Minangkabau Rural Markets:
Their System, Roles and Functions
in the Market Community of West Sumatra

Dissertation zur Erlangung
des Grades
eines Doktors der Sozialwissenschaften

vorgelegt im Wintersemester 1998/1999
an der Fakultät für Soziologie Universität Bielefeld

Verfasser
Nursyirwan Effendi

1. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee
2. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Hans-Dieter Evers

Acknowledgments

After completing this dissertation, which seemed at times to be an impossible task, mere acknowledgments seem inadequate to express gratitude to those whose faith in my abilities often surpassed my own. These acknowledgments, thus, only touch the surface of my deepest appreciation to those who helped bring this dissertation into being. Studying in Germany is ideally an intellectually stimulating venture and a valuable opportunity to experience the educational system and to live in the famous country of Germany, whose people live with high standards of quality, perfection and calculation in almost all aspects of life. At the same time, Indonesian cultural life and experience, that I enjoy, is far reaching in its support for the smooth adaptation necessary for studying in this country. Without psychological and practical supports from friends inside and outside of the university, I am aware that my studies in Germany would be impossible to complete.

My studies in this country would have been impossible without the continued financial support of the DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst).* My deepest thanks go to the DAAD, which provided me with several annual scholarships from April 1994 until middle of 1999 including a six months German language course at the Goethe-Institute in Göttingen.

My deepest honor should go first of all to my advisor Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee who guided my study and provided rich and valuable comments and criticism and also, with intellectual and practical support necessary for the completion of my dissertation. A “joking” rather than “avoidance” relationships characterized our bond. His kindness and friendly care, therefore, have not only been crucial for me but also for my family. Through his generosity and courtesy, my high level of stress while carrying out the study could be more or less lowered. It is to him that I owe my greatest dept.

I am also especially indebted to Prof. Dr. Hans-Dieter Evers, head of the Sociology of Development Research Center, Faculty of Sociology, University of Bielefeld who provided generous attention and valuable comments on my work and the possibility to broaden my academic activity.

During her stay as a visiting lecturer at the Andalas University, Padang, Prof. Dr. Solvay Gerke, now at the University of Bonn, supported me in building valuable contacts with University of Bielefeld. Thus, her generous attention to me during my studies and living in Germany is gratefully acknowledged.

A few former faculty members and colleagues in the graduate program "Market, State and Ethnicity", the *Schwerpunkt* (center) of Sociology Development and Social Anthropology of University of Bielefeld, have also given me much help with their stimulating ideas and advice. I specially thank Dr. Helmut Buchholt, Dr. Heiko Schrader, Dr. Mary Kenney, Dr. Yousouf Diallo, Dr. George Amponsen, Dr. Petra Dannecker, Ruth K. MA, Andreas van Nahl, MA, Erland Meyer-Tran MA, Alexander Horstmann MA,. I want to thank Mrs. Christa Jaeger, Mrs. Anette Schmidt and Mrs. Angelika Brandes for their official and technical support.

Many thanks to my Indonesian friends at the University of Bielefeld who have supported me with informal discussions, contributed valuable ideas for my work, and also shared my joy and sorrow during my stay in Germany. I thank Dr. Gumilar Rusliwa Somantri, Dr. Pheni Chalid MSc, Dr. Muhammad Nurhuda, Dr. Damsar MA, and Janianton Damanik MA.

While I conducted field work in West Sumatra Indonesia, I was supported by several offices; the office of Regional Planning and Development of West Sumatra Province and Tanah Datar Regency, the Market Office and the Offices of Tourism, Trade, and Statistics of the city of Batusangkar, the public libraries of *"Puti Bungsu"* and "*Al Hikmah"* in Batusangkar, the Center for Documentation and Information for Minangkabau Culture of the city of Padang Panjang, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, of History, and the Research Center of Andalas University. I thank Prof. Dr. Imran Manan MA, Prof. Dr. Azis Saleh MA, Dr. Nurzaman Bachtiar Msc, Dr. Dr. Inge Bunschu, Drs Afrizal MA, Drs. Wahyu Pramono MA, Drs. Emeraldy Chatra MA, Drs. Asmawi MA, and others who I cannot mention because of lack of space.

I am deeply indebted to the generosity of the Tanah Datar people who welcomed me during the research and who provide valuable information and data. I owe special thanks to the *Rumah Gadang* families of Dt Bandaro Putih in Sungai Tarab, of Dt. Bandaro Kuning in Batusangkar, the *Adat* councils and villagers of Sungai Tarab, Tabek Patah, Balai Tangah and Koto Alam *nagari.*

My deepest appreciation go to my close German friend Dipl. Ing. Andreas Gernhardt (a younger brother of the famous multi-talented German *Schriftsteller* and *Kunstler,* Robert Gernhardt) and his family in Göttingen who always give me practical help and a possibility of understanding Germany on the broad level. Sometimes, I could not imagine how he could be so interested in the Minangkabau and want to spend a few days following me making "participant observation" at rural markets in Tanah Datar when I conducted research. Also my appreciation is due to the writers, Volker and Rosa Kohlheim of Bayreuth, who pleasantly provided their time to welcome me and my family to teach us especially about German art.

Last but not least, I am most indebted to my wife, Eka Fauzihardani, who dedicated herself to accompanying me in Germany with the consequence of losing her valuable employment in Padang, and who always contributed to me being stable in mind and emotion during completion of the study. The presence of my lovely daughter, Fannisa Lieadhya Effendi, up the end my studies, has given me the motivation to finish it as well as possible. From home, my parents, my mother-in-law, my sister and brothers, often send me their encouragement. I am most indebted to them.

Bielefeld, April 1999.

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Glossary

Adat	the local customary law.
Adat Istiadat	custom and tradition.
Agen	the local arranger for the operation of local public transportation coming to and leaving from the marketplaces.
Alam Minangkabau	the Minangkabau world. This indigenous concept represents the concept of Minangkabau territory and the area of Minangkabau culture.
Anak Ladang or *Anak Kerja*	a person who works for a certain patron. This person usually obtains, from his patron, the capital needed for cultivating his agricultural land.
Angkutan Pedesaan	rural public transportation. These transport vehicles mostly travel along the roads that connect villages with the city.
Babelok	to travel or to move around. It has a connotation of traders who trade by moving around from one marketplace to another according to the prevailing market days in different villages or areas.
Balai, or *Pakan* or *Pasa*	the term for the Minangkabau market.
Balai Ambek	a small rural marketplace that occurs as a part of traders' marketing chain. This market is operated in conjunction with the operation of bigger marketplaces.
Balai Randah	a term for traditional coffee shops. This name mainly emphasizes the function of these shops as an meeting place for rural people who engage in informal chatting, debating or passing on rumors and other information, etc., there.
Beo	the rural market tax. This tax is collected by tax collectors directly from traders or sellers at the marketplace on every market day. The amount of this tax varies from one marketplace to another.
Berdagang or *dagang*	to trade. In this activity, face-to-face transaction, cash and carry, and bargaining are the most important elements.
Cigak Baruak	the local term of unofficial rural public transports. These vehicles are usually operated privately by someone who has a

	commuter car to take villagers to and back from the marketplaces.
Darek	the highland area of the Minangkabau world. This region is often viewed as the center of Minangkabau culture and usually refers to *Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam* and *Luhak Lima Puluh Kota* regencies.
Datuk	term of address or title of the *Penghulu.*
Galeh	a Minangkabau word for trade.
Gelar or *gala*	a traditional title that is usually held by a married Minangkabau man, or *adat* leaders.
Globalisasi	a term for globalization directly translated into Indonesian. They mostly use it to refer to the phenomena of the development of communication technology that has penetrated into the villages. These include parabola antenna. By using this kind of antenna, villagers can enjoy televised entertainment sent by various national and international TV channels.
Grosir	wholesalers. Wholesalers are big traders who operate at the city markets and are usually important trading partners of local market traders. Most wholesalers provide local traders with goods to be sold at the local marketplaces.
Harga lunak	the soft price. This is a special price that is given by traders to certain buyers who act with courtesy or good manners when transacting.
Hari pasa	the main market day at marketplaces.
Harta pusaka	ancestral and communal property. This property is inherited from generation to generation in one's matrilineal kin group.
Induak samang	the patron. The patron usually provides money capital to his employee.
Istano Pagarruyung	a Palace of Minangkabau Kingdom or *Pagarruyung* This palace represents the former existence of the kingdom in the 14th century. Now, the replica of this historic palace is located in the city of Batusangkar in Tanah Datar.

KAN	abbreviation for *Kerapatan Adat Nagari*. This is an *adat* council that consists of *adat* leaders from matrilineal clans in the *nagari.*
Kampuang	one's own home or own village.
Kaum	a Minangkabau lineage
Kekota-kotaan	term for a certain "life style" exhibited by villagers who behave in urban ways or have an orientation to city life.
Kelontong	various or mixed types of goods for daily use that are sold by one trader or kiosk.
Kamanakan	a man's sister's children; members of a matrilineal kin group. The relationship of a man's sister's children to their mother's brother is a close one. This relationship is one of the foci of the social structure of the matrilineal clan.
Komisi pasar	rural market commission; rural market board that mostly is made up by *adat* leaders from matrilineal clans in the *nagari*.
Lapau	the Minangkabau traditional coffee shop. In this shop men spend a great deal of time chatting or socializing. At the same time they enjoy coffee or tea, and food.
Los	the big open roof erected at the rural marketplace. It usually represents the size of a certain market. The bigger the roof is, the more a rural market can provide trade space. This roof is often located at the center of the market site.
Mamak	one's mother's brother; an influential, powerful respected person in one's matrilineal family, lineage and clan.
Merantau	voluntary migration. This migration is regarded as a Minangkabau tradition that encourages them to leave their own village to seek a fortune, wealth, knowledge and fame. It also signifies an outward view and geographical mobility.
Nagari	so-called Minangkabau village; a judicio-political unit in Minangkabau adat.
Oto	car.
Pacah talua	"a broken egg" (literally); a symbolic expression for making a profit at the beginning of trade on a certain day.

Paruik	a group of matrilineally related people.
Pedagang Babelok	traveling traders. In the Minangkabau context, these traders usually travel or move around within different areas beyond their home base, district, regency or province, to trade their goods.
Pemangku Adat	*adat* functionaries. These functionaries are men who are responsible for helping with the tasks of the *adat* leader of a clan. Each man also has his own task, namely, as a clerk, a religious head, an enforcer of the public order, or a treasurer.
Penghulu or *Panghulu*	*adat* leader; matrilineage head.
Penghulu Pasar	head of a rural marketplace; head of the rural market administration.
Pueh	degree of satisfaction of peasants when they have the desired cash as a result of selling their produce.
Sagan	an awkward feeling; an attitude of good manners according to tradition and custom.
Suku	matrilineal clan.
Sumando	the in-marrying man. Husband of female members of one's matrilineal kin group.
Toke or *kalene*	local distributors: intermediary persons who buy the peasant's produce and distribute or re-sell it at other rural marketplaces.

1. Trade and Rural Markets in Minangkabau: An Introduction

1.1. Market, Social Transformation and the Local Community

Theoretically, the market is one of the most important economic institutions and a way of life[1] that forces communities to undergo social, cultural, and political transformations (Polanyi 1957; Evers 1997b). The market does this by means of the modernization and globalization

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[1] Geertz defines market as an economic institution and a way of life of the community, as he took the case of Modjokuto society, Java, Indonesia. He characterizes market from three views, namely, as a patterned flow of economic goods and services, as a set of economic mechanisms to sustain and regulate the flow of goods and service, and as a social and cultural system in which those mechanisms are imbedded (Geertz [1963] 1989: 30-31).

initiated by capitalism in the context of the world system (Wallerstein 1980),[2] and as a result of market expansion (Evers 1994). Empirically, the presence of the market is an important indicator of changes in the economic system of a community moving from subsistence economy to patterns of market economy. As a result, the role of the market in many communities is crucial. Therefore, the operation of the market, theoretically and empirically, can be understood as the most important element or social mechanism that indicates how far a community has resisted, shifted or changed in response to this transformation (Evers 1995a).

The social transformation of the local community due to its integration in regional and global markets, in the sense of a capitalist market economy, in response to external forces, such as international trade and colonization in the historical time, is doubtlessly being experienced by most rural societies in Southeast Asia (Geertz 1963a; Elson 1984; Gunnarsson et al. 1985). However, this integration brings about, to some extent, subsistence insecurity at the local level (Nash 1994). Some of the causes of this are unbalanced accelerations of market demand on local commodities and the productive capacity of the local community, and that local exchange value is determined by a broader exchange circuit. As a result, the local community faces unequal power relations that set the terms of exchange (Nash 1994: 22).

The majority of anthropological studies on the forms of market in the local community were mostly derived from the understanding of primitive and peasant markets (see for example Redfield 1953, 1956; Mintz 1960; Polanyi 1957; Skinner 1964; Bohannan and Dalton 1968; Geertz [1963] 1989; Wolf 1966; Dalton 1973; Hodges 1988; Swartzberg 1979).[3] In these studies, the attention on the market and social transformation is focused on the changing meaning and structure of market, from one reflecting local social structure, to being a part of broader networks of market exchange and larger systems. It is assumed that social, cultural and economic characteristics of peasant societies are quite different from those of industrial societies (Geertz [1963] 1989).[4]

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[2] In exception, according to Potter and Potter quoting Amir Samin's argument, China is the only important recent example of an underdeveloped country that has been able to develop on its own, free from involvement with world capitalism. This happened as a result of the Maoist policy of independent development that was demonstrably a more successful strategy for the people in China than participating in the world capitalist economy (Potter and Potter 1991: 315).

[3] Meanwhile, a huge body of sociological studies on market is reflected in classical sociological theory, from Weber's work, up to the new economic sociology (Swedberg 1994: 265-266). To understand these studies, the meanings of markets are understood by means of a number of approaches. These are the social structural approach, the social constructionist approach, the historical-comparative approach, the social system approach, the game theoretical approach and the conflict approach (Swedberg 1994: 267).

[4] Based on the study of Javanese people, Geertz clearly differentiates between peasant market economy and Western economy. The former is characterised as an economy within which the total flow of trade is carried out by interpersonal transactions among a large number of unconnected persons. In contrast, Western economy is

The meaning of market corresponds with the understanding of specific economic systems. The old debate based on a dichotomy between the economy of what we call industrial-capitalistic and that of pre-capitalistic economies, or between traditional and modern economies seemed to be a way of analyzing the meaning of markets in various societies. The meaning of primitive and peasant markets is mostly included in substantive paradigm of the economy and is different from the formal model of economy (Polanyi 1968).

According to Hodges, market exchange in peasant societies is essentially a pre-capitalist device, characteristic of pre-industrial societies in which the majority of the population are engaged in full-time agricultural activities (Hodges 1988:2). Thus, peasants are close to the pre-civilized tribal society in which the economy was determined by status, and not by business interests, in contrast to the societies of Europe and North America in the 19th century, in which the economy was determined by the market in the sense of capitalism (Redfield 1953: 24; Wolf 1966: 2).

Historically, peasants are included within the analysis of the social, economic and political system of feudalism. The idea of peasant society refers to feudalism in European villages before the 19th century. In this sense, peasants were not understood as just a group of people who cultivate land, but as a social class that lived under the domination of a feudal elite. However, not all peasant societies can be categorized in this way. Referring to the different characteristics of peasant societies in Latin America, Asia and Europe, and to peasants as the rural dimension of a society, Redfield argued, that the peasantry is a part of a broader society, and that peasant society is a part society (Redfield 1985: 23), or a part of a larger state system that extracts various forms of rent from the communities it controls (Rossebery quoted in Barfield 1997: 352).

Classically, a lack of attention to the peasant's social transformation due to capitalistic market forces is based on the assumption that if peasants are completely involved in this type of market, then peasants would also be involved in economic fields that are independent of the local social, cultural and political system. Redfield (1956) stated:

> It is the market, in one form or another, that pulls out from the compact social relations of self-contained primitive communities some parts of men's doings and puts people into fields of economic activity that are increasingly independent of the rest of what goes on in the social life. The local traditional and moral world and the wider and more impersonal world of the market are, in principle, distinct, and

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centered on firms, trade and industry are carried out by a set of impersonal social institutions that organize

> opposed to each other. In peasant society the two are maintained in some balance; the market is held at arm's length (p.46)

In other words, peasants generally have to cope with economic and social decisions for actions when they become involved in markets. As a consequence, they should experience the social proliferation shared with other participants in markets. The participant in a market must cope with the fact that the other participants in the market, peasant or non-peasant, can potentially play both a beneficial and an exploitative role (Wolf 1966: 46).

Of course, the understanding of a small range of peasant's involvement in the capitalistic and the broader economic world may derive from the common understanding of general social and cultural characteristics of peasants. They are generally seen as actors who love to maintain full-fledged structural social relationships and as the chief producers of social wealth (Wolf 1966: 12-13). However, the peasant cannot escape from his position as a part society in the larger society undergoing change. Peasant societies are involved in two different civilizations, and are torn between cities and villages, and between national institutions and local, traditional institutions (Redfield 1956; Wolf 1966). Redfield defined this tension in his concept of the „great tradition" of civilizations and the „little tradition" of peasants (Redfield 1956).

One of the flash points of transformation in peasant society occurs in the peasant household. The peasant is regarded at once as both an economic agent and the head of a household. His holding is both an economic unit and a home (Wolf 1966:13). Classically, according to Chayanov, peasants are small-scale agricultural producers organized into households. These households are the basic units of production and of consumption and depend on family labor in a subsistence-oriented economy. Family farms were pure in the sense that they depended solely on the work of their own family members, rather than on hired wage labor (Thorner 1966: XIII, Rossebery quoted in Barfield 1997: 352). Thus, peasants carry out agriculture not only for their livelihood, but also as a way of life. They are also far from a commercial-oriented economy (Redfield 1985).

In current situations, peasant economy is aimed at the reproduction of the household. Thus, peasants are willing to adapt to a wide range of strategies to reach this goal. Household members often pursue a variety of productive and reproductive jobs in addition to agricultural tasks. These jobs are categorized as „suplementary" activities that can take on more importance, both in terms of labor time and household income, than agriculture itself

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various interrelated tasks for production and distribution (Geertz [1963] 1989).

(Rossebery quoted in Barfield 1997: 352). Based on this point, what Chayanov claimed about the peasant family, as employing no hired wage labor, is not relevant. To understand the idea of peasant family economy, Chayanov was concerned with the total income of the peasant family from agriculture and also that derived from crafts and trades. This concept of economy is then understood as the labor-consumption balance between the satisfaction of family needs and the drudgery of labor (Thorner 1966: XV).

In fact as Wong argues, peasant production, on the one hand, is defined by the fact that social formation is not fully capitalist. Peasant production, in consequence, derives its specific character from its lack of integration into national markets. On the other hand, personal ties, rather than market relations, are crucial for the mobilization of land, labor, means of production and credit (Wong 1987: 19).

To transform himself, the peasant has to consider his particular ecological niche occupied by some sectors of the peasantry exposed them, more than most, to subsistence risk (Scott 1976: 1). This factor is a main source of the moral economy of the peasant which revolves around the subsistence margin, the safety first principle, and the subsistence ethic (Scott 1976). Peasants also experience unequal local class relations between the rich and the poor, that bring them to the political conflicts[5] and live in a symbolic equilibrium of social relationships (Scott 1985). Peasants have always been subordinate to others in their societies, as Migdal argued (1974: 15):

> Whether these others have been local lords or the rulers of powerful centralized states, they have controlled resources essential to peasant’s lives.

The peasant generally faces economic stress, pressures from outside and culture contact that forces him to stop his looking inward and change to looking outward (Migdal 1974), but they still remain in poverty, due to monopolistic exploitation from powerful market actors (Lundhal 1979: 129).

Now, various experiences of peasants or local communities in general, especially their economic processes, are coming to be regarded as an integral part of the process of global economy. Thus, the global influence of world economy on all communities, regardless ethnic, religion and geography, cannot be doubted. In Indonesia, the village context is integrated into the national economy and the larger society makes the profit incentive increasingly powerful (Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1980). Moreover Rosenberg and Rosenberg stated:

> New consumption patterns on the part of wealthy villagers are reported. Land is becoming a source of cash rather than a source of local social power through grants

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[5] For detail explanation of peasant movements in China see Potter and Potter, 1990, in Philippines see Fegan 1979, in Thailand see Luther 1978.

> of employment and access to land within the village… The competition now is for new inputs, which are available largely in market criteria (p.21)

As a consequence, many sociologists or anthropologists now take the effects of Western capitalism on the peoples of the world as a starting-point. The lives of Third World peasants cannot be understood without considering the influence of the world economy on the societies in which they live (Potter and Potter 1991: 314). Stuart Plattner argues:

> On the one hand, we analyze different social systems as operating by appropriately different organizing principles and institutions…The relevance of market theory to tribal society must be demonstrated, not assumed. On the other hand, we understand that all humans exercise economic choices, subject to their local institutional constrains.

He adds that anthropology should not be concerned with tribal and peasant market economies, rather it should study diverse market economies in various societies (1989: 1).

The most important analyses of markets in local society focus on the effects of a market economy on the transformation of the basic forms of social and cultural organization. These aspects provide a very strong clue to the kinds of social (or cultural) changes going on (Polanyi 1957; Geertz 1963).[6] Thus, the basic change from subsistence based economy to commercial activity in any society should be emphasized.

Social changes due to the market economy can be analyzed in the context of capitalism (Weber 1947; Polanyi 1957; Braudel 1984; Senghaas 1979; and Wallerstein 1980) and in the context of the global world economy (Carnoy et al. 1993). The argument, in such contexts, is that the position of the market is the motor of today's society and is mostly driven by the force of globalization. In this regard, local and regional markets play an important role in recruiting any single society, traditional or modern, rural or urban, subsistence based or commercial, into the era of globalization.[7]

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[6] Polanyi's definition of a market economy is an economic system controlled, regulated, and directed by markets alone; order in the production and distribution of goods is entrusted to this self-regulating mechanism. Moreover, Polanyi argued that an economy of this kind derives from the expectation that human beings behave in such a way as to achieve maximum money gains (Polanyi 1957:68). Using this definition, Polanyi then assumed that, firstly, markets in which the supply of goods (including service) available at a definite price will equal the demand at that price. Secondly, there is the presence of money at market, which functions as purchasing power in the hands of its owner (p.68).

[7] In the present study, the globalization process is questioned. Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson are skeptical about the global economic process, although they express optimism about the possibilities of control of international economy and of the viability of national political strategies. They argue that the concept of globalization has paralyzed radical strategies of national reform. As a matter of fact, we face economic changes that are more complex and more equivocal than in the extreme globalist view, they argue (Hirst, Paul and Grahame Thompson 1996: 1-2)

We see the plain evidence to prove this claim in the picture of the contemporary world. In this world, commodities are flowing back and forth between the industrialized nations and the non-industrialized societies. In addition, capital flows independently of national boundaries. The development of telecommunication technology is playing an important role in this situation and in unifying the divergent social and economic systems of various societies.

The various layers of the systems become observable as global and local society. In brief, a picture of a world economic mechanism can be seen as the boundary line of the global becomes local, and in turn, as the local become global (Carnoy et al. 1993; Gereffi 1994).

Changes in a single society can be studied as the results of the impact of the market. Thus, I argue that the initial transformation of social and cultural forms occurs because of the market change (see, for example, Schweizer 1985). Secondly, the transformation is a process of globalization (Carnoy et al. 1993). Thirdly, there is a close relationship between culture and economy (see DiMaggio 1990, 1994).

One view of social impacts of the market economy at the local level is obtained by empirical observations of rural marketplaces.[8] Rural markets still operate although other types of markets, let us say modern markets,[9] now surround them.

In this context, I want to explain the functional relationships (mechanisms) in the patterns of market systems in rural areas of West Sumatran societies. To a certain extent, these indicate both a localized level of a global society and the impact of larger market mechanisms on the social structure of the local community where the market is studied. In other words, I want to look at social responses to the integration of rural markets, direct or indirect, into the global economy.

Based on peasant literature outlined above, I argue that the Minangkabau villagers are peasants, but their relationship to the market is exceptional. They are peasants who do not minimize involvement with, or even, reject the market, rather they embrace it as a basic part of their social and cultural life.

My study of the market in the context of West Sumatran societies is inspired by one of Joel S. Kahn's arguments (1980: 27, 75). His argument is that the only obvious direct contact of

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[8] In this sense, I partly follow the concepts of market of Hodges (1988), Bohannan (1968) and Plattner (1989) that is as a specific site where a group of buyers and of sellers meet, and as a social institution of exchange where prices or exchange equivalencies exist. In the second idea, Hodges calls it a market principle. It determines prices by forces of supply and demand (Hodges 1988: 5).

[9] In this context, I define the modern market and its mechanisms in terms of products sold, economic principles, and performances, as well as ways of organisation, which are not traditional anymore, but modern. For the time being, needless to say, we will not attempt the definitive discussion of traditional versus modern as terms. I hope we can see the objective picture of a different kind of market, one both traditional and modern in many respects.

the Minangkabau world with the global economy is through the local or regional market and that it is clear that the Minangkabau village is closely linked economically to the outside world because of the national and international division of labor. Furthermore, no village in West Sumatra is independent of the broader economic system. There is considerable evidence that current West Sumatra societies are involved in the mechanisms of the global world economy (Oki 1977: 34-61; Kahn 1993: 121-126; Evers et al. 1993)

1.2. Study Objectives and the Research Problem

> "An Indonesian anecdote says: three unemployed men: a Javanese, a Bataknese and a Minangkabau were walking together along the street. Suddenly they found some old mats. Then, what did each do with a mat? The Bataknese used one to play a chess game. The Javanese used one to sleep on. Meanwhile, the Minangkabau used it for trading (*berdagang*). The story goes on how they all got on a bus. Unfortunately, the bus was full of passengers. In the bus, somebody suddenly stepped on their feet. How did they react to this? The Bataknese reacted crudely and said: "Hey, are you blind? Move your foot away!" The Javanese said politely: "Sir, please do not step on my foot". The Minangkabau answered calmly: "You may continue to step on my foot, but you will have to pay for it. 5000 rupiah for one hour, and 9000 rupiah for two hours. I'll give you a discount....“

The fictional anecdote reflects typical stereotypes of three ethnic groups in Indonesia, namely, the Javanese, the Bataknese and the Minangkabau. My point of using this anecdote is the economic intent attributed to the Minangkabau man. This joke captures a typical trait of the Minangkabau, who are very oriented to commercial activities.

The famous reputation of the Minangkabau as a commercial community seems to overlook the roles in politics played by this ethnic group a few decades before and after Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Abdullah 1972; Amura 1979). In fact, Minangkabau involvement in the political struggle against colonial rule and their strong enthusiasm for commercial pursuits were the most important factors encouraging the Minangkabau community to be open minded about accepting modernization (*modernisasi*) and, progress (*kemajuan*) (Abdullah 1972; Kato 1980; Kahn 1995: 95-98).[10] In addition to these attitudes, adherence to the customary law

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[10] The life history of a Pariaman entrepreneur, Muhammad Saleh *gelar* Datuk Orang Kaya Besar (Kato 1980:729-752), and of a Minangkabau intellectual, journalist and political activist, Mahjuddin *gelar* Datuk Sutan Maharadja (Abdullah 1972: 213-245) give a profound picture of the social history and social changes in the Minangabau world in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

(*adat*) at the same time as Islam[11] is another remarkable characteristic of the Minangkabau culture (Abdullah 1985; Kahn 1993, 1995).[12]

At the present time, Minangkabau culture, in my view, should also be understood in terms of traits that are largely influenced by the market economy.[13] Exchange of gold and daily consumption goods, carried out through the long distance trade in eastern Sumatra and beyond to the Malay peninsula towards the end of the eighteenth century (Dobbin 1977),[14] and the commercialization and modernization in the Minangkabau world during Dutch and Japanese colonial rule (Oki 1977; Manan 1995), were the most important forces that have strongly influenced the Minangkabau to be involved in the market economy for many years. This involvement in the market economy, in turn, has generated social and cultural traits of the Minangkabau that are compatible with modern economic values.

For the Minangkabau, the market, in the sense of the marketplace, is an integral part of their lives. The rural marketplace has supposedly existed since the heyday of the Minangkabau Kingdom in the fourteenth century.[15] If we want to gain a greater understanding

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[11] As devout Muslim, the Minangkabau still maintain their adherence to *adat* values and norms as well as the matrilineal type of community. As member of Indonesian nation living under the national system of state, they still maintain their typical indigenous social and political institution, namely, the *nagari* (corresponding to a village). The position of *adat* and Islam in daily life sometimes creates a dilemma for the Minangkabau. For example, the male role should be harmoniously balanced between *mamak* (the mother's brother), *sumando* (the in-marrying man) and *bapak* (the father) dealing with the interests of family, lineage and clan; or women's rights dealing with men's power in terms of the possession and the use of communal property. This portrays the Minangkabau social complexity.

[12] The conflict between *adat* and Islam is rooted in economic matters (Dobbin 1977). The conflict a married man experiences as a father or a *mamak* (mother's brother) dealing with his own children and his sisters' children is over economic distribution in the family. The conflict of power between women and men in a clan shows the ambiguity of arranging communal property. Moreover, the territorial orientation between *darek* and *rantau* indicates the push and pull factor of exploiting economic resources. The centrifugal society seems a proper description of the Minangkabau (Kato 1977).

[13] For one historical Indonesian economic development that was influenced by the rise of capitalism see Christian G. Heersink (1994) „ Selayar and Green Gold The Development of The Coconut Trade on an Indonesia Island (1820-1950).“ This article is quite useful to understand how people, who were characterised as a folk community with subsistence economic base, underwent the transformation to a commercial society. This occurred through their long-term involvement in the international coconut trade under the capitalist colonial order in Indonesia. In comparison, see also Helmut Buchholt (1994), „The Great Transformation in Minahasa, Indonesia“. Comparing to the process of economic change in East Africa, see also Abdul M. H. Sheriff (1979). Sheriff's main argument is that international trade is a powerful and dynamic "engine of growth". Many countries trade each other because they posses different comparative cost advantages in the production of goods and services derived from the uneven distribution of human and natural resources (p.2).

