4) found that Jlamprang motif was found during the Dutch Colonial era when Indian traders from Gujarat arrived in Batavia and continued their trip to Pekalongan taking silk and cotton patola woven or double tie fabric which is fond of and preferred by Pekalongan high class society as it has a unique and beautiful motif with high quality fabric. The scarcity of this fabric made local batik producers who are descendants of Arabic, Chinese, Indian, and Javanese people an alternative of patola fabric fashion by creating batik with patola geometric patterns called Jlamprang (Figure 3), taken from the name of a common tree found around the city.



Figure 3.

Jlamprang motifs that is an acculturation of Javanese, Chinese and Arabic influences
Source: Fitinline (2013)

This research found three important findings from the perspective of diversity issues. First, the motifs and ornaments of the Pekalongan batik sub-culture do not only show a single existence of three major cultures namely Javanese, Chinese and Arabic. It also formed new motifs and ornaments, which are the result of cultural acculturation as the liong and jlamprang motifs. But acculturation in the context of batik culture is also creating an understanding of ‘cultural space’ in Pekalongan in that there are places for the public and exclusive spaces which become an accommodation of the three forming cultures.

Beside the Javanese as the indigenous ethnic in Pekalongan, there are some migrant ethnic groups live in Pekalongan namely the Melayu (Malay), Minangkabau (West Sumatera), Batak (North Sumatera), Makasar (South Sulawesi), Chinese and Arabic. Compared to others, Chinese and Arabic are minority groups in Pekalongan and the descendants of foreign ethnics, with the Arabic first migrants that come to Pekalongan have come around the 7th century period. Most of Arabic descendants’s communities in Pekalongan tend to differentiate themselves with the local (Javanese) people, and tend to keep the ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ values and it has developed a perception of ‘exclusivism’ among the Javanese local ethnic in Pekalongan (Kinasih 2013:40).

The community already widely understands the pattern of cultural space that exists in Pekalongan for each ethnic group and it has a different inclusive space, as told by this informant.

“..... There are Arab villages and Chinatowns. It’s separated. If the Chinese want to hold the event, they went to the Brambang Jaya building, if the Arabs plan to do so, they would hold it in the Al Ilzhrat building, at home, or they can be in the BPIP building. We can see that it’s different. So the symbols remain and are not acculturated. Maybe if the acculturation of China is the same, this will happen everywhere, if it’s in the form of food, yes, meatballs and so on. So we also buy food, basically in Chinatown, so in Chinatown, the name of the street is names of fruits. So if you’re on Belimbing Street, Pineapple Street, Salak Street, we can’t buy food there because it’s China”. (Informant LAT).

Secondly, Pekalongan batik sub-culture creates the wide local economic opportunities but no barriers for batik entrepreneurs from different backgrounds to strengthen a cooperation and collaboration. The establishment of cooperative organizations in Pekalongan by several of batik traders from Javanese, Chinese and also Arabic cultural background with the local government entities in Pekalongan are commonly found. Kementerian Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah (2013:2-11) mapped 13 of these institutions and the biggest one is The Kospin Jasa in Pekalongan founded in 1973 by Ahmad Djunaid.

He was a local Javanese entrepreneur, and established Kospin Jasa cooperative with his colleagues from Arabic and Chinese descendant's entrepreneurs. In the budgetary year of 2011, the Kospin Jasa had a total of capitals in IDR 2.3 trillion.

Thirdly, development of batik economy had several implications on the issue of the gender equality. Historically, batik in Indonesia has grown in an aristocratic culture and was made using hand-drawn techniques mastered by women. Trixie's study (2020:1-9) argues that Pekalongan batik developed not only for the aristocracy but also an economic sector, especially for women, who make batik for living. At first, batik technology was exclusively women's work. After industrialization and automation, it becomes inclusive and mass-oriented products. *Batik tulis* (hand-drawn batik) refers to the handmade batik using wax and natural dyes. The other one is stamped or commonly called as the 'batik printing' uses stamps made of copper on a mass production scale.

Based on its early product's characteristics, the Pekalongan batik has dominantly produced as a long piece of cloths for full covering of the body bottom (*tapih*) and or the top of chest area (*kemben*) and mostly for women. In the current time, only some people that has still used the Pekalongan batik while a more modern style has been formed for women, in terms of sarong *jarit* which is a suit with *kebaya*, and it could be applied for both a formal traditional clothing and state ceremonies. The development of Pekalongan batik has also created several products for women, men and children and also other living needs since batik has become a big economic assets of the people (Salma 2013:90).

