

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS

Chapter 4 is dedicated to analyze data collected during the study. This chapter is divided into two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter aims to answer the differences found between the gender labor division in the production of Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles: past and present. The second sub-chapter followed aims to answer the reason behind the changes in gender labor division in the production of the Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles.

#### **4.1 The differences of the changes in the gender labor division**

Sumbanese woven *Ikat* textile is traditionally made with such an intricate process considered to be women's work, for women dominate it. From the seven informants, the researcher managed to interview with; there are around 42 steps of work process they need to go through until it is ready to market. From those 42 steps, the informants simplified them to 16 main steps. Based on the interviews conducted for data collection, the researcher discovered what the differences and the changes are found on the gender labor division in the textile production comparing past and present. Both books *Women's Work* (2017) and *Between the Folds* (2000) were used in this study as a guideline; the researcher tried to elaborate.



*Picture 1. The researcher interviewed Mama Nadus and Mama Yakub while they are rolling yarns into a bundle.*

The process of production commonly begins with collecting raw materials. The very first primary material is cotton. Back in olden days, they used to traditionally grow and spin the cotton, make it as yarns, and roll the yarns into a bundle that would

be ready to used later. However, cotton spinning is now less likely used as people prefer to use the yarns easily found in local shops. In their opinion, using ready-to-use yarn is more effective and timesaving. This process then followed by warping (*pamening*). These three steps are considered simple and easy to do for most people since it does not require specific skills. It used to be commonly done by women but, now men also take part in doing these.

The next step would be drawing designs onto warps. Traditionally, women do not draw onto warps because they masterly could create the motif just by binding directly. In its later development, men create the motifs by initially making sketches, drawing it onto the warps, and then binding the yarns. Hence, there are two different processes



*Picture 2. The ongoing process of binding the yarns*

involved. In women's cases, they directly bind to the motif. However, men make designs and draw them onto the warps. The activity of drawing designs onto warps is considered to be an optional step for them to do. However, the main reason for designing is articulated by Titus that it would make the motifs way even more realistic and complex. Seeing how this textile production is now in the market demand, the steps of making designs and drawing them onto warps seem to be something necessary to do in order to meet the expectation of the customers. This is in line with what Kornelis explained in his interview:

*Produksinya kalau dulu masih sampingan sekarang banyak dan memang yang bedanya sekarang itu...makin banyak. Eee... variasi motif...bukan hanya motif yang lama saja tapi itu makin kelihat ekonomi (tidak terdengar) motif-motif baru, disesuaikan dengan permintaan pasar juga.*

[Textiles, back then, were only produced as a side work, but today indeed it's different... we have more different motifs that are more varied... we don't just use the old original motifs but, seeing how this has impacted them economically (inaudible), the motifs are new, trying to meet the market demand. (Kornelis, interviewed on 29/10/18)

As seen from the above discussion, men commonly perform more steps. Kornelis's view is supported by Mama Nadus' (2018) statement in her interview that men perform more steps than women. Mama Nadus claimed that women prefer not to do the sketches and draw designs, but binding straight to the yarns considering that their motifs made are simple anyway. The motifs women made were usually the traditional one, the one that they have made from several



*Picture 3. The motif Kornelis were asked to make from his*

generations, which do not meet the demand of intricate design demanded by contemporary society. She also claimed that it would be way faster, although the motifs made would not be as realistic, complex, and up-to-date as today.

Notwithstanding, that does not mean women cannot draw designs; given the same opportunity, women can actually draw designs. However, men mostly perform it.



Picture 4.

