

# Investing Though Children: An Analysis of How Capitalism is Practiced in Traditional Javanese Families with Regard to Children's Educational Patterns

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## Abstract

Capitalism is present in various aspects of human life, one of which is through the family. The family plays a large role in the legitimization of capitalism from generation to generation. This is done through children's education patterns. One of the traditions of family capitalism is the traditional Javanese family, which provides advice on child ownership and how to educate them. Unfortunately, this ownership of children then slowly leads to capitalist practices in the form of exploitation and investment. This research aims to reveal how investment practices with children and the education patterns carried out by parents to create children who meet "standards" operate in traditional Javanese families. It doesn't just stop there, this research will also look at how children struggle to abstract from the hegemony that occurs in the family. The concept that will be used to conduct this research is schizoanalysis, from Gills Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The results of this research show that family capitalism is still being passed down from the sandwich generation to their children. These ideas of family capitalism are passed down from generation to generation through the parenting and education of children. Generally, those who inherit this family capitalism come from the lower middle class, who live in the suburbs and have not experienced much social change and modernization. Children who feel dominated by the capitalist system then use their knowledge and courage to deterritorialize the system in their family.

## Keywords

Capitalism, Javanese Traditional Family, Schizoanalysis.

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## INTRODUCTION

This family is one of the entities set aside by the early generation of Marxist thinkers. They concentrated more on class and forgot about other forms of capitalism that are no less important to be considered [1]. In the context of the family as part of the producers of capitalism, the family is seen as one of the entities that produce one of the main commodities of capitalism, namely labor. From the capitalists' point of view, the family has produced labor cheaply. This is because capitalists do not have to pay to produce children and care for them. In particular, wives and mothers are not paid to produce (give birth to) and care for children who will later become labor for capitalists [2].

The family itself is the smallest structure in a country that contributes to the life of a country so that it can be organized and run well [3]. The traditional Javanese family is one that plays a large role as a production machine for capitalism. not only traditions related to culture and customs but also family traditions that are passed down from generation to generation [4]. These family traditions can be in the form of certain events as well as advice that will continue to be passed down from generation to generation. One tradition that is still often

held tightly is the advice of "*labuh anak*" and "many children, many fortunes." This tradition still occurs in peripheral Javanese communities that have not experienced significant changes in mindset, so advice that has actually occurred in the past continues to be adopted until now.

*Labuh anak* is an expression that is often discussed by Javanese people when parents are supporting their children. In practice, *labuh anak* consists of various activities such as feeding the child, providing a decent place to live, and ensuring their education in the future. All of these activities intersect with capital. Parents have to spend a lot of capital to support their children. This concept is the same as when planting in rice fields (*labuh*), where farmers will spend a lot of money and energy to get a bountiful harvest. This is also the premise of *Labuh Anak*. Because they have spent a lot of money and energy raising their children, they will expect a "return" when the child has grown up [5]. This return in practice can be melted into various activities that mostly lead to capital.

From the concept of *labuh anak*, where parents expect "return" from the capital that has been spent, a new tradition was born, which is often referred to as "*Akeh anak, akeh rejekine*," or also known as "many children, many fortunes."

This concept was exacerbated by the introduction of Islam, which does not limit the number of children and states that each child brings his or her own fortune. So, many interpret that the more children you have, the more fortune you will get. If it is associated with the tradition of *labuh anak* and many children, it can be concluded that if you have many children, parents will get more capital returns and greater profits. because not only one child will make the change. In the end, children will be the parents' investment field. This concept might be considered cliché nowadays, but in certain areas, it is still legal to this day. Capitalizing on the family has become common.

This practice of family capitalism then begins to bring about various oppositions from the side of children, who can already access various information through digital platforms. These oppositions arise in various ways. Not only directly, but also through digital platforms. In the end, digital spaces are utilized as a means of literalizing the production of capitalism in the family. Digitalization does play an important role in exacerbating the production of capitalism. Digitalization also creates new forms of capital-based domination and exploitation. The existence of digitalization and the information society can be said to tend to exacerbate capitalism [6]. However, it cannot be denied that, on the one hand, digitalization has played a role in restructuring capitalism. The presence of the digital era, with its extraordinary freedom of expression, not only cuts space and time but also cuts the flow of hereditary capitalism and ignites a desire for deterritorialization from within people who oppose structure and order, or what Deleuze and Guattari call "Schizo" [7].