[14] Dobbin states that toward the end of 18th century the heartland of the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra experienced a large-scale commercial revival, bringing not only new prosperity to the area but also markedly altering its previous pattern of trade (Dobbin 1977:1).

[15] To my knowledge, the historical process of the development of rural marketplaces is still vague due to the lack of study of Minangkabau rural markets. However, Taufik Abdullah (1972), Oki (1977) and Kato (1982) implicitly mentioned that the rural markets in Minangkabau existed long before the period of tremendous economic changes expressed by anti tax rebellion in the first decade of the twentieth century of the Dutch colonial era. This was in response to the introduction of a tax system in substitution of the forced delivery system that ended in 1908.

of the social and economic life of the Minangkabau, and even of their typical social dynamics, then we must take into account the phenomena of their markets. On the other hand, the changes going on in Minangkabau social life today may be observed in the changes seen in local markets. In spite of the establishment of towns and even cities in the once remote Sumatran highlands, the rural market place still plays an important role in the Minangkabau world and indicates the process of social development in the local context (Dobbin 1972, 1983:12; Kahn 1975, 1976, 1980; Josselin de Jong 1980; Graves 1971; Kato 1982).

The significance of the marketplace for the Minangkabau may be indicated not only through its economic and social functions, but also through the indigenous market values that are a part of Minangkabau culture. In economic terms, the local marketplace is one of the most important economic outlets for Minangkabau agricultural products. Nevertheless, arguing in this way seems to oversimplify the function of the market itself and creates difficulties in understanding the current context of actors involved within and outside of markets. How can we know if the rural marketplace is the only institution that plays such a role, or if people use this institution, based on social principles, to conduct their non-economic activities? Therefore, we also need to gather information about another function (the social function) of local markets that mediates social relationships among the Minangkabau. A picture of the social function of the marketplace can show how important markets really are in Minangkabau social life. The embracing of the market appears to be a remarkable trait of the Minangkabau, characterized as a commercially oriented and readily changing society.

Looking at some studies, that are concerned with changes among the Minangkabau, especially as a result of the Dutch conquest of Indonesia over 350 years ago, we gain the impression that the analyses of change generally come to the same conclusions. Most writers look deductively at the changes by means of some theoretical assumptions applied to the Minangkabau (see, for example, Josselin de Jong 1952).[16] Kato (1982) started with an assumption of the unchanging Minangkabau, a traditional people. He did, however, allude to

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[16] To my knowledge, Josselin de Jong (1952) mostly studied the Minangkabau using sources largely written before Indonesian Independence and, in the main part, by Dutch colonial administrators. His analysis seems to me to be heavily influenced by a structuralist's point of view. My impression after reading this book is that he pictured the Minangkabau in an idealized way. These people seemed to belong to a never changing society that was strongly organized around the matrilineal principle. Even when he tried to see the current dynamics of Minangkabau life, he seemingly saw change only through comparisons with the Minangkabau in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, but this was only a tendency as he argued clearly. In another book (1980), he had basically the same way of seeing the Minangkabau, although he stressed the effect of emigration on Minangkabau social structure. Though quite clear, his analysis of the Minangkabau does not help much in depicting the big changes occurring now. The Minangkabau were pictured as a traditional society with their matrilineal system.

the signs of changes evident in the migration phenomena,[17] but he still included them as an integral part of the traditional patterns of Minangkabau social organization. The result was that one could hardly observe how much the Minangkabau social structure has changed over time.

Abdullah (1966), Graves (1971), Dobbin (1972, 1983), historically view the Minangkabau situation during the period of colonial rule. They mainly analyze the Minangkabau struggles against colonialism. These writers analyze Minangkabau social dynamics through their understandings of the structures and functions of customary law (*adat)* and religion in several different periods. In these works we mostly see the resistance efforts, and wars and conflict between the Minangkabau and the colonial power, or conflicts among the Minangkabau themselves. However, in these explanations, we clearly see the Minangkabau social dynamics characteristic of that time. In general, these writers have a basic assumption of the changing Minangkabau. A few other writers on the Minangkabau (Benda-Beckmann and Keebet Benda-Beckmann 1985; Kato 1978) prefer to use the concept of ‘change and continuity’, which seems to convey a more accurate impression of the changing but ‘traditional’ Minangkabau.

Analyses that have tried to stress the changing nature of the Minangkabau, are in works of Kahn (1976, 1980, 1985, and 1993), Evers (1975), Thomas and Benda-Beckmann (1985). We also find scholars who concern themselves theoretically with the issue of change among the Minangkabau. These studies take the view that the Minangkabau now are quite different from the Minangkabau of the past. The main issue has been the discussion of social and economic development in West Sumatra during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This era of change in Minangkabau was the subject of a great debate between writers in the last book. Kahn (1976, 1985), for example, claimed a watershed for the Minangkabau that did not begin in the colonial era. Rather, it has been begun long before the arrival of the Europeans and was continued during colonialism. His most interesting issue (especially in Kahn 1976) is the extinction of the so-called traditional Minangkabau. He was not satisfied with this term as used for the Minangkabau today for the following reasons. Firstly, it suggests a timeless system, although Minangkabau society has undergone a series of historical transformations that demand that any historical construction be anchored in a specific historical period. Secondly, it smacks of the ideology of the „golden age“, an idealization that is part of present-day Minangkabau ideology. Third, it implies that there is a smooth transition from tradition to

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[17] An impressive study on voluntary migration (*merantau*) has been done by Naim (1973, 1979).

modernity, which is stimulated by the forces of neo-colonialism (p.79).[18] The most up to date discussion of this issue is developed by Kahn (1993*).* Briefly, these books deal with the changes in Minangkabau society, given a basic understanding of the present-day Minangkabau and focus on customary law (*adat*) as the main topic of analysis in order to see the changes that have occurred.

Despite the above analyses of the Minangkabau social dynamics, clearly giving a picture of the Minangkabau as changing over time, I argue that these authors all seem to take the same view of the cause of the changes. They also have a similar way of seeing history, based on the colonial era and the neo-colonial eras. However, in the assimilation process, the Minangkabau underwent their initial contact with the Europeans in the form of trade relationships. They later faced the implementation of colonial rule (in the next stage of contact). This leads to the assumption of an interdependence between trade and the establishment of Dutch colonial rule in the region. The colonialists selected those regions that were suitable for the provision of the raw materials or commodities for export trade, and West Sumatra was one of the areas in Indonesia that was chosen. Change has mainly occurred in the form of the transformation of communal properties into individual properties.

Kahn provides for the beginning of the neo-colonial era or, in this context, the period of Independence, a similar way to see change (1976, 1980). He thinks that the so-called ‘traditional’ Minangkabau have changed because of their long engagement in international trade, in the sense of Wallerstein’s notion of a “world system”. Thus, he argues that no village in Minangkabau is independent of the world system. This argument gives us the clue, that agrees with my view, that an unbroken involvement of Minangkabau local economies, in international trading networks since the early colonial era, persists up to the present day, but with a different face. Furthermore, Kahn argues, based on his study of blacksmiths in Sungai Puar *Nagari*, carried out in 1972-1974, that the emergence of petty commodity production in West Sumatra, by the turn of this century, reveals the involvement of the Minangkabau in the international trade network (Kahn 1980). In addition, he noted that the existence of petty commodity production is equally dependent upon the world market.[19] He argues,

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[18] Counter arguments on this matter have been given by Benda-Beckmann and Keebet Benda-Beckmann (1985) titled „Transformation and Change in Minangkabau“. In one of their arguments, the discussion if Minangkabau society was traditional or not should be done by treating the Minangkabau in different contexts of law and social organisation. Talking about any characteristic, traditional or not, they argued that it only existed in some stereotyped aspects reproductions of Minangkabau *adat* (customs) and society (p.236).

[19] I miss in his work the process and the mechanisms of how the petty commodity production is involved in the international circuit of trade. At least, Kahn’s study on the Minangkabau offers a basic understanding of how far, by the 1970s, the socio-economic situation in the local community had become involved in the process of global

nevertheless, that the world economy is the precondition for, but not the cause of, all the different forms of commodity production within it (p.208).[20]

Joel S. Kahn's works offer a basic analysis of one aspect of globalization today, namely, the transformation process of influence from the global to the local level. However, he does not see the impact from the local on the global level of the market (see also Carnoy et al. 1993). How does the development of local economies support economic development on the macro level? Put in another way, how can the local economies, as a result of developments on the macro level, react to and give feed back to the higher level? Specifically, I want to see how the development of local economy in Minangkabau land also influences the global economy. The question is, how do we define this issue? I argue that it is still worthwhile to use the analysis of trade and market as an underpinning of the study.

My study starts with the analysis of the rural markets. In this sense, markets play a role as concrete places that feature social and economic activity going on at the same time. I will try to see the functions of local markets in the local community, in the lives of the village people. As mentioned above I assume that the market circulation is a rather specific system, typical of the rural markets as a whole and an integral part of the circuit of local, national and international commodity relations. By so arguing, we see that the strong dependence on the broader political system (see, for example, Kahn 1976), in this sense the global level, has changed the role of *nagari* which is the most important indigenous social and political institution. It seems to me that the Minangkabau marketplace, under the system of market circulation, can be the main focus for observing this influence. As far as I am concerned, many writers have not seen or described the operation of this market system properly. However, this circulation is the most crucial aspect of rural Minangkabau markets and has not changed much from the colonial time up to the present.

I assume, however, that the role of the rural market today is quite different from what it was in the past. The function of rural market is not primarily to promote the economic gain of the government, but has a particular function for those people who hold the market and for the surrounding population. The influence of the market can be studied by looking at the kinds of commodities and goods sold, the capital mobility involved, the hierarchical market networks

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capitalism. However, the process is not so clear. I argue that this involvement can be studied through the observation of local markets and their operation system that is still predominantly based on the periodic cycle of time and space, or the market circulation.

[20] Unfortunately, Kahn does not give a more concrete analysis of the forms of such involvement. He offered only the analysis based on the phenomena of petty commodity trade that, in its mode of production, is basically the

that are established (Mai and Buchholt 1987), and the sellers' or traders' networks. These are supposedly able to penetrate the local economy and influence, to some extent, the individual actor's decisions, and perhaps even influence the behavior of groups, in terms of the patterns of social relationships. Using Bourdieu's notion of capital, by manipulating the social meaning of goods, the market creates new kinds of life styles in the society (Bourdieu 1994; Featherstone 1991). In brief, people organize their wants, based on the market. Everyone corresponds his or her actions with the market. This is also true of the Minangkabau.

In relation to social structure, I assume that every market influenced individual action plays a decisive role in the forms of behavior characteristic of the nuclear family, extended family, clan and lineage. This assumption leads me to depict, in turn, the change in social organization on each of these levels. If local people have become strongly involved in the market, but do not have enough time to take care the communal rights properties anymore, there is supposedly a decline in the influence, or even power, of the matrilineage, of the use of ancestral land for subsistence, and a shift to the use of manufactured goods and to private gain (see Kahn 1976). The creation of commercial occupations; such as that of blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, wage laborer, etc. in village society is proposed as a reaction to the market expansion into the local community (Kahn 1980). Finally, the general questions arise of what is the Minangkabau system of trade and market? How does the local community respond to the market values that generate economic rationality at the same time that they are still bound by their adherence to customary law (*adat*) and religion?

1.3. The Location of the Study

The study is set in the Tanah Datar region, commonly known as *Luhak nan Tuo.* This is one of three centers of Minangkabau culture. The two others are Agam and Lima Puluh Kota. During the fourteenth century, this region was the location of Minangkabau Kingdom, *Pagarruyung*. During that time, under the system of aristocracy, the *nagari*, or a so-called Minangkabau village, was the basic social and political system of the local community. To remember the lost Kingdom, a replica of Pagarruyung palace (*Istano Pagarruyung)* was erected in the center of *Luhak nan Tuo*, or Batu Sangkar city. It symbolizes the continuing presence of the Kingdom in this region.

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same as the theoretical discussion of production in Marx's analysis of capitalism (1980: 131). He tries to fit in the Minangkabau mode of production with Marx's analysis of capitalism.

The region has 358,658 inhabitants and an area of 1,336 square km (Bappeda Tanah Datar 1994). With its relatively high population density (268 person per square km), this region is divided into 11 districts with 222 villages. The districts also include 75 *nagari*. Since 1979, the national administrative system has taken over the role of the local political system in determining the social and cultural structure of the rural community (Hasbi 1990; Naim 1990; Manan 1995). Now, the *nagari* is traditionally acknowledged by the Minangkabau as only a territorial unit in customary law (*Kesatuan Hukum Adat*).

Geographically, the Tanah Datar region is located in the heart of West Sumatra province, bordering Agam and Lima Puluh Kota regencies on the northern side and Solok and Sawahlunto to the south. Three mountains, Merapi, Singgalang, and Puti Bungsu, surround this region. Tanah Datar is famous as the agricultural center of West Sumatra province. The integration between nature and people is the main picture of life typical of communities living in this area (Hamka 1984: 17). This harmony of human society and nature has inspired Minangkabau social legends, called *Tambo,* and also a number of *adat* proverbs, including *alam takambang jadi guru* (an ever expanding world is our great teacher).

The Minangkabau strongly believe that the force of nature (*hukum alam*) plays an important role in encouraging change. To make this power understandable, customary law, or *adat*, is used as a basis of local knowledge and the guideline for behavior. Hence, the Minangkabau always comprehend *adat* as a set of laws that corresponds to the characteristics of nature and people. In addition, *adat* is regarded as eternal, even though nature alters and challenges it, as one proverb expresses: *adat indak lakang dek paneh, indak lapuak dek hujan* (*adat* is not cracked by the heat, and not rotted by the rain). Moreover, they think that *adat* maintains their world over time, as is expressed by the term: *alam* Minangkabau (the Minangkabau world). It is understandable why the Minangkabau are extremely proud of their *adat.*

The major occupation of Tanah Datar communities is agriculture.[21] The cultivation of wet and dry rice fields, plantations, and various types of animal husbandry are the main forms of agricultural production (Bappeda Tanah Datar 1994). In this context, land is a major resource for sustaining the majority of the inhabitants. In this regard, the indigenous social structure mostly reflects the possession of dry land and paddy fields (*basawah ba pamatang*) (Manggis

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[21] Government employees, though fewer in number (or about 7,467 people, or 2.08%) than the total inhabitants or about 358,658 people, are regarded as an established occupation. This occupation generally guarantees a better living standard. Thus, there is the tendency that government employment is preferred over being a peasant. In daily life, government employees have become, to some extent, the innovators of life style in this region.

Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971; Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978). Status and roles in family, clan, or lineage are traditionally based on the possession and use, authority and control over, maintenance and inheritance of, production and distribution of communal property (*harta pusaka*), especially land. As a consequence, both social harmony and disputes among the Minangkabau mostly arise out of land organization (Tanner 1969).

Each *nagari* usually organizes its own marketplaces. Based on data from Tanah Datar Statistical Office (*Biro Pusat Statistik)* and Regional Planning and Development Board (*Badan Perencanaan and Pembangunan Daerah* or *Bappeda*) and supported by the survey made by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Andalas University in 1990, there are 43 market places in Tanah Datar that are still operating at the present time. They can be classified into few organizational types.[22] In terms of geography and space, the city of Batusangkar functions as the central place for the economic and social exchange in the region. This city is also the major hub for the local transportation networks that they bind the villages in this region together.

1.4. Market in the Minangkabau Context

As I observed the rural markets in Tanah Datar regency for the first time, market crowds, the large number of various articles offered for sale, the complex of different institutional buildings surrounding the marketplace, the mixed aromas of cooked being foods sold, and the jumble of trader's spaces, representing a chaotic mix of types of traders, were all salient phenomena. At the market, visitors were milling around in unpredictable patterns, some young people formed group at the market corners and mainly socialized with each other.

I had an impression that the rural markets represent social activity at the same time as economic transactions. Some people were buying, some were selling goods and involved in higgling and haggling, while some were just sitting and chatting, and many visitors were mostly walking around. Meanwhile, a number of traders actively tried to attract customers to buy their goods and some of them joked with each other. At particular market corners, it was obvious that young people especially were meeting each other. I walked around in the market crowd and nobody seemed to recognize me, unlike most of the visitors who seemed to know each other. I did whatever I wanted to do. I looked at articles offered by traders, picked them up, or just asked the price, then went away. I could get close to the people who were engaging

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[22] The typology of markets in Tanah Datar region is mainly based on definitions taken from the governmental regulation no.10/90 issued by Tanah Datar regency. The meaning of each type is explained in Chapter Two

in transactions of commodities and goods, and listen to some women intently discussing rumors about other people (*mangeceekan urang lain*). I could sit wherever I wanted and observe what people were doing. I felt free at the market crowd and this presented me a great opportunity to collect information.

One day, I sat with some traders under the hall roof (*los*) of the marketplace. As I took my note book and pen from my bag and then began to write down what I observed, I felt that some traders were paying attention to my actions. I asked the trader sitting beside me about a few points that I wanted to know about. He was a bit surprised, and reluctant to answer my questions. Some other traders next to him also had the same reaction. They perhaps felt a bit strange about what I was doing and whispered to each other. But, I did not know what they were talking about.

They ignored my questions as a result. Instead, I was bombarded by the traders sitting beside me with a series of questions, such as who was I, why did I ask them, and what were the interviews being made for, where I did come from etc.. They were probably suspicious of me and seemed quite vigilant. I felt a bit uncomfortable with this reaction. I did not interview traders, rather I was being interviewed by them, especially about my identity and the purpose for my presence at the market.

Then, I remembered the social characteristics of the Minangkabau. They are a well-informed community and eager to hear new things. This became the basis of my attitude towards them. I immediately switched to a positive reaction rather than being upset. In addition, I was conscious that I was not a “foreign researcher” coming into the village with only limited ability in the local language which makes the researcher quite different from the local people and who immediately becomes a major focus of attention. This realization led to a conviction that the problem of doubt, curiosity, or suspicious that people exhibited was a result of my unclear identity and status at the marketplaces I visited. They supposed that I did something very different from what they usually do. To attempt an interview seemed a strange action to the people at the Minangkabau marketplace [23]

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[23] Later I realized that the traders assumed I was a journalist who was at the market to write a special report about trade. Rural people responded to the journalist positively and negatively. This response is derived from a minor event. A few years before, a journalist made villagers popular as a result of his report in the newspaper. They were proud of this and it became a hot topic in the village. After a while, many villagers were disappointed with this report, especially with the report writer, namely, the journalist. An informant told me that the news about their agricultural land in a newspaper caused the local government to take a census of the tax on land and buildings (*Pajak Bumi and Bangunan* or *PBB*). Most of villagers were unhappy about this because they had to pay higher taxes more than before.

After frankly informing them of my status and explaining the purpose of my presence at the marketplace, they treated me normally. As a consequence, the interview could then be smoothly carried out. After that, I informed each informant about my business, saying “I am here to do research and I am not a journalist or a government official”. Basically, I wanted to avoid being “researched” by the traders instead of me researching them. There were two main trader responses to my activity. On one hand, some traders were very aware of what I was doing. On the other hand, other traders worked normally, as if there was nothing special about my presence. They basically ignored me.

Based on this experience, I argue: firstly, that an individual’s attitude in the social arena is attached to a certain pattern of behavior. Individuals attribute similar meanings to actions they carry out. These meanings then enable individuals to judge something as proper behavior or not, and as normal or not. What I did, to take notes and to interview the crowd at the marketplace, seemed strange and unusual. But, when I said that I wanted to chat with (*maota*), rather than interview (*wawancara*), traders, they regarded what I was doing as normal.

Secondly, I assumed that the idea of identity is also relevant to discourse in the market context. Individuals presumably pay attention to actions, which are relevant to the market or the social context of where they live. My action as a researcher at the market was not a part of their daily activity. Doing science did not correspond with the habits of market participants. Regardless of my status at the marketplace, market participants noticed what I did there.

Thirdly, social identity in the marketplace means that the market involves all identities from all realms of local society. Other identities, formally relevant outside of the local marketplace are crucial in determining individuals’ actions in the market context.

Concerning the points mentioned above, the market can be seen as a major mechanism for a wider range of social functions. The marketplace, for most Minangkabau, is an arena for expressing their general social position or role in the community. Sellers and buyers engage in trade. At the same time, articulating a mutual help or solidarity relation with a fellow villager is a normal phenomenon of the marketplace. Taking the case of a rural market in China, the forms of greeting and salutation among market visitors indicate a type of social rank that is attached to the market place (Skinner 1964). To some extent, behavior observed at the marketplace suggests other relevant elements of social relationships besides strictly economic ones.

In West Sumatra, most individuals recognize other individuals at the marketplace through their social position in the community. This situation results in people attending the market based on social motivations. For example, people go predominantly not just to buy something, but also to meet friends, relatives or someone else. Thus, they are involved in an activity that does not directly have to do with the selling or buying activities going on. They may just want to watch the hustle and bustle of the marketplace as well as have fun by "window-shopping". In the case of the Javanese market, individuals crowd especially in front of the traditional healer who usually presents an interesting attraction for market visitors (Alexander 1987).

Assuming the local market has this function as the social stage for the Minangkabau, the market is predominantly the place for gathering information, or spreading rumors or exchanging news. In the past, such news and gossip were usually provided by the traveling merchants and artisans (Graves 1971: 185). In this sense, the market is intended as a place of social display, or for establishing social networks. In West Sumatra, friends or sometimes relatives may meet each other at the marketplace. Men usually sit or chat at the traditional coffee shop *(lapau)* and spend their entire day in the market crowd.[24] In the past, disputes over commercial transactions could occur at the Minangkabau marketplaces. There was also a special place for cock fights (Dobbin 1983).

I assume that the empirical situation, taking place at the market place in various societies, predominantly in rural areas, to some extent, is similar. But the meanings of the situations are usually different. These specific meanings have to do with the role of cultural values that form the contents of social interactions. However, the general social and economic functions of the rural marketplace everywhere are similar.[25]

The holding of village markets, unlike in the past, is being re-located to the more suitable places that tend to become relatively permanent markets. The rural markets generally consist of combinations of open areas, simple shelters or stalls, mini-kiosks or mini-shops. The size of the rural market ranges from small to big. The sellers of goods are usually present in large numbers, and the number of visitors usually depends on the size and density of the rural population.[26] The striking picture of markets in West Sumatra today is likely similar to that of the past. Rural markets are still circulating from day to day as a part of a weekly cycle. The place moves from one village to another every day. The participants who crowd the markets

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[24] In another society, a similar pattern is found among the Yoruba people of West Africa, where people can indicate that someone is sick or has a family crisis when he/she does not attend the market. The market is also the best place to look for news of a runaway wife or of any stranger in the area (Hodder 1968).

[25] See, for example, the important study of traders and peasant markets in Minahasa, Indonesia by Mai and Buchholt (1987). In their book they take a similar position that the market places are a central village institution that not only serves the trading function but also has major social and cultural purposes (p.1).

are not just the traveling or long distance traders called *pedagang babelok*[27], who trade according to the market circulation, but also include others who are offering services to buyers or visitors at and around the market place. The routes of private public transportation (small buses) change according to the market location as well.

Finally, the markets in Minangkabau are closely related to the general development process of the Indonesian economy. After independence, the government assumed control over the economic processes going on in all Indonesian regions. Consequently, the development of the rural economy is now dependent on the implementation of Indonesian government policy. In other words, we can see changes in the local economy that are based on how far the local community responds to the various economic policies introduced by the government. Of course, the local community constantly generates strategies that fit with the local situation, that are distinct from the pattern set up by the central government in Jakarta.

2. Rural Markets, Market Actors, the Local Government: A Picture of a Market Tradition among the Minangkabau

2.1. Introduction

To most Indonesians the Minangkabau are famous as an entrepreneur society. This reputation is mainly expressed by the Minangkabau engagement in trade (*galeh*)[28] carried out in and outside of their own region. In addition, the Minangkabau have a tradition of voluntary migration (*merantau*) (Naim 1973). This migration is mostly linked to the Minangkabau involvement in small scale as well as large scale business activities. These Minangkabau migrants are thus well known as traders. Although a large number of Minangkabau traders are not present in all regions of Indonesia, migrant activities that are related to trade give an idea of the closeness of migration to economic motives. In this sense, both migration and the trade are important aspects of Minangkabau social dynamics. Recently, a local tabloid published in Padang city[29], ”Limbago” (1996), presented some life histories of Minangkabau traders, who

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[26] For example, a rural market in Java can occasionally consist of 1,900 sellers, while the inhabitants of the nearby village are fewer than that. Alexander (1987) argued that it is a common picture in rural markets that the crowd sometimes totally overfills the limited area of the marketplace.

[27] *Pedagang* means (petty) trader, and *babelok* derives from two words. *Ba* is a verb and *belok* denotes an action, which means to turn or move around. This term is well known in many areas of the Minangkabau highland (see also Kahn 1980: 115).

[28] *Galeh* (a Minangkabau word) means *dagang* (trade) in an Indonesian word

[29] Padang city is the capital of the West Sumatra province. The current population is 721,500 people. The population of West Sumatra is 4,328,200 inhabitants, who are scattered into eight regencies and six

had migrated to various provinces of Indonesia. This reporting gives a current picture that confirms the deep-rooted involvement of the majority of Minangkabau communities in trade and migration (see, for example, LeBar 1976:12-14).

Mochtar Naim has intensively studied the forms of Minangkabau voluntary migration (*merantau*) (1973). According to him, the Minangkabau are one of the Indonesian ethnic groups with a strong tradition of leaving their own region. In a practical sense, this Minangkabau migration represents the migrants' goals of finding a better material and educational level in life. However, their migration patterns also reflect the pressures of social life in their own *nagari*. Thus, it can be claimed that the voluntary migration is a basic and integral element of Minangkabau social structure (see Naim 1973; Kato 1982).

In relation to the trade activities, it appears that being a trader is the major occupation practiced by Minangkabau migrants (See Abdullah, 1978). However, Naim's and Kato's studies do not provide enough information about the relationship of trade and the migration waves characteristic of the Minangkabau. Their studies, on the one hand, only give us a clue that the migration apparently facilitates trade as the main occupation practiced in frontier regions. On the other hand, that the trade tradition practiced in their own region is the main factor encouraging the Minangkabau to migrate is unfortunately underemphasized.

Thus, I think that an analysis of Minangkabau migration should also take into account the patterns of the trade tradition among the Minangkabau. This means that this trade should not be placed into the category of epiphenomenon of the migration process in general. Secondly, the study of trade patterns can illustrate Minangkabau social dynamics going on in their home region (the Minangkabau world). To a certain extent, what is argued by Radjab, that only by practicing migration can Minangkabau people find a better social and economic life, is perhaps true (Radjab 1969: 35-40). But Pak Ok-Yun stresses mainly the preconditions for migration. This migration is not easily carried out unless the migrant is well prepared financially or educationally (1996: 98). From this point, this is clear that motivations and capabilities for migration and the trade interpenetrate in general. Other factors such as the ecology, location, the demography, the attractions of urban areas or political unrest can also cause migration (Naim 1973; Kato 1982).

In fact, the Minangkabau see trade as an indigenous occupation that is part of their socialization since childhood (Radjab 1950: Limbago 1996). This situation is mostly sustained by the presence of local rural markets in every village in the Minangkabau territory.

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municipalities (Bappeda Propinsi Sumatera Barat 1995: 9). It is also noted that about two million Minangkabau

These rural markets give the Minangkabau the basic experience of calculation in economic situations.[30] The close relationship of social life and the marketplace is thus a main feature of their daily activities. The expression of ”*pai ka balai”* (”to go to the market”) can be often heard in daily speech.

The historical point of view shows that the Minangkabau’s involvement in the market economy was mainly stimulated, firstly, by this deeply rooted quality of the rural market throughout the Minangkabau world, and secondly, by the spread of a money economy under the Dutch colonial power (Abdullah 1972: 211, 1978: 12; Oki 1977: 140-143; Kato 1982: 103-105; Young 1994). Moreover, Abdullah points out that rural markets existed long before the era of large scale economic changes resulting from the anti-tax rebellions in 1908, and that the Minangkabau positively responded to these changes with the encouragement of the rotating market system (1972: 211). The onset of an increasing urban influence on the *nagari* and an expansion of market-oriented production of households was quite obvious (Young 1994: 136-137). The period of rapid penetration of the money economy into the *nagari* began under the Dutch colonial government, and the traditional functioning of the *nagari* as a largely self-sufficient community broke down (Abdullah 1972: 210-211).

The role that the market played in situation above is clear enough (see, for example, Graves 1981: 68ff). I see trade and the market as a crucial outlet that allowed the Minangkabau to survive despite changing circumstances at that time. This adaptive strategy seems to be continuing in the current situation. Most Minangkabau, especially villagers, depend mainly on the market for their livelihood. This dependence on the indigenous economic form, that shapes Minangkabau psychology, is clearly described by Joel S. Kahn with his description of the Minangkabau as ‘*homo economicus’* (1993:37-42).[31]

Thus, it is plausible to see the rural market, to some extent, as articulating social and economic adaptations for the majority of the Minangkabau, especially for those whose

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are now living outside West Sumatra and are described as migrants (Metje 1995: 23)

31 I remember the story of my father’s brother (*pak ete).* When he was a young boy, 55 years ago, he peddled home-made cakes around villages and the local rural market in the Padang Panjang region of West Sumatra. He did it in order to add to his family’s income, mainly dependent on his father’s salary as the low level employee of the colonial Dutch Railroad Company. Since he moved to the Jakarta city after the Independence, he has worked as a navigator instead of as a trader. His experience as a small scale trader in the past has been very useful in forming his attitude to the ongoing changes in the city.