*Titus is showing what the textile motif his Indian client asked him to make.*

The fact that men mostly perform this step may explain why men mostly are those who take part in this role. The researcher can somehow link this to what Jill Forshee (2000) has stated in her ethnography. In her ethnography, she explained that most men have full access to travel outside while women would engage themselves in domestic spaces. That man has the full access to travel outside gives men more references and inspiration to make them able to design. Titus (2018) explained that drawing is a matter of passion and talent. If a person is passionate about what they are doing, they would be able to do it just like how he feels about drawing. Kornelis stated in his interview,

*Kalau warna kan kadang orang bisa...tapi untuk membuat pola...jarang. Tidak semua orang bisa. Jadi orang masing masing yang desainer itu yang menggambar dia punya ciri-ciri masing-masing. Nah disitu sebenarnya,*

*pembuatan pola. Proses tahapan itu berpengaruh pada tahapan proses pembuatan berikutnya. Kalau awalnya itu dia salah itu kesini-sini akhir-akhirnya juga salah.*

[I mean anyone somehow can dye... but not making designs.. that's quite rare. Not everyone can do this. Every designers also have their own style or characteristics in drawing designs, making patterns. This step may also affect other steps. Because, once you don't do this right, then you will ruin the next process.] (Kornelis, interviewed on 29/10/18)

In his interview, Kornelis emphasized that dyeing can be performed by more people. However, when it comes to designing motifs, not everybody has the ability to do it. He argued that every designer has their own signature in the design that is vital for the production. He explained that this step might affect the next process of production. If the pattern made is good from the start, it will result in a good finished product.

Once they are done with drawing designs, the next step is binding (*Hodung*). This process usually used either dried palm leaves or raffia. These two binders are still used to



*Picture 6. The dried palm leaves used traditionally as binders*

this day. However, there is a tendency to use raffia as the binder as it is easy to find and use. The process of binding usually takes a long time. To shorten the process, it is collectively done by more

than one individual. In the past, the majority of women did this step (Titus,

2018). Men did not take part in helping the women to do the work. Unlike the past, men are easily seen to take part in this role of binding. As Kornelis said:

*Dan hasilnya waktu mengikat kan kalau laki-laki kan dia lebih keras sehingga lebih putih. Kalau perempuan kan tenaganya waktu mengikat itu kan...sehingga*

*nanti ketika dicelup akan rembes ke dalam, masuk ke dalam, jadi itu memang kalau laki-laki beda.*

[Men can bind tighter than women so it can stop the color from penetrating the binded part and leave the yarns uncolored. Unlike men, women don't really bind the yarns tight enough.. So when we soak them in dye baths, the color may somehow seep inside.] (Kornelis, interviewed on 29/10/18)

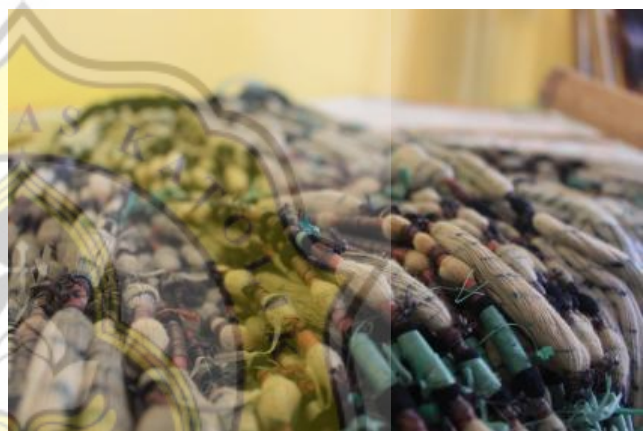
Kornelis explained that men are more likely asked to do this step in the context of industrial production, for they are preferably fast, and they bind tighter than most women.

Additionally, Mama Yakub (2018) explained in her interview that women usually also pay men to bind. At present times, women do not only ask men to do the binding but also

do other things such as collecting raw materials, which may speed up the production even more and better.

Collecting raw materials mainly for dyeing is usually done by men and

women. This process should be done before the dyeing process.



*Picture 7. How the yarns look like after it is bound and ready for dyes*

There are two types of primary raw materials consisting of Indigo leaves and root bark of Morinda trees. In past times, the steps of collecting and processing the raw materials were mostly done by women. Men showed their little contribution. However, today, men are more involved, and their presence is considered helpful as they can help the hard parts such as digging the root bark of Morinda trees, which is 2 meters deep. People usually either find the raw materials in the local markets or grow them in their land. Like Kornelis, he has planted both plants for dyes in his land were used to be a paddy field. He also added that these two materials are in demand as customers prefer natural dyes over

the artificial commercial ones. He also explained that it takes approximately three months to grow indigo plants and ready to harvest.