Schizos are subjects who fall outside the provisions of certain capabilities that legalize the practice of capitalism. They deliberately extract themselves from the Oedipus Complex system (the father-mother-me relationship), which is one of the producers of capitalism. Individuals will depart from something that is usually considered to be the truth. It could be said that the meaning of the word Skizo, which means crazy, is a representation of subjects who oppose, rebel, and at the same time realize that a structure needs to be torn down because it presents too much domination and exploitation. These "crazy" subjects, according to Deleuze and Guattari, are those who will bring a breath of fresh air to society. Schizo subjects will form a schizophrenic society that is disconnected from big ideas and social systems [8]. From their hands, a new, friendlier order can be formed through a process of deterritorialization. The Skizo subject's efforts to reterritorialize the establishment order by utilizing digital platforms are interesting to look at further.

Through the problematization of family capitalism and deterritorialization efforts using the digital platform above, the questions in this research are, first, how is the practice of capitalism in traditional Javanese society still inherited today? Second, how does the subject escape from the trap of the domination of family capitalism? Third, what is the role of the digital platform in the schizo subject's kasrtaksi

efforts? The purpose of compiling this research is to show that family capitalism still occurs in today's modern era. So that many children become imprisoned in the confinement of the sandwich generation structure. Therefore, it is important to show that the practice of "investment" from parents to children is no longer relevant. This is because it is the duty of parents to ensure the lives of their children. In addition, this research also aims to expose the various types of family-based capitalism practices that still occur in Javanese society. Furthermore, this research tries to see how a child tries to abstract and reterritorialize the production of family capitalism by utilising digital platforms.

Meanwhile, to realize these objectives, this research will use data collection methods in the form of surveys and interviews. The subjects to be studied are those who are 17-35 years old and born or raised with Javanese traditions. In addition, the author also uses literature studies to obtain more objective data. The data that has been collected will be processed by encoding and decoding to then draw conclusions. Meanwhile, to maintain the novelty of this research, the author conducted a literature review of previous studies with similar themes. The following are previous studies as well as similarities and differences with this research.

The first research came from Denada, Fikri, and Soekaria in 2022, entitled "The Meaning of Investment in Children in the Myth of "Many Children, Many Fortunes": A Phenomenological Study." This research discusses whether the myth of "many children, many fortunes" still exists today and how parents apply this myth to their children. The results of this study show that most of the people of West Lombok still hold the concept of many children having many fortunes by educating children to be used as an investment in old age. In this case, the investment narrative is impoverished into forms of children's devotion to parents [5]. The second research was conducted by Mufsir in 2021 with the title "Many Children, Many Fortunes from the Perspective of Child Protection in Peripheral Communities (Study of the Mijil Hamlet Community, Grogol Village, Sawoo Regency)". The results of this study indicate that the concept of "many children, many fortunes" was born from the externalisation of cultural and religious values that have been embedded in society for many years. This concept is still practiced in the Ponorogo region of East Java. The results of the study also found that some parents who have many children and live modestly deliberately employ their children early so that they can help meet their daily needs [9].

Based on the findings of two previous studies, there are similarities and differences in this study. "*Persepsiannya terletak pada dasar konsep kepemilikan anak dalam jumlah yang besar, dan terletak pada eksploitasi kapital melalui anak-anak tersebut*". In addition, prior research focused solely on the problem at hand. In addition, this study proposes an alternative method for preventing family's capitalism through the use of children, who are useful in subjects skizo learning. Aside from that, the study may lead

to a more advanced understanding of capitalism in the digital age.

### METHOD

This research began with observations involving 10 respondents with the criteria of being 17–35 years old and raised in a Javanese family. This observation data was used for pre-research studies, which served as the basis for researchers in making research questionnaires. After the pre-research data was collected and the questionnaire was made, the researcher distributed the questionnaire through various media. According to the results of the questionnaire, 36 respondents were collected from Klaten, Temanggung, Magelang, Sleman, Pacitan, Lamongan, Ponorogo, Solo, and Depok, West Java. After that, the questionnaire will be coded or categorized based on the similarity of the data. From the categorization results, researchers will conduct an analysis using Deleuze and Guattari's Schizophrenia Theory. In the final stage, the researcher will draw conclusions based on the results of the data analysis.

### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### The Philosophy of Javanese Traditional Family

Family is a very fluid concept. There is no standard explanation that can define the notion of family. Because family itself is never singular. Family can mean those who are connected by blood, such as relationships with fathers, mothers, children, grandmothers and so on. grandmothers, However, family can also be defined as those who are emotionally close even though they are not related by blood. Javanese society basically distinguishes between close family (Sedulur cedek) and distant family (Sedulur adoh) [4]. The concept of close relatives in Javanese society usually defines family as those who will continue to nurture, will not leave, and spontaneously grow awareness to help each other [10] Based on the Javanese terminology system, the concept of family leads to bilateral and generational, two-sided and intertwined for generations [4]

In addition, the characteristics of a Javanese family, or in today's context, a traditional Javanese family, also include several unwritten rules that guide everyone in the family. These rules concern various matters, both physical and spiritual, both individuals and the whole, both economic, socio-cultural, and other fields. These relationships cannot be separated from the influence of the environment, hereditary customs, religion, and beliefs [11].

The existence of these rules, one of which is to fulfill the ideals of the family in relation to achieving prosperity. These ideals are realized through various things, such as working and trying to meet material needs, ensuring the education of children so that they have better character, and so on. The act of raising children and ensuring all their needs is not done without reason. This is motivated by the traditional Javanese philosophy of life, which considers children as an infinite fortune that will be a guarantee for old age. This is manifested

in the term *genthelaning ati*, which, translated into Indonesian, means love rope or something that will always be in the heart [11]. Hildred Greetz, in her book entitled "Javanese Family," says that as parents who will one day grow old, it is their children who will take care of their old age. Therefore, women who have many children will be praised, and those who do not have children will be pitied [4]. This is what then presents the term "many children, many fortunes" in the concept of Javanese society, along with the entry of Islam into Indonesia.

"Many children, many sustenance" is a term used to express how families will get a lot of fortune if they have many children. Sustenance itself originally meant a gift within a certain time. But over time, sustenance melts into things such as clothing, food, and salary [12]. In this context, children will be likened to an investment instrument. The way this investment works is through the decision-making of parents in the present to finance their children's lives and hope that they will benefit from the investment. Quite often, the concept of investing in children is also done hierarchically. If parents have many children, then they will only finance the first generation; the final generation will be assisted by those who have succeeded (children who are already working); even so, parents will still receive investment returns from all these children [5]. This is in line with what Geertz [4] said: if an older child is considered capable of being given responsibility, then he will be tasked with taking care of his younger siblings. One of them is realized through the practice of financing the needs of younger siblings. Based on this way of working, "many children, many fortunes," it makes sense that the position of children in traditional Javanese families is very important.

The importance of children's position in a traditional Javanese family has led to a variety of advice for children to live well. In addition to giving advice, traditional Javanese families also apply lessons through daily socio-cultural interactions. It is expected that children will absorb and imitate the actions of their parents that are considered right by them. However, there are many children who do not grow up in accordance with their parents' expectations. This happens for various reasons, such as differences in character, the wrong way of educating, too imposing the will, and other things [13]. Some of these things will greatly affect the growth and development of children and make them "different" people.

Another piece of advice often heard in traditional Javanese families is "*Mikul Dhuwur Mendhem Jero*". Translated into Indonesian, "*mikul dhuwur*" means "to carry high," and "*mendhem jero*" means "to bury deep." This expression is advice for children to respect their parents by appreciating their services as highly as possible and keeping those services deep in their hearts. This means that a child has an obligation to follow their parents' advice, fulfil their wishes, and forgive their mistakes [14]. Through these exhortations, not only does it create a child who conforms to the will of the parents. Rather, it also has the potential to give birth to forms of

exploitation of children, both in the form of labour and capital, and whether it is realized or not.

### **The Family as the Desired Production Mechanism of Capitalism**

The world is becoming digital. Digital capitalism has emerged as a highly sought-after research topic among scholars. Non-digital types of capitalism can still be considered "contemporary" or present, even though digital capitalism has taken up some space in the "contemporary" category. The practice of capitalism within a family is one of them. Family capitalism was originally seen as unimportant by the early Marxist scholars who were more concerned with class concerns. That being said, families might potentially contribute to sustainable capital practices; this is not completely ruled out [15]. Though it was once thought of as a place of safety, security, and camaraderie, the family is actually not free from the shackles of capitalism [16] is in fact not free from the bondage of capitalism. The family has been transformed into a production machine for capitalism's progressive desires. It cannot be generalized that the whole family is transformed into a production machine of capitalism's desire. However, this research will try to see that even in the contemporary world, the practice of exploitation in the capital-based family is still intertwined and deeply rooted in several layers of society. It continues to reproduce so that it merges into every existing lineage.