There is a paradox of Pekalongan batik in its early history with the current development, in terms of batik as a cultural heritage preserving 'batik tulis' and made by dominantly women in the past. Industrialization for mass production diminished the concept of gender-based labor division, from the mode of a small-scale, using handwriting techniques and on a household and mostly in a village basis. In the current era, the community works as batik workers for big entrepreneurs and carries out their activities in the workplace, or the entrepreneur provides supplies of materials and production tools and production is carried out in the worker's house, the majority are women.

The shift to massively-produced batik then shifts the pattern and labor division from the majority of women to men. In the past, the hand-drawn batik was largely done by Javanese women, but now the hand-drawn batik is carried out by the Chinese descendants. It is conveyed by an informant as follows.

"In Pekalongan, most batik entrepreneurs are male including who own the prominent brand. Interestingly, they are local people/Pekalongan people, while those owned by female entrepreneurs coming from Chinese. For hand-drawn batik craftsmen, the average is women, but for stamped batik, it's for men because he really needs more energy than the patience like hand-drawn batik. Technically like that. The other workers are mostly men, for example, *lorot* workers, small porters. Well, that relates to coloring." (Informant LAT).

"When talking about the economy of Pekalongan, It can be said that 70% of the pillars of the people's economy are batik, especially those who do it are women (hand-drawn batik). If the stamped are done by men, *nyolet* is done by women, while coloring is done by men. Then why do I say 70% because in Pekalongan, the infrastructure is already adequate. Pekalongan is called the basis of batik in the world. Hand-drawn batik can be made in 1 year, the fastest is 6 months and here it is done by women yet not as a permanent occupation. But there are also those who become their only means of livelihood, so it takes up to 1.5 years instead. It's always been like that, batik used to be a farmer's permanent livelihood." (Informant ARI).

This printing technique continues to erode the existence of hand-drawn batik in Pekalongan. In 2012, the total number of batik industry centers in Pekalongan reached 634 industries and increased to 860 industries in 2013. The highest number of industries was in 2015 that reached 878 industries. A study in Pesindon Pekalongan Village by Wijonarko et al. found that the presence of large-scale businesses using printing batik coupled with innovations in new models and designs had succeeded in shifting the existence of the traditional batik (Wijonarko & Wahyuningsih 2020:1-6). Yet specifically for the hand-drawn batik, it is still dominated by women, particularly in rural batik centers where the people are farmers, as information from the following informant ARI.

Conflict: Cultural and political contestation

In terms of contestation issue, the study found that it is not only occurred in the economic field, but also in the cultural and political contestation. The regional autonomy and decentralization policy, and local election in particular, provides a new arena for batik entrepreneurs to enter political competition by using their socio-cultural privilege and economic capital.

Referring to Dahl's theoretical framework (1984), the democratic development will also create conflicts and 'as a consequence, political cleavages are multiplied, political conflict is an inevitable aspect of political life, and political thought and practices tend to accept conflict as a normal and not aberrant feature of politics. In contradiction to the classical vision, in which a relatively homogeneous body of citizens could be expected to share essentially the same beliefs about the common good, and to act on those beliefs, the notion of the common good is stretched much more thinly in order to encompass the heterogeneous attachments, loyalties, and beliefs formed among a body of diverse citizens with a multiplicity of cleavages and conflicts.'

This research found at least three findings. Firstly, the cultural identity of 'santri community' has been exploited for market share purposes. Innovation of 'batik sarong' is an example that uses 'santri identity' for market in the moslems and pesantren Islamic boarding schools). Sugiarto's study (2021) identifies that 'sarong' are synonymous and a total expression of the culture of 'santri' in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), that cannot be exiled and separated from various santri's activities ranging from praying, reciting Al Quran, traveling and even playing football.

As a fashion product, batik is also used by politicians as a cultural identity in Pekalongan local politics to strengthen the identity of 'Pekalongan people,' as explained by the following informant.