Meanwhile, more or less five years for Morinda's roots to be ready to harvest. The process of producing color from indigo leaves and Morinda's root bark is different. To produce the extract for coloring, Morinda's root bark is processed by cutting,



Source: google.com

Picture 7. The traditional basic materials for dyes: indigo leaves (left) and morinda's root bark (right).

washing, crushing, and pounding the root bark. Meanwhile, Indigo leaves have to be pounded and soaked in pot water aided by the substance of lime (kapur) as mordant.

In the process of dyeing, dyers usually submerge the yarns in the dye pot for three to eight days long. They repeat this process for four to twelve times with periods of drying in between, depending on how light or how dark the tone the dyers desire to achieve until it is ready to be woven. After that, the following step would be hanging them to oxidize in the daylight. The process of oxidizing may take days or even weeks, depending on the weather. Traditionally, red dyeing (*Gilling*) involves men and women. Meanwhile, blue dyeing (*Kombu*) only involves women. The locals believe in the myth

that men who dare to do the process of indigo dyeing may carry certain genital diseases such as a hernia. They used to be afraid of stepping into the process of indigo baths or even getting any closer to the pot for dyeing, hearing all myths that have ever happened to some people. Besides, this also prohibits people from other things. Based on the book *Between the Folds*, Jill Forshee (2000) explained that the prohibitions comprise letting pregnant women get any closer to the pot for indigo dye bath or doing the process and also women who are on their period. These things are exactly as same as what the informants described. However, there is another additional information which Mama Nadus described in her interview in detail:

*....ketika merendam itu membuat itu pasta indigo itu, ketika dicelupkan, itu nanti tempat pencelupannya itu di tempat yang sepi, atau di belakang situ, yang orang-orang tidak lalu lalang, dan juga anak-anak permisi kalau dia buang air kecil tidak boleh menghadap di tempat itu. Pastanya itu nanti tidak warna biru. Dan memang itu terjadi.*

[...when you soak this in indigo dye bath, it has to be in a quiet place, or in the backyard where no one care to pass by, and also when the kids pee, they are not allowed to pee facing the place for indigo dyeing. It won't achieve the tone we desire. And it happens.] (Mama Nadus, interviewed on 31/10/18)

Mama Nadus explained that the place of dyeing has to be in a quiet place where no one can easily pass through the sacred place of dyeing. She explained that it usually takes place in the backyard. Kids are also prohibited from peeing, facing the place of



Picture 9.

*The Indigo dyer, Dominggus, is putting the substance of lime (kapur) as mordant and Indigo leaves into his indigo dye bath.*



dyeing. Dominggus, as an indigo dyer, shared the same belief, yet, he also added in his interview that people are also prohibited from wearing any lotion or perfumes because it may fail to produce the color. From what the books and the informants have shared, the process of dyeing is still considered to be mystically sacred for people in Sumba. Those who are not the dyers are not allowed to be there. Although traditionally, this process is believed to be women's privilege, there is at least an exception. One of the informants, Dominggus, has involved in the dyeing process for quite some time. Growing up from a weavers' family, Dominggus feels obliged to preserve the tradition.

Interestingly, none of her sisters want to do so because they think it is not something they are passionate about or interested in doing. Although, they still help Dominggus doing the work. He said that not all people are gifted or



Picture 10. How the dyed yarns are hung to oxidize in the daylight

able to do this step only if they are passionate about doing it. He feels like he is passionate about doing it and is strongly connected to nature. He explained in his interview,