One form of family capitalism's production of desire is in Javanese traditional family practices. By traditional families, we mean those who still hold ancient Javanese advice and have not been exposed to certain ideological doctrines. So that what they believe to be the 'truth' is the absolute truth and must be passed down to their children and grandchildren. There are actually many ancient pieces of advice passed down from traditional Javanese families. One of them is about the ownership and upbringing of children. In Javanese society, there is the term *labuh anak*. *Labuh anak* is an activity in which parents exert a great deal of energy, effort, and cost to raise their children. The term *labuh* itself is usually used when someone is planting in rice fields. As when working on rice fields, hoping to get a bountiful harvest. *Labuh anak* also ultimately refers to something like that. The child will be raised and financed until the time of "harvest" for the parents. This harvest is a condition when the child can repay everything that has been spent by the parents, including money. Javanese society seems to in still advice in children to always obey parental orders. There is no effort or desire from parents to let their children develop initiative or freedom<sup>4</sup> These values of obedience are instilled gradually. And when the child begins to grow up and learns that he is no longer treated the same, he realizes that greater duties will soon come his way. He is expected to comply with parental expectations, and if he disobeys these expectations, then the parents will punish him [4]. This value of obedience is

incorporated into the demands placed on children when they grow up. The following is a response from one of the research respondents when asked about parental advice that was instilled in him.

*"The point is, if my parents are no longer earning, it's my turn to support them. My brother wasn't advised like that, and for some reason, my parents decided not to depend on him. Even though I haven't done it yet, I've been named the sandwich generation. My mother is burdened with supporting my parents later. My father is burdened with marrying someone from the same region so that I don't live far from home. This is what I said earlier that I haven't granted." (Rz, Questionnaire June 15, 2023)"*

The above response also confirms that there is a hierarchy in the obligations imposed on each child. An only child from a Javanese family has a higher privilege than children who still have relatives. Those who are born as only children seem to be allowed to enjoy childhood longer, and this is not the case for children who have siblings in the same family. They have a kind of obligation to become adults soon [4]. The obligations imposed can vary, such as helping to support younger relatives, providing for parents, paying various household expenses, and taking care of parents when they are no longer able to work. When they grow old and can no longer work as before, parents will be brought to the homes of their children or grandchildren to receive the honour of living quietly in old age [4]. Besides old-age care, the family's dominance in perpetuating this form of capitalism is reflected through the creation of "labor" to meet daily needs.

*"Of course, as the third child, I feel this very strongly. Since I was in high school, if I had a need, my parents would charge it to my first brother. Although not all needs are met, sometimes I become reluctant to pay them back, even though some of them are not in the form of money. Then my younger brother, as the fourth child, of course, also applies the same. Just like when my brother paid for me, now I have to pay for my sister" (BEP, Questionnaire, June 14, 2023).*

*"As the first child, I was instilled since childhood with the obligation to take responsibility for taking care of my younger siblings" (WB, questionnaire, June 14, 2023).*

The pressure from the respondent above is in the form of responsibility for younger siblings. The family has four children, and the parents support the eldest child. When the eldest child is working and earning an income, he or she will support the younger sibling in place of parental responsibility, and so on. This then intersects with the concept of child *labor*, supported by the notion of "many children, many fortunes," which came with the spread of fanaticism towards Islam. The majority of Javanese people then interpret this idea incorrectly. *Labuh anak*, which is deliberately done to produce a "harvest," is practiced repeatedly through the notion of "many children, many fortunes." The more children one has, the more "harvest" will be produced. When a child grows up, he will realize that his parents no longer pamper him and are generous like they used to be when he was a child. Instead of showing affection,

<sup>4</sup> Geertz, H. (1989). *Keluarga Jawa*. PT Grafiti Pers, cet. Ke3. p.120

parents begin to demand that their children be polite, obedient, and good at controlling themselves [4] This then gave birth to what is referred to as the "production machine of capitalist desire" through the practice of "making children as investments."

There are various forms of investment, one of which is parental insistence on the jobs that children should have. Parents who still hold the concept of investment through children tend to recommend and even require their children to have an established job with a high salary. This study surveyed those aged 17–35 who come from Javanese families or grew up in Javanese families. Of the data collected, 80% of them were expected to become civil servants. The rest did not receive specific job demands but were required to have an established job in a respected office.