[31] Kahn argues that economic calculation is a significant aspect of the cultural life of the Minangkabau villages. The calculation of profit and loss, the maximization of the former and avoidance of the latter, becomes an end in itself for Minangkabau villagers (Kahn 1993: 39). This argument seems to me to be derived, more or less, from the Adam Smith’s postulate of “*homo economicus”.* Martinelli and Smelser define this postulate as a simplified set of assumptions about human action that is seen as the result of the behavior of isolated individuals, each pursuing his or her own interests and making free and rational choices after having calculated the perspective costs and benefits (Martinelli and Smelser 1990: 2).

livelihood depends directly on the institution of the market. The Minangkabau inclination for trade and the market not only reflects their social heritage, but also the economic pressures on them, especially in the village. The Minangkabau use rural markets as a significant source of income. With this context, the Minangkabau have a strong economic enthusiasm that is marked by developing a wide range of economic goals in every life situation (see, for example, LeBar 1976: 17ff).[32] This fact, of course, leads to the question: what circumstances sustain such economic enthusiasm? If the local economic system, which is represented by local marketplaces, contribute in a major way the trade activities, then we need an understanding of the actors that shape that system. Then, how are such actors and the local market embedded in the larger system?

This chapter will mainly explain the indigenous form of rural markets and market actors. This will be done in order to analyze the patterns of the Minangkabau market tradition. It may help to support my claim that the internal dynamics of trade activities are also the most meaningful aspect of Minangkabau life and underlying the voluntary migration.

2.2. An Indigenous Economic Form: The Rural Market

2.2.1. The Cognition of the Market

2.2.1.1. Terms

The Minangkabau usually describe the market with the terms: *balai, pakan* or *pasa.* In spite of having the same reference, in daily speech, these terms are used interchangeably.

Balai

The traditional Minangkabau meaning of *balai* is a special hall used for meetings in relation to *adat* (customary law) matters. In some books, this term is usually translated as council hall (Kato 1982; Young 1994; Metje 1995). In practical use, this term is often confusing, because the marketplace is also called *balai*. The meaning of the term *balai* (a council hall), as used by many authors is not really correct. The term has a wider meaning in daily use and usually needs an added word to make its meaning clearer. For example, *balai adat.* This combined term accurately refers to a council hall where *adat* leaders (*penghulu*) and *adat* functionaries (*pemangku adat*) usually meet to discuss *adat* problems, and related

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[32] In illustration, wherever we go in Minangkabau territory, we find that almost every house located directly on the side of the street or the road is used as a kiosk or, even, as a shop. Sometimes I wonder, who will buy the goods if every house is used as a kiosk or shop? As a matter of fact, if new kiosks open this will not cause the older ones to fail, even though the competition among these tiny businesses are quite obvious.

social matters, the *nagari*. In contrast, a council hall, which is used to discuss ordinary matters, will be called ***balai pertemuan*.** Therefore, the use of the word *balai* tends to refer to the marketplace instead of referring to the *adat* related council hall.

So far, there is no adequate explanation of the different meanings of the term *balai* and why it sometimes means a marketplace and sometimes a council hall (see Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978; Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971; Hanafiah 1970; Datuk Batuah 1956).[33] Why does the *balai* quite often mean the marketplace rather than the *adat* council hall? There are two emic interpretations of this situation. First, trade activities as well as social festivities usually took place close to the *balai* in the past, especially during the colonial era. In the decade of 1930, especially nearby the Tabek Patah market, social feasts, such as folk games and horse race were taking place on market day. After 1940s these kinds of folk feasts were not taking place, moreover since the independence era up to the present.[34] The area surrounding the *balai* became a place for social encounters among villagers. The social encounters encouraged potential of economic exchange. Henceforth, *balai* has usually referred to a given place where trade takes place. Secondly, the *balai* has always been the orientation point of people's daily activities within the *nagari* because of its location at the center of the *nagari*. This central location invites *nagari* members as well as people from neighboring communities to aggregate there. This aggregation surrounding the *balai* provides a right condition for exchange. These interpretations assume that the market in the Minangkabau context is basically not formed by a given economic system, but mainly by ongoing social activities.

Pakan

The second Minangkabau term that means a marketplace is *pakan.* This term in the *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) is *pekan*.[35] *Pekan* means either a week, or a weekly market. Similarly, *pakan* in the Minangkabau language refers to the rural market. *Pakan* is usually part of the word for a particular day. This becomes used as a name for a certain

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[33] Many Minangkabau authors who explain Minangkabau customs and traditions (see Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978; Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971; Hanafiah 1970; Datuk Batuah 1956) mention the *balai* in varying contexts. In the *nagari* context, it usually refers to the marketplace. Meanwhile in *adat* context, it refers to the council hall. Based on my experience in the field, this term always means the marketplace in both contexts. This reflects a lack of explanations that show the use of this term on the ideal and practical levels.

[34] This information is mainly based on the interview with the head of *adat* council (*KAN*) of the Tabek Patah Nagari, M.Z. Datuk Malano Basa on May 26, 1996.

[35] The use of Indonesian by the Minangkabau can bee seen in the Khaidir Anwar's *Indonesian: The Development and Use of A National Language* (1985: 155-161).

marketplace, sometimes also as a name for a certain area.[36] For example, the *Pakan Sanayan* (literally means the marketplace which is usually opened on Monday), or *Pakan Salasa* (literally means the marketplace which is usually opened on Tuesday).

Pasa

Pasa is another term that is also used by the Minangkabau. This word in Bahasa Indonesia is ***pasar.*** This term is commonly used in the Minangkabau frontier region (*pasisia*), rather than in the Minangkabau heartland region (*darek*). Distinguishing regions of term use also reflects different social identifications among the Minangkabau. Thus, we see that the use of different terms reflects the development of several distinct regional social identities among the Minangkabau (for a theoretical perspective, see Gumperz 1971).

In daily use, these terms are often used in overlapping ways. But, in the case of the Tabek Patah *nagari* of Tanah Datar regency, people indicate a marketplace only with the term ***pakan,*** rather than ***balai.*** However, some other *nagari*s in the vicinity of the Tabek Patah *nagari*, such as Mandahiling, Situmbuk or Tanjung Alam use the term ***balai.***

However, the Tabek Patah villagers also use the terms *balai* or *pasa* for different purposes. They make a distinction between two types of uses. Firstly, they distinguish between *pakan* and *balai,* and secondly between *pakan* and *pasa*. The former terms are used to differentiate between persons from one’s own community and those from other communities. When someone uses the word *balai* to refer the Tabek Patah market, instead of *pakan,* then he or she will be identified as a neighboring villager or as a late comer (*urang datang).* In this context, the various market terms are tools for placing a person in a particular group. The choice of language defines a speech community as a social group, as in the case of the Tengger Javanese community studied by Smith Hefner (1983).

At the same time, the latter term is used to signify the difference between the rural and the urban dimensions. The word *pakan* indicates the marketplaces located in the villages, while the word *pasa* indicates marketplaces located in the city. This second distinction is used to mean any persons who are going to or coming from the city when in reference to the marketplace. If someone is going to the market in the city, he uses the word *pasa*, instead of using *pakan.* If someone who originally comes from Tabek Patah *nagari*, always says *pasa* to refer to the local rural market, then he or she is regarded as being influenced by city ”style” or dialect (*kekota-kotaan).* This second differentiation means that the identification is not only based on a geographical dimension, but also on a behavioral aspect.

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[36] This is similar to the case of Rejang-Lebong, Bengkulu, Indonesia. *Pekan* there means a market that usually

2.2.1.2. Categorizing the Marketplaces: Time and Space Aspects

In many cases, the name of the rural market also reflects the different opening hours. Villagers will categorize a market as a big one, if it is open the whole day, meanwhile it is categorized as small, if it is open only for half of the day (*setengah hari*).[37] Thus, the first market is simply called a *balai,* while the latter is called *balai ambek* (literally meaning the "market that functions to blockade").

The *balai ambek* means a kind of a small market whose trade activities take place in association with the bigger market. Such a market will be visited by traders as well as by customers before shopping at the other bigger markets. In another sense, the *balai ambek* takes place as an initial link in a chain of trading that is connected to the other bigger markets.[38]

The categorization of the marketplace according to size is relative. Not all small markets are referred to as *balai ambek.* For example the Situmbuk, Simpang Dadok, and Lubuak Jantan markets are all referred to by most Tanah Datar society as *balai ambek,* but among these, the Lubuak Jantan market is the biggest one. Its size is the same as the Kandang Juar market, but this latter market is not categorized by the villagers there as a *balai ambek.* In the case of the Sanayan market, this market is as small as the Situmbuk market, that is categorized as *balai ambek*, but the Sanayan market is just called *balai.* In this context, the term of *balai ambek* refers only to the market actors who trade at the two markets on the same day. The first market visited, whatever its size, is called the *balai ambek*, meanwhile the second market visited, also whatever its size, is called the *balai.*

Besides opening hours, as the reference point of market categorization, the market term itself is based on the *nagari*. The *nagari* facilitates the market site. Therefore, the rural markets are commonly called the *nagari* market (or in the local term called the *pasar nagari).* In this sense, the *nagari* not only marks the boundary of the market location, but is also the

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occurs once a week. This word is also used as the name of periodic markets (Galizia and Prodolliet 1995: 97).

[37] Actually, the idea of the whole day does not mean 24-hours. This time is only calculated from early in the morning up to the afternoon or until about at 5.00 p.m. Meanwhile, the half day means that the market opens until midday, or about 12.00 noon.

[38] For example, the Dadok temporary market of the Padang Ganting district is categorized as *balai ambek*. Traders roll out their goods and commodities at this market from early in the morning up to about 10.00 a.m. Then, they move to the bigger market nearby, that is the Kandang Juar market. Another example is that of some traders at the Lubuak Jantan market, in Lintau District, who sell their goods for a while at this marketplace, then they move to another bigger market, the Kumanis market.

institution that owns and organizes the market. The market is part of the *nagari's* assets.[39] Therefore, the market will exist as long as the *nagari* exists. This situation has consequences: firstly, the rural market takes place primarily in the context of the *nagari* political system; secondly, the *nagari* plays a major role in the unification of social and economic purposes in the community. In addition, since the market is located on the *nagari*'s land, the rural market and *nagari* can not be separated institutionally. The long existence of these markets is based on their organization by the *nagari*.[40]

On the other hand, the economic functioning of the *nagari* community will mostly be influenced by its market. Without a market, the *nagari* has a difficulty in raising income. Without it, the distribution of agricultural products will be hampered. This has happened in the case of the Taluak *nagari* of Lintau district, that has not had a market for 7-8 years. At this point, the *nagari* appears to be economically unviable.[41] This situation is completely different to that of the Balai Tangah *nagari*, that is located in the same district. There, the market is still held, and the *nagari* is always busy with lively local economy taking place.

The existence of the market in certain *nagari* apparently encourages the local community to activate their economic resources. In this sense, the market is not just a place for selling and

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[39] According to *adat*, a *nagari* should have some basic facilities. These include road connections, a public bathing place, a meeting council hall (*balai*) and a mosque. This should also have "a light of *nagari*" (*cahayo nagari*) that consists of an *adat* big house *(rumah gadang),* rice barns, gold and silver, rice fields and other agricultural dry fields, livestock (*kabau-jawi)* and fishponds. It should also have "a *nagari* greatness" (*kebesaran nagari)* that consists of some other requirements such as *taratak* (a small settlement), *dusun* (the development of a *taratak* that becomes the bigger one due to the population growth in the *taratak)*, yards and *kampung*, and the communal graveyard. This should have "a fence of the *nagari* "(*paga nagari)* that consists of tools and craftsmen, the vigilance, weapons, social consensus, ditch, friendships, the truth, and the honesty (Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeleoe 1971: 65). Based on governmental regulation of West Sumatra province no.13/1983, paragraph 14, *nagari* properties and assets are :

- forest, rivers, fishpond, pond, lake or sea that is a communal property of *nagari* as long as this not be incompatible with prevailing governmental regulations.
- *Nagari* market, open arena, open meeting place and public yard.
- A *nagari* mosque, *adat* council hall and educational places.
- Moveable and immovable properties that are built by *nagari* members for public use.
- Common public yard, recreation place, sites of historical artifacts and other historical heritages.
- graveyards, mountain and hill, and other riches that are not submitted to village or government (Pemda Sumatera Barat 1983: 21).

[40] As a comparison, according to Uzoigwe, the market in Africa, firstly, must have a defined, physical site either closed or open, where buyers and sellers meet to transact business face to face. Secondly, such a gathering must be authorized by those who hold political power within the polity. Thirdly, the periodicity of such gathering must be predetermined (Uzoigwe 1979: 25).

[41] Above statement is based on argument from one of local informal figures of Taluak *nagari*, Malin Pahlawan (67) who was interviewed on October 28, 1996. He mainly regrets the loss of the Talauak market in the *nagari* without good reasons. He saw signs of the end of the market as, one by one, the traders stopped attending. But he did not know exactly what the cause of it was. He nevertheless assumed that the improvements in local transports that connected districts within Tanah Datar regency might have been the cause which drove traders to visit the more profitable markets.

buying goods, or earning money or an outlet for many agricultural products, but more importantly, it is also the engine of the village social machine.

2.2.2. The Physical Description of Rural Markets

2.2.2.1. The Rural Market Performance

A general picture of the rural markets can be presented in several aspects. Firstly, they are always extremely busy on the market day. In contrast, they are very empty and quiet on the remaining days of the week. It can be imagined like a theater stage on the day of the performance. Secondly, everything at the marketplace seems to be chaotic when the market takes place. At that time, we cannot completely describe the pattern of space use. Thirdly, the market crowd is not a simple reflection of a high consumption demand taking place at the marketplace at that moment. Instead, the crowd is an indicator of how a rural market is very important for sustaining social and economic life beyond the marketplace itself. These aspects reflect the local people's efforts to use every economic chance that is related to the market.

> An example of this picture is the case of the Sungai Tarab market of Sungai Tarab district, located 5 km from the capital city of Batusangkar. This market is quite big and really bustles on market day. For many traders this market is quite profitable in terms of demand for goods and possibilities for doing various types of trading. The strength of trading activities there has led local people to open a variety of other businesses and to set up capital investments. As a result, Sungai Tarab village has become a 'small town' where anything needed by people is available. There we can find several important economic institutions like the government bank and the Co-operative (*koperasi*), motorcycle workshops (*bengkel*), small book shops, shops selling a variety of items *(toko kelontong*), traditional coffee shops (*lapau*), the traditional tailor, and so on. We also find a small local transportation terminal, religious institutions such as a big mosque and some small mosques (*surau).* Educational institutions such as secular schools and religious schools (*madrasah)* are also available. State organizations/bodies such as the district office, and village office are located there. Public services such as a post office, doctors' practices, a blacksmith, restaurants can be found there. (A similar picture can also be seen in other villages where big rural markets take place, like at Simabur, Balai Tangah, Tabek Patah, Buo, and Ombilin markets).

The main building of a marketplace is the big hall (*los*) erected at the center of the trading grounds. This is the center of trading activities. Other trade spaces, under portable canopies, are set up in the surrounding area. The size of the hall indicates the carrying capacity of the market. Therefore, a so-called big market usually has a bigger hall, where a huge number of people can be accommodated. Traders who do not have an official trading space in the big hall are scattered around the hall to sell their goods. The number of these traders is usually larger than those who trade under the main roof. On market day, all corners of the market spaces are occupied by market actors.

Beyond the center of the marketplace, there is a row of small shops (*warung* or *toko*) established to support the general market activities. These shops are open daily and are the private property of local entrepreneurs. Another picture at the marketplace is that of no orderly arrangement of trade spaces. This results in a chaotic use of spaces. Most traders always say that ”where there is a place, there is trade”. They never think about having a registered space based on the articles to be sold. There are no set places where goods are offered. This effects the way people shop. Market customers have to go all around the market and look before finding what they need.

2.2.2.2. Bargaining

Bargaining in the rural market is common (Alexander 1987). Unlike in the modern market where prices of goods are fixed, and no room to bargain is allowed. In the rural market, bargaining, or „higgling and haggling over prices“ is the most important art of buying and selling. This is the first thing that needs to be recognized when we are going to be concerned with the rural market mechanism. So far this indigenous economic strategy, let us say it, is not only trying to achieve an economic aim, but also to reach other goals related to such bargaining. Bargaining is also a game of power enforcement among market actors. Bargaining is a focus of individual interests and reflects social characteristics. One trader at Tabek Patah market said (Azis, 33):

> „People here are very stingy, over less than 50 *rupiah* or 100 *rupiah* they want to bargain until my throat is too dry to talk anymore. But, of course, some others do not like it. In another market, like in Kumanis, people there have a high selling capacity, therefore customers want to bargain if they think the goods offered are too expensive…“

To achieve a certain price, sellers and buyers have their own methods. Goods are relatively considered as expensive or cheap. This depends on who the buyers are. Since some traders define trade as a consensus of individual interests between the buyer and the seller, no goods are considered too expensive or cheap in an absolute sense. If a buyer is interested in an item, no matter how expensive or low the price is, he will buy it without any real bargaining. Bargaining is only a formality.

In general, the strategy to bargain in the rural market is illustrated in the following figure:

- buyer (**b**): How much is it?
- seller (**s**): the price is x rupiah?
- **b**: (bargaining) how about ¼ of x?
- **s**: (bargaining) no, the price can not be lower than x.
- **b**: (asking for the reason) Why ?
- **s**: (giving the reason) possible responses can be: my thing is very good, or it is imported goods, it is a famous brand, or my basic price for this item is not too high, etc..
- **b**: (offers a new bargained price, the tendency is increasing) how about ½ of x?
- **s**: (offers a new bargained price, the tendency is to a decrease) a bit less than x?
- **b**: (showing his interest) how much actually do you want to sell it for?
- **s**: (response to the interest) How about ¾ of x ?
- **b**: (still showing interest) no, I mean ½ of x? Let's say, for how much really do you want to sell it (again)?
- **s**: keeps the previous price.
- **b**: Keeps the bargained price, and goes away (as if just showing he does not need to buy it anymore).
- **s**: (feels he will lose his customer) calls him back, offers an opportunity to resume the bargaining. (Showing his interest) how much do you really want to pay?
- **b**: (showing his interest) keeps to the last bargained price (1/2 of x) .
- **s**: Tries to offer a price between his last bargained price and buyer's last offer. Now the price is between ¾ x and ½ x (or around 2/3) .
- **b**: He suggests a new price that is less than the seller has offered.
- **s**: If the latest price offered by the buyer still allows the seller to make a profit,

he will agree to it, and sell the item to the buyer.

This bargaining process takes time and demands patience of buyers and especially of sellers. A proper bargaining process will end with satisfaction on both side. Buyers have no objection to the price set, and sellers will not have miscalculated. They both benefit from the transaction. One quite often finds that the bargaining process ends with annoyance on the seller's side. After the price is set through a long bargaining process, the buyer then changes his mind and decides not to buy the goods. There is sometimes the buyer who very smart when bargaining. The seller is "forced" by him to agree and sells the goods without making enough profit. Or, there is the buyer who refuses to recognize the current price of articles bargained for. For example, the price of a famous brand pair of shoes, with a relatively high quality, cannot be bargained lower than a certain price, but the buyer always tries to force the price down to the same price as the imitation shoes. On the side of the buyer, annoyance may also occur. Some sellers refuse to bargain at all. This seller always keeps his set price. There are also sellers who do not politely engage in a bargaining process, they always express their anger, and so on.

According to some traders, the set price is usually based on the following formula:

the price = basic capital + benefit

basic capital = buying price + transport fee + daily expenses for food

Prices will change according to current/actual buying and selling situation. Most traders say that, when a buyer is polite (or called *„rancak dan elok"* literally means good and nice manners), they will set a price that is not too much above their basic capital outlay. They call this offering a soft price (*harga lunak).* In contrast, If a buyer displays an impolite attitude, for example is cruel, to enforce his or her interest, the trader will treat this customer with a lack of courtesy and state a high price.

2.3. Market Actors

Looking at the roles of market actors involved in the rural marketplace, it is misleading to assume that the Minangkabau market is merely a place for trading. The marketplaces mainly represent a social arena that is used by many individuals to establish social relationships. It is true that the people engage in economic relations in a social mechanism at the market (Johnson 1995: 164). But, at a deeper level, we can perceive a self-identification process that operates at the marketplace. At the scene of the Minangkabau market, it is not unusual to find a policeman selling chickens to earn additional income, or for an *adat* leader (*penghulu)* working as a middleman. Some of the members of the market administration and a religious teacher sell vegetables. Or, a village head's wife sells coconut, a clan head collects parking fees, and so on. Seen in this context, the social meanings of the economic transactions occur at the marketplace.

What will be the reaction if a seller finds that his buyer is also his *kamanakan* (sister's son);[42] or, if a seller has as a market tax collector his *mintuo* (father's wife); or if a treasurer of the market administration is a sub-lineage member of his wife's village head? What is the reaction of a buyer if he or she knows that a chicken trader is the policeman who is usually on duty at his village, and so on? It is obvious that the kin ties in the rural community cannot be separated from the economic relationships occurring at the marketplace. Thus, the economic transactions at the Minangkabau marketplace mirror the general social forms of the community.

To understand these forms, the various positions of the social actors involved at the marketplace need to be taken into consideration. The questions are, why does a policeman or even a member of the armed forces have to be concerned with the rural market and with how people respond to this combination of roles? Why do *adat* leaders take part in organizing the market? Why do officers of the local governmental office, such as the village head or the district head, have an authority at the market? Why are middlemen still influential or stronger than ever, in a situation where the peasants' household economy is shaky due to the low prices prevailing on agricultural products? Why have 'beggars', on the behalf of particular social or religious charities mushroomed, even though most people know that the "charities" being collected for are partly or totally spurious? And so forth. These practical questions may be answered by an understanding of the market actors involved at the marketplace. Taking mainly the case of the Tabek Patah market, there are at least the following groups of actors involved:

1. Peasants and villagers.
2. Middlemen.
3. Traders.
4. Shopkeepers.

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[42] The relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's sons or daughters (*kamanakan*) represents a central clan relationship in the Minangkabau matrilineal society. The *mamak* (maternal uncle) has a crucial position in the maternal clan dealing with authority, heritage and distribution of communal property (Hamka 1984).

5. Service providers.
6. Local Transport Arrangers (*agen)*.
7. Army and Police.
8. Local Entrepreneurs.
9. Formal 'Beggars'.
10. Market administrators, and tax collectors.
11. Market supervisor.

2.3.1. Peasants and Villagers

Peasants, the majority of Minangkabau villagers, can thus be seen as people whose life is intertwined with the marketplace. This is true because the main market function is to provide an outlet for agricultural products. Through the local market peasants obtain the cash that they need to live. In this sense, Akira Oki stresses that the Minangkabau have been long involved in the market economy or commercialization, since the colonial era in Indonesia (Oki 1977; Manan 1995). As a result, the Minangkabau are quite familiar with the operation of the market principle in the local setting.

This Minangkabau involvement in the market mechanism should be seen from two perspectives. They are the object, but at the same time, they are the subject of the market. The first means that peasants become the main target of the flow of "out-village goods"[43], and the "victim" of the game of price oscillations. Peasants cannot simply market their produce without experiencing the penetration of "inter locality" commodities, and the external forces setting prices. They depend not only on a few powerful local market actors, such as middlemen and distributors of agricultural products, but also on the larger economic system.

On the other hand, fortunately, they have the freedom to sell the products they have, and no external agent determines what they have to cultivate and produce.[44] In this context, the

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[43] This is my own term. It refers to the flow of various commodities produced from various locations or villages that encounter at one marketplace. The flow of commodities occurs because of the role of traveling traders and a number of middlemen who bring commodities from one locality to another. This situation is sustained by a number of villages in Minangkabau that specialize to produce certain agricultural products. This encounter often causes the low demand of similar products that are locally produced. Thus, villagers know some products named with the origin of their villages where they are produced or come from, for example the sugar cane of the Tabek Patah village, or, of the Pato village, the coconut of the Belimbing village, the baskets of the Kandang Malabuang village, and so on.

[44] This was entirely different when Minangkabau peasants experienced the forced delivery system (*Kultuurstelsel)* under Dutch colonial rule from 1847-1908. They were forced to cultivate coffee and other commercial crops to the advantage of international trade. Then they had to deliver the produce at a very low fixed price (Oki 1977: 34-35). They also became a target of the institution of corvee´ labor (Abdullah 1972; Kato 1982).

peasant can be an independent producer. But, this does not provide enough for them to live on, because they have no choice to be dependent on other market actors in order to sell their agricultural products. Freedom, to some extent, should play a significant value in Minangkabau markets. Barger argues that since the market has become an ideology, it stands for a number of different value elements, such as efficiency and equity. However, chief among these values is freedom (Barber 1977: 17-29). Moreover he adds:

> It turns out that freedom has different meanings for different people and that exploring these different meanings can help achieve a better understanding of various institutionalized processes of social exchange (p.17).

It is clear that various types of social and economic exchange do have consequence for the meanings and structures of freedom. Whenever freedom is a value, then, we need to have as good a scientific understanding as we can get of the many forms and consequences of exchange (p. 29).

These factors described above contribute to the successful economic viability in the Minangkabau peasants today. To escape from this trap seems impossible. In the market economy peasants have no power. At the same time, they have to go on living without being able to avoid the local market game.

2.3.2. Middlemen

To a certain extent, peasants may facilitate middlemen or distributors in playing a significant economic role at the local marketplace. The daily transactions are carried out between peasants, who bring their agricultural or other home made products to the market, and middlemen or distributors, who are always present at the marketplace. Middlemen or distributors need the local products for the larger trade chain within and beyond West Sumatra province. Their business depends profoundly on the agricultural harvests. Middlemen or distributors have a minor role in agricultural production itself. But their trade will be heavily influenced by the fluctuation of harvests. But, in fact, they always play a major role dealing with peasants. How do they deal with this situation?

This fluctuation of harvests and the effect on the peasant family, is the basic factor that the middlemen use to arrange a profitable position for themselves. When the harvest of a particular agricultural product is good, this is usually the time to keep the market price down, as a result of the higher flow of that single commodity in the market. In contrast, if the harvest is bad, the shortage of particular commodities results in the middleman being the actor who determines the prices. He keeps the price paid to the peasant low. At this time, all family members are busy earning extra money. This sometimes leaves no time for holding social feasts and almost no time for visiting relatives. Even the family labor (children) is mobilized to work on and off the farm, just to earn cash. This is the time of economic crisis for peasant families. In this situation, middlemen or distributors usually make a profit.

> In the case of the Balai Tangah village, an informant reported that the occasion of a poor harvest is the time that middlemen make a maximum profit. The months of June, July and August are usually a difficult season for peasants because during this time, the rubber price is low.[45] This time is also the most important time when cash is needed, especially for the school expenses of children. Middlemen know that time is very important for villagers in earning money. Villagers will sell any rubber obtained, even if, from the plantation, in order to get cash immediately. In this situation, middlemen will usually keep the price of rubber down. In local terms this situation is called: ”*tasasak hilang harago”* (because of the financial crisis, no thing is valuable anymore).

According to an informant (Supono, 45), the middlemen usually practice a secret strategy for regulating prices. In other words, villagers are kept blind by middlemen about the current price. As a result, the official price, that has been set by government regulations, is not in operation in the local setting. As one informant said:

> ”You knew that every night at 08.00 p.m.,[46] on the radio news, the government announced the list of official prices of various agricultural commodities such as chili, onions, beans, potatoes and so on. But, it has no impact at all in our market. We cannot depend on such information to bargain at the marketplace. Traders have their own calculation of commodity prices posted. Then, we can only privately estimate (*maagak*) a reasonable price for the commodities that we buy...”

The problem of oscillating prices set arbitrarily by middlemen (as well as traders) at the village level, represents the current villagers’ dilemma. On the one hand, they need middlemen to buy their agricultural products as soon as possible. On the other hand, villagers

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[45] The Balai Tangah is one village of 27 villages in Lintau Buo district. This district is one of two districts where the rubber plantation in Tanah Datar regency is located. Another district is Tanjung Emas. The Lintau Buo district is the largest area of the rubber plantation. There, the area of plantation covers 3,062 ha and the production of rubber per year reaches 1,575 ton (Bappeda Tanah Datar 1994). Rubber is thus the main product of peasants in Balai Tangah.

do not like middlemen because they always set the prices to their advantage. At this point, the peasants practice double standards in establishing social relationships with the middlemen. In the social sphere they practice friendly relationships with middlemen, but not in the economic sphere.

2.3.3. Traders

Even the peasants, or in this sense the villagers, face a dilemma in dealing with middlemen, but their need for cash on every market day is very crucial. They need money to buy daily necessities and other items of daily consumption. Seen from this perspective, the traders are very important. Traders play a positive role as the providers of the goods that peasants need along with their arbitrary power to set prices. But, when seen from the traders' perspective, their situation looks unstable. On the one hand, they may be independent in relation to their customers, but on the other hand, they are strongly dependent on the peasants' ability to produce and on peasant income in general. As long as peasants are relatively successful in producing their agricultural commodities, which are then sold out at the marketplace, traders can depend on peasants having high purchasing power. This means that traders have the opportunity to sell as many goods as possible.

The situation can change dramatically when peasants' incomes have tumbled because of a bad season or as a result of being oppressed by middlemen who pay too little for agricultural commodities. This will automatically cripple peasants in their ability to have necessary purchasing power, and result in a low demand for the trader's goods. This situation threatens the traders' business in general.[47] As a result, we often hear traders complaining about the very low purchasing power of peasants. Traders see that the markets are crowded with people but their transactions are minimal to practically non existent.