"What strengthens is actually created. If I see it was actually created by the political system or power. Batik has been popularized recently..... In the past, batik was mediocre for the people of Pekalongan. Let's say it's commonplace for people to wear batik pajamas. It's normal for people to wear batik shirts for special occasion. But now since the political map has changed, meaning that the world of politics has changed as if there were direct regional elections, well, that actually has quite an effect. Because these candidates will usually wear batik. So, these candidates will become trend centers, like it or not, trying to become that way... who are the players behind these local politicians. I see that on average they are also batik entrepreneurs. The current mayor is also a batik entrepreneur. So, behind all this, what is interesting is the team, the behind-the-scenes team.... is also a network of batik entrepreneurs." (Informant RIB).

Secondly, women's involvement in the political arena is limited since the political parties tend to promote candidates mostly from men for the legislative election and/or head of regent/city because of their interpretation of Islamic leadership concept of promoting men. Batik entrepreneurs who enter the local politics mostly are dominated by men, although the women's faction of Muhammadiyah and NU emphasizes the role of women in education, which is far from practical politics.

"In Java, only Pekalongan, where at that time Golkar had never won. Then the women would be influenced and then have attitudes like that during the New Order era, nothing ever appeared and so on, but indeed religious movements or religious organizations fostered by Pekalongan women were indeed quite good. There are two that are very visible, namely Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU. Aisyiyah is now growing extraordinarily with kindergarten, early childhood education, and so on. Then the biggest orphanage and for a long time, also the Aisyiyah Wisma Rini Orphanage. Muslimat also does a lot of community empowerment, especially in rural communities. So there was a very strong political influence on the women's movement in the 1990s. A female scholar in Pekalongan is very respectable which is most evident when the notary professions are mostly women. Yes, now it's almost common to become a notary profession." (Informant NOV).

Other gender-related issues are about social exclusion especially in Arabic descendants or 'habib' families to maintain the genealogy of 'The Prophet descendant.' There are several stereotypes among local Javanese Pekalongan community to Arabic descendants as to be exclusive and not to blend with them. If an Arabic woman marries with a man of non-Arab descent, according to a study by Indraswara et al. (2022:105), it is not a match with 'Hadramaut Custom in Marriage.' A Sayyid's daughter cannot marry a non-Sayyid, although Islam does not prohibit such marriage. This is done to maintain the purity of the descendants of the Prophet SAW. Sayyid families and women prefer not to marry than to marry non-Sayyid descendants.

It will create a process of ostracizing the Arab woman from her extended family, as stated by one of the research informants.

"..... It is unique in how Arab descendants protect their lineage, and my mother always says that the Keraton always takes care of their lineage, especially those of us who are descendants of Rasulullah. In my opinion, objectively I say that sometimes something is preserved so that it doesn't become extinct ... In the world of Arab descent, if an Arab man marries a non-Arab woman, it is makruh. Makruh is permissible but not recommended. But if an Arab woman gets a non-Arab man, that is haraam. So, people see me among the Arabs as being married to a non-Muslim. Because they are not of Arab descent. That happened in Pekalongan. Arab friends who were fine when they got married, kept their distance.... long enough to be able to return to the family. It took me five years for my father to accept, then my second brother accepted, but until now my oldest sister and husband have not been able to accept it." (Informant LAT).

Thirdly, politicization of 'batik cultural norms and values,' in terms of 'politics of identity,' used both the economic and cultural contestation as an entry point. There is a phenomenon of 'priyanization of santri,' that, even though the presence of Arab descent is filled with stereotypes, the Arabic descendants, including batik entrepreneurs, are given the highest social status because of their religious affinity, Islam. This is different from those of Chinese descent, who have different religions from the majority of Pekalongan people and also because the existence of a socioeconomic gap which actually created SARA problems, as in 1995.

In general, Javanese entrepreneurs could not compete fairly with the Chinese and/or Arabic descendant entrepreneurs. Kusuma et al. (2019) found that the lower competition of Javanese batik entrepreneurs are caused by a low resource and management skills. The study shows that from a total 100% of batik entrepreneurs that are Muslim, and categorized as small medium enterprises (SME), they do not pursue higher education. About 40,1% of respondents obtained only junior high school and 32,9% are senior high school graduates, and even some of them only graduated from elementary school. Technology adoption has become one of most important factors for batik entrepreneurs, SME entities in Pekalongan need to have a good competitive advantage, and the values of Islam do not have a direct influence into the performance of their business.