*"I received pressure in the form of demonizing work... Such as saying that "online motorcycle taxi work is low in dignity," "work in the field of IPAL (wastewater treatment plant) is only a class of operator and playing with dangerous chemicals," and the most annoying is the sad, crying parents' behaviour, so that we leave the job and look for a job with higher dignity with the lure of greater benefits (Syh, Questionnaire, June 14, 2023).*

*"I always get pressure about work from my parents. My current workplace is quite close to home, but with a salary less than the minimum wage, I am asked to apply for a job in another place with a higher salary, but this is not allowed in a place far from home, in a different province, for example, and that is quite annoying. (Al, Questionnaire, July 1, 2023)*

*"As the first child, he should have a good, established job and become a civil servant. Not an ordinary employee." (Mon, Questionnaire June 14, 2023)*

Apart from work, the advice imposed on children from traditional Javanese families is to return material favors to their parents. This may sound irrelevant in the modern era of increasing liberalism. However, there are layers of society that still practice this. After making demands on their work, there were respondents who said that they received demands in the form of material returns to their families, although they did not say it directly.

*"When I was a child, I never got demands because I was taken care of by my grandmother from childhood, but when I stepped into the world of work, my parents imposed the responsibility of paying the house and car instalments" (Syh, questionnaire, June 14, 2023).*

The aforementioned excerpt illustrates that even those participants who were originally looked after by their grandmother were nevertheless obligated to make mortgage payments on their parents' home and vehicle. This is where the production of family capitalism works. Society in the grip of capitalism has produced an abstract space that intervenes in concrete spaces or material spaces (such as alleys, houses, buildings, etc.), then puts them into the capitalist production system. In this case, capitalist space is merged in the form of family and home. The family, which was originally a concrete space, is then transformed into a kind of tool to serve

all the functions of capitalism [17]. These capitalist spaces then give birth to a new oppression that is bestowed on children from traditional Javanese families. The oppressive and repressive character of capitalist space occurs when it is connected to time. Capitalist space rejects everything related to time, unless time leads to interactions that lead to capital [17]

### **Schizo Digitalism: Digital Channel for Deteritorialism**

Information technology and increasingly sophisticated modes of transportation bring people into a space that can move, also called acceleration space [18]. These accelerated spaces gradually abolish not only physical space but also time. Everything merges into one within the frame of the acceleration space. This obliteration then results in a confusing world because there is no longer a distinction between image and appearance. We are also no longer able to determine where we are and what exactly we are doing [18]. These digital spaces then often present pessimistic researchers because, instead of presenting a creative economy, they are considered to exploit humans through the features they carry [19]. The accumulation of capital aimed at the elite platform owners is one of the big reasons for the pessimistic presence of this digital space.

Although it cannot be denied that it is true that the digital space presents a new type of capitalism that is somewhat crueler, it is necessary to look at the other side of the presence of digitalization. The digital world, which has brought a new flavour to human life, has in fact also contributed to fighting other forms of capitalism. This means that the digital space, with its unlimited ease of access, can be utilized as one of the tools to hack capitalism. The people who do this are schizophrenic subjects born from the trilogy of territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization.

Territorialization is a state that shows the way to establishment [20]. In this case, the principles of capitalism will develop rapidly. Powerless subjects will be exploited and dominated by the system. Capitalism itself is ultimately a machine of capitalist desire that decodes aspects of human life. The principle of capitalism, which benefits the elite, has become the biggest human desire machine. Humans seem to be racing to get as much capital as possible. In the capitalist system, entities are allowed to develop as actively as possible, and some of them will leave the system [21]. These outgoing subjects will present what is called deterritorialization. Deterritorialization is a critical way to shake the establishment produced by capitalism. Schizo subjects will decode social codes that are considered absolute and resist the system [22]. Deterritorialization gives birth to subjects who rebel against the system. After they shake the established system, what is called reterritorialization will be born, which is a way to reorganize the establishment in a way that is more friendly and not exploitative [7].

Deleuze and Guattari consider that the pace of culture and change comes from subjects who rebel against the system and disobeys the establishment. This is called the becoming

process. It is a state when the subject does not want to be normalized and breaks out of the dominance and structures that restrain it. Through schizoanalysis, Deleuze and Guattari offer a perspective that breaks out of domination, decomposes, modifies, reshapes creatively, and is free from binding pressure [21]. Deterritorialization then becomes a movement of hope to break capitalism, and the ones who will do that are schizo subjects. The schizo souls who carry liberation are a process of returning to the desire of humans who are free, open-minded, and able to break the power and dominance of capitalism.