Those situations above mean that traders neither measure the market form by its size nor its number of visitors, rather by the rate of transactions on the market day. Despite this, they can not show the frequency figures of their transaction rates. They can only give what is called *pacah talua,* which literally means: an egg has broken. This means that, for every day

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[46] The price of a number of agricultural products is broadcast officially following the national news on the Radio of Indonesian Republik (*RRI)* every night.

[47] Taking the case of Minahasa, Indonesia, Mai and Buchholt note that traders in the remotest markets also suffer from a decrease in the purchasing power of villagers, for instance in the case of crop failure or falling prices, especially if they sell consumer goods. In this situation there is usually no possibility for traders to get their investment back. The only option is a cut-back in consumption and self-exploitation (Buchholt and Mai 1994:157).

of trading, traders have particular idea of how much capital should be returned for them to break even. The first transaction in daily trading is regarded a beginning of potential profit. This is called by the same term as indicated above. After this point, they do not calculate the rate of one day's trading, but only say that they have achieved "a broken egg" (*pacah talua*) or that they have a certain sum of profit.

This basic problem of the traders is overcome by the establishment of as many social relationships as possible with customers. In this way, they hope to keep a certain number of the permanent customers.

2.3.4. Shopkeepers

The Shopkeepers have two significant roles. Firstly, in the economic sense, they provide an alternative way for villagers to obtain the goods they need. They sell goods regardless of agricultural seasons, even, by extending credit or using other lending systems. For peasants who have no cash this is very useful. Secondly, in the social sense, some village shops, especially the traditional coffee shop called *lapau*[48], function as places of social interaction. There, most villagers spend much of their time chatting or exchanging information.

Thus, the village shop is one of three general arenas that peasants typically act in. These are the agricultural field, the house and the traditional coffee shop (*lapau*). In the morning, peasants work in their fields, in the evening they return home, and after that, they visit the *lapau* until late at night, and then go home to sleep. The male peasants spend very little time at home. They prefer to relax, after working in the field, at the ***lapau.*** In another account, Errington (1984: 54-55) says that:

> **Every evening from about 4:30 until sundown and evening prayers at about 6:30, the main street and the coffee shop are full of men strolling, sitting, chatting, arguing, regaling and calling out to each other in passing. This daily congregation is the community, at least the male portion of it. (For women, most of the socializing is in and around their houses during the day, and at the mosque or prayer houses during evening. They do not engage in this daily public display perhaps, in part, because they have a secure domestic sphere. The men do not). By this time in the late afternoon the artisans and farmers have finishied their day's work. …Every evening men congregate in the coffee shops to smoke and be seen socializing.**

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[48] The Minangkabau differentiate two kinds of the traditional food shops: 1. The coffee shops that mainly offer various drinks, such as tea, coffee, and soft drinks; and light foods. These coffee shops are called the *lapau*. 2. The food shops that can be specified as local small restaurants. These small restaurants do not only offer drinks and light foods, but also rice and its various spices as their main menu. These small restaurants are called the *lapau nasi.*

Thus, the *lapau* is mainly regarded by villagers as an important social situation. In the *lapau* most villagers (mainly men) spend much time in long chats between friends or with whoever comes in, at the same time drinking coffee and tea or eating, or playing cards or dominos, meanwhile the music from a cassette player plays on. Sitting and chatting in the coffee shop, and spending much time in this pleasant activity, are not unique Minangkabau habits. This pattern of behavior can be found in many other places, even in the developed countries such as Germany.[49] It is interesting to examine the context, the themes of, what people are talking about, and the persons who are engaged in the conversations. Every *lapau* usually has its own regular customers, and also the type of information shared among these visitors is specific.

> In the case of Tabek Patah village, the four *lapau nasi* (the local small restaurant) are mainly regarded as the main places for social encounters. Each shop has different characteristics. First, there is the *lapau nasi* that is usually visited by people up to the 40s in age. They usually talk about the fluctuation of prevailing current prices from various agricultural products at the market place. They also chat about the traditional hobby of the wild boar hunt that is always held once a week. Secondly, there is another similar *lapau nasi* near the intersection of the road heading to Koto Alam village. The customers of this shop are normally the same as at the first *lapau nasi*, but the information that is usually passed on is an exchange of the daily life problems of those who come. At night this *lapau nasi* is transformed into a small "cinema" where the shop owner switches on the international TV channels that can be received by parabola antenna. There is a third *lapau nasi* whose visitors are commonly young people. A TV equipped with parabola antenna is also available in that shop. It is turned on from morning until late at night. Every visitor can watch television while eating or just ordering tea or coffee. Subjects of conversation of the visitors are various opportunities to earn money. This shop is usually visited to find out about information on jobs (*cakak* or *pitih masuk* or *'pitmas'*). At night this shop becomes the meeting place of middlemen who organize the deliveries of agricultural products obtained from the peasants to towns and cities. There is also the fourth *lapau nasi,* situated along the road to Situmbuk village, whose customers are between the ages of

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[49] Germans love to spend much of their time at the bar (*Kneipe*). There they can chat for hours, drinking many glasses of beer, while the music plays on. I see a bar for Germans as a similar social outlet, of course of what is done by the Minangkabau at the *lapau* has some different aims. However, the *lapau* and the *Kneipe* have a similar role in the societies.

> 30 up to 45. There, customers can also watch a television equipped with a parabola antenna. These customers are commonly long distance traders who are killing time in the evening until night after returning from work. They usually play games of dominoes that sometimes involve betting. Some of them just chat or watch television. The information shared is commonly about their job problems and chances of earning more money through their jobs.

By means of these pictures function of the *lapau nasi* (the local small restaurant) we can capture how the villagers in the Minangkabau stay well informed. Their daily activities, what they hope to earn, and their chances to live better are shared in the *lapau nasi*. At these places villagers do not intend to spend a lot of money, but primarily seek information that can have an economic impact on their lives. It is not unusual to find visitors simply drinking a glass of tee or coffee at the *lapau*, but they may sit there for hours. Henceforth, the social function of the *lapau* appears to be set by the people themselves, not by its official function as a place to eat.

It is therefore understandable why every marketplace has a number of *lapau* where villagers establish a special place for chatting, debating, or discussing. At the same time they can enjoy a cup of coffee or tea, meals, or snacks in the shops. Thus, in the meeting, chatting, and exchanging related information about their own community and other topics at the *lapau*s, we can see how the market functions as the bridge institution of local social ties. Thus, Taufik Abdullah (1972) mentions that *lapau* in Minangkabau is also called the "lower social council "(*balai randah).*

2.3.5. Service Providers

Outside of trading activities, some other market actors, who provide a set of services needed by local community, are also important. Public transport drivers, traditional hair cutters and blacksmiths are few of these service providers. The most important of them is the driver.

Villagers, whose village is located far from the market, need a local commuter vehicle that can bring them back and forth to the marketplace. The availability of authorized "village transportation" (*angkutan pedesaan)* legalized by the governmental institution of public transport (*DLLAJR*) does not provide for the connection of all villages by public transportation. This public local transportation only serves the ”wet” routes (*jalur basah*) where many passengers are available. Also, such official routes operate mainly on the good (paved) roads.

As a result, villagers do not even hope that such local transportation will connect their village with the marketplace, or with the district capital and regency capital. The solution to providing needed transportation, especially on the market day, is the illegal local transportation, is called *cigak baruak.* This is a temporary form of transportation that is normally only available on the market days. Vehicles used for commuting are usually intended to carry building materials, livestock, and other things besides passengers. On the market days, such cars are modified into commuter buses. Generally, this transportation is an "emergency local transportation". Villagers only need this vehicle to take them to the market and to return home again (*asal sampai*) each week.

The presence of this local transportation (*cigak baruak*) depends mainly on the availability of persons who can drive. Since the operation of such local transportation is without the permission of the related institution, being a driver of such transportation involves a certain risk. Everybody knows that such transportation is against the traffic laws, but they need this service.

The second type of service provider is the travelling traditional hair cutter (*tukang cukur keliling*). They normally work at an open spot at the marketplace on the fringe of the center market area. Having their haircut by this person at the marketplace is mainly a male practice. If somebody has no special aim to buy something at the marketplace on the market day, he goes to the hair cutter. This is sometimes not the real goal, he just wants to sit. There, he can meet friends or other people, and then spend a long time chatting with them.

The third service provider is the blacksmith. Almost every rural market is facilitated by the presence of this service. A blacksmith almost always goes together with the marketplace. On market day, many peasants want to have their agricultural tools or a particular tool repaired by the blacksmith. The best time to have this done is on market day, besides his time at the market the blacksmith is infrequently available. In contrast, he works as long as the market day lasts.

2.3.6. Local Transport Organizers (*Agen*)

Local transportation is usually provided in co-operation with a local organizer who is called *agen*. His job is to arrange for cars and other vehicles to park at the marketplace, then, to collect fees. A number of local transportation vehicles (*cigak baruak*), that pick up and bring market visitors to and from the market, contribute to the traffic jam around the marketplace. In addition, private cars, buses, motorcycles also crowd the roads on market day, making traffic a problem. Seen in this light, the local transport organizer (*agen*) helps to improve the traffic situation on market day.

These organizers work privately, and independently of formal institutions, and even of the local market administrator. Therefore, it is not strange that the local organizers set the parking fees. Their method of collecting fees from cars, local transport, buses and motorcycles is regarded as against the law, because they have no formal permission to do this from any public institution. But no one interferes with their activities. It is assumed that they have made some arrangement with the local military or police to allow them to perform this task. They treat police officers like a patron, and, in consequence, they "pay" the police money to allow them to collect parking fees.[50] This is regarded as a hidden relationship. Thus, this situation reflects the involvement of broader institutions into the rural market.

2.3.7. Army and Police

Formally, however, no relation exists between the legal security forces, meaning army and the police, and the rural market. Officially, this relationship does not exist. At the individual level, however, relationships, such as the hidden relationships among certain police or army officers and the *agen***,** can develop**.** In a certain context, their position in the larger picture of market activities may be seen to be legitimate.[51] The chaotic situation at the marketplace leads to dangerous and unpredictable events, such as a dispute between traders and customers, violations of traffic laws in relation to vehicles crowded the marketplace, pickpocket activity, and so on. Local "courageous persons" (*orang bagak*) can not adequately protect people in this insecure situation. However, police or army officers are required to do so. This is the basic idea why both national security forces are always present in the market context. The market administrators of a few rural markets in Tanah Datar have developed special relationships with some officers to insure protection. To some extent, the relationship may be defined as a form of patron client relationship.

The consequence is that the market administrator provides compensation. The administrator pays a sum of money to the police on duty. This compensation is usually called by various terms. For example, it is usually called *uang rokok* ('cigarette money') and means a tip. In the case of the Tabek Patah market, such tip-like compensation is called *uang semen*

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[50] This information should be taken with caution. So far, I have not personally confirmed the existence of these secret relationships between police and certain market actors. I have obtained such information from third person who knows that kind of relationships.

(the “cement” money). In the Minangkabau context, such unofficial compensation symbolizes the social reciprocity between the market administration and the police. Both sides need a cooperation with each other. The market administrator needs the police to insure safety at the marketplace. However, the police regards their job at the marketplace as a special duty. They see this duty as extra work. Therefore, the tip is a method to insure that the police are always present at the marketplace when it is open for business.

2.3.8. Local Entrepreneurs

Some of the local businesses have the role of providing trade facilities, such as the big paper umbrellas, bamboo chairs and tables, temporary huts, and also people to carry things (*anak angkat*). Without the provision of such facilities, the trade activities would be hampered. These items are needed mainly by the traders. Most traders need a particular place to display their goods, and canopies to protect the goods from heat or rain. This is necessary, because not all traders can find a space under the big open market hall roof (*los*). As a result, they must use the other available open areas as alternative trading spaces.

Traders also need somebody to carry their goods, packed in a few cartons, to and from their space. This work is done by local porters (*anak angkat*). Most traders have an arrangement with a particular porter to carry their things, and, on the other hand, the porter works for his regular traders. This is a matter of trust between both parties. In practice, many traders let their goods be packed, unloaded, and brought, by the regular porter without watching.

2.3.9. Formal “Beggars”

The presence of beggars is problematic. Beggars are not considered a normal part of the market by many people. Their activities are regarded as disgraceful, socially and religiously by Minangkabaus. In fact, this is an ideal notion that does not match the reality. The lack of economic resources drives certain individuals to choose this way to make money. This is, from a Minangkabau point of view, an undesirable situation. However, beggars cannot be avoided at the marketplace.

A beggar with an ugly appearance and wearing ragged clothes is not often found at the rural market. There, it is more common that someone presents him or herself with a normal appearance with a money can (*celengan uang*) or a portfolio (*map*) carrying the label of a

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[51] The armed forces playing a role at the market is also seen in the region of Rejang-Lebong, Bengkulu Indonesia (see Galizia and Prodolliet 1995: 108-109).

recognized charity. Market visitors who are asked for such donations have conflicting feelings. Firstly, they contribute a sum of money while doubting that the charity is real. Secondly, many people do not like to do this, because they do not believe it to be an act of true charity. The first feeling reflects a religious consideration. They believe that Got knows all behind that activity whether true or not. They only believe that Got will reward them for doing the best thing. The second reflects the vagueness of these “charities”, because nobody knows whether the person collecting for the charity is really representing the institution indicated on the money can or in the portfolio. In the most extreme opinion, somebody who passes a money can on behalf of a religious charity is regarded a cheat. He plays a trick to get someone’s sympathy and money by using a particular institution, usually the religion. The interesting thing is nobody openly tries to prove that the collectors are fraudulent, they just oppose it in their heart. They are afraid of sinning by expressing doubt and usually just decide personally whether they want to give to the “charity” or not.

One trader said (Supono, 45):

> **“All charities are only a trick, therefore I do not want to give any money for that. It is better to give donation directly to the mosque or to other charitable institutions that are well known. They do it because of being ashamed to be a real beggar, and using religion as a mask for such a job.“**

2.3.10. Market Administrators and Tax Collectors

The role of market administration is to organize the marketplace and any other tasks related to the trading activities at the marketplace. Every marketplace has its own administrator. The main duty of the market administrators is to collect the market tax (*beo*). This work is carried out by special workers (*petugas beo*). Thus, traders or market visitors become familiar with the market administrator through this activity. The relationship between traders and the market administrators is commonly limited to this aspect only.

2.3.11. Market Supervisor

The market supervisor is in a different position from that of the market administrator in dealing with the organization of the market. The market supervisor is a member of the *nagari* council who has the responsibility of organizing all the communal properties of *nagari*. One of these properties is the market. Structurally, the market supervisor is over the market administrators. Ordinarily however, he only deals with problems that cannot be solved by the market administrators. The structural relationship between the market administrator and the market supervisor is explained in more detail below.

2.4. The *Nagari* and the Market

2.4.1. The *Nagari*

The *nagari* is defined as an autonomous territorial unit (Josselin de Jong 1952; Abdullah 1966, 1972; Gunawan Mitchel 1969; Oki 1977; Kahn 1980). The specific characteristic is that a *nagari* governs its own territories that consist of several settlement areas. In addition, the *nagari* has own community, system of governance under its own customary law (Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971; Hanafiah 1970; Manan 1995). Because of this strongly autonomous character, the *nagari* is often called ”a village republic”, because the community is geographically discrete, largely endogamous and self-governing (Chadwick 1991: 47).

Traditionally, the *nagari* should posses certain facilities. These include roads for communications, a public bathing place, a council hall, a mosque, and an open field for amusement and sport (Kato, 1982 quoted from Datoe’ Sanggoeno Di Radjo, 1919; see also Hanafiah, 1970). However, the *nagari* can not be separated from main forces that built it. Politically, the *nagari* should reflect a certain political tradition, either of the *Koto Piliang* system or the *Bodi Caniago* system[52]. But, as a matter of fact, many *nagari* combine these both political traditions (Datuk Batuah 1956: 38). As the proverb says:

Pisang sikalek-kalek hutan
Pisang tanbatu nan bagatah,
Bodi-Caniago nyo bukan
Koto-Piliang nyo antah
(The ‘wild’ banana is astringent to the taste
the ‘stone’ banana is sticky to the taste
the *Bodi Caniago* is not,
the *Koto Piliang* is also not)

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[52] Based on the *Tambo* (stories of the old times or traditional Minangkabau history), the *Koto Piliang* political system was established by Datuk Katumanggungan. This system has aristocratic characteristics, where the *nagari* government was centralized in three kings (*Raja*): the Pagaruyung King who is the highest king, the Buo King, second in rank, who was also called the *adat* (customary law) king, and the Sumpur Kudus King who is also called the *ibadat* (religious) king. In contrast the *Bodi Caniago* system, however, has a democratic characteristic. The members of the governmental council are all on a similar level, as expressed in the proverb: *duduk sama rendah, tegak sama tinggi* (by sitting all are low, by standing all are high) (Datuk Batuah 1956; Hanafiah 1970: 29-32; Kato 1982: 35-36).

This proverb describes the use of both political systems by a large number of *nagari*s without strictly defining one of them as the dominant system. The result of the combined use of these two systems is the formation of a new system called *Kelarasan Nan Panjang* (Latief 1993: 17-18). The first (*Koto Piliang*) system represents aristocracy, and the second (*Bodi Caniago*) system is democracy. Socially, the *nagari* consists mainly of different levels and units of matrilineal groupings (Josselin de Jong 1952; Hanafiah 1970; Kato 1982; Manan 1995). These are *suku* (clan), *kaum* (lineage), and *paruik* or *samande* (sub-lineage). These groupings may be divided differently and called by different names in various *nagari*s (see Josselin de Jong 1952; Benda-Beckmann 1979; Kato 1982). Each *nagari* is supposed to have economic resources, such as land, fields and forests, that are inherited and maintained through the matrilineal lineages (Hanafiah 1970: 28).

Every *nagari* in the Minangkabau territory has its own particular *adat* (customary law), that is called *adat selingka nagari* (the *adat* that is only valid within the *nagari*), as expressed in an *adat* proverb (LKAAM Lintau Buo 1996: 2):

lain lubuk lain ikan,
lain padang, lain belalang,
lain nagari lain adatnyo
(different ponds have different fishes,
different fields have different grasshoppers,
Therefore, each *nagari* has its own customary law)

This simply means that different *nagari* have different traditions. This situation influences their specific social rules, regulating various social institutions such as marriage, land ownership, organization of economic resources and the general social characteristics of the *nagari* community. To put it another way, in spite of the fact that the Minangkabau are classified as a single ethnic group, on a deeper level there are various Minangkabau cultural traditions that distinguish one *nagari* from another. They constitute a sub-cultural differentiation among the Minangkabau themselves. As seen from the outside all the Minangkabau are similar, but as seen from inside they are different (Radjab 1969: 12-19). The specific character of each *nagari*, and its own organization of social, political and economic aspects play an important role in shaping the distinctive character of the individual *nagari* communities.

Finally, each *nagari* inherits and maintains three main things. Firstly, because the *nagari* is a territorial unit, it holds land that constitutes its boundaries with the surrounding *nagari* and is seen as ancestral and communal property (*harta pusaka*). Secondly, because of being a distinct social unit, the *nagari* has its own social structure based on matrilineal relationships. Thirdly, because it is an economic unit, the *nagari* has a collection of assets that should provide a source of income that can be used to pay for *nagari* expenditures.

2.4.2. The Market

Considering the position of the market in the *nagari*, it should be placed in the context of the land system. Traditionally, land in the *nagari* is classified into two types: *hutan tinggi* or *pusako tinggi* (uncultivated land) and *hutan randah* or *pusako randah* (cultivated land) (Kato 1982: 55; Manan 1955).

The former is ancestral and communal property (*ulayat*) that was uncultivated in the beginning and then became the property of the initial generation who first settled and cultivated the land and made it the source of the *nagari* livelihood (see also Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971:131). This land was located near to the *nagari* boundary and dominated by old *adat* leaders (*penghulu*). Therefore, the *nagari* community gained the right to cultivate such land by getting permission from the *adat* leaders, but it could not be owned privately. Rights to use this land then would be inherited by the next generation of cultivators with the consent of the *adat* leaders. Such land was intended to serve the economic needs of the *nagari* community (ibid, 132). Uncultivated land can consist of forests, plains, mountains and hills, lakes, swamps, valleys and also rivers.

The latter (cultivated land) could be either derived from a part of the uncultivated land, whose possession has been taken over from the *nagari* by a particular clan, or from a previous generation of a clan that cleared land beyond of the *nagari*. These new fields (*hutan randah*) mainly consist of wet rice fields and dry agricultural fields that were made from the uncultivated land, and then owned by a group of clans. This land then passes down to following generations through four means of access: by pawn (*gadai*), by means of lending and being pledged (*sando*)**,** by sale (*jua*), and as a gift (*hibah*) (Datuk Batuah 1956: 91-92). In another version of access, such land can be the result of inheritance, the golden spade (gold or money), the iron spade (labor), and as a gift (*hibah*) (Manggis Dt. Radjo Panghoeloe 1971:135; Kato 1982: 55).

Kato noted that land is actually only one of the Minangkabau ancestral properties (*harta pusaka*).[53] Land is, however, very crucial in economic terms (Kato 1982: 56). The methods of inheritance of this ancestral communal property have caused many conflicts among clan members. Present land disputes in the *nagari* community mostly take place among relatives in relation to the second land type, *hutan randah* or *pusako randah*.[54]

The land situated in a single *nagari* was initially derived from all ancestral properties belonging to the *nagari*. These are, then, distributed among the members of the *nagari* community. Among the land distributed, there is some land that is always kept by the *nagari* and that cannot be distributed among the *nagari* community. The use of this land is completely under the supervision of the *adat* council in reference to customary law. This type of land is usually used by *nagari* for achieving particular economic purposes, such as the establishment of the marketplace, the development of the *nagari* forest and so on. Use of this land is the generation of *nagari* income.

The use of a piece of land as a marketplace is one of the most important ways of generating *nagari* income besides some other sources of income. Traditionally, some sources of *nagari* income are the forest tax, land tax, market tax, fines, alms (*zakat* or *wakaf*), and *nagari* community members' contributions (Oki 1977; Manan 1995). In another version, various sources of *nagari* income were officially stated and classified:

1. Self-generated income that is derived from *nagari* assets.
2. Financial contribution of *nagari* emigrants (*perantau*).
3. Contributions of local government at the village level.
4. Contribution of local as well as central governments.
5. *Adat* money.
6. Other sources of income that are regarded as lawful.

(LKAAM Lintau Buo 1996:70).

It is clear that the establishment of the marketplace in a *nagari* is only one of the *nagari*'s efforts to generate income.

Looking at the land system, the market usually is located on ancestral communal land. This clearly indicates that the market always belongs to the *nagari*. Therefore, the market will be arranged by the *adat* council, because various beneficial uses take place on *nagari* land, must

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[53] These ancestral properties are divided into livestock (cattle), houses, fishponds, heirlooms and *adat* titles (*gala*).

[54] See Nancy Tanner (1969) in her article on "Disputing and Dispute Settlement Among The Minangkabau of Indonesia".

be based on the consent of the *adat* council. The position of the marketplace in the *nagari* is sustained by the legally binding statement from the governor's regulation of West Sumatra province:

> ”In accordance with the governor's regulation of West Sumatra province no. 103/GSB/1985 the market commission is the only board that carries out the *nagari* market arrangements and at the same time should be responsible in its works to the *adat* council (*KAN*). The market commission has a right of market tax collection that is taken up from rents of shops, kiosks, market hall. The money then should be submitted to *adat* council, after being reduced by 10% from taxes collected for wages” (author's translation).[55]

Thus, every *nagari* has the political right to make the marketplace a major source of steady income for the *nagari*. This may also be the basic goal of *nagari* politics, to make local laws that maximize the income from the marketplace, such as setting the amount of market tax, rents for parts of the market land, etc.[56]

2.4.3. The Position of the Market in *Nagari* Politics

The *nagari* level of government is represented by the role of clan leaders (*penghulu*) who are organized into the *adat* council (*KAN*). In relation to the market, this body represents the uthorized market commission or market board (*komisi pasar*). The board has rights of control over the market activities to the benefit of the *nagari* community.[57]

> In the example of Tabek Patah market, a rice middleman wanted to buy a large number of sacks of rice. He was unable to do so because the local *adat* council did not give him permission. The reason given was that if he was allowed to do this, the *nagari* community would be threatened with a shortage in their rice supply. The rice stock would be insufficient to meet villagers' needs. At the same time the local rice

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[55] *”Dengan Surat Keputusan Gubernur Kepala Daerah Tingkat I Sumatera Barat no. 103/GSB/1985 ditetapkan bahwa yang akan mengelola Pasar Nagari adalah Komisi Pasar yang harus bertanggung jawab kepada Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN). Komisi Pasar memungut sewa pasar, sewa kedai, sewa kios dan los, yang setelah dikurangi 10% sebagai upah pungut, diserahkan kepada Kerapatan Adat Nagari.”*

[56] The case of Roman, North Africa, shows that the periodic market also served as political center where the segmentary clan head or *shaykh* held council with tribal elders and dispensed rulings in cases of personal conflicts (Shaw 1979: 94-95).

[57] In the case of Rejang-Lebong, Bengkulu Indonesia, similarly, the existence of the periodic market obviously depended upon the political role of local leaders, called *pasirah* (Galizia and Predolliet 1995:108).

> harvest was not good enough to satisfy the demand for rice.[58] As a result, the price of rice at the market would be high because of the rice scarcity. By using social persuasion, the *adat* council convinced this middleman of the social problem that would result if the local supply of rice was reduced.

This board has also a full right to set the amount of market tax, to collect it, and then to use the money collected, without necessarily reporting it to the government at the village or district level.

> Taking the case of the Tabek Patah market again, the market commission regulates another particular levy on traders that has a special name of 'development contribution' (*uang pembangunan*) or 'annual fee' (*uang tahunan*). This regulation results in council power over the targets of the tax, the traders. If traders can pay tax, they will be guaranteed the right to occupy their trading space without having to worry that it will be taken over by other traders.

In the capitalist perspective, the market, that is the center of the capitalist system, became a system that determines what will be produced, who will produce it, and how the rewards of the economic process will be distributed (Johnson 1995). In the Minangkabau context, the *nagari* does not perform such functions. The *nagari* is not the agent of a local capitalist class or other economic systems. Rather, the *nagari* is an indigenous institution that has social control over temporary local 'capitalists', a role played by local traders, but mostly by middlemen (*tengkulak*). The middlemen often practice a monopoly over some commodities and quite often set unreasonable prices for them. In this sense, the *nagari* is an objective body that functions to balance the contradictions between rationality and morality between market actors.

The reason why the *nagari* represents the social interest in the economic sphere is because the *nagari* is quite aware of the market's role in the *nagari* community. This represents the important idea of "social embeddedness" in the context of the rural market economy (see Granovetter 1992; Plattner 1989). Therefore, the nature of the rural market depends mainly on how the *nagari*, traders and local community run it together. The market could exist forever or might simply collapse if people would not be interested in operating it. What happens in the market will be linked to the local community. For example, the local market is influenced

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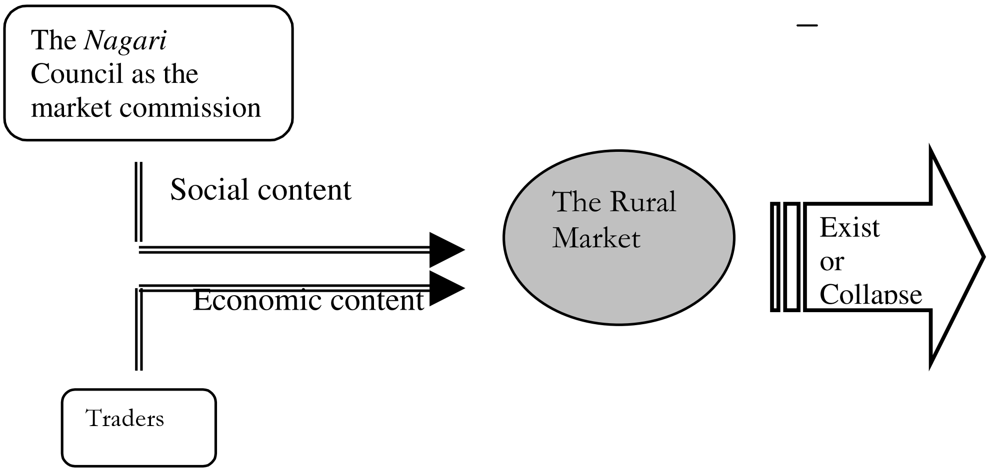
[58] One of the most crucial problems in Tabek Patah village is the shortage of rice production. The rice fields available can not supply enough rice for all the villagers. Therefore, the villagers always have to buy rice, especially on market day. The rice sold at the marketplace has to be supplied from neighboring villages.

by social issues.[59] Every problem that could affect the market's existence will be discussed by the market commission in order to be solved. There is an indication that the *nagari* is a purely local institution that is, to a large degree, in charge of maintaining the market's existence. The market's existence does not merely depend upon its trade activities, but also on the way the *nagari* handles everyday situations at the marketplace.

In the following scheme I try to illustrate the *nagari* strategy of maintaining the market.

Figure 1. The Zone of Interaction in Market



This scheme shows, more or less, how the market is apparently a zone of interaction of two important institutions (the *nagari*, as the market commission; and traders as the main market actor) that have different motivations but similar goals. The process of their encounter determines if the market itself survives or collapses.

2.4.4. Organization of the Market

In 1996, 42 rural markets in Tanah Datar regency existed. In West Sumatra province as a whole no less than 316 rural markets existed in 1990 (van Giffen and Chatra, 1996: 170). This figure indicates that one market takes place for every two *nagari*s, and 543 *nagari*s exist in West Sumatra. Taking a look at the map of the distribution of market locations in the Tanah

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[59] During field research, I observed an event where a woman lost her money at one rural market. The amount was Rp.400,000,-(US$ 200 based on the calculation in 1996). She, and market visitors there, assumed that a pickpocket took her money. She intended to use the money to buy many foodstuffs, for the preparation of the wedding party for her daughter a few days later. To lose her money made her very sad and then she acted like a mad person, loudly crying, screaming and running back and forth at the marketplace. She could not believe or accept what had just happened. This event, then, became a major story for weeks at this market. The negative

Datar Regency, we can see that markets are distributed throughout all *nagari*s. This means that the market is very important in the *luhak nan tuo* community and also indicates that the market economy is already familiar to this community.