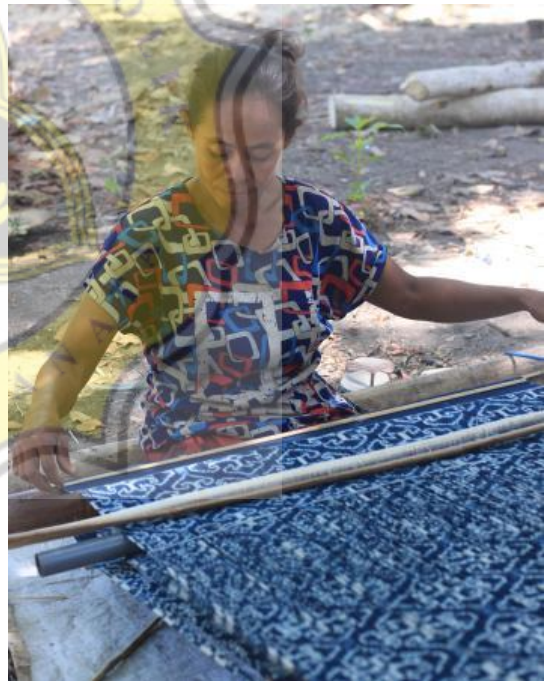
*...kalau perempuan boleh masuk.. laki-laki tidak boleh masuk.. tidak boleh masuk kalau laki-laki..ya kalau sebenarnya itu sih tidak boleh.. tapi sekarang perkembangan ekonomi besarnya.. tidak apa apa lah.. jadi bukan semua laki laki yang.. yang .. tergantung dari apa.. ini dia bersifat apa.. dia ingin.. dia mau.. dia mau..*

[...women are allowed to come to the place of dyeing.. men aren't.. they are not allowed. Well, actually you can't... but due to the market demand.. I see it fine.

That doesn't mean that all men can do this.. it depends on... their passion.. if they are passionate about it.] (Dominggus, interviewed on 01/11/18)

Dominggus is fully aware that this is women's work. Nevertheless, Dominggus thinks that living in these modern days with tradition gets shifted, it is possible that women are not the only ones who can perform the step of dyeing, but men too. It is all up to their interests doing the things. While interviewing Mama Yakub and Mama Nadus (2018), they admit that men can unusually perform the step of indigo dyeing. However, based on their observations, those who could perform this step are those who likely meet feminine traits as being gentle, patient, and passive. In other words, men who perform this are perceived to be less masculine.

The following step is to unbind the bound yarns and weave. According to Nichols et al. (2017), back in the past, women were expected to learn to weave for they believe that it is a skill a woman should have. This tradition has been passed down by their ancestors from generation to generation. They usually learn to weave by role modeling their mothers or to a look at how it is done. To this day, weaving can only be performed by women. It is similar to the indigo dyeing



Picture 11. One of the informants, Mama Rizky, who is weaving.

process, where only women who could commonly perform this step. However, based on the informants' experiences, in another part of East Sumba called *Melolo*, there are surprisingly several male weavers who have a different type of technique called *Songket*.

Mama Nadus (2018) said that based on her observation, they are considered to have more feminine traits than masculine traits. From the experiences shared by the informants, it is notable that specific steps segregate men and women's roles. The informants think that weaving is considered as a time-consuming process. It may take five to seven days, depending on the length, the motifs, and the time-intensity.

The weavers need to be extra gentle, accurate, dedicated, and detail. Therefore, there is a tendency to see weaving as women's work because it is closely associated with women's traits. Mama Nadus (2018) and Titus (2018) stated that men are excluded from this work as they are considered strong, aggressive, and impatient; whenever men do the weaving part, they will only break the threads. Women usually can weave when they get a head start on puberty like eight to twelve years old, and they were taught since then (Mama Rizky, 2018). Mama Rizky's statement is in line with what Mama Nadus and Mama Yakub (2018) shared in their interview: they grew up helping their mothers produce textiles and going through those sophisticated processes, starting from spinning yarns, rolling the yarns into a bundle, warping, binding, and so weaving. Whereas, Margaretha (2018) learned to perform those steps, especially weaving, by looking at her mother or grandmother. When it comes to weaving, Mama Rizky (2018) explained in her interview that there are traditions and beliefs they hold on. She explained that first, men are not allowed to weave for they may carry certain diseases like a hernia or other types of genital diseases. Second, people are not allowed to stand in front of those who are weaving for such a long time because the weaving may not be symmetrical. Besides, she also explained that women are physiologically able to perform this step. From the

experiences the informants may experience, the researcher can conclude that weaving mainly belongs to women for their psychological and physiological traits.