Astuti's (2014:8) study in the 'Kauman Batik' areas in Pekalongan found an interesting finding about the obstacles of batik entrepreneurs to grow their business. It includes low capacity to deal with consumer behavior that is more like imported product, a lack of network of cooperation and access to market. In terms of raw materials that are dependent on imports, this has a direct impact to the higher price. Other challenges are the limitation of business financing, production technology is simple, and the banking access is also limited. There are also the phenomena of unfair competition, business management is still poor; collaboration and cooperation among enterprises are still weak and trust and social capital among businesses are still low.

This study found that the Javanese entrepreneurs do not have potential contestation or conflict with Arab descendants. Nevertheless, there is likely to be SARA-related conflict with the Chinese people that is easily triggered due to differences in social and economic status. This latent conflict triggered the SARA conflict on the Qur'an on November 22, 1995. Rahayu concluded that the conflict was based on fanaticism of the Javanese community for one political party, with a background shift in status from batik

entrepreneurs originally to becoming laborers for ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs during the 1980s, which was exacerbated by religious differences considering that most of the ethnic Chinese in Pekalongan were non-Muslims (Rahayu 2016).

“However, Pekalongan people have a high adaptability. This means that Pekalongan people can be seen from their ability to absorb the language and then use that language in their daily lives. That’s why it’s not surprising that Pekalongan people are in dialectics with, for example, Chinese or Arabs ethnic, here the language mix among Javanese, Chinese, Arabic is strong enough in Pekalongan, and that’s not a problem anymore..... Once in 1995 there was a big event in Pekalongan So, in 1995 there was a SARA conflict which involved many people. When it was triggered by a problem whose information was yet unclear, but then because of time it immediately spread quickly, finally gathering extraordinary masses. Until finally the shops (especially ethnic Chinese) in the city center were completely destroyed by the masses. The trigger is only limited to the issue of SARA and around religion. It means that the people of Pekalongan highly uphold the issue of belief.” (Informant RIB).

The high sensitivity to Islamic religious values among the Javanese community in Pekalongan, and the conflict that occurred in Pekalongan in 1995 was not due to cultural contestation factors, as was confirmed by research informants.

Conclusion

Batik entrepreneurs with the background of the Javanese and Arabic descendant are actively involved, and it has transformed their social and economic capital into a political asset for filling regional head and legislative positions. The economic contestation is a direct impact of industrialization and automation for the mass production of batik. In terms of the diversity issue, Pekalongan sub-batik culture has grown not only a single unique motif and pattern of each culture (Javanese, Chinese, and Arabic). The long-term process of cultural acculturation among the Javanese, Chinese and Arabic cultures has formed the new sub-culture in Pekalongan cultures. In terms of conflict, it found that the decentralization era impacted not only the economic contestation but also an open political contestation. Political contestation is very strong between the Javanese with ‘santri’ background entrepreneur sand those with Arabic descendants (habib), while the Chinese entrepreneurs have no cultural privilege to do so.

This study has offered a new perspective in analyzing the Pekalongan batik as a new sub-culture that developed a complexity of analysis by using a cross-cultural approach. It could be used for analyzing the political economy dimensions of Pekalongan batik sub-culture, and to combine it with the democracy theory of Robert Dahl to explore the political contestation among batik entrepreneurs in the regional autonomy era of Indonesia. The study has shown that beyond a long history of acculturation process of batik patterns in Pekalongan, the batik entrepreneurs, especially from Javanese and Arabic descendants backgrounds, could transform their social and economic capital into political assets. It is different with the Chinese background entrepreneurs, who do not have a privilege to use their economic capital to participate in the head of regent election and/or legislation election. Future study could explore more on how the economic contestation and political policy developments are developed and made in the Pekalongan batik sub-culture, and how the new theoretical framework of democracy could be inferred from the political phenomena in Pekalongan batik sub-culture, when a candidate from batik entrepreneurs is already in a political position whether a Bupati/Walikota (Regent/Major) and/or legislative member.

References

- Adisasmito NYD (2021) The ‘Batik Kompeni’ from Indonesia. The International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter 89 Summer. Universiteit Leiden, Amsterdam.
- Alkatiri Z & Hayaze K (2022) Critical literature study on habaib identity in the constelation of Islamic studies in Indonesia from the colonial period to the present. *Journal of Cogent Arts and Humanities* 9 (1):2096286. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2096286>.