Officially, the way of organizing the market in every *nagari* is provided for in government regulations.[60] According to this law, all markets are classified into two main types, namely, type A and type B. The local government regulation, for Tanah Datar Regency, in 1990 included four important elements in relation to the rural markets:

1. Market classification.
2. The market board of administrators.
3. Organization of the market tax.
4. The maintenance of the market sites in terms of order, cleanliness, and security (*ketertiban, kebersihan, keamanan*).

Looking at this regulation, it indicates the integral role of rural markets in governmental matters. It shows that the state interest in this indigenous institution is quite strong.

2.4.5. Market Types

Type A groups together rural markets that belong to a single *nagari*. Each market is arranged by the market administrator (*kepala pasar,* also called *penghulu pasar*). In this matter the administration is lead by a village head. He is appointed because the market is located in the village where he is the head. The market administrator has authority over several persons who occupy particular positions. These are a secretary, a treasurer, some market tax collectors, and one or two persons responsible for the maintenance of the market site. The head of market administration must account for his job to the market commission, which includes the market supervisor under the leadership of the *adat* council. The commission consists of three to five staff members who are also *adat* council members. The term of office of the head of the market commission and the market administrator lasts up to two years. They are appointed and dismissed by the regency government in accordance with previous district's head proposal.

Type B indicates rural markets that are organized by several *nagari*s or by the *nagari* confederation located in the same district. The market head is a village head who is appointed because of the market being located in the village which he leads. The head of the market

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issue spread out to the local community. Since then, the news has spread that this market is not secure for shopping.

commission is a district head. The market head accounts for his job to the district head. The term of office the market head and the head of the market commission is as long as three years.

In this type of market the *adat* council does not directly organize the market, but rather takes a role of a consultative board. This board becomes involved when necessary. It has rights to object, if something wrong takes place in the organization of the market, such as an abuse of the distribution of market tax collected. Implicitly, this type is a systematic method of governmental control over local resources. A market is owned by a group of *nagari*s, but the *adat* councils of these *nagari*s have no direct power to organize their market, because it has been taken over by the government at the district level.

Besides these market types, there is yet another market type (type C). In relation to the research theme this market is excluded from the analysis, because it is classified as the city market. This market is directly controlled by local government at the regency level. Only one market of this type is located in Batusangkar city in Tanah Datar Regency.[61]

2.4.6. Distribution of Market Tax collected

The difference in market types has impact mainly on the job of the market administrator, rather than on the traders, or on the local community. As a matter of fact, traders and the local community are not affected by the differentiation. This market classification mainly affects the way of distribution of the market tax collected, as the regulation states (Based on the Government Regulation of Tanah Datar Regency No.10/1990):

1. From market type A 10 % of the collected tax should be used for the tax collectors fees, the rest (90%) should be thus distributed:
    - 40 % to be used for daily expenditures of the market organization such as administration expenses, fees for the market head, the head and members of market commission, a secretary, a treasurer and other market officers.
    - 20 % to be used for the physical repair of the marketplace.

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[60] The Regulation of Tanah Datar Regency No.10/1990.

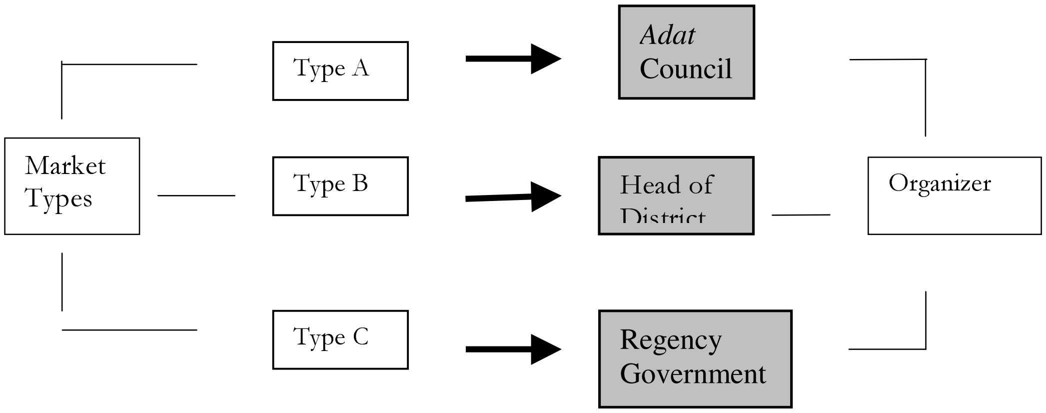
[61] Giffen and Chatra have noted that, beside these types, there are other categories of markets, the village market (*pasar desa*) and governmental market (*pasar inpres*). These markets are classified based on the land ownership of where the market is held (Giffen and Chatra 1996: 171).

- 20 % is submitted to the village office as savings.
- 20 % is submitted to *adat* council as savings.

2. The tax collected from market type B should be used (10 %) for the tax collectors fees, and the rest (90%) should be divided among:

- 40 % to be used for daily expenditure of the market organization such as administration expenses, fees for the market head, the head and members of the market commission, a secretary, a treasurer and other market officers.
- 20 % is used for physical repair of the marketplace
- 20% is submitted to the village office as savings and half of it is used for any kind of activities at the district level.
- 20 % is submitted to *adat* council as savings.

Figure 2. The General Picture of Market Organization in Tanah Datar Regency (Taken from The Government Regulation of Tanah Datar Regency No.10/1990)



2.5. Conclusion

This strong life involvement in trading constitutes another characteristic habit of the Minangkabau, beside the tradition of voluntary migration. This habit of trade is supported by the presence of the marketplace in the local territory, the *nagari*. The position of the marketplace in the local community, therefore, contributes to the indigenous formation of the market. The involvement of the majority of the community supports this formation. They play various roles so that the market can operate overtime.

Taking a look at the strongly interrelated market actors and social structure of the *nagari*, and the integral role of the market in the *nagari* system, we can show how the Minangkabau market tradition derives from the community as a whole. In this sense, the market is parallel to the manifestation of the market as a concrete place, and also as a life orientation, in social, economic and political aspects.

Seen in a broader context, because of its deeply rooted position in the local community, the market attracts not only its own community's involvement, but also that of local government. The local government tries to involve its own interests in the market.

3. The Circulation of Rural Markets: Introducing the Basic Pattern of a Rural Market System

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the basic pattern of the Minangkabau market system, typical in the Tanah Datar Regency. The purpose is to introduce more clearly the market system, that mainly operates in the rural context, as viewed by the main market actor: traders. The main concept applied in this chapter is that of market circulation. This idea is elsewhere expressed by the terms rotating market, periodic market or weekly market (Skinner 1964; Abdullah 1978; Smith and Gormsen 1979; Chandler 1984; Schweizer 1985; Alexander 1987). On the empirical level, these different terms reflect the same phenomena.

Market circulation means that existing markets are continuously held and organized in a round and occurring in a different place from day to day. The idea of market circulation combines spatial and time aspects. Our understanding of any specific market, however, depends on our perspective and on how we treat it. If we define a market as attached to a region, then we observe how markets in terms of rank circulate from the periphery to the center, or the other way around (Skinner 1964). On the other hand, we see that the markets are held at different times, not in different places, as a part of a larger system.

In this chapter, I prefer to use the term market circulation without excluding other similar terms. I do not see any crucial differences among these terms. However, for my case study in Minangkabau, the concept of market circulation is more useful for emphasizing the form of the rural market system. In fact, Minangkabau rural markets not only take place in a framework of a spatial system differentiated by rank, but also take place in a time system. To some extent, rural markets do not necessarily rotate in relation to a particular central market, with the rest of the existing markets seen as peripheral local markets that are dependent on the central market. As a matter of fact, every Minangkabau rural market functions as the market center for nearby markets.

By taking such conditions into account, this chapter seeks to give an understanding of how rural markets in the Minangkabau context have actually been maintained, and continue to be maintained, in Minangkabau social life.

3.2. Formation of Minangkabau Market Circulation

The main factor to observe the market system in Minangkabau contexts is the pattern of market days and places.[62] Days are calculated in reference to a weekly plan, which is used as the basic period for the whole circulation. The places are understood to be different locations where the market takes place at different so-called Minangkabau villages (*nagari*). Both represent the operation of time and space. By using both spatial and time perspectives on the market, the Minangkabau usually name and treat markets differently, as was explained in a previous chapter. Based on these observations, I see the rural market in Minangkabau as constantly being socially constructed, rather than as mainly structured by a larger economic system. Taking the case of the market in central Java, Alexander considers the market to be a cultural construct (Alexander 1987).

Markets should not simply be physically observed, they should also be socially understood. The social identity of the people who are involved in the marketplace are much more at the center of the reality than their physical movements. In this sense, a market is a reflection of the local social system wherever the market is located. In the Minangkabau context, thus, the operation of market system is significantly tied to the actors involved.[63] For this reason, I claim that the integration of Minangkabau local social life with the formation of the rural market is quite significant.[64] Through this assumption, it is understood that the market in Minangkabau context is a kind of social body and reflects local life. Kahn states that, by analyzing the small-scale mode of production of certain commodities in West Sumatra, we gain a picture of the Minangkabau as a type of industrial and commercial society (1980). In this sense, the Minangkabau might be categorized as having the market society as their social system.

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[62] In comparison to weekly markets in the Yemen Arab Republic, Schweizer notes that the network of weekly markets is not only spatial but is also a temporal or spatio-temporal system (1985: 109).

[63] The main market actors are described in Chapter Two.

[64] During the colonial era in Indonesia, especially the first decade of the twentieth century, it was noted that a social economic transformation in *nagari* had been occurring. The *nagari*s' social form was a reflection of a kind of market-economic society (Manan 1995: 49). At that time, rural markets became a focus of international trade in response to the coffee and spice trades (Dobbin 1983:62).

Interestingly, the indigenous commercial and industrial forms do not operate based on pure economic principles alone. Rather, they are influenced by various norms and values that prevail among the actors involved. These actors are generally members of a closely knit kin group.

Friedland and Robertson's argue that some of the most important changes in boundaries, forms and performances of markets are based on the actions of actors who are constrained and enabled by identities, interest, and capacities located outside the market, in states and households (1990: 17). Perhaps their argument may be interpreted this way. Nowadays social structure mainly arises from social interaction that is not just based on common cultural values, but also on individual values that are self-seeking in character. On the conceptual level, Gary Becker argues, as quoted by Friedland and Robertson (1990: 17):

> ”the economic approach now assumes that individuals maximize their utility from basic preferences that do not change rapidly over time and that behavior of different individuals is coordinated by explicit and implicit markets…The economic approach is not restricted to material goods and wants or to markets with monetary transactions, and conceptually does not distinguish between major and minor decisions or between ”emotional” and other decisions. Indeed, the economic approach provides a framework applicable to all human behavior - to all types of decision and to persons from all walks of life”.

This argument depicts the tendency for a redefinition of economic phenomena, that may not be easily understandable, using a pure economic framework, rather than by using a social framework. Many solutions to economic problems are not to be found in economic rules, but are found in prevailing social rules in a given society.

If we consider the Minangkabau social contexts, the above argument might claim that the Minangkabau is the type of society in which a strong orientation to economic interactions are reflected in daily life. As a concrete example, it is not rare to discover that the Minangkabau are very calculation-minded people, but on the level of appearance they do not want to admit this. Rather, they are still pulled by centripetal force of customary law (*adat*). They still worry about having a notorious reputation because of their money orientation. As an informant (a female trader, Mar, 36) at Lubuak Jantan market, expressed it:

”In the past, people put *adat* first, but now money is first. But we do not explicitly say it. However, I still admit that *adat* is the primary thing, I will leave my work, if there is an *adat* invitation made to me, such as for a wedding party, or other kin occasions. I prefer to attend these occasion rather than work. Otherwise, I feel ashamed in my community (*sagan disabuik)*, they could say to me that I always put money first (*pitih nan kamuko).*"

Rural markets, according to my understanding, are more suitable for seeing how Minangkabau life plays between the centrifugal force of economy and centripetal force of *adat*. Generally, the market plays an important role in modernity or as a catalyst of social transformation (see Polanyi 1957; Evers 1996, 1997a). Therefore, it is clear that the rural market and social changes are interconnected.

In addition, rural markets are playing an important role to speed up social recognition of global economy and global culture taking place among the Minangkabau (P & K Sumatera Barat, 1994a, 1994b). This is especially true for rural people who are mostly aware of the term *globalisasi* (globalization) (*Haluan* May 15, 1996).[65] It can be observed that the role of the rural market is to be a mixed place of local, regional and international circulation of consumer products and, in some cases, even of so-called global culture. Moving from this point, questions that can arise: Is the Minangkabau rural market important at the present time? How do rural markets work in the Minangkabau context? In order to be able to answer these questions, it is crucial to consider the form of rural market system that is represented by the structure of market circulation.

The form of rural markets, especially in Tanah Datar Regency, is grouped into several categories, namely, the district divisions, market days, and official market types. This grouping is necessary to identify the different angles of market positioning in the society. Thus, we may understand attitudes of people dealing with the markets in their daily life.

In the case of a trader (Azis, 32), he regards the Atar market as the most important market of his entire traveling trade at different markets, because this market is located in his own village (*nagari*) and in the *kecamatan* (district) where he lives. This view is not characteristic of other traders, like Char (45) who claims that the Batusangkar market is the most important one in his entire traveling trade, because this market is the biggest and offers more opportunity for making profit. For local government, at the district level, the markets that are

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[65] It is not strange anymore to hear the term "*globalisasi*" (globalization) among Minangkabau villagers. This term is used by them on a daily basis. Most villagers seem to be conscious of what is happening in the global situation now, because they always say, using their expression, that "we are living in the globalization era now" (*kini awak hiduik di zaman globalisasi).* This may express the influence of national and international TV, that can be received at home by using parabola antenna so that many villagers see it. Secondly, the Minangkabau might be categorized as a well-informed community. They tend to be curious about the new information and events in other parts of the world. That has been mentioned by the observers of the Minangkabau in the past (Errington 1984: 1-2)

held in the district are valuable, because they are the source of the district's income through the collection of market tax.

These examples of different views of the market in the society give us a clue that actors who are involved in the markets tend to categorize marketplaces from different angles.

The following table shows the number of rural markets held in Tanah Datar Regency. From these figures, the distribution of rural markets within each district and the comparison with numbers of population may be known.

Table 1 District Markets and Population in Tanah Datar Regency

No.	District	Markets	Number of Markets	Number of Nagari	Population Size (1994 Census)
1.	X Koto	Panyalaian,Koto Baru, Pandai Sikek	3	9	40,670
2.	Batipuh	Sumpu Bawah, Kubu Kerambil,Guguak Malalo, Ladang Laweh, Sumpu-Tanjung Barulak, Kamih Congkong,Pitalah	7	12	44,635
3.	Rambatan	Balai Sanayan, Rambatan,Ombilin, Turwan, Balimbing	5	5	38,288
4.	Tanjung Emas *	Tanjung Barulak,Guguk Cino, Saruaso, Kandang Juar, Padang Ganting, Lunggo, Atar	7	6	36,166
5.	Lintau Buo	Lubuk Jantan,Pangian, Balai Tangah, Tigo Jangko, Ranah Batu, Buo	6	9	51,888
6.	Sungayang	Sungayang, Tanjung,Baruah Bukik	3	5	18,787
7.	Sungai Tarab	Rao-Rao, Sungai Tarap, Gurun	3	10	32,222
8.	Pariangan	Simabur	1	6	23,917
9.	Salimpaung	Tabek Patah, Barulak, Tanjung Alam, Situmbuk, Salimpaung, Sumanik	6	8	39,450
10.	Lima Kaum	Batusangkar	1	5	32,635
		Total	42	75	358,658

* Tanjung Emas District has been divided into two districts since 1995. These districts are Tanjung Emas and Padang Ganting. Unfortunately, separate data for these two new districts were not available when the research was conducted.

Source: Bappeda Tanah Datar 1994 and own Data 1996/1997.

This table indicates that the distribution of markets in each district has no relation to the population size, as is always assumed by geographic studies on local markets and central places (Gana 1979: 29-30). In the case of the markets in Nupeland, Nigeria, such a relationship is distorted by the influence of competition from daily markets (Gana 1979: 30). According to the central place perspective, the marketplace is usually established at the center of highly populous areas. This means that the distribution of marketplaces always reflects an increase in population size. In the case of Tanah Datar Regency, this relationship is distorted by social factors. The establishment of the market place is, as stated in a previous chapter, related to the existence of a certain village (*nagari*). No market can play a role mainly as a central place for a broader area. Rather, a market becomes the central place of the village where the market is located. No matter what the population of the *nagari* is, a market may be established there.[66]

Table 2 Market Circulation according to Market Days in each District

No.	Districts	Area Size (Km2)	Market Days (Periodicity)	Number of Market Days
1.	X Koto	152.2	Tuesday, Wednesday, Sunday	3
2.	Batipuh	227.08	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Sunday.	5
3.	Rambatan	129.15	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	6
4.	Tanjung Emas/Padang Ganting	195.55	Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	5
5.	Lintau Buo	264.45	Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday	6
6.	Sungayang	65.45	Monday, Friday	2
7.	Sungai Tarab	71.85	Wednesday, Saturday	2
8.	Pariangan	76.43	Monday	1
9.	Salimpaung	104.02	Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	6
10.	Lima Kaum	50.00	Thursday	1

Source: Bappeda Tanah Datar 1994 and own Data 1996/1997.

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[66] In comparison to the case of he Yemen Arab Republic, the spatial distribution of weekly markets is determined primarily by the distribution of the population and this, in turn, depends upon its agricultural potential (Schweizer 1985: 109).

The table above indicates that a relationship between the size of certain areas and the number of market days is not clearly seen. One might already assume that, the higher the area size is, the greater number of markets and market days would be provided in order to cover the needs of the people who live in the distant and scattered areas. The effect of market days is to distribute economic activities in a regular and equitable way throughout region (Alexander 1987). In the case of Tanah Datar, the relationship is distorted by the uneven distribution of population throughout whole areas, but the general trend is that population size higher in areas closer to the district center.

The total number of existing markets in Tanah Datar regency is 42. These are located throughout the whole area of districts including the villages. These markets can be divided into three official types of markets.[67] Markets of type A make up 29, type B make up 12 and type C is represented by one. The distribution of these various kinds of markets is indicated in the following table:

Table 3 Distribution of Official Markets Types in each District of Tanah Datar Regency

Districts	Number of Market Type A	Numbers of Market Type B	Number of Market Type C
X Koto	3	-	-
Batipuh	3	4	-
Rambatan	4	1	-
Tanjung Emas	2	1	-
Padang Ganting*	4	-	-
Lintau Buo	3	3	-
Sungayang	1	2	-
Sungai Tarab	3	-	-
Pariangan	-	1	-
Salimpaung	6	-	-
Lima Kaum	-	-	1
Total	29	12	1

* The new districts split from Tanjung Emas District

Source: own Data 1996/1997

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[67] See the explanation of these definitions in Chapter Two.

The table above depicts clearly the unequal distribution of market types and it indicates the dominant number of market types A in almost every district. The single example of market type C is apparently unique.[68]

3.3. Characteristics of Research Subjects: Traders

In order to obtain a concrete perspective of market circulation from market actors' angle, and how it works in the local community, two rural markets, the Tabek Patah market (located on Salimpaung district of Tanah Datar) and the Balai Tangah market (located on Lintau district of Tanah Datar) have been chosen as the main samples. For both markets, the traders used as a sample include 199 respondents: 99 in Tabek Patah [69] and 100 in Balai Tangah. They were chosen by using purposive sampling techniques. The composition of respondents based on gender and commodities sold are as follows:

Table 4 Distribution of interviewed Traders based on Gender and Commodity sold

The Tabek Patah Market				The Balai Tangah Market		
No.	Kind of Goods Sold	Male	Fem.	Kind of Goods Sold	Male	Fem.
1.	Daily foodstuff	14	13	Daily foodstuff	9	6
2.	Agricultural Products	11	23	Agricultural Products	14	18
3.	Prepared foods and drinks	5	4	Prepared foods and drinks	1	6
4.	Traditional medicines	0	1	Cosmetics and medicines	2	2
5.	Household Utensils	2	0	Traditional medicines	1	1
6.	Tobacco and Cigarettes	3	0	Household Utensils	2	0
7.	Clothes and textiles	5	3	Shoes and Other Accessories	3	3
8.	Secondhand Clothes and textiles	0	5	Agricultural and Building Tools	1	1
9.	Gold	1	0	Tobacco and Cigarettes	3	0

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[68] This type is actually out of the general type of market dealt with by my observations. It is, in fact, a city market that is located in the heart of Batusangkar city and, at the same time, belongs to the regency level of government. But, in many cases, people regard this city market as a 'rural' market because of its role and rural market style. It is a daily market, but people consider Thursday as market day there. Therefore, this market is not excluded from the larger market circulation of existing rural markets.

[69] The actual number of respondents interviewed in Tabek Patah market is 100 people.

10.	Toys	3	0	Clothes and textiles	5	4
11.	Medicines	0	1	Secondhand Clothes and textiles	0	1
12.	Various mixed articles (kelontong)	1	1	Electronics	1	1
13.	Hand-made plaited materials	1	1	Gold	2	0
14.	Imitation Accessories	1	0	Toys	2	0
15.				Decorative stones (batu akik)	2	0
16.				Spices	1	1
17.				Handicrafts	1	2
18.				Imitation accessories	1	0
19.				Cassettes	1	0
20.				Plastic wares	1	0
21.				Gas lights	1	0
	Amount	47 47.5%	52 52.5 %	Amount	54 54%	46 46%

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The table above indicates a contrast in the traders' gender among those interviewed at the two rural markets. It can be shown that the number of male traders is higher than female traders at the Balai Tangah market. This differs, in contrast, at the Tabek Patah market. If we take the figure obtained at the Balai Tangah market, it seems to contradict the acknowledged general argument that always says female traders are more numerous than male traders. This is still claimed by Giffen and Chatra (1996: 175 -176). In reality, this argument is still possible, that females in the Minangkabau market remain more numerous than males. Moreover it can be argued that they still play an important role in maintaining the household economy in general (Young 1994; Reenen 1990, 1996). Therefore, the economic role of women is recognized as a major feature of the Minangkabau people (Steuers 1960: 43; Metje 1995: 222-224; Reenen 1996: 79-83).

I observed, in the field, that the relative majority of male traders has to do with the kind of commodities they are selling. The number of male traders will tend to increase when the manufactured and consumer goods sold increase at the rural market (see again above Table). Meanwhile, the female traders continue to mainly sell local agricultural products that are used only for daily household consumption (Young 1994: 219). To put it another way, as long as agricultural products are still dominant over the rural commodities at a market, the number of females there to trade such commodities will still be large and thus the female traders will be the majority of traders at that local marketplace.

Table 5 Age and Gender of Respondents at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

	Tabek Patah Market			Balai Tangah Market		
No.	Age Category	Male	Female	Age Category	Male	Female
1.	17 – 33	8	18	19 – 30	20	6
2.	34 – 43	21	15	31 – 42	16	12
3.	44 – 56	8	15	43 – 53	9	15
4.	57 – 70	10	4	54 – 76	9	13
	Amount	47	52	Amount	54	46

Source: own Data 1996/1997

In terms of the age, the traders at Tabek Patah market were 17 to 70 years old, or an average of 41 years old. At the same time, at Balai Tangah market traders were 19 to 76 years old, or an average of 42 years old as indicated in the table above. Therefore, most traders are between the ages of 30 - 50. They are mostly married (75% at Balai Tangah market and 83% at Tabek Patah market) and were married at some time (9% at Balai Tangah market and 7% at Tabek Patah market), meanwhile unmarried traders represent 16% at the Balai Tangah market, and 9% at the Tabek Patah market. Most traders (94% at Balai Tangah and 91% at Tabek Patah markets) have trade as a permanent occupation. On this point, I may say that being a trader is closely linked to the ongoing dynamics of their household economy in general. They are all strongly focusing their livelihood on trading as a main job. Although all traders do not have second jobs, being a peasant as a secondary occupation still shadows their main job. It is showed in the following table that indicates the various kinds of jobs carried out by traders on the side.

Table 6 Second Occupation of Traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Tabek Patah Market n=99			Balai Tangah Market n=100	
No.	Category of Second Jobs	f (%)	Category of Second Jobs	f(%)
1.	Peasant	22.2	Peasant	19
2.	Agricultural laborer	2	Agricultural laborer	4
3.	Housewife	8.1	Housewife	2
4.	Chicken Keeper	1	Government employee	1
5.	Small kiosk keeper	4	Small kiosk keeper	7
6.	Traditional tailor	4	Traditional tailor	1

7	Agricultural laborer and traditional tailor	1	Retired government Employee	1
8	No second jobs	49.5	Retired military	2
9.	Not relevant	8.2	Driver	6
10.			Assistant to public driver	1
11.			Blacksmith	1
12.			No second jobs	50
13.			Not relevant	5
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996

In relation to ages and married status, generally Minangkabau males hold rights to a kind of customary title (*gelar adat)*.[70] As stated in *adat* proverb:

ketek banamo, gadang bagala
(if a man is still young [unmarried], he owns only his name,
but after getting married the customary title (*gelar*) attaches to his name)

This traditional title is inherited through the maternal lineage. When he gains this title it indicates that a Minangkabau man is raising his social status. This customary title reflects high status if someone is inaugurated by his clan as a clan head (*penghulu)*. As a result of marriage, he has full rights to hold a very special customary title and a special social honor. Hence, none is allowed to call such a person by his birth name. He must, thereafter, be addressed by his title. In fact, this traditional title is not only applied in the context of ordinary social life, but also in the market context, although it is somewhat deemphasized.

At the marketplace, traders who hold the *gelar* are addressed by their title by their friends or simply called *datuk*. At least, the use of such a title in the market context depicts the tendency for kin relationships to be recognized at the market. A number of traders at Tabek Patah (3%) and Balai Tangah markets (2%) hold the traditional title (*gelar*), and they are recognized as *adat* leaders (*penghulu*) with trade as their profession.

These kind of *penghulu* traders[71] do not have a special social rank in relation to other ordinary traders. They are socially at the same level. On the contrary, outside of the market situation, they are socially special. They are considered as a “very important person” in *adat* matters. However, commercial transactions taking place between these *penghulu* traders is sometimes special. Their social position may be influential in setting prices, sometimes less

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[70] Kahn states that on marriage, Minangkabau men are given an *adat* title (*gelar adat*), one of a stock of such titles that belong to their *suku* (clan) (Kahn 1993: 141).

expensive, sometimes more expensive. It depends on how the kind of social relationships they have with the buyers. In this context, social status plays a role in economic decision making.

Dealing with their educational backgrounds, it seems to most traders that they do not have a proper level of education. Therefore, it is still hard to say what the positive relationships between being a trader is and having enough education. It is also hard to say that the higher educational background one has, the greater is the possibility to become a trader. In fact, traders in rural markets are mainly people who have a low educational background.

Therefore, I think that the more education someone has had, the less is his/her desire to become a trader. Hence in the Minangkabau context, I would say that education has no strict relationship to trading activity. This is shown in the following table:

Table 7 Educational Background of Traders at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Tabek Patah Market n= 99			Balai Tangah Market n= 100	
No.	Education Category	f (%)	Education Category	f (%)
1.	Elementary school (not finished)	24.2	Elementary school (not finished)	18
2.	Elementary School	28.3	Elementary School	17
3.	Junior High School (not finished)	7.1	Junior High School (not finished)	10
4.	Junior High School	17.2	Junior High School	18
5.	Senior High School (not finished)	12.1	Senior High School (not finished)	14
6.	Senior High School	9.1	Senior High School	20
7.	University/College (not finished)	1	University/College (not finished)	2
8.	University/College	0	University/College	1
9.	No education	1	No education	0
	Amount	100%	Amount	100%

Source: own Data 1996/1997

It is very interesting to observe what low levels of education traders have in comparison with their clever ways of dealing with economic situations. Low levels of formal education do not hamper their economic calculations of market situation. They are very intelligent. They know how to set a proper price to make a profit in uncertain circumstances. Those who are

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[71] I give a trader, who holds a customary title, the same name as the *penghulu trader* to differentiate them both from ordinary traders.

not familiar with the so-called local ”market game”, are shocked to find that the price of commodities can change at any time and in accordance with sellers’ perception and strategy.[72]

> A gold trader at the Tabek Patah market who dropped out of the third class of elementary school provides an example. Even though he has a very low educational background, but he loves his job as a traveling gold trader, traveling from one rural market to another, rather than staying at his family gold shop at the Batusangkar city market. He knows well the seasons of when villagers sell their gold and when they buy gold. Thus, he knows the right time to ‘sell or buy’ gold, in terms of the game of price fluctuation, for the buyers who come to him. His prices are never static. As a result, his knowledge of how to calculate the so-called economic law, i.e. of supply and demand, is apparently perfect.

3.4. The Trader’s Point of View on the Circulation of Markets: Some Basic Reasons

The two main factors that should be taken into account in seeing how far traders are involved in the market circulation are their access to existing markets and their accustomed ways of trading. The first factor can be divided into several points:

- (1) Traders’ homebase,
- (2) the initial occupation of a trade location, and
- (3) the availability of a transportation network.

The second factor is also influenced by several elements:

- (4) Local trade customs,
- (5) the indigenous ideal type of trading, and
- (6) the possibility of making a profit.