After finishing the production, the researcher would like to explain the next additional step: marketing. It is essential to know that whenever the informants talk about woven *Ikat* textile production, they automatically relate it to the marketing of the product as they are completing each other. The interviews conducted with the seven key informants reveal that marketing can generally be carried out in several ways. Back in time, they could sell it to wholesalers, *titip* (*titip* is an expression to ask someone to sell the goods on behalf of the producers without giving financial compensations) in the local markets/shops, or market it outside of Sumba like Bali or Jakarta themselves. Those who marketed were men since those who had access to travel outside were men. Both books, *Between the Folds* (2000) and *Women's Work* (2017), demonstrate how men would have access to travel outside, while women stayed in the hearth of home engaging in domestic chores such as taking care of the house, childbearing, cooking, and any other type of roles done at home. Sumbanese women commonly stayed at home and weaved while men helped them marketing the woven textiles.

Nevertheless, there are several changes in terms of the roles of marketing. Women nowadays can market the textiles themselves. Mama Nadus said:

*Sekarang ini wanita juga bisa sendiri. Tapi yang lebih peranan laki laki karena mereka selalu keluar to.. Ibu rumah tangga bisa juga kalau jual sekitar sini.. Kalau keluar itu biasa laki laki.. Mungkin dari.. apa ya.. dari kebiasaan adat istiadat, seperti saya katakan tadi istilah kasarnya yang biasa perempuan itu nomor dua.*

[Now women can do it themselves. However, I can see men going out more often than women. Well, women can sell the textiles around here. However, when we have to go out and sell, it is usually men .. Maybe umm... what is it.. it is part of

our custom like I said that we could roughly say that we are like the second.] (Mama Nadus, interviewed on 31/10/18)

As stated by Mama Nadus, Sumba shows signs of gender equality in terms of textile production. Though it might seem not to be significantly equal, it already shows that they are no longer relying heavily upon patriarchal ideologies that separate women and men's realms. Women do not have to depend on men in marketing the textiles, unlike the past. However, they seem to follow their old tradition and stick to the idea that those going out to market are still men though they now gain social mobility. Women are still engaging in domestic roles, taking care of the house and kids, doing the cooking and see weaving as their side work, or hobby to do. It is just the difference is that textile production now becomes economically beneficial. The statement stated by Mama Nadus is also supported with what Titus said in his interview:

*...laki laki juga yang pemasaran, dimana dia sering.. keluar, sering komunikasi dengan teman teman luar, makanya banyak relasi, laki laki. Banyak Ibu ibu jarang keluar, sibuk kerja di dapur...*

[..men often market the textiles, because they often... travel outside, and network, so they tend to have many relations. Women tend to remain to stay at home, making themselves busy in the kitchen..] (Titus, interviewed on 31/10/18)

According to his statement, men used to take part in marketing the textiles outside. They are the ones who have more connections outside. It is true that they now can travel outside to market, but having no connections is also pointless because they are meant to be at home and taking care of the house, not going outside. The ideology or idea of remaining at home somehow is still there. To the present day, Titus (2018) observed that most of the time men are those who mostly go and travel outside rather than women though they now have the access. According to Jill Forshee (2000), in her ethnography, there are several reasons why women could not have access to travel outside to market their textiles. The fundamental reasons are because women travelling alone are potential

carriers or victims of black magic. They might not return home or get sexually harassed. In addition, traveling outside the house may open opportunity to express their sexual desires such as falling for someone else, involving themselves in an unwanted affair, and ending up being a gossip in society (Titus, 2018).

Basically, woven *Ikat* textile production now is different from the past. Though it is considered to be in the female realm or dominated by them, the presence of men is somewhat helpful for women in the context of textile production, especially on the steps they consider hard to do such as collecting raw materials, binding, and even drawing



*Picture 12. How the woven Ikat textile is used as traditional dance costume.*

designs. When the female informants were asked in the interviews, they do not mind at all having men to help them with those steps or other steps, yet, they seem to be happy that everything becomes faster. They are quite happy with the fact that

now men become more helpful. Men's involvement in several processes is corresponded with what Titus (2018) said in his interview that his wife could be very irritated knowing her husband doing nothing to help her with the textile production.