- Alvatika D & Atrinawati (2022) Jlamprang Batik: Pekalongan cultural identity from natural resources in the environment. In: E3S Web of Conferences 359: 04001. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202235904001>.
- Astuti ED (2014) Conditions and the existence of cluster development business Batik Pekalongan city, central java, Indonesia. *European Journal of Business and Management* 6 (12):1-10.
- Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah/Development Planning Agency of Central Java Province (2018) Laporan Kajian Strategis Pengembangan Konsorsium Klaster Batik Jawa Tengah.
- Basiroen VJ & Kana ND (2019) Cultural expression of Javanese and Chinese culture in Batik Lasem from 14th to 19th Century. *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research* 8 (10):1708-1718.
- Caligiuri P, Sbaa MY, Milosevic M, MacGregor-Peralta J, & Griffith R (2022) Assessing cross-cultural performance: Beyond just "being there", revisited. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* 22 (3):413-431. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14705958221135216>.
- Campeggiani P (2021) Introduction to special section: On being moved. A cross-cultural approach. *Emotion Review* 13 (4):277-281. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17540739211040081>.
- Dahl RA (1984) Polyarchy, pluralism and scale. *Scandinavian Political Studies*.
- Febriani R, Knippenberg L, & Aarts N (2023) The making of a national icon: Narratives of batik in Indonesia. *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10 (1):2254042. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2254042>.
- Fitinline (2013) Keunikan makna filosofi batik klasik motif Jlamprang. Fitinline 19 July. [Accessed 16 September 2023]. <https://fitinline.com/article/read/keunikan-makna-filosofi-batik-klasik-motif-jlamprang>.
- Grindle MS (1999) In quest of the political. *The Political Economy of Development Policy Making*, CID Working Paper No 17 Center for International Development. Massachusetts: The Harvard University. June.
- Haryati TA (2018) Kaliné buthêk wêtêngé warêg: Studi tentang pandangan hidup dan perilaku ekonomi santri pelaku usaha batik di Pekalongan. Dissertation, UIN Walisongo, Semarang.
- Huang Y (2021) Michael slote encountering chinese philosophy: A cross-cultural approach to ethics and moral philosophy. London: Bloomsbury Academic. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350129870>.
- Indraswara MS, Hardiman G, Rukayah S, Suprapti A, & Hermawan (2022) Sense of place of the batik trade center in the Arab Village Sugihwaras Pekalongan, Indonesia. *Journal of the International Society for the Study of Vernacular Settlements* 9 (5):98-109.
- Jack SL (2008) Case studies: Types, designs, and logic of inference. *Journal of Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/07388940701860318>.
- Kementerian Koperasi, Usaha Kecil dan Menengah (2013) Mengenal Keragaman Koperasi Simpan Pinjam di Indonesia. Jakarta.
- Kinasih D (2013) Interaksi masyarakat keturunan Arab dengan masyarakat setempat di pekalongan. *Komunitas* 5 (1):38-52. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v5i1.2372>.
- Kochert J, Kirshenbaum JM, Bigerton K, Scymcyk J, McFerran M, & Ezzo C (2022). Development of cross-cultural performance criterion measures: Critical issues and practical solutions. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* 22 (3):517-542. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14705958221138458>.
- Kusuma H, Muafi, & Aji HM (2019) Determinants small-medium enterprise performance: Case of Batik Pekalongan in Indonesia. *East African Scholars Journal of Economics, Business and Management* 2 (9):567-574.
- Mardimin J (2016) Perlawanan politik santri: Kajian tentang pudarnya kewibawaan dan pengaruh kiai, perlawanan politik santri, serta dampaknya bagi perkembangan partai-partai politik Islam di Pekalongan. Dissertation, Universitas Satya Wacana, Salatiga.
- Marijan K (1999) The study of political culture in Indonesia. *Jurnal Masyarakat Kebudayaan dan Politik* XII (2):57-66.
- Mutho'in MI (2015) Komodifikasi politik khutbah Jum'at. *Jurnal Penelitian* 12 (2):282-294.
- Nuraryo I (2020) Communicating cultural values in shaping city images through the Museum of Batik Pekalongan, Indonesia. *The Journal of Social Sciences Research* 6 (1):1-12.
- Paramandana S, Luthfi I, & Ayundasari L (2021) Penetrasi Jepang dan dampaknya terhadap batik Pekalongan 1930-1945. *Jurnal Agastya* 11 (2):120-135. <http://doi.org/10.25273/ajsp.v11i2.8948>.