3.4.1. Traders’ Homebase

Most traders think that where they live is quite important for deciding which markets should be visited. But, distance is sometimes not the major factor in making a decision. In addition, the certainty of having a trade space at the market visited that can be kept as long as possible also support the decision to visit a certain market. The majority of the 199 traders

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[72] Seller’s strategy, as long as I understand, is sellers’ indigenous knowledge, sometimes traders call it *perasaan* (literally a feeling), that is used to grasp buyers’ performance and attitude when they come to buy, and then, to set a price. For example, if a buyer comes with high style (*parlente*), a trader will set a price higher than usual. But, it is not the fixed formula. It can be a buyer’s low style (*biaso-biaso se*) is an opportunity for traders to set a price higher. In this regard, people call it ‘seller eats buyer’ (*pedagang mamakan pambali*). So far, nobody knows exactly how the fixed seller’s strategy deals with buyers. It is still difficult obviously to understand.

interviewed at Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah markets live in the Tanah Datar Regency, and the rest are scattered throughout 50 Kota, Agam and Solok Regencies, as indicated in the following table:

Table 8 Domicile of Traders at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

	Tabek Patah Market n=99		Balai Tangah Market n=100	
No.	Home	f	Home	f
1.	Tanah Datar Regency	88.9	Tanah Datar Regency	86
2.	50 Kota Regency	8.1	50 Kota Regency	11
3.	Agam Regency	3	Agam Regency	1
4.			Solok Regency	2
	Amount	100%	Amount	100%

Source: own Data, 1996/1997

Considering the traders' places of residence and the preference for visiting certain markets, we see that both contribute to the pattern of market circulation around the area. Traders go around to the markets, located in different districts and villages, on an everyday basis. The distribution of market locations in this context results in the trader's market activities being highly mobile.

The following table shows the existing markets in Tanah Datar Regency and the other regions that are regularly visited by the interviewed traders on a daily basis.

Table 9 The Local Markets visited by the Tabek Patah and the Balai Tangah Market Traders based on Market Days and Regions

Market Days	Regions of Markets Visited					Total
	Tanah Datar Regency	50 Kota Regency	Agam Regency	Sawalunto and Solok Regencies, Padang Panjang municipality	Outside of West Sumatra Province	
Monday	Tabek Patah, Simabur, Sungayang, Balai Tangah,	Payakumbuh	Baso,	Tanjung Ampalu Muaro Paneh		8
Tuesday	Rambatan, Barulak, Tanjung Alam,	Alaban, Mungko Pyk	Koto Tuo,	Talawi, Kumanis,		10

	Lubuak Jantan, Balai Tangah,					
Wednesday	Padang Ganting, Rao-rao, Sungai Tarab, Ombilin, Balai Tangah,	Gadut Payakumbuh, Payakumbuh Kota, Mahat,	Bukittinggi,	Kapur IX, Sawahlunto,	Bangkinang,	12
Thursday	Balai Tangah, Situmbuk, Batusangkar, Tanjung Alam, Simabur	Limanan Pyk	Padang Luar	Kapur IX, Kumanis		9
Friday	Tigo Jangko, Salimpaung, Turawan, Tj. Sungayang, Atar, Balai Tangah,	Piladang, Payakumbuh,	Lawang Bkt,	Talawi, Pd Panjang	Pakan Baru,	12
Saturday	Rao-rao, B.Tangah Balimbing, Barulak, Batusangkar, Simabur, Tabek Patah, Tanjung Bonai, Ranah Batu,.	PuahPyk, Sarilamak, Payakumbu, Dangung-dangung	Bukittinggi, Panco Kubang Putih, Palembayan Bkt,	Sawahlunto, Tanjung Gadang,		18
Sunday	Sumanik, Simabur, Saruaso, Ombilin, Buo, Pangian, Balai Tangah, Pitalah	Payakumbuh, Ibuh Pyk, Piladang	Palembayan, Pincuran Putih, Padang Luar Bkt		Sungai Rumbai	15
Total	42	16	11	12	3	84

Source: own Data 1996/1997

Looking at the table above, we can see that the traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah markets are attending different markets on different days in certain areas of the regencies and municipality, as well as areas outside of West Sumatra Province. It is noted that 42 markets in Tanah Datar Regency, 16 markets in 50 Kota Regency, eight markets in Agam Regency, 11 markets in Sawahlunto and Solok Regencies, one market in Padang Panjang municipality and three markets in another province are all visited once or more times a week by these traders. This indicates that the areas of trading mobility, visited by traders, are cross the borders of home areas. Thus, in a geographic sense, traders experience no significant barriers to access to trade in different areas in West Sumatra Province, and even beyond the province.

It may be said that the practice of long-distance trade all over West Sumatra is quite visible. From the point of view of economic sociology, this seems to support what is argued by Evers and Schrader (1994). They say that traders tend to go out of their own community in order to trade. The main reason they do this is to eliminate financial losses that result from the social obligations that arise when carrying out trade in their own community. Based on the interviews with traders, most think that being a 'stranger' *(urang lain)*[73] in a market is better than being known. As a stranger, they are able to engage in trade without having too many emotional considerations or other tensions in dealing with buyers who are mostly unknown to them.[74] In contrast, traders who are trading in their own home areas, or at least close to their own community, often experience an awkward feeling *(sagan)*[75] especially when setting the prices for some commodities.

3.4.2. The Initial Occupation of a Trade Location

Going beyond one's own community to trade must involve having access to a place for trade (*tampek manggaleh*) at the chosen market. To get a space many methods are practiced by traders. Some traders who attend a market for the first time have to apply to the local market administrator to get a place. Other traders just go directly to the market and occupy any empty

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[73] The opposite of this expression is *awak*: meaning the closeness in social relationships, in terms of either kin relations or close friendship, as an adhesive power.

[74] In the case of Minahasa, Indonesia, the identity of being a stranger is characteristic of the professional traders, rather than the part-time traders. Therefore, they can take considerable economic advantages or afford to push the bargaining deal to the utmost profit maximization without having to face sanctions or any social obligations (Buchholt and Mai 1994:163-165).

[75] The *sagan* feeling is definitely one of the most obvious Minangkabau social characteristics. This feeling is actualized in relation to the avoidance of a bad reputation. The Minangkabau always measure what they want to do with other people in accordance with one of the *adat* principles, *alua jo patuik* (the right and proper line of *adat* rules).

places available. Still others have to contact the local provider of market facilities[76] to request a place.

Some traders take over a space previously belonging to a family member or friends. These types of access also depend on the traders' communication with his or her neighbors, trading close to the place they eventually occupied. There is a kind of informal agreement among traders to watch (*saling mancaliaki*) over the space which is occupied by a familiar trader. By doing so, they make a somewhat personal bond with any traders who occupy spaces. If an unknown trader, let's say a newcomer, occupies an already occupied place, then he or she will receive a kind of warning from the surrounding traders who have recognized the rights of the trader who usually occupies that place.

Traders who go to the market not only offer their goods, get financial benefits, and then return home, but they also must pay attention to conventional rules of the game in order to keep their space at the marketplace. If not, they will lose their trade space at that market. This is because the rural market square has fewer architectural borders and is usually "open air", unlike the city markets where traders are placed in rows of shops or kiosks.[77] For example, under the big roof (*los*) could be the spaces of hundreds of traders. They all sit there side by side, cheek by jowl, without any apparent order. But if we immerse ourselves in the activities to see how they get a place, we notice that they do have an orderly division of spaces. This division of places may be a reflection of the strong ties between traders and with the local market administrator.

The tie between traders and the market administrator is shaped by the traders' rights as guaranteed by the market administrator. A trader can use a small space at the market as long as he or she wants. In return for this, the market administrator charges a special fee. As the head of the market administration of the Tabek Patah market said (Sofyan,34):

> ”If traders need a permanent place for their trading at this market, then they should also give us something on a long term basis, because they use our communal property, the land. Their financial contribution will be used for our communal aims, for our social events."

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[76] Local providers of market facilities are quite important people who, besides the market administrator, give trade spaces to traders. To do that they divide up the whole of the open market square by placing their own bamboo tables and chairs in certain places, which will then be used by traders to display their commodities.

[77] The "open air" market is seemingly general in character and also occurs in the Yemen Arab Republic. There, the rural markets take place on privately owned land. The land is owned by other people and traders have to provide themselves with sheds. The land owner charges rental or market fees on traders (Schweizer 1985:110).

Based on this understanding, in the case of Tabek Patah market, the traders, besides paying a market tax (*beo*) for every market day they are present, also have to pay an annual fee. This is called the permanent place fee (*uang tetapan*). By paying such a fee, a trader has a right to trade in a permanent place, and on the other hand, the market administrator guarantees that this place can not be occupied by another trader. In this case, it reflects a new form of social obligation that is strengthened by an economic compensation. It seems to me that the tendency toward social relationships will be sustainable, when it is cemented by some kind of economic element, rather than being based only on the prevailing social norms.

This permanent place fee is not required by every marketplace. Some other markets do not use this way of assigning places, rather traders among themselves make agreements, like a kind of "neighborhood watch", such as is the case at Balai Tangah, Situmbuk, and Tanjung Alam markets. This means that a trader needs to form close friendships with his neighboring traders. This friendship then becomes a kind of mutual acknowledgment among known traders for their occupied places. If someone has previously occupied a space, means that the place cannot be taken over by others. A new trader who occupies the usual place of a previous trader will be regarded as a trouble maker (*pangacau*). Every trader actually has a right to place his or her goods in the market square. Nevertheless, because of such social commitments among traders, not all traders will be able to put their goods wherever they want. In this case, someone may say that no regularity is working in the arrangement of the marketplace. It just looks like chaos. However, I argue that in such chaos, there is still a regularity, let us say, a regularity in the irregularity.

3.4.3. The Availability of a Transportation Network

Besides the market site factor, transportation networks are also quite significant for traders' access to market location.[78] In Tanah Datar Regency, such networks are based on roads connecting traders' homes with the markets where they do business. Most traders interviewed (80.8% at Tabek Patah market and 65% at Balai Tangah market) use local public transportation to go to and come from the market visited. This availability of transportation networks is also the reason why no traders are fond of staying at the market places or surrounding places after finishing their trade. Ordinarily, they prefer to go back home after

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[78] Similar phenomena can be observed in Rejang-Lebong, Bengkulu, Indonesia. The transportation networks are very important in maintaining the existence of markets. As a consequence, not many markets are held in areas where transportation networks are not available (Galizia and Prodolliet 1995: 104).

finishing trade on a given market day. On the next day, they will travel to another market. This is a typical kind of work rhythm practiced by traders on a daily basis.

Very early in the morning the traders leave their homes to take the small bus heading to the market that is to be visited. In the Tanah Datar region, if we accidentally see person(s), with a few cartons tied with rope, waiting for the public buses, along the side of the road or in the bus terminal in the early morning, then we can identify them as traveling traders (*pedagang babelok*) who are starting their workday. In addition, if we see small buses driving along full of people and with huge pile of the cartons tied to the roof, then we easily recognize the buses as carrying many traveling traders to the market. These scene can be observed every morning and again in the evenings. The main job of the small buses in Tanah Datar Regency is to carry traders back and forth together with their enormous loads of goods. Thus, the availability of this local transportation is very crucial for the traders' mobility.

Since the end of 1980s, the development of public transportation facilities, in Tanah Datar Regency sustained by proper roads connecting all settlements from the city down to the villages, has been tremendous. Since 1995 all the roads, about 1,172 km, have become accessible to all kinds of vehicles. They include 1,385 small buses and plain buses (*oto bis*) and 489 small urban buses (*oto kuniang*) used either as intra-city or rural transports (*angkutan pedesaan*) or intercity transportation *(antar kota*) that are available (Bappeda Tanah Datar 1995: 13,18). Organization of many types and large number of means of public transportation is based at three terminals, located in Piliang Dobok Lima Kaum, Jati, and Guguk Ketitiran. The first terminal is utilized as the center of public transports that connect the routes of inter cities and provinces. The second terminal is used for the transportation connecting only areas in the city of Batusangkar, which is the capital city of Tanah Datar Regency. The last bus terminal is the hub of all local transportation connecting almost all areas in the districts and villages of the Tanah Datar region (Bappeda Tanah Datar 1995: 15). So far, the current means of public transportation in Tanah Datar provide for the high level of access of traders who attend all markets held in and outside of the Tanah Datar region.

3.4.4. Local Trade Custom

Concerning the second factor that drives traders to visit many markets located in places on different days, this might be categorized as something like a traders' internal model of trade being carried out. As already shown, most traders have a habit of going to trade in a circulating pattern rather than staying at a single marketplace. They are accustomed to trade by traveling from one marketplace to other marketplaces, from one day to another. This pattern is usually called *babelok*,[79] and the traders who practice it are called *pedagang babelok* (traveling traders) (Asria 1993). Of the traders interviewed, most prefer this practice as well as other common customs, as shown in the following table:

Table 10 The Type of Trade practiced by Traders at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

	Tabek Patah Market n=99		Balai Tangah Market n= 100	
No	Category of Trade Habits	f(%)	Category of Trade Habits	f(%)
1.	Babelok	84.8	Babelok	70
2.	Not babelok, permanent trade on a single market day	12.2	Not babelok, permanent trade on a single market day	25
3.	Not babelok, occasional trade on a single market day	3	Not babelok, occasional trade on a single market day	2
4.			Daily trade at a single market	2
5.			Door to door trade	1
		100		100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

By looking at the habit of *babelok* trade it can be seen how the market circulation currently takes place. Every market is crowded by traders who not only come from that village, but mostly come from far away places, for this market-day. Every marketplace waits for the arrival of *babelok* traders, because without them the market does not happen. This is very clearly expressed by Mochtar Naim, about the function of city markets in attracting people to migrate in response to the ceaseless daily activities at the market. Meanwhile, in the rural areas, markets were crowded only once or twice a week; the other days were quiet (Naim 1974: 23).

3.4.5. The Indigenous Ideal Type of Trading

If we confirm that the *babelok* habit is a permanent trade preference among traders, then we may also see another tendency. Part of traders interviewed do not want to trade *babelok* for the long time. In so wishing, they consider some limitations that they suffer. The foremost limitation is a physical weakness that would hamper them from doing traveling trade for an extended period. Doing *babelok* requires much physical energy for the travel between home and the marketplace everyday. This is the major factor they usually mention. But I think this

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[79] *Babelok* derives from two words, *ba* is a verb describing a certain action and *belok* denotes an action which means to turn or move around. This term is well known in many areas of the Minangkabau highlands (see also Kahn 1980: 115).

language reflects their desire for their own home (*kampuang*) and its social life. They prefer to stay at home rather than spending time at a stranger's home (*kampuang urang*). In practice, staying at a place where they trade is useful, rather than going back and forth between home and the visited market place. But, they do not do this. It is better to be a stranger (outsider) in the communities when trade and to be an insider of the community where they live. Therefore, I see the close relationship of keeping the habit of traveling trade with the nearness feeling to one's own home (*kampuang*). This is related to Naim's study of migration (1973) and Kato's study of centrifugal society (1977). Minangkabau traveling trade (*babelok*) may be seen as a small idiosyncratic form of this Minangkabau culture. They are migrating (travelling), but still drawn by the centrifugal force of social relationships to the community that they come from.

Table 11 Type of Trade aspired by Traders at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Tabek Patah Market n= 99			Balai Tangah Market n=100	
No.	Category of Ideal trades	f(%)	Category of Ideal Trade	f(%)
1.	To maintain babelok	63.6	To maintain ´babelok	54
2.	To conduct permanent trade at the city market regardless of trade spaces	12.2	To conduct permanent trade in the city market regardless of trade spaces	11
3.	To conduct permanent trade at a kind of shop in the city market	2	To conduct permanent trade at a kind of shop in the city market	1
4.	To do permanent trade at a small shop in the village market	16.2	To do permanent trade at a small shop in the village market	27
5.	To practice trade only on a single market day each week	1	To conduct daily trade regardless of market locations	1
6.	Undecided on type of trade, depends on situation	5	To trade only on a one market day a week	2
			Vendor	2
			Undecided on type of trade, depends on situation	2
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

3.4.6. The Possibility of Making a Profit

By carrying out *babelok,* traders have more possibilities to make a good profit in every market they visit. By anticipating the fluctuation of the market crowd at each marketplace, they calculate their profit. They are very conscious that distinct marketplace can present opportunities for profits. One of the most important factors is the different market crowds present. Traders are very concerned with these crowd differences, related to the various circumstances affecting the buying power of market customers (*kuek mambali*), customer relationships (*langganan*), and the commodities sold (*laku*). To put it another way, losses suffered at one marketplace may be recovered at other marketplaces. Therefore, one strategy they use to avoid lost profits is to charge different prices for commodities sold at various marketplaces. One respondent said (Az, 33):

> ”Usually nobody knows the capital (*pokok*) we have, therefore it is easy for me to set my own prices. According to me, trade is only somewhat of a consensus (*kato jadi*) between a trader and a buyer. If the buyer agrees with the price I set then he or she will buy my things, if he/she does not, that means trade does not happen (*indak jadi*). This is no problem for me at all. However, my principle is to not sell my capital (*tajua pokok*)...”

Table 12 Reasons for *Babelok* Trade given by Traders at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Tabek Patah Market n=99			Balai Tangah Market n=100	
No.	Reason Categories	f(%)	Reason Categories	f(%)
1.	Profitable, because many commodities can be sold	51.5	Profitable, because many commodities can be sold	42
2.	Profitable, because many buyers come	33	Profitable, because many buyers come	32
3.	Not profitable, because of different buying power of customers.	0.4	Not profitable, because of different buying power of customers.	1
4.	Not profitable because *babelok* is a exhausting work	3	Not profitable because *babelok* is a exhausting work	3
5.	Uncertain profit, sometimes loss, sometimes not.	3	Uncertain profit, sometimes loss, sometimes not.	6
6.	Prefer to trade daily	1	Prefer to trade daily	1
7.	Not relevant	8.1	No difference with *babelok*	2
8.			No comment	1
9.			Not relevant	12
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

3.5. Distribution of Markets visited by Traders in one Week

With *babelok,* traders can decide not to trade everyday. They can rather choose the days in the week when they do their main and other jobs, or attend to family occasions and other matters. The decision whether to do a job or not on a certain day, is a highly subjective and conditional decision. There are no strict and official codes that make trade explicitly compulsory for them at certain times, but they are indirectly committed to trade at the markets that they usually attend.[80] It was found that sometimes a few traders will stop work for a single day just to take part in a wild boar hunt (*berburu babi)* together with their friends. Sometimes this hunt is organized by a certain hunt association. This kind of hunt is a famous hobby of the male Minangkabau. It symbolizes togetherness, sport and pride and can be regarded as a quintessentially male activity as well (Errington 1984:147).

In addition, other traders do not work on certain days because they need to be present at a wedding party of one of their family members, or they have been invited to attend the ceremony of building a new house (*upacara managa'an rumah*). Therefore, the personal decision to go or not to the market contributes to the pattern of market circulation in general. The absence of a few traders on a certain day at the market will be immediately noticed by a number of market customers. They will ask about (*sasek batanyo*) the absence of the traders, if they are ill or if something has happened to them. It seems that customers pay special attention to the socially presence of traders at the market. This reflects the social interaction between visitors and traders that is a remarkable aspect of the rural markets.

In the cases above, especially the marketplaces in Tanah Datar Regency, markets are attended arbitrarily by traders. There is no official regulation that obligates traders to visit certain marketplaces. This depends only on the traders own decisions. Or, put it another way, every marketplace regularly visited reflects the traders' own commitment.

The general picture of market circulation is determined by the choices of traders to trade or not to trade each week. Hence, we can observe a tendency for trade and market day oscillation within certain periods of time. If we look from the perspective of a single market day at a certain marketplace, i.e. Tabek Patah market and Balai Tangah market as cases, we see a

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[80] In the section concerned with the villagers' point of view on the market circulation it will be further explained how traders and villagers, in this sense the visitors, have a kind of moral commitment to keep a certain marketplace running. Traders need villagers to be their customers. On the other hand, villagers need traders to come to their market regularly. With this consciousness of interdependent and mutual benefit, they are tied socially. This is quite different in the context of relationships in the so-called capitalistic market, where relations between traders and buyers are very impersonal. It seems that no moral burden must be considered to carry out this trade.

tendency to one single market day as being the major market day of most traders. Meanwhile, on the other days most traders tend to reduce their activities. They all generally avoid trading before and after the main market day of the week. They decrease to two days of trade and then increase the trade again, as shown in the following tables and graphs. The first table and graph are based on the traders' point of view at Tabek Patah market, where Monday is regarded as the main market day. The second table is based on the traders' point of view at Balai Tangah market, where Thursday is the main market day.

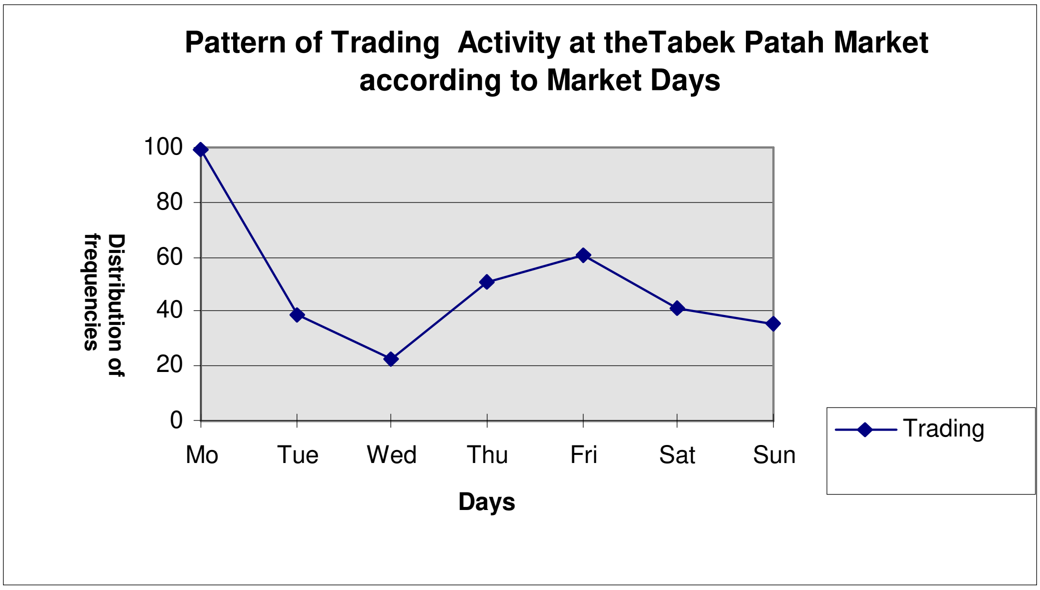
Table 13 Distribution of Trading Activity at the Tabek Patah Market according to Trade Days in one Week

Tabek Patah Market n=99			
Days	Going to Trade f(%)	Not Going to Trade f(%)	Total
Monday	99	1	100
Tuesday	39	61	100
Wednesday	22.2	77.8	100
Thursday	50.5	49.5	100
Friday	60.6	39.4	100
Saturday	41.4	58.6	100
Sunday	35.4	64.6	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

To interpret the table above, see the following graph that gives a clearer picture of patterns of trade oscillation practiced by the traders at Tabek Patah market.

Figure 3. Pattern of Trading Activity at the Tabek Patah Market according to Market Days



The table below indicates the distribution of trade among traders at Balai Tangah market.

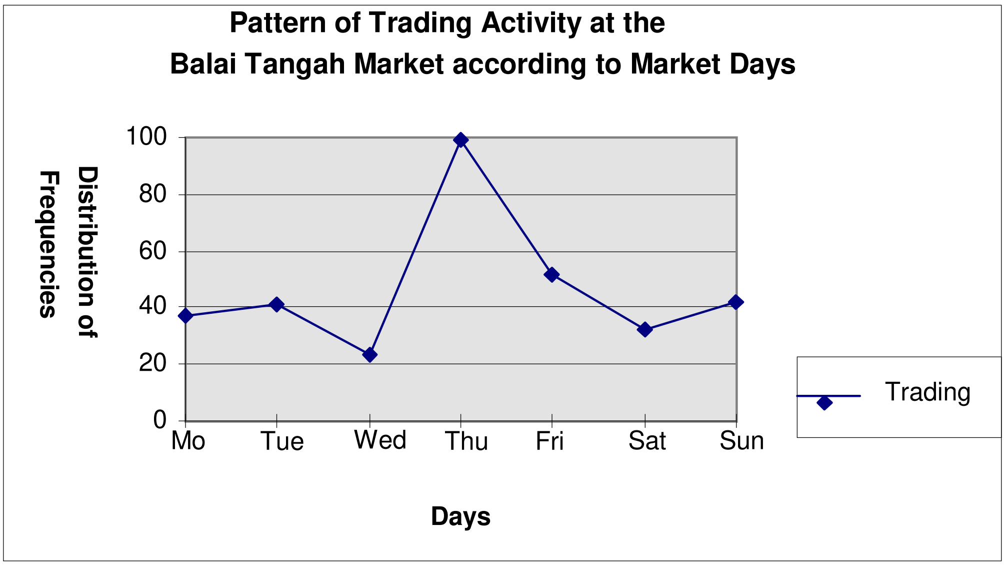
Table 14 Distribution of Trading Activity at the Balai Tangah Market according to Trade Days in one Week

Balai Tangah Market n= 100			
Days	Going to Trade f(%)	Not Going to Trade f(%)	Total
Monday	37	63	100
Tuesday	41	59	100
Wednesday	23	77	100
Thursday	99	1	100
Friday	52	48	100
Saturday	32	68	100
Sunday	42	58	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The graph below gives a clearer picture of the distribution in the table above.

Figure 4 Pattern of Trading Activity at the Balai Tangah Market according to Market Days



As indicated in both of the graphs above, one day each week is treated by traders as the starting point of the market circulation as well as of their traveling trade. Taking a look at the days which follow, we can see the tendency of traders to minimize their trade days. From another perspective, one day before the main trade day, most traders seem to decrease their trading activities. According to traders interviewed at Balai Tangah, Wednesday is regarded as the day not to go trading as was also indicated by the traders interviewed at Tabek Patah market as well. For them, the main trade occasion requires preparation of materials. From both views we may argue that in a time line for trading, the market circulation, to certain point, is created by the traders' fluctuation of their trade days. As the case of the Tabek Patah market shows, Monday is regarded as the main market day, while at the Balai Tangah market it is Thursday.

In following sections the trade distribution at various marketplaces according to market days, indicates more detail about the patterns and rhythms of the movement of traveling traders. Thus, we may see the location of the trade, and the entire market circulation, going on at actual marketplaces.

Table 15 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

The Market day : Monday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Tabek Patah	99	Balai Tangah	1
2.	Daily trade	1	Tabek Patah	3
3.			Sungayang	2
4.			Simabur	2
5.			Payakumbuh*	2
6.			Baso*	4
7.			Muaro Paneh*	1
8.			Tanjung Ampalu*	22
9.			Not Trading	63
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

Observing the table above, Monday is obviously a major market day for traders in the area of Tabek Patah, where 99% of the interviewed traders were engaged in trade, unlike at the Balai Tangah market, where most traders are not going to trade (63%) on the same day. The rest of the traders interviewed at the Balai Tangah market spread out their trading over seven markets. Most of these traders are active at the Tanjung Ampalu market, located outside of Tanah Datar Regency. In fact, on Monday the Tabek Patah market is densely crowded by traders as well as by visitors. This market is regarded as the biggest *nagari* market in the Salimpaung district, and the most famous marketplace where the palm sugar, produced by Tabek Patah villagers, is auctioned. This marketplace is also the distribution center for a number of agricultural products, such as tomatoes, red chili, bananas, and cinnamon.

As indicated in the table below, Tuesday, for traders at Tabek Patah (61.6%) and Balai Tangah (59%) markets, does not seem to be a major market day. These traders mostly take a break from trade then. The rest of the traders either trade at other relative big markets that happen to be located outside of the Tanah Datar Regency, namely, the Talawi and Kumanis markets, or visit other relatively small markets, such as the one at Tanjung Alam, Barulak or Lubuak Jantan. The preference for attending other big markets located in Tanah Datar Regency, such as the Rambatan and Balai Tangah markets, is obviously low.

Table 16 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

The Market day : Tuesday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1	Barulak	5.1	Balai Tangah	1
2	Kumanis *	7.1	Kumanis *	28
3.	Rambatan	8.1	Alaban *	6
4.	Talawi *	13.1	Talawi *	2
5.	Koto Tuo *	1	Lubuk Jantan	3
6.	Tanjung Alam	1	Mungko *	1
7.	Daily trade	3	Not trading	59
8.	Not trading	61.6		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: Own Data, 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

For traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah market, Wednesday seems to be another significant trading day. They prefer to go to Sungai Tarab and Rao-rao markets to trade. Both markets are located in the area of Tanah Datar Regency, especially in the Sungai Tarab district, and are also well known as the oldest rural markets in West Sumatra. Sungai Tarab was founded in the early 19th century, while Rao-rao was built in 1700 (Giffen and Chatra 1990). During the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, these markets were among the most important rural markets which played role in turning the wheel of rural economy in Minangkabau areas (Graves 1971; Oki 1977). For most traders, these markets are easily accessible because of their location on the main road connecting the areas of Bukittinggi, Batusangkar and Payakumbuh cities.