Moreover, *Ikat* textile production is viewed to be a prestigious work that may rise the pride of a woman. Kornelis (2018) and Titus (2018) also added in their interviews that a woman who has the wife-material such as those who can do the cooking, take care of the house, and has the skill of producing *Ikat* textile especially in the weaving part is

men's ideal type in Sumba. As Margaretha (2018) stated in her interview, nowadays, not many people have the same interest and skill in producing *Ikat* textiles. Due to the field of work that becomes more varied nowadays, women prefer to be part of public servants or going outside of Sumba such as Bali or other regions for a better job (Margaretha, 2018; Titus, 2018; Mama Nadus, 2018). The new occupations may potentially give less possibility for women to learn to produce textiles as it is part of their tradition. According to Mama Nadus (2018), producing *Ikat* textiles is essential to do, not only the matter of tradition but also, for it gives people skill and life seeing how in this globalized era this becomes a promising work to do, unlike the past. If they are unemployed and desperate to look for a proper job, producing textiles can be an alternative way for them to survive. Mama Nadus and Mama Yakub (2018) also hoped that this tradition continues. In addition, Titus also strongly believes that *Ikat* textile production will never parish. He said that *Ikat* textiles have been a used in Sumbanese major ceremonies, a tradition inherited by their ancestors, a promising commercial production. In fact, textile production has given Titus (2018) and Kornelis (2018) more benefits rather than raising livestock or farming. They could build houses, buy motorbikes, and buy other stuffs. Producing textiles really helps them with their economy and fulfilling their needs. In sum, the steps in woven *Ikat* textile are not necessarily for women, yet, men can also perform them regardless their gender as long as they have passion they can perform the steps like in the case of Dominggus, the indigo dyer.

#### **4.2 The reasons behind the changes**

In Sumba, textile production is relegated to the part of the female realm. It has been a time-honored tradition inherited by their ancestors, and a skill a woman should

have. During this study, the researcher came into crucial information on the changing role of gender labor division. When asked about their work, all interviewees naturally shared the changes they undergo. There are some changes found in the gender labor division during the woven *Ikat* textile production process. Needless to say, several reasons are supporting those changes found in the gender labor division.

Rapid globalization has impacted gender labor division in the production of Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles culturally, socially, and economically. It has now given a leeway for both men and women to perform the steps they should not have performed for the traditions that limit them to do so. For instance, weaving and indigo dyeing are two things society believes that men could not perform, for they believe that they may have problems with their testicles. However, Dominggus is living proof that men can also do those steps without worrying about what problems going after him, though people see those who can do indigo dyes or weave to have more feminine traits. On the same page, women who used to have no access to travel outside to market the woven textiles. They now have the opportunity to travel and market their textiles, such as selling them to the local traditional markets or even going far outside of their region like Bali or Jakarta. In the past, Sumbanese lived in patriarchal ideology, believing that men were decision-makers and supposedly be the head of the family, yet, women needed to take care of the household and remain at home. Those who had access to travel outside and spoke for themselves were men. So, whenever the wife wanted to sell the woven textiles, men would be the ones who had access to travel and market, just like Jill Forshee (2000) mentioned in the book that women would weave, stay behind, and engaging in domestic



spaces. However, at present times, globalization seems to fade the patriarchal ideology built-in Sumba's society.

*Ada juga dapat kekurangan, bahwa wanita itu kalau dulu dianggap bukan penentu, bukan pengambil keputusan. Tapi sekarang seragam mulai karena ada pendidikan juga, jadi ibu-ibu juga berpendidikan jadi tidak terasa.*

[There are several weaknesses I spot, that women were not decision-makers in the eyes of society; they were not making decisions. However, now, we gain equal rights to decide as we have the equal opportunity of education.] (Mama Nadus, interviewed on 31/10/18)

As Mama Nadus (2018) mentioned in her interview, women were not decision-makers in the past, but men were. However, as now, both men and women have equal opportunities in education. Women who were seen not to be decision-makers and remained unheard are now allowed to make decisions. This means that education, as part of the existence of rapid globalization, has helped both men and women in Sumba gaining equality and mobility in terms of making decisions, especially women.