- Pekalongan Media (2023) Ketahui 9 motif batik Pekalongan dan makna filosofinya. Pekalongan Media, 5 November. [Accessed 15 January]. https://www.pekalonganmedia.com/2023/11/ketahui-9-motif-batik-pekalongan-dan-makna-filosofinya.html#google_vignette.
- Priya A (2021) Case study methodology of qualitative research: Key attributes and navigating conundrums in its application. *Journal of Sociological Bulletin* 70 (1):94-110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038022920970318>.
- Purnomo MAJ (2016) Batik Encim Pekalongan, kehalusan batik gaya Cina di pesisir Jawa. *Pendhapa* 1 (1).
- Rahayu RT, Jayusman J, & Sodik I (2016) Konflik Cina Jawa di Kota Pekalongan tahun 1995. *Journal of Indonesian History* 5 (1):35-42. <https://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/jih/article/view/19723>.
- Rahmaputri DS (2023) Analisis semiotika terhadap keanekaragaman motif batik Pekalongan hasil akulturasi budaya. *Jurnal Dimensi Seni Rupa dan Desain* 20 (1):91-106. <https://www.e-journal.trisakti.ac.id/index.php/dimensi/article/view/16943>.
- Salma IIR (2013) Corak etnik dan dinamika batik Pekalongan. *Dinamika Kerajinan Dan Batik* 30 (2):85-97.
- Savirani A (2015) *Business and Politics in Provincial Indonesia: The Batik and Construction Sector in Pekalongan Central Java*. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
- Sudardi B (2018) The reflection of socio-cultural change in batik motifs. In: 2018 3rd International Conference on Education, Sports, Arts and Management Engineering (ICESAME 2018). Atlantis Press.150-152.
- Sugiarto T (2021) Makna material culture dalam “Sarung” sebagai identitas santri. *El Madani: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi Islam* 2 (01):77-100.
- Susminingsih KF, Kirana KC, & Hermuningsih S (2017) *Batik Among the Clash of Industry and Culture*. Yogyakarta: Kurnia Kalam Semesta Publisher.
- Trixie AA (2020) Filosofi motif batik sebagai identitas bangsa Indonesia. *Jurnal Folio Volume 1 (1):1-9*. <https://journal.uc.ac.id/index.php/folio/article/view/1380>.
- Vellnagel CC (2020) Acquisition of the role of culture on the relationship between brand personality and brand desirability. In: *Cross-Cultural Brand Personality and Brand Desirability. An Empirical Approach to the Role of Culture on this Mediated Interplay*. 53-78. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-31178-0_3.
- Voinea CF (2020) Political culture research: Dilemmas and trends, prologue to the special issue. *Journal of Quality and Quantity*, Edition 54 (2):361-382. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-019-00943-0>.
- Wijonarko ACS & Wahyuningsih SE (2020) Pengaruh Inovasi Produk Terhadap Dinamika Industri Pesindon Kota Pekalongan. *Jurnal Teknologi Busana dan Boga* 8 (1).

Author Biographies

Oktafiani Catur Pratiwi is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, The University of Jenderal Soedirman in Purwokerto since 2005. She graduated her bachelor's degree and master's from the Department of Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences the Gadjah Mada University. Her interests are on the specific issues of governance, environmental politics, and urban politics. She has published several articles in the national and international journals, and now a PhD candidate Political Science Doctoral Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta.

Sofa Marwah is a lecturer at the Department of Accounting, The University of Jenderal Soedirman in Purwokerto. She holds a doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Indonesia with her specific interests on politics, women and culture. She has published several articles in international Journal as the APSSR Journal at De La Salle University The Phillipines, JIWS Journal at Bridgewater University The United States of America, and the *Kritika Kultura Journal* at Ateneo de Manila University the Phillipines.

Wita Ramadhanti is a lecturer at the Department of Accounting, The University of Jenderal Soedirman in Purwokerto since 2006. She graduated from Doctoral Degree at the Department of Accounting, Faculty of Business and Economics, the University of Brawidjaya. She is researcher at The Center for Gender, Children and Community Services Research Center, the University of Jenderal Soedirman since 2013.