Table 17 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

The Market day: Wednesday

No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Bukittinggi *	1	Balai Tangah	1
2.	Padang Ganting	3	Padang Ganting	6
3.	Gadut *	1	Gadut *	13
4.	Sungai Tarab	36.4	Sungai Tarab	1
5.	Rao-rao	26.3	Rao-rao	1
6.	Payakumbuh *	1	Payakumbuh *	1

7.	Kapur IX *	1	Not trading	77
8.	Sawahlunto *	2		
9.	Bangkinang *	1		
10.	Ombilin	1		
11.	Mahat *	1		
12.	Daily trade	3		
13.	Not trading	22.3		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: Own Data, 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

The most interesting figure in the table above is the distribution of traders who trade at markets located in few areas that encompass other Minangkabau Highland region and outside of the province. Some markets are situated in the city such as those in Bukittinggi (*Luhak Agam*), Payakumbuh (*Luhak 50 Kota*), Sawahlunto and Bangkinang (Riau province) markets. These markets are attended by interviewed traders. In addition, some interviewed traders visit the market where the major market day is on Thursday. It is important to scrutinize, the main reasons given by traders at the Tabek Patah market for visiting various markets on Wednesday. The reasons given are easy accessibility (11.1%), high number of customers (14.1%), close to traders' own residence (26.3%) and good possibility for selling complete stock of goods (14.1%).

Table 18 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Market day : Thursday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Balai Tangah	3	Balai Tangah	98
2.	Kapur IX *	1	Kumanis *	1
3.	Situmbuk	6.2	Not trading	1
4.	Batusangkar	28.3		
5.	Tanjung Alam	7.1		
6.	Simabur	1		
7.	Padang Luar Bkt *	1		
8.	Limanan Pyk *	1		
9.	Daily trade	2		
10.	Not trading	49.5		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: Own Data, 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

Thursday is the paramount market day at the Balai Tangah market (Nagari Balai Tangah 1980: 21). Regardless of the particular reasons given by traders for going there, this market is well known as the biggest rural market in Tanah Datar Regency. Compared to the city market in Batusangkar, the Balai Tangah market is, let us say, the second largest market in the Regency.[81] Although rural and city markets are not comparable, but I mention it here as the majority of people in Tanah Datar Regency themselves mention it. In contrast, traders at the Tabek Patah market mostly attend the Batusangkar market on Thursday, rather than trading at the Balai Tangah market.

Considering the size and carrying capacity, the Balai Tangah market is considered as a highly profitable market to visit according to traders as well as customers. For buyers, the Balai Tangah market provides daily needs up to consumer goods. Regardless of the fake consumer brands tendency, it is not rare to find many nationally or internationally famous brands of goods. Famous brand shoes, clothing, jeans, and electronic goods are sold at the rural markets, for example "Neckermann" sandals, "Adidas" shoes, "Sony" radios and tape recorders, "Levi's" jeans, "Crocodile" T-Shirts and so on. Thus, it is interesting to observe, that rural people apparently know which goods are in fashion and which are out of fashion. Of course, it is unavoidable that villagers are becoming accustomed to the influence of global products in this sense. The effect of global products acquisition is identified by the use of famous brands as the main current social concern, especially by the young villagers.

Along with the authentic goods sold, we can also find their cheaper copies, for example "Nekerman" sandals, or the "Suny" radios and tape recorders, or "Adios" shoes. The fake brands are usually indicated by the slight difference of few letters of the original name. Most rural people can discuss whether the brand goods bought are original or not in accordance with their perspective, even though they have no proper instrument or enough knowledge to measure authenticity or lack of it. They develop a kind of local knowledge to identify whether certain goods are original or fake. In this regard, it is quite common among villagers to be concerned with using famous products in daily life. Moreover they are involved in a kind of

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[81] One of my informants, (Zul, 34), claims that the Balai Tangah market is like a 'sister' of Batusangkar city market. Although, he could not indicate the exact size of this market, he knows exactly that this market is bigger in terms of its crowd as well as its site than other rural markets. In allegory, then he tried to definite it by using the term 'a sister' in comparison to the Batusangkar market. I think that this is an interesting expression that indicates the closeness of the Minangkabau matrilineal notion with the market notion. He did not use the word ' a brother', but 'a sister' in this regard.

consumer culture consciousness.[82] Therefore, they are quite familiar with the role of "symbolic capital" through manipulating things bought and sold at the marketplace.

Table 19 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

The Market day : Friday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Salimpaung	35.4	Salimpaung	1
2.	Piladang *	8.2	Piladang *	6
3.	Padang Panjang *	2	Payakumbuh *	1
4.	Talawi *	3	Talawi *	1
5.	Tigo Jangko	2	Tigo Jangko	23
6.	Atar	2	Atar	6
7.	Tanjung Sungayang	2	Balai Tangah	1
8.	Lawang Bkt *	1	Daily trade	13
9.	Turawan	1	Not trading	48
10.	Pakan Baru *	1		
11.	Daily trade	3		
12.	Not trading	39.4		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: Own Data, 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

On Friday, traders who usually trade at the Tabek Patah market mostly move to the Salimpaung market, while traders at Balai Tangah market move to the Tigo Jangko market. The Salimpaung market is located about four kilometers from Tabek Patah market on the main road connecting Bukittinggi, Payakumbuh and Batusangkar cities. This road also connects four other markets, the Sungai Tarab, the Rao-rao, the Tabek Patah and the Tanjung Alam. The Tigo Jangko market is located about six km from the Balai Tangah market on the main road that connects Payakumbuh and Sijunjung cities. The strategic position of both markets offers enough access for traders to attend.

On the other side, Friday is the Moslem holy day in terms of the activity of compulsory prayer. This day also influences the activity at the market. At the Tigo Jangko market people (male and female) are flooding the market before the prayer time, and after the prayer time the marketplace is less crowded. In contrast, at the Salimpaung market mostly males are crowding

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[82] These hints have been explained by Solvay Gerke's study of lifestyle in Indonesia, especially in her attention to Minangkabau society (1995).

the marketplace after prayer time, meanwhile female are before the prayer time. Therefore, the traders are very busy taking care of customers at those times.

Table 20 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

The Market day : Saturday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Rao-rao	17.2	Balai Tangah	1
2.	Tanjung Barulak	4	Tanjung Barulak	1
3.	Tanjung Gadang swl *	1	Tanjung Gadang swl *	3
4.	Sawahlunto *	1	Sarilamak pyk *	2
5.	Bukittinggi *	3	Tanjung Bonai	2
6.	Ponco Kubang Putih *	1	Ranah Batu	1
7.	Batusangkar	2	Dangung-dangung *	2
8.	Simabur	1	Payakumbuh *	1
9.	Tabek Patah	1	Daily trade	19
10.	Palembayan *	1	Not trading	68
11.	Puah pyk *	1		
12.	Balimbing	5.2		
13.	Daily trade	3		
14.	Not trading	58.6		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data, 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

Like on Wednesday, it seems that on Saturday many marketplaces are not visited by large numbers of traders. Most traders obviously do not prefer to trade on Saturday (58.6% of Tabek Patah traders and 68% of Balai Tangah traders). While the most of traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah market mostly visit the Rao-rao market (*balai satu*), interestingly, the small number of traders interviewed at the Balai Tangah market scatter to visit a number of markets. This indicates that Saturday is not the preferred day for trading. However, in the districts of Lima Kaum, Sungai Tarab, and Salimpaung, the Rao-rao market is the large enough market taking place on Saturday. In addition, this market is highly accessible and one of the centers of cinnamon trading.

Table 21 Market Circulation as constituted by Traders' Activities at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Markets

Market day : Sunday				
No.	Tabek Patah n = 99		Balai Tangah n = 100	
	Markets	f(%)	Markets	f(%)
1.	Payakumbuh *	1	Payakumbuh *	2
2.	Sumanik	22.3	Balai Tangah	1
3.	Ombilin	1	Buo	36
4.	Pincuran Putih *	1	Ibuh pyk *	2
5.	Padang luar *	1	Pangian	1
6.	Saruaso	1	Not trading	58
7.	Palembayan *	1		
8.	Simabur	1		
9.	Sungai Rambai *	1		
10.	Piladang *	1		
11.	Pitalah *	1		
12.	Daily trade	3		
13.	Not trading	64.7		
	Amount	100	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997
* = Markets located outside of Tanah Datar Regency

Like on Saturday, Sunday is obviously not the peak time for trading. Among the rural markets, only the Sumanik and Buo markets are apparently flooded by traders. Most traders prefer to interrupt their activity on Sunday.

3.6. Reasons for Maintaining the Market Circulation

By generalizing about the distribution of market circulation shown above, we see that there are rational reasons for traders to visit certain markets on certain days in the week. These are:

If the location of markets is easily reached and relatively nearby the traders' residence.

Markets visited should have many customers flooding into the market.

1. Therefore, the possibility to make considerable profit is high.

Taking the case of traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah market, why traders select a market for the main market day, is indicated in the following table:

Table 22 Reasons for Going to Trade on the Market Day at the Tabek Patah Market

No.	Reasons	f (%)
1.	The location of the market is easily reached	19.2

2.	Amount of market visitors is reasonably high	28.3
3.	The market is located near home	26.3
4.	High possibility to sell all goods	14.1
5.	Can trade together with relatives	2
6.	Possibility to buy other goods	1
7.	Only at this market is a place available	6.1
8.	The market is very familiar	2
9	Not relevant	1
	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

At the same time traders at the Balai Tangah market gave the reasons indicated below:

Table 23 Reasons for Going to Trade on the Market Day at the Balai Tangah Market

No.	Reasons	f (%)
1.	The location of the market is easily reached	10
2.	Amount of market visitors is reasonably high	29
3.	The market is located near home	30
4.	High possibility of selling all goods/ to make a good profit	10
5.	The market tax is reasonable	1
6.	A place available is only at this market	3
7.	The market is very familiar	4
8.	To take over a family member's trade space	1
9.	Considering limits of physical strength and availability of own capital	5
10.	Market considered lucky	1
11.	Has parents' permission	1
12.	Small number of competitors	3
13.	Not relevant	2
	Amount	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

Although markets in most *nagari*s can be attended once a week, traders conceptualize them geographically as a coherent market system by connecting them in terms of all opening days and the nature of their attendance. Therefore, traders are more likely to see each market as being held weekly, rather than daily.[83] In another sense, they prefer to maintain the tradition of holding the rural market on a weekly basis, rather than support the current tendency for markets to be held as a result of State influence through the establishment of the governmental market or *pasar Inpres*.[84]

A trader (Yus, 36) argues:

”At each market in different villages, the traders who come are commonly similar. If a rural market is opened every day who will trade at that market? Because those traders go to different markets to trade…”

A trader (Gus, 28) argues:

”If a rural market is opened on a daily basis, not many visitors will come to it…”

A trader (Herman, 34) argues:

”Not all villagers have similar purchasing power. Therefore, in villages it is hard to say if people will shop everyday. Each market has different visitors. Thus I like to go around to different markets…”

In general terms, there are some good reasons why rural markets are opened one day each week and circulate to different villages and most interviewed traders like to keep operating in this way.

Table 24 Reasons for Market Circulation according to Traders at the Tabek Patah Market

No.	Reasons	f (%)
1.	The same open day will prevent traders from trading at different markets, or, traders have a chance to go around to different markets	16.2
2.	There is different purchasing power among visitors at each market	6.1
3.	If the market day is the same, the market will have fewer visitors, because villagers do not shop every day.	17.2
4.	The circulation market is a tradition.	29.3
5.	If the market is opened everyday, villagers will have a difficulty in selling their produce.	2
6.	By trading at different markets at different villages, traders help to provide daily needs for entire villages.	4
7.	Every market has been established at different villages or districts, and opened on a particular day, since in the past.	11.1

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[83] In the case of Rejang-lebong, Bengkulu, Indonesia, Galizia and Prodolliet argue that the traders are actually the main market actors who determine the establishment of market days and markets (Galizia and Prodolliet 1995: 104).

[84] This kind of market is not basically a new form of market in terms of its activities. Rather it is regarded as different from other rural markets in terms of who built it, and how it is then arranged. The *pasar Inpres* is not necessarily erected at the new location, rather it is a kind of renovation of a certain older market. This market is mostly conceptualized as a political intention of the government to sustain a better form of traditional market by providing money. This is called *Inpres* (stands for *Instruksi Presiden* or The Presiden’s Instruction)**.** Therefore, if a new market is built or an old market is renovated, using this governmental financial support, then those markets can be called the *Inpres* market. Then, such markets are usually arranged by governmental office at the district and Regency level (Giffen and Chatra 1996: 172)

8.	Respondents do not know the reason	14.1
	Total	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The table above clearly indicates three main reasons why the market circulation is maintained. First, economically, market circulation helps traders to intensify their trade. In turn, this helps traders to increase profit. Losses suffered at one market can be recovered at other markets. Also, if all the rural markets would be held on the same day, then traders would have great difficulties, because they could not have several chances to make a profit. They could not trade at several markets with varying condition.

Secondly, traders have a view that if all existing markets are held at the same time, then each market would have fewer visitors, because local people do not seem to shop every day. Local people have limited money and tend to have low purchasing power.

Thirdly, socially, the market circulation is regarded as a reflection of a long-standing tradition in the local economy. Hence, traders prefer to take it for granted and integrate their form of trade into it.

On these points, I argue that it is one answer to the question why traveling trade (*babelok*) and the market circulation is practiced and maintained by the Minangbakau traders. These can also show the major role of the market in the community.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explained the formation of the rural market circulation and shown how the actors' involvement is very crucial in maintaining this market system. The traders activities, and the traders' ways of using the marketplace for economic purposes as well as a social forum, contribute to maintain the position of the rural market as an integral part of the Minangkabau world.

According to the market actors' point of view, the rural market and how it operates can not be separated from the rationality of daily life and life as a member of the Minangkabau ethnic group. Thus, the role of market in economic activity reflects the arrangement of ordinary social life, which can not be far removed from the social ties within the actors' community.

Thus, the important actors (traders) interact in their roles as an economic man and as a member of the community to support the operation of the market in the Minangkabau context.

4. The Performance of Transactions: The Social and Marketing Networks among Traders

4.1. Introduction

Relationships among social actors are not primarily a product of aggregated exchanges, rather they are structured by social activities as a whole and tied in a complex of social networks (Wellman and Berkowitz 1988: 222). In the context of the market economy, one important role of networks is not only to shape an operation of markets, but also to intertwine market actors with the local community where the markets operate (Swedberg 1994: 269-270). In other words, the operation of markets depends on larger social networks beyond the markets themselves. Thus, functional relations between the markets and larger communities reflect the embeddedness of the economic system in the social system (Polanyi 1957; Granovetter 1992). In this regard, the pattern of social relationships among market actors themselves corresponds to patterns of social actions of the community in general.

Concerning the social system, networks play a role of social governance in establishing or maintaining social relationships between individuals in terms of market purposes or other aims. For this reason, networks serve as a form of "social glue" that binds individuals together in coherent behaviors (Powel and Smith-Doerr 1994: 369). In the Minangkabau context, networks are usually included in the study of kin relationships (see Naim 1973; Kato 1980, 1982; Kahn 1976; Reenen 1996; Manan 1995). The kin relationships reflect, in one sense, intertwined lines of social relationships among members of families, lineage or clan. In another word, the kin relationships are the basis of "Minangkabau networks".

That network, resulting from the kin relationships, is based on the spirit of "familism" (*kekeluargaan*) and "ethnicism" (*kesukuan*) cannot be in doubt. These spirits are translated into various observable matters, such as, relationships between migrants (*urang rantau*) and villagers of origin (*urang kampuang*)[85], neighborhood relationships, the communal organization of economic resources (*ikatan-ikatan keluarga*) and so on. Beyond the explanation of these concrete aspects of Minangkabau networks, however, the economic motives that underlie the network cannot be denied. What is at further issue is that many writers on the Minangkabau have not paid sustained attention to how the so-called "Minangkabau network" has shaped the structure of market life. One consequence is that we

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[85] These relationships are usually manifested by remittances (*kiriman pitih*) sent by migrants to their family members in their own village (Reenen 1990; 1996), or, by establishment of *nagari* associations (*ikatan-ikatan keluarga*) in frontier areas (*rantau*) that bridge home people and migrants (LKAAM Lintau Buo 1996). In many cases, most Minangkabau will seek out their relatives or their countrymen when migrating for the sake of protection, obtaining a job, financial help and so on.

are not able to understand the nature of the kin network's role, direct and indirect, which is important in forming market actors' dispositions to trade, for example.

Referring to the notion of the market as a social structure, a market may represent a concrete form of social relationships through the reproduction of signaling and communication among market actors (Swedberg 1994: 268). In conjunction with this argument, it is assumed that the market system and the actors involved, along with prevailing social norms and values, contribute to the formation of the network in the market context. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to try to enrich our understanding of networks that are mostly established by market actors under circumstances of transactions and other trading activities.

4.2. Meanings of Social Relationships for the Establishment of Network

4.2.1. Types

Social relationships cannot be separated from their meanings that more or less underline networks in the trade context. These meanings are, however, chosen in relation to various objectives set by market actors when establishing and perpetuating networks. These meanings are as follows:

1. *Hubungan sakampuang* (a fellow villager meaning for relationships). This meaning suggests that when market actors seek initial partners at the marketplaces located outside of their village of origin, they will usually choose fellow villagers as the potential closest partners. For this reason, traders usually share the same feeling of fate as "a foreigner" *(urang asing*) with fellow villagers at places they meet. This shared fate, then, encourages, on a certain level, a certain intensity of relationships. To establish their relationships on a meaningful basis, traders, in many cases also migrants, express their social ties in the form of trader associations in frontier areas (*ikatan pedagang di rantau*) (Limbago 1996).
2. *Hubungan biasa* (a habitual meaning for relationships). This meaning emerges under conditions where traders are tied by common relationships of exchanges. Based on this meaning, a network is usually maintained as long as the goals and the profits, potentially resulting from such relationships, are successfully reached. The small case of a cloth trader at the Tabek Patah market illustrates this: A cloth trader, who comes from Kumango Village in Tanah Datar, usually obtains his goods from a few wholesalers (*grosir*) known to him at the city market of Bukittinggi or Padang. With these related *grosir* he establishes a lasting and mutual trading network based on

buying and selling of cloth and textiles. Therefore, it is not necessary for him to buy goods from any other *grosir*. This trader considers his exchange relationships and ties with these usual wholesalers are real but temporary in nature. In addition, he only has contact with these *grosir* when he buys goods from them.

3. *Hubungan induk samang - anak galeh* (a stratified definition of relationship). This definition can be interpreted as referring to a specific basis of marketing relationships that involves traders and goods producers in so-called patron and client ties. These ties are established on a functional basis and used to transform the market for goods or services into a desired profit for the actors involved. Traders function directly as the retailers of the producer's goods and they sell these goods at various marketplaces in accordance with a prevailing market circulation. The producers, on the one hand, function to guarantee the provisions of goods (sometimes also money), supplied on every market day, for these traders. Through such a partnership, the producers can sustain their production process, and on the other hand, the traders can perpetuate their job. For example, at the Tabek Patah market, a few sellers retail chickens supplied by a poultry breeder. The breeder then regularly supplies each seller with up to 50 chickens on every market day. He sets a basic price for each chicken, but the actual selling price at the market is set by the sellers themselves. In this situation, the breeder assumes the position of *induak samang* (the patron), and the sellers play a role as *anak galeh* (the client). Both the chicken supplier and the sellers are involved in a reciprocal relationship (*hubungan saling membutuhkan*) based on the marketing of goods.

In agricultural activities, a similar relationship, defined in the same way, also often occurs. Peasants are able to maintain their activities throughout every planting season, although they lack the money (capital) for the provision of some major things needed for a successful crop. In this case, peasants try to find someone who can provide some capital. A capital provider can be anyone with money, but not every peasant can be a capital borrower. The factors of trust and honesty come into play. Both trust and honesty are derived and controlled by sentiments based on religion, kinship and by ethnic factors.

For example, a local tailor (*penjahit)* and his wife's younger brother are involved in an agricultural business based on the reciprocal feeling (*perasaan saling membutuhkan*) of their affinal relationship and on economic goals. In this business, the local tailor takes the position as the capital provider (*induak samang)* and his wife's brother as the receiver of capital (*anak ladang*). Their business network is depicted in the following story:

Af (42) is a local tailor (*penjahit*) at the village of Tabek Patah. He occupies a small kiosk (9 m²) as his place of work. The kiosk is just located 10 meters from the big roof (*los*) of the Tabek Patah marketplace. This means that his kiosk is located at the center of the marketplace. To do his job, he uses two sewing machines and one hemming machine. For the profit sewing shirts and trousers, he is able to save a bit of money. The savings, according to him, will be invested in some agricultural business. The purpose of this is to increase his income and achieve a better level of life for his nuclear family.

To raise a crop by himself, he has no skill or time, and especially, he lacks a piece of land for cultivating cash crops (as a married man, he lives in his wife's village in accordance with the matrilocal residence pattern). Therefore, he needs a business partner who can cultivate a field using his money (capital). He thinks that it is better to give a loan to a familiar person than to a stranger. Through choosing a familiar person, firstly, he can have control over the use of the capital he lends. Secondly, he can easily discuss a potential profit or a profit margin with someone who he is used to working with.

Supported by his wife, he decided to choose her brother (Bujang, 31) and provide capital to him. In this business arrangement, Bujang is Af's capital receiver (*anak ladang*) and the land used for the cultivation is owned by Bujang. They decided to grow tomatoes. The cultivation was begun with the planting of 6,000 tomato seedlings. If the tomato seedlings would produce successfully, each seedling would yield six kilograms of fresh tomatoes. That meant that 6,000 seedlings could produce altogether 36 tons of tomatoes.

During the growing season, Af did not give Bujang the cash all at once. Rather he gave him the capital in terms of the requirements of the cultivation process at each stage. Bujang indicated what was needed, then Af would give the money. After the first half of the cultivation period, Af had spent about Rp.400,000,-, used for buying fertilizer, insecticide, and some other equipment.

Af estimated that the capital provided up to harvesting would be about Rp.500,000,-. In reality, the sum could have been more than his estimation. It depends on problems that may arise during cultivation, such as a sickness called "the death of young tomato plants" (*mati bayuang*), or heavy rains or other plant diseases etc. If the harvest would go well, and the market price of tomatoes would be good (the reasonable market price of each kilogram of tomatoes is Rp.900), Af estimated that he would make a good profit. Based on the discussion between them the profit, after the operational costs were subtracted, would be divided into two shares: 50 % would be for himself, and 50% for Bujang.

As long as the crop was growing, Af and Bujang were constantly engaged in the exchange of information. Af always asked Bujang how the tomatoes were doing. He also asked about the problems connected with the work in the field. On the other hand, Bujang spent considerable time, when he had no more work to do in the field, at Af's tailor kiosk just to inform him of the situation in the field or just chatting. As far as Af was concerned, his business network with his brother's wife mainly reflected his closeness to his wife's lineage. He was very convinced about providing the capital to his brother's wife, because he had absolute trust in Bujang. This feeling could guarantee a successful business partnership. The trust-based collaboration would strengthen his affinal relationship with his wife's lineage at the same time. (At the time of the research, their tomato cultivation was not finished. There was still about two and half months to go to harvest, but were the prospects for a successful crop good)

4. *Hubungan dunsanak*[86] (Kin meaning of relationships). This meaning usually defines the majority of social relationships among the Minangkabau. In the market context, this meaning comes into play to strengthen personal ties and positive emotions among market actors involved in a trading network. By using this shared meaning, traders can control unfair trade competition between fellow traders.

Example 1:

A cosmetics trader at the Tabek Patah market trades together with a son of his mother from her second husband (*dunsanak lain ayah*). They collaborate on selling articles. Therefore, it is not necessary for them to compete with each other when retailing similar types of goods.

Example 2:

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[86] The term *dunsanak* is a general term of reference without specifying a kinship tie. This term is used either in the context of affinal or in consanguinal kin relationships. Someone who has been linked by means of these kin relationships will be said to be *dunsanak* (a relative). In fact, this term is also applied as a term of address in daily situations without emphasizing whether someone is related by affinal or consanguinal ties. A close friend can be addressed with *dunsanak* (sometimes just *sanak*). In order to avoid formal relations, this terms is also used to address persons involved in the relationships. To some extent, this term is also expressed as a kind of politeness, when someone wants to address an unfamiliar person or someone newly met.

> Another case is a trader of salted fish (*ikan asin*) who trades together with his daughter and his daughter's husband (*sumando*). They occupy trade spaces close to each other at the same marketplaces. His daughter and his daughter's husband sell a similar type of goods as he does. As far as their trade activities are concerned, he tries to avoid as much as possible any impression of collaborative price setting with them to customers. He tries to make it clear that their kin relationships have nothing to do with the oscillating prices of their goods.
>
> Example 3:
>
> Another case is a shoe and sandal trader who sells these goods together with his younger brother. His brother sells related and complementary goods, such as shoestrings, socks, shoe polish, etc. If a buyer wants to buy shoestrings, he just recommends the buyer to go to his brother who trades beside him.

The trading networks created by most traders refer to these relationship meanings as the basis of their formation. These meanings become crucial, when they come into play of a mechanism of control within any ongoing network. Specific goals of an established network, such as reduction of competition, or a better supply of goods, etc. can be achieved when traders can take these meanings into consideration. Hence, functional aspects of the meaning of relationships and the business network are common.

4.2.2. Moral, Reciprocal and Islamic Notions behind established Networks

The sustained factors that also shape networks are the moral rule of "*sagan manyagani*" (literally meaning an "awkward feeling") and the mechanism of *mambaleh* (reciprocity). Relations of both can be delineated as follows: When a Minangkabau has received a valued gift or present, or help from relatives or friends or anyone else, then he/she should have the feeling that he/she must repay it in the future. This feeling, in turn, makes the person uncomfortable if he/she has not yet reciprocated the favor. These factors, at least, are an inherent part of the Minangkabau culture. As an *adat* proverb states: *adaik diisi, limbago dituang* (the custom should be followed, and the institution should be referred to). This means that every Minangkabau's behavior must be according to tradition as stated philosophically in customary law. This custom is also believed by the Minangkabau to be a reflection of Islamic norms; *"berbuat baik kepada sesama manusia"* (to be kind and respectful to other human beings). This principle persuades Muslims to repay every kindness received from other human beings.[87]

In this regard, it is misleading to perceive that both indigenous custom and Islamic norms are paradoxically practiced by the Minangkabau (Abdullah 1978; Hamka 1984; Metje 1995). The Minangkabau always use their customary law (*adat*) and Islamic norms in complementary ways. These ways are expressed in few *adat* proverbs. First, "*syaraik mangato adaik mamakai* (the religion says, the custom does). Secondly, *"adaik basandi syaraik, syaraik basandi Kitabullah* (the custom is based on the religion, the religion is based on the Koran). And thirdly, "*syaraik mandaki, adaik manurun"* (religion goes up to the hill, custom goes down).

Some applications of Minangkabau *adat* are, however, regarded not suitable to the prevailing Islamic norms that should be the primary reference of proper behavior. For example, based on Islamic norms, a person should try to gain from every endeavor "a sincerely religious feeling" (*takwa).* In most cases, *adat* tends to lure the Minangkabau into materialistic and prestige oriented behaviors. This is because the materialistic view is lurking within *adat* itself (Navis 1969:13). In this sense, Navis argues that the Minangkabau mostly treat Islamic norms as a part of their customary law. Hence, he emphasizes that customs should not be transformed into Islam, rather, Islamic norms should be transformed into customs (Navis 1969:12). The former indicates that it should not be surprising if the Minangkabau practice Islam differently from that stated in Koran and *hadis* (collection of stories relating words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad). In any case, the Minangkabau should always be conscious of the latter when trying to practice Islam as correctly as possible.[88] The corollary is that any customs that conflict with Islamic norms should be abandoned.[89]

4.2.3. Terms of Address in a Network

At present, the Minangkabau recognize the formation of new kinds of social stratification based on the categories of economy and education (see also Kato 1982: 186-193). These

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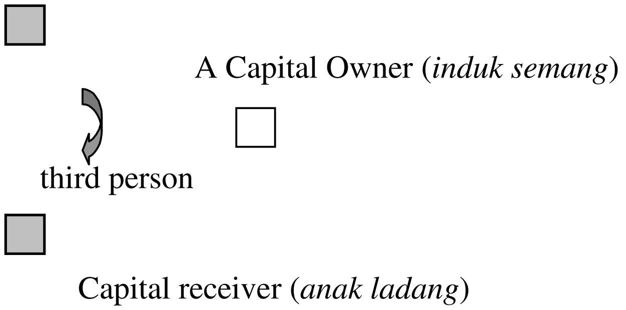
[87] The Minangkabau are well known as devout Muslims. There is one city, namely Padang Panjang, that is called as a "*serambi Mekah"* ("the front porch of Mecca") because of its distinguished Islamic characteristics, especially the mushrooming of modern Islamic schools since the Dutch colonial era.

[88] However, the strong application of customary laws rather than Islamic norms in daily practice is still obvious. This can still be seen in the law of inheritance, and the preference for relationships that is always based on the interest of members from the side of matriline, rather than from the patriline (Syarifuddin 1984). In addition, however, kin closeness to the patriline instead of to the matriline represents a stronger religious feeling than of attachment to customary law (Reenen 1996: 4-5; Rasyad 1998).

modern categories of social stratification probably reinforce hierarchical social structure among the Minangkabau in addition to social positions based on customary law. In fact, these categories often become observable through the use of terms of address for them, signifying social position, such as "*si guru"* (the teacher)*, "ustadz"* (the religious teacher)*, "si supir"* (the driver), "*si tukang sapu*" (the sweeper) and so on. Each term of address refers clearly to a certain social position and occupation, in this sense economic level.

In fact, the terms used sometimes have an impact on the person addressed who is involved in a social network. Therefore, in maintaining a good relationship in a certain network, the Minangkabau call someone's position in caution. This happens usually in a situation where a person's position is lower than another or the occupational term mentioned supposedly relegates someone to a lower position, such as the car owner to his driver, the market administrator to the sweeper, or the capital owner to his capital receiver (*anak ladang*) etc.. In consequence, a creation of a special term of address for someone who carries out jobs that are asserted as low, should be made. The term of address then used is usually the kinship terminology. This kin term of address is used as a neutral, even friendly, way of expression. This kin term, however, is usually used in the presence of the related person and others. But, if the person is not present at that moment, his lower social position will be openly referred to.