*Tapi kalo zaman sekarang ini kalo saya lihat ini malah kita perempuan yang lebih berkembang... pertemuan apapun, sekarang perempuan yang banyak, laki-laki itu kurang kayak ada timbal balik gitu.*

[However, now living in this era, I can tell that we, women, are now more evolved than men... any meeting we attend, I can see women would speak for themselves, unlike most men.] (Mama Rizky, interviewed on 02/11/18)

The statement uttered by Mama Rizky strengthens the idea of how globalization has impacted women to speak more for themselves. The impacts include their ability to travel and wander outside, though, to this day, men still tend to travel outside way often than women. However, this has given women access to do things they were limited to do. Mama Rizky (2018) also said that anyone who has the ability to do the thing could do the thing despite their gender. In the context of textile production, Mama Rizky (2018) and Mama Nadus (2018) help the researcher highlighting the statement where rapid

globalization helps men and women to have equal opportunities in engaging other roles. Education is an impactful outcome that helps them open their minds and gain equality in terms of labor division.

Rapid globalization has now also shifted Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles from craft production to industrial production. Forshee (2000), in her book, mentioned that textile production has become industrialized, and this has become a source of income for a family not only limited to a tradition for women to do. Seven of the researcher's key informants agree that Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles were only used as part of ceremonial dress, traditional exchange practices, such as weddings and burials. Women used to sell them; however, selling textiles was not their priority or significant income source. They still depended on men as the head of the family who provide for the family financially. However, the popularity of Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles has put this in demand in the eyes of the world. The fact that *Ikat* textiles are now in demand is an excellent opportunity to seize and help the economy of the family.

*Dulu, jarang sekali orang membeli tenun jadi dibikin itu hanya karena pekerjaan sampingan, tidak difokus kesitu ya, beda dengan yang sekarang, yang sekarang, sudah menjadi sumber penghasilan untuk bisnis dan komersil itu bisa...jadi orang bisa produksi tenun jumlah banyak dan itu jadi fokus...nya (suara lalat). Bahkan kalau saya kesini sendiri lahan-lahan pertanian yang dulu diolah pakai menanam menjadi padi sekarang saya rubah untuk menanam bahan bahan pewarna.*

[Back then, people didn't really buy woven textiles, they produced and sold this as part of their side income, so they didn't really focus on producing them. It is different from the situation now. It has become a source of income and a great business deal. Even, I, personally changed my paddy field to an area to grow plants for textile dyes.] (Kornelis, interviewed on 29/10/18)

As one of the well-known Sumbanese *Ikat* textile entrepreneurs, Kornelis said that textile production was just an inherited skill woman had to master and sold as a side

income for them. However, seeing the demand for textiles, textile production has now become a profitable commercial business. It has now potentially shifted to a major source of income. Even Kornelis himself changed the area he used to use as a land of paddy field to an area to grow plants for textile dyes. The majority of people in Sumba indeed have their primary income from raising livestock and farming. However, producing woven textiles is seen as more profitable and faster to earn profits nowadays (Titus, 2018).

Kornelis also added:

*Karna disini macam saya sendiri. Semua itu...dapat uang itu dari tenun. Penghasilan utama dari tenun. Jadi disitulah banyak laki-laki eeee...masuk ke usaha tenun menit-menit penghasilan. Dan juga kan kan eee... selain itu kita melihat bahwa kalau perempuan yang mengajarkan itu sementara permintaanya banyak pasti tidak akan terpenuhi.*

[Just like me, they make money from woven textiles. That's where their primary income come from. So, men started to see this as an opportunity to produce more textiles. And then... also, though this is seen to be women's work, they seem not to be able to fulfill the demand.] (Kornelis, interviewed on 29/10/18)