As stated above, schizo subjects are those who break out of a system by breaking the establishment that legalizes the practice of capitalism [22]. Schizo subjects vent their "madness" through deterritorialization. They do various things in order to escape from a certain establishment system, or in this case, the practice of family capitalism. There are various ways of deterritorialization that can be done by schizo subjects. In its development, the digital realm then becomes one of the chosen ways. Digital schizo is a form of expressing the "madness" of subjects who are oppressed by the capitalist system and carried out through digital media. Those who realize that the establishment that occurs around them legalizes the practices of capitalism then break the structure and deterritorialize by utilizing digital media.

This research found digital schizo subjects who were born into the family capitalism system. They are the children of parents who legalize various pressures in terms of work, marriage, child ownership, and the demands of capital repayment obligations. These conscious schizo subjects are those who have been educated in higher education and/or have worked outside the area of residence. Liberalism and certain ideologies obtained from the outside world are then adopted as a form of awareness regarding the practice of capital exploitation in the family. This is the turning point of the deterritorialization effort.

Deterritorialization or rebellion of schizo subjects can be done in various ways, one of which is utilizing digital media. Digitalization, which has entered various family lines, has become a new weapon to resist domination. This research found several deterritorialization motives of family capitalism through digital media.

The first motive is to rebel by using WhatsApp. WhatsApp, which is a medium of communication between families, is then transformed into a weapon to get out of the established structure that legalizes the practice of capitalism. They rebel by expressing disagreement through WhatsApp, leaving the family WhatsApp group, not replying to chats from family, and deliberately keeping their distance by muting family contacts when receiving messages that "smell" of capital. The schizo subject, who is aware of the exploitation in his family, tries to get out of the circle and form a completely free self.

The second motive is to post satirical content related to capital's exploitation of children. They deliberately arrange for the content to be received only by the family. All this is

done so that the family realizes that practicing family capitalism against children is not right. Digital content becomes a medium for conveying information that cannot be done directly because of certain barriers and norms that are maintained in traditional Javanese families.

The third motive is more extreme. The deterritorialization of schizo subjects is done by cutting off all digital communication with their families and deliberately living apart from them. Digital media, which is now used as the main communication medium in the family, is used as a weapon to cut off communication. So that the family cannot contact these schizo subjects. Those who are already able to support themselves choose to leave the family that made them an investment. This is certainly not the case for children who are not yet financially independent. Those who have not been able to leave the family completely and choose to live alone carry out a form of digital deterritorialization by limiting all forms of communication. For example, not answering when contacted, deliberately not replying to messages from family that usually lead to capital exploitation, and not returning home for a long time. This type of subject does not completely decide to leave the family but only keeps a distance from them.

Based on the motives above, it can be said that even the presence of technology, which is advocated to legalize capitalism, still brings goodness to humans. This also leads to the conclusion that nothing is absolute and completely true. Pessimistic determinism towards technology and digitalization is also not entirely true. Therefore, it is important to look critically at all aspects before drawing conclusions.

## CONCLUSIONS

The production of capitalism in contemporary society is not only centered on digital capitalism. The early generation of capitalism, which is often said to have run out of time, is still being practiced in various regions with certain social arrangements. Forms of capitalism are even born in the smallest environment, namely the family. A space that is often realized as a safe space for everyone in it, in fact, also cannot be separated from the practice of capitalism. One of the forms of capitalism in the family is realized through investments involving children. Based on the results of this research, it can be concluded that there are still many families who make children as investment fields and old-age guarantees. The concept of "many children, many sustances" is applied to reaping more investment returns. In practice, there are various ways to realize children in accordance with parental expectations, such as the imposition of education and work, the pressure of marriage, and child ownership. This is done to meld the child to have a better life than the parents and to be able to return the favour well to the parents. In addition, it is not uncommon for some parents to also make material demands, such as asking for money, being asked to support younger children, paying instalments, and so on.

The existence of these forms of capitalism in traditional

Javanese families then gets resistance from children who have received higher education and are influenced by liberalism that is obtained through various media. These children then become schizo subjects who try to rebel against the system through various means, one of which is by utilizing digital media. WhatsApp and other social media have become media. Some of these methods have succeeded in making schizo subjects momentarily escape the capitalist regime and have the opportunity to reshape their lives. However, not all of them succeeded, as the lower-middle social class and the doctrine of religious values became obstacles for those who wanted to get out of the family capitalism regime.

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