From the statement Kornelis stated, it can be concluded that men have now started to see this as opportunity take as their primary revenue. Knowing the fact that Sumbanese *Ikat* textiles have become industrial production and been put in demand, they need to speed up their mass production, and women would not be able to do all of the work without the help of men. Hence, men and women have to do it together. They share roles and help each other to meet the target. However, becoming a textile entrepreneur and taking this as an opportunity to be their source of income seems somewhat to work for men. Likewise, they are known to be risk-takers and decision-makers. To this day, women still think that producing textiles is like their craft production instead of industrial production. However, they are aware that this production has been industrialized seems to

be promising to earn more profits. It does not seem to be a proper main job for them to do, yet, a side job. As Mama Nadus said in her interview,

*Kan sebenarnya ibu tidak usah beralih profesi.. kan di sela sela kami kerja ini kami bisa menyelesaikan pekerjaan lain.. dan kalau ibu itu seorang ibu rumah tangga, dan beralih profesi 100%.. Karena dia meninggalkan nanti status sebagai istri dan dengan anak.. tapi kan bisa dia jalan searah ibu.. kalau dlkatakan alih profesi, mungkin pengusaha.. tapi kalau ibu ya bukan, kami sudah puas dengan apa yang kami jalani. Pokoknya sudah mungkin ya bukan rejekinya kami beralih profesi sebagai pengusaha..*

[I mean I don't think I should switch profession... in the middle of working on the textiles, we can do other tasks... if you were a housewife and dedicating yourself 100% to other job.. you would leave your role as a wife to your husband and a mother to your kids... But, you can do both along together... If we are talking about switching professions, maybe you can be an entrepreneur... but I don't do that, we are okay with what we have already been doing. What I am trying to say is that maybe it's not our luck to switch profession as an entrepreneur.] (Mama Nadus, interviewed on 31/10/18)

Mama Nadus (2018) emphasizes that being an entrepreneur is not something they do for they have other priority to do as a housewife to take care of the family. Women can not depend producing textiles as their source of income as they need to engage in domestic roles that require them to stay at home that are restricted to home, spousal, child and elder care. Doing textile production is something they can do in their spare time while they are doing other works. Margaretha (2018), who works as a school teacher, also shares the same opinion, where she is only doing this work in her spare time. From what Mama Nadus has stated, it can be concluded that to this day, women do the production as their side job. They do not mean to view this work as an industrialized production, unlike men. Without noticing, men have already taken the space which women have enrolled for ages. If this continues to happen, what supposedly belongs to women can be dominated by men for men are now able to do most of the steps excluding

the weaving part and indigo dyeing part. However, Titus, Dominggus, and Kornelis are fully aware that this still belongs to women's realm or space.

Living in these modern days has also facilitated the textile producers with several aids to market their textiles. The use of the internet and mobile phones have made it easy for them to have e-marketplace and social commerce as alternative ways to market their textiles online. Both e-marketplace and social commerce have facilitated them with several features that help them market their textiles such as, description box (to describe their products sold), rating system (to rate the quality of the delivered products), price tag, delivery system (to provide buyers with varieties of delivery service with different estimated time), package tracking (to locate the products), chatbox (to help the buyers and vendors communicate to each other), video and audio (to show their products). In one of the interviews conducted with Kornelis (2018), he explained that using the online marketplace and social commerce is a way that helped him and his community to market their textiles. Facebook and Instagram are most often used as his platform of social commerce. Kornelis, along with other male interviewees, Titus and Dominggus, shared the same opinion that e-marketplace and social commerce have helped the transaction easier, and have them reach out to the buyers outside of Sumba. The use of modern technology in this globalized era has affected the demand to increase.

In sum, though Sumbanese still believes and holds on to their tradition regarding woven textile production, the researcher can see how the existence of education and industrial production have changed the mind of the locals in seeing and engaging roles in this rapidly globalized era. These have also become a life-changing media for people to lift their economy. Nevertheless, from the interviews made with the researcher's six key

informants, she draws another additional conclusion that even though women and men have tried being adaptive to the globalized era, they do not easily give up on their tradition. Both Sumbanese men and women somehow still show distinct realms. The invisible line is there showing both men and women engaging their own spaces. This is seen from the interviewees the researcher managed to interview. Men establish themselves in public sectors while women engage more in domestic ones. Men see this textile production as a profitable commercial business deal; meanwhile, women see this as a media that help them earning side income.