For example: Case 1



In this situation, the capital owner will often address his capital receiver as "a relative (*dunsanak*)", or "younger brother (*adiak*)", or "a man's sister's children" (*kamanakan)* etc. The kinship terminology is a necessary substitution for the actual status of the capital receiver, when he is present along with the third person.

example: Case 2

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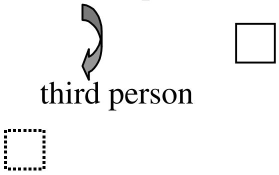
[89] This is similar to what was declared by the Padri movement (1803-1837) that wanted to accomplish an Islamic

Capital Owner (*induk semang*)



third person

(This person is not present, but becomes the topic of conversation)

Capital receiver (*anak kerja*)

In this situation, the capital owner chats about his capital receiver with a third person. The capital receiver will frankly mention the status and position of the capital receiver without disguising them with any kin terms.

4.3. Transactions and Network Spaces

4.3.1. Transaction in the Field and face-to-face Relationships

Most peasants, or villagers in general, are quite familiar personally with middlemen who regularly come to them to buy produce. A few of them are even members of their own village community. The transaction between middlemen and peasants take place at home or in the field. Both middlemen and peasants usually engage in the transaction through personal familiarity. Therefore, the personal factors, in this sense, usually come into play in the process of setting prices (Burns 1977: 11). In addition, the direct transaction in the field identifies the simplest type of exchange as "cash and carry" and illustrates the face-to-face relationship that exists between the parties.

Syawal works as a peasant and lives in the Koto Alam village. This village is located five kilometers from the district center (Tabek Patah) and 22 kilometers from the city of Batusangkar. Geographically, it is located on the western slope of the Merapi mountain, a famous volcano, which is important in Minangkabau social history. The village where he lives can be described as an underdeveloped area. The lack of infrastructure is quite obvious; no electricity, no road networks connecting areas inside and outside the village, no telephones. This area, though underdeveloped, has fertile soil for planting various cash crops such as tomatoes, cinnamon, rice, chili and various vegetables and fruits.

Considering this valuable richness of the local soil, Syawal grows tomatoes as his major cash crop and from this source he earns his family income. He usually plants at least 1000

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revolution and change all *adat* based behaviors to Islamic practices (Dobbin 1977; Hamka 1984).

tomato seedlings in his field each planting season. According to him, this number of seedlings will produce about four tons of tomatoes. He himself admits that the net profit obtained in every growing season is at least one million *rupiah* after the subtraction of operational costs spent during the cultivation process. This profit represents the result of a three-month work's period.

To market the crop, he does not have to go to the nearby market. Rather, he just waits for the visit of a local middleman (*kalene kampuang)* who regularly comes to him. The nearby market is the Tabek patah market. The middleman usually picks up his tomatoes and pays for them in cash. As a result of a long standing trade relation with this middleman, Syawal feels that a particular social relationship with this middleman has been established. Syawal feels an intimate with the middleman as with a relative. Syawal is familiar with the middleman's background, he knows his address, his family, his work, his joys and sorrows in his job, and so on. In brief, they know each other well. Resulting from this close relationship, despite the notorious reputation of most middlemen, Syawal holds the middleman in high esteem. He argues that a devout Muslim should not be distrustful and have negative expectations (*suuzon*) of anyone else, even of a middleman.

In fact, his tomatoes are regularly bought by this middleman shortly after harvesting. Therefore, he is quite confident of earning income on a regular basis. Based on this situation, he improves his family income by only cultivating tomatoes, rather than growing other cash crops, each planting season. He also uses his harvest profit to pay for things he buys, such as a television and a storage battery, a plastic mat, a bed, a cupboard etc. The goods he bought were obtained from the middleman. He intentionally used the benefit of the close relation that he has with this middleman. When Syawal needs something, then he just asks his middleman for it and the middleman will try to set it for Syawal. In so doing, Syawal conducts the transaction as a "barter" exchange. Syawal regards the middleman not only as his customer for his tomatoes, but also as an intermediary person who can provision him with goods he needs. Thus, according to Syawal the middleman is not only his business partner, but, more importantly, also his close friend.

What does the case described above mean? This case, at least, indicates the form of limited transactions that includes the market actors' objectives. The tie between these market actors centers on a personal relationship between the actors and is underlined by some indigenous definitions of social relationships. Although the social tie itself is limited, the significance of the relationships is not limited. It tends to develop from a very specific to a broader social relationship.

The tie between peasants and middlemen, in the case above, reflects a business network that still maintains the closeness of the social contacts, the face-to-face relationships, and a familiarity with actors' personal identities. In the sense of economic transactions, the case above also depicts aspects of network that are important to limit transaction risks that may arise due to lack of formal controls over the so-called "village" transaction. As a result, any guarantee of the success or the failure of the transaction is hard to predict. Thus, peasants try to insure a successful transaction by personal effort and through the mechanisms of control beside the economic institution in itself, such as social and religious norms or values. As Burns argues:

> "The amount of good faith and personal effort that a partner puts into seeing that an agreement is fulfilled can affect the degree to which problems and damages disrupt trade." (Burns 1977:14)

Forms of social networks in urban space, that retains a rural atmosphere that is indicated by close contact among people as a primary pattern of social contact, has been shown by Heike Bremm in "*Nachbarschaftsbeziehungen in einem javanischen Kampung***"** (the neighborhood relationships in a javanese Kampung) (1989). Bremm indicates that in the city, especially in a "village" city (*kota kampung*), the picture showing people's lives in a physically very crowded space is quite obvious. There, individuals are structured into groups of households that retain the ongoing transactions and the reciprocal exchange, cooperative works, and the face-to-face relationship (*Sicht-Kontakt)* characteristic of village society (Bremm, 1989: 52). In this situation, the network arises among limited participants and is centered on certain egos. This network is categorized as a personal network (*persönliches Netzwerk)* (Schweizer 1989:12). As Schweizer says:

> "*Grundsätzlich wird (1) das persönliche Netzwerk, das an einem Ego verankert dessen/deren Interaktionspartner erfaßt, vom (2) Gesamtnetzwerk ("complete network") unterschieden. Das aus der Perspektive eines einzelnen Akteurs betrachtete persönliche Netzwerk wird in der Literatur auch "egozentriertes Netzwerk" genannt."* (a personal network is the interaction of partnerships that center on a certain ego…According to the perspective of individual actors, this personal network is also called an "ego-centered network").

When a network is based on a number of participants and these participants exchange goods and services with each other, it is called an exocentric network (Bremm 1989:52).

Although the pattern of face-to-face relationship in Minangkabau villages still exists, but it tends to shift to another pattern of social contact among villagers. In the lineage context, this kind of relationship is becoming weaker and looser in accordance with the smaller social control of mother's brothers (*mamak*) over their sisters' children (*kemenakan)*, and of lineage heads (*penghulu*) over lineage members. The primary cause is the ongoing culture change, and the especially challenging transformation in terms of material goods and related behavior, experienced by the Minangkabau (Syairin 1992: 34). In this current situation, such traditional types of relationships tends to be acted out in such a way that an economic interest becomes the main motive behind the social behavior. The consequence is that social intimacies, not attached to an economic network, become less necessary. This leads to the fact that the social inclusion and exclusion practices of villagers, based on economic achievements as the major indicator of the process, is becoming stronger than ever.

A decline in the importance of traditional social groups, and a rise in individualism, is quite visible. At least, it can be noted as follows. Firstly, most villagers now tend to pursue their own business interests by putting aside the importance of social togetherness, or they interact with each other for the sake of individual interests instead of collective interests. This kind of behavior is in the local term called *nafsi-nafsi* ("individualism").[90] As one informant (Supono) expresses it in a common proverb: *Awak mancari untuang awak sorang, inyo mancari untuang inyo surang* (literally means: I seek individually my own advantages, the other seeks his or her own advantages).[91] During the research, I was quite surprised at the lack of social activities organized by villagers, who are economically better off than others, to help the large number of the poor struggling to survive in their own village.[92] An ignorance of social obligations to the collectivity and for helping the poor is becoming obvious. At the

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[90] In many Minangkabau villages, it is not rare to find poor families living side by side with relatively rich families. It is also not rare to find relatively luxurious houses established side by side with very temporary houses in villages. That picture of Minangkabau village life represented by heterogeneous levels of economic prosperity is quite clear now. In the Tanah Datar regency, this picture can be found especially in Sumanik, Sungai Tarab, Tabek Patah, Padang Luar, Balai Tangah, Saruaso, Salimpaung, Barulak villages.

[91] This proverb is not a Minangkabau *adat* proverb. This proverb was made up by my informant as I discussed with him the tendency of declining motivations to do collaborative work (*tolong menolong*) among villagers.

[92] I even found a very poor nuclear family that had made a deliberate social break with its closest neighbors. The father did it because of his hopelessness in getting help from his neighbors to overcome his poverty. As far as he was concerned, nobody wanted to help his family financially, not even his better off older sister who lived not too far from his house. He did not know how to improve his economic condition. Thus, he decided it is better for him to develop a "social alienation" (*menyendiri)* from his own community. His action is obviously a social protest against other social classes, especially well-to-do villagers, in the village. It seems to him that the harmonious class relationships in the village is only symbolic (see, for example, Scott 1985).

same time, however, some distinguished religious charities, like *zakat, infaq* or *sadaqah,* are not effective in solving the problem of poverty in the village.

Hamka has noted that such social problems have been emerging since the colonial era (Hamka 1984: 99; P&K Sumatera Barat 1994b: 21). These problems seem to be a type of social sicknesses. Hamka painted this troubled social picture with the help of an *adat* proverb (Hamka 1984):

"Dahulu rabab yang bertangkai, sekarang lagundi yang berbunga
Dahulu Adat yang orang pakai, sekarang uang yang berguna"
(in the past, a two-stringed instrumental music had its bow,
now a sticky plant is flowering,
in the past, custom was quite strict,
now money is everything)

This proverb means that there is an ongoing replacement of collective interests, that are governed by *adat,* with all sorts of materialistic purposes. Social ties, thus, are seen as important only as far as the economic advantages of individuals involved can be furthered.

Secondly, most villagers do not share a common outlook. The most influential factor in village life today is the remarkable social mobility of villagers that is supported by the availability of communication and transportation facilities. The village is becoming the site of open social traffic with the outside world. It has become usual for the villagers to be accustomed to the going and coming of fellow villagers, and even of unknown persons, who carry out a tremendous variety of activities and have various goals. However, the similar pattern of local social interactions cannot be perceived as the reflection of shared perceptions and common interests.

Thirdly, as a result of the situation described above, spaces for social contact among villagers are becoming broader. Most villagers are involved in social and economic pursuits outside of their own village scene and local interests. For example, many villagers look for occasional jobs in the city, or other regions, or even outside the province, where they can improve their economic status.

The table below indicates at least the decrease in frequency of face-to-face relationship in the village.[93]

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[93] This table is based on interviews with 243 Tabek Patah villagers. They were chosen with cluster area and simple random sampling techniques.

Table 25 The Frequency of Respondents' Encounters with Members of Parent's Line

Freq. of Encounter	Matriline[94] f(%)	Patriline[95] f(%)
Everyday	29.6	12.4
A bit rare	17.5	6.6
Rare	28.1	15.8
Not Relevant[96]	24.8	65.2
	100	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

Table 26 The Comparative Frequency of Respondents' Meetings with Members of Parent's line

	Matriline		Patriline	
	Mother's sisters f(%)	Mother's brothers f(%)	Father's sisters f(%)	Father's brothers f(%)
Everyday	30.9	16	14	10.7
Three times a week	1.6	0.4	0.8	0.4
Twice a week	0.8	1.6	0.8	0.4
Once a week	16.5	14.4	6.2	4.9
Rarely	23.4	26.3	16.5	14.8
Not Relevant	26.7	41.2	61.7	68.7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The table above indicates a tendency for close relationships with relatives in matriline becomes less frequent. Based on observations in two villages (the Tabek Patah and Koto Alam villages of Tanah Datar regency), most villagers argue that they cannot spend much time visiting relatives because works in the field or activities to add to their personal incomes take up most of their time leaving little time for visits. Social meetings with relatives, even with neighbors, tend to become less important.

Related to this point, face-to-face relationships seem not to be a primary pattern of social interactions among villagers. Compared with the past, Ken Young argues that Minangkabau

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[94] In this case, members of matriline are brothers and sisters (*dunsanak kanduang*), mother's sister's and brother's children (*dunsanak saparuik* or *sepupu*), mother's brother (*mamak*), and sister's children (*kamanakan*).

[95] Members of patriline include father's sister and brother (*bako*).

[96] Not relevant means that most respondents do not meet the relatives that I asked about. The reasons are that the relatives have died, or are living far away, or respondents feel that they have no need or reason for contact.

households have already divided their roles into subsistence and economic purposes. To some extent, these roles influence the formation of social relationships

> Firstly, the broader socioeconomic patterns of the region cannot be derived through the simple aggregation of the village micro-processes. Households were economically reproduced through their participation in a trade-based division of labor which extended beyond village, and, in some sectors, regional boundaries. Their form and function depended also on their insertion into much wider economic processes and social relations. The second point is that the households were not only themselves constrained by their integration into more complex economic structures; they in turn constrained the course of development of the same wider economy. Lastly, there were significant structural differences among households, especially those determined by the extent and nature of the resources they controlled, and these led to divergent responses of different classes of household to changes in the wider economic environment (Young 1994:163-164).

These roles, however, were not only produced by internal factors, from the extent of social, economic and ecological variations, but also by the external factors of Dutch colonial interference and Minangkabau involvement in significant intraregional and international trade. Thus, such factors have influenced the typical Minangkabau response, that is of maintaining, or adapting, or changing their patterns of social relationships dealing with relatives and other members of the local community. These divergent responses were important since they functioned as the principal link between the larger tribute, subsistence and commercial sectors and rural areas (Young 1994: 161).

4.3.2. Transactions at Marketplaces

Marketplaces also imply an independent mechanism of the distribution of various agricultural products.[97] Peasants act as producers and as sellers of their own products, and middlemen, who then distribute and retail those products, are involved in the transactions at their own risk. In the past, marketplaces in Minangkabau, especially in the highland area, functioned as the location of warehouses. Peasants had to deliver their produce to these warehouses under the forced delivery system (*tanam paksa*) before they could be traded or exported (Amran 1985; Graves 1981). Warehouses, and thus also the marketplaces, functioned as a medium of the

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[97] In terms of this aspect, local governments at the regency level down to the village level have no special function in the activities.

international trade cycle but also as the lowest level of economic and political control of the Dutch colonial government over the local community.

Now, the middleman is usually an intermediary institution that connects peasant' produce with various marketplaces through certain marketing networks. As a result, these market actors control the process through the operation of the local market mechanism without the intervention of governmental controls over their activities, like in the colonial era. Produce bought by middlemen from peasants will then be sold to various traveling traders, sellers and vendors at other marketplaces under competitive trade conditions. In this sense, the relationships between peasants, middlemen and other market actors are mainly articulated by transactions. However, they are never free from the social, psychological, physical and economic restraints and ties affecting their marketing behavior (Burns 1977: 20).

The nature of bargaining process, which is indicated by the face-to-face price setting negotiations, creates social relationships between the actors who influence the process of the transaction itself.[98] In a simple picture, the transactions take place in a crowd of peasants and middlemen in a certain area of the marketplace. At a first glance, we only see a crowd of people who are laughing and chatting with each other, and milling around. Meanwhile, a large amount of produce is piled up on the ground nearby. We often do not know at which point the transaction begins, because the setting of prices is openly done by all market actors involved in the transactions.[99]

If we immerse ourselves in the trading, we can recognize at least a few of the types of performances of market actors and the strategies they use. Middlemen usually can be identified by the calculator and the notebook they bring with them. The calculator is used for helping them in setting prices, while the book is used mainly for recording the amount of goods that have been traded, and so on. Another remarkable attribute is their aggressiveness

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[98] In the case of weekly markets in Nasik district, India, the transactions at the market are conducted and regularly maintained based on local values and beliefs. Moreover the activity in these markets has a religious rhythm (Karve and Acharya 1970).

[99] This is completely different from the pattern of transactions at livestock markets (*pasar ternak*), that I call a "male marketplace" (*pasar khusus laki-laki*) because only male traders and buyers are present. A specific type of transaction is called a "closed in-hand transaction" (*barosok*). This transaction is carried out secretly and silently between a trader and a buyer. A seller and a buyer agree to a livestock price just by joining hands and then covering them with a piece of a certain textile, such as sarong, towel, or jacket. Then, each of their fingers makes certain gestures that symbolize the bargaining process. Nobody knows what price is agreed upon for an animal, except the buyer and the trader who just made the transaction. The general practice is not to allow everyone to know the price just bargained. If a buyer wants to know the price of an animal, he must contact the trader himself. Thus, the trading is closed. This type of transaction in the livestock market is completely unfair, according to most Minangkabau, and benefits only traders because buyers remain ignorant of the price prevailing at the moment. Therefore, people think that the *barosok* transaction should be banned from the livestock market and changed to the normal open type of transaction (Haluan May 24, 1996).

in the face-to-face price setting negotiations with approaching peasants, as they arrive with their produce. They will immediately bombard peasants with questions, such as „who is the owner of this produce? (*barang sia ko?*)“, or „what goods do you bring? (*a galeh dibao*)“, or “How much are you going to sell these goods for?”(*bara ka di jua galeh ko?*). In this sense, the recognition of typical actions of market actors is quite necessary for identifying the transaction itself.

In terms of time, from early in the morning until about 09.00 a.m.. the marketplaces are already bustling with the transactions activities. As trading begins, middlemen examine produce offered by peasants, to see whether the goods offered are in good condition or not. Then, the buying price is set as the result of this. Before the transaction is finally over, the goods are weighed by a “weigh man” (*tukang timbang*) who was waiting close by. The middleman pays cash for the produce that he buys. The next step is that the goods to be delivered are packed into a number of sacks or boxes. At this point, the transaction is generally finished.

Basically, the transactions taking place at the market place can be characterized by, firstly, that payment is always in cash, and secondly, that the number of market actors involved is somewhat larger than for the transactions usually done in the fields. There are sub-middlemen (*kalene ketek*), a weigh man (*tukang timbang*), and a carry man (*anak angkat*) to facilitate the transactions at the marketplace. Thirdly, peasants have greater possibilities to bargain over prices with more than one middleman, and other buyers in general. This is possible because the transaction itself is open to everyone. Thus, the influence over prices from all market actors gives rise to market competition. Fourthly, the face-to-face negotiations to set prices of various market actors make the different meanings of social relationships more important at the marketplace. Therefore, the transactions at the marketplaces lead to the formation of broader personal relationships and the potential establishment of networks.

4.4. Some Characteristics of Networks established at the Marketplaces studied

4.4.1. Articulations of Networks

Looking at the networks among traders at the Tabek Patah market, we see that 24.2% of traders engage in shared work (*kerja sama*) in order to maintain their network, and the rest of them (75.8%) do not. Kinds of shared work are purchase of goods (11.1%), help in providing capital and goods (3%), and the distribution of goods (10.1%). These shared tasks are based in a feeling of friendship and of the “similar faith” of jobs (*senasib sepenanggungan*), and the familiarity of individuals who come from the same home-base or origin (*sakampuang*).

Shared work performed by most traders is particularly aimed at increasing the amount of trade traders do. Although the social significance of the relationships are limited, the network they underlie tends to be used to show “a communal economy”.[100]

Companionship is another indicator of the articulation of the network. Most traders would rather to trade without a companion at marketplaces visited (66.7%). The rest (33.3%) need a companion when trading. Of these 28.3% are family members, and 5% are close friend(s). Generally, it can be said that a companion is not too important for most traders. In this regard, traveling traders can be categorized as “lone traders”. Looking at traders (28.3%) who prefer to trade with companions, the persons chosen to be their companions include husband or wives (15.2%), children (7.1%), older brother or sister (4%), and own parent (2%). This means that the persons who are involved in the network come especially from the traders’ kin circle or, at least, are well known persons.

Even though most traders do not need a companion, 66.7 % of traders feel “at home” at the marketplaces they usually visit. They have relatives there who are also working as traders. The status of these kin relationships can be specified as parent (2%), mother’s brother (*mamak*) (1%), own brothers and sisters (*dunsanak kanduang*) (11.1%), mother’s sister’s or brother’s children (*saparuik*) (8.1%), own children (*anak kandung*) (3%), a father’s sister (*etek*) (5.1%), wife’s brother or sister (*ipa*) (2%), and member of the same lineage (1%). On the one hand, these figures mean that the persons who potentially may be involved in a network include the members of the matriline and patriline. On the other hand, the trader without companions, who has kin at the marketplace visited, indicates the phenomenon of an “independent enterprise” (*usaha mandiri*) in trade.

Since most traders tend to perform their work on an individual basis, it means that a trade competition usually occurs among non-relatives (*basaiang jo urang lain*). The expression of “developing one’s capability to benefit oneself” (*barusaho mandiri*) seems to be an ideal motivation for trade. This is, in one sense, also the motive for founding an “individual enterprise” among the Minangkabau. In regard to the closeness of kin relations in the context of household economy, this type of enterprise shows personal freedom for choosing one’s occupation beyond kin group interests. Such persons are not tied to use of communal property as a main source of income. Secondly, this kind of enterprise is chosen by lone traders and this job is their main source of income. This income, then, is privately owned. It means that

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[100] This term does not mainly mean a system in which the production and distribution of goods and services are controlled collectively instead of individually (Johnson 1995: 47). This term rather means the understanding of shared work done in relation to trade activities, and based on individual risk-taking and planning.

the lineage allows its members to concentrate on market-based economy and thus to decrease the exploitation of the communal property for the nuclear household (see Young 1994: 149).[101]

Meanwhile, the need for trading companions, indicated by a minority of traders, shows that trade still represents a part of the household economic activities. The trading is still a form of family business. It means that the household economy includes subsistence and commercial activities that can be carried out side by side (see also Young's hypothesis about this household economy, 1994).

4.4.2. A Contractual Basis of Networks

In the context of the marketplace organization, there is a contractual relationship that indicates network links between the market administrator and some particular villagers. The market administrator gives some people he knows well permission to provide trade facilities, such as bamboo platforms and chairs, and the big paper umbrellas used to shade traders. In return, these persons, or so-called local entrepreneurs, must turn over to the market administrator a certain percentage of their income. This mutual business relation is indicated by a kind of informal contract existing between these market actors.

Out of this transaction, the market administrator also develops another transaction with other certain villagers who have a full right of setting and collecting market tax especially in *bulan Ramadhan* (a fasting month) given by the market administrator. The persons take over the job that administrator usually does during the remaining months. In return, they should give the market administrator a sum of money that is similar in value with income normally earned in these months. In this regard, the market administrators "sell' the market by means of a special contract of time and kind of job to well known persons. These kinds of contractual transactions, then, reveal the limited network existing between the market administrator and particular villagers.

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[101] In the Minangkabau context, the members of a lineage are regarded as a potential family labor pool that has the responsibility of maintaining certain communal property (*harta pusaka*) including land and livestock. This maintenance of the communal property is done in various ways, such as by cultivating land and selling the harvest, or controlling its distribution etc.. The main thing is that the communal property must provide the source of the lineage income. On the other hand, the lineage acts as a "gatekeeper" preventing individuals and households from alienating the matriclan property. (Young 1994: 163).

4.4.3. A Temporary Network

Some cases indicate that a number of traders try to avoid establishing a permanent network with familiar traders, who are mostly known as fellow villagers, and who also sell the same type of goods. They do it because they want to reduce trading competition between them. Their strategy is to avoid a visit to the same markets. In so doing, they cannot meet each other at the same location when trading. In the markets they attend, it is considered better to establish a network with other traders, who sell different type of goods.

A female trader from Koto Tuo village of Sungai Tarab district does not want to sell her coffee at the local marketplace nearby her village, though few of her friends, who usually pound coffee beans together at a traditional waterwheel, prefer to sell coffee at that market. The coffee she sells well known as "*kopi Koto Tuo* " (Koto Tuo coffee) that was originally produced in the Koto Tuo village and is one of the best quality coffees in Tanah Datar. She prefers to sell her coffee at Balai Tangah market (24 km from her village). She sells coffee at marketplaces that are not attended by her friends. She does it in order to avoid competition with her own friends, namely, her own fellow villagers. She likes to find new friends at marketplaces far away from her nearby marketplace.

This demonstrates that networks must not be always built from long-standing social relationships. In the case above, a group of traders do not participate in a marketing network together with traders who come from their own village despite the fact that they sometimes are involved together in the process of producing the same product. A contrasting picture is shown by the case of chicken traders in the previous section. Chicken traders come from different villages, they do not know each other beforehand. However, they sell together similar goods, obtained from a single producer (a chicken raiser), at the same trade space. Through the sale of these goods, they are linked in a marketing network. This means that a business network can arise among strangers who are linked to one another by their relationships to one producer. These cases indicate another aspect of competition and networks dealing with trade at peasant markets.

One interpretation of the above is that the Minangkabau will compete with each other if they occupy the same position, but are not involved in a certain network. They only compete among themselves, not with others, but they make up a certain network with others, and not with each other. The Minangkabau will establish a network if they are involved in different work roles, rather than in the same position. This leads to an understanding of characteristic Minangkabau behavior, that is that the Minangkabau tend to practice internal conflict. To put it another way, a network is a strategy to avoid internal conflict. Therefore, network and conflict among the Minangkabau can be seen as either contradictory or complimentary methods of successful trade.

4.5. Type of Transaction and Social Satisfaction

Most market actors make transactions by using a classifying system of the quality of agricultural commodities. Some commodities traded in this way are cinnamon (*kulit manis*), fruits (such as bananas and avocados), leeks (*daun bawang*), chilies (red and green), beans, and ginger.

The most distinguished pattern of transaction is represented by the sale of cinnamon.[102] The main market actors involved in this transaction are peasants, weigh men (*tukang timbang*), and sub-middlemen or middlemen. A basis for price setting is derived from the classification of cinnamon. These grades are, firstly, *AA (dobol)* or *KA.* This grade is produced from barks of cinnamon that have been processed in such a way that the cinnamon is dried and the outer layer of the bark (*epidermis*) is gone. Its good color is a bright yellow brown (*coklat muda*). This type of cinnamon can usually be obtained after the tree is between 15 and 20 years old to produce a very fine quality, and 8 - 10 years old to produce a good quality. At the market, cinnamon of this grade is sold for the highest price.

The second type is called *KB.* This cinnamon is similar to the *AA* type, but the difference lies in the outer layer of the bark (*epidermis*) which has no been removed. Its good color is dark yellow brown (*coklat kehitam-hitaman*). This grade can be produced after the tree is up to 7 years old. This type of cinnamon is usually sold at a somewhat lower price than the AA type.

The third grade is called *KC,* also called splinters of cinnamon bark (*pecahan kulit manis*). This grade is produced from the processing of the cinnamon type *KB.* At the market, this type is transacted at the lowest level of the selling price in comparison to the two types mentioned before.

Despite the fact that prices of *kulit manis* are basically standardized, in practice they are always changing. The most important factor is the “level of dryness” or, in the local term called, *aie.* The drier the cinnamon, the higher will be the price. The grades of dryness are

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[102] Cinnamon (*kulit manis*) is the major export produce of Tanah Datar regency. Every Thursday, all cinnamon produced by peasants in the Tanah Datar region is auctioned at the Guguk Ketitiran, Batusangkar under the supervision of government officers from the trade office (*Dinas Pedagangan*) of the Tanah Datar regency. Middlemen, or wholesalers and peasants are involved in the competitive transactions taking place there.

commonly *aie 0, aie 5, aie 8,* and *aie 10.* The a*ie 0* means a perfect level of the dryness of processed cinnamon and that its price will be set at 100 % of the prevailing standard market price. For example, cinnamon grade AA has a standard price of Rp.5,200 per kilogram. When the cinnamon of grade AA with the dryness of *aie 0* is traded, then the price will be calculated as 100% of the standard market price. The set price will be Rp.5,200 per kilogram. The formula is (100-0)% X 5,200 = Rp.5,200,-.

If the middleman responds to the cinnamon offered by the peasant, he will first of all check the goods to know which level of dryness the cinnamon has. If he decides the cinnamon has "*aie 5*"**,** it means the price will be set at:

- (100 - 5)% x 5,200 = Rp. 4,940,-

Thus, the standard price prevailed, but with this *aie* judgement the peasant can only sell his cinnamon for a price of Rp.4,940 per kilogram, instead of Rp 5,200.

When the middleman evaluates the cinamon as "*aie 10*"**,** then the price will be calculated as follows:

- (100 - 10)% x 5,200 = Rp. 4,680,-.

This means that the cinnamon must be sold for this price.

The level of dryness is absolutely determined by middlemen. Under their price control, they dominate the arena of price setting and of profit potential. This right, in a sense, is thus a middlemen's trick in cinnamon transactions and the middlemen's strategy to dominate the structure of cinnamon trading. No peasant can set the grade of dryness of his/her goods. Even if a peasant can judge the dryness grade of his cinnamon it will, in any case, be officially determined by the middleman. But, since the method of judging dryness of peasants and middlemen is different, the resulting transaction is often characterized by tension.

On many occasions, the *aie 0* is hardly used by middlemen in the price setting processes, although peasants offer cinnamon which they suppose meets this level. Middlemen are seen as never grading cinnamon as "0", but using only levels of *aie 5, aie 8* or *aie 10.* However, one informant (a cinnamon middleman) argued in reaction:

> „The middleman (*kalene*) has never really suppressed the cinnamon price paid to peasants, we only judge the level of dryness as one of the necessary factors in a cinnamon transaction. If a middleman sets the *aie* unfairly, then he will lose income, because the peasant will not want to turn over his goods to a middleman like that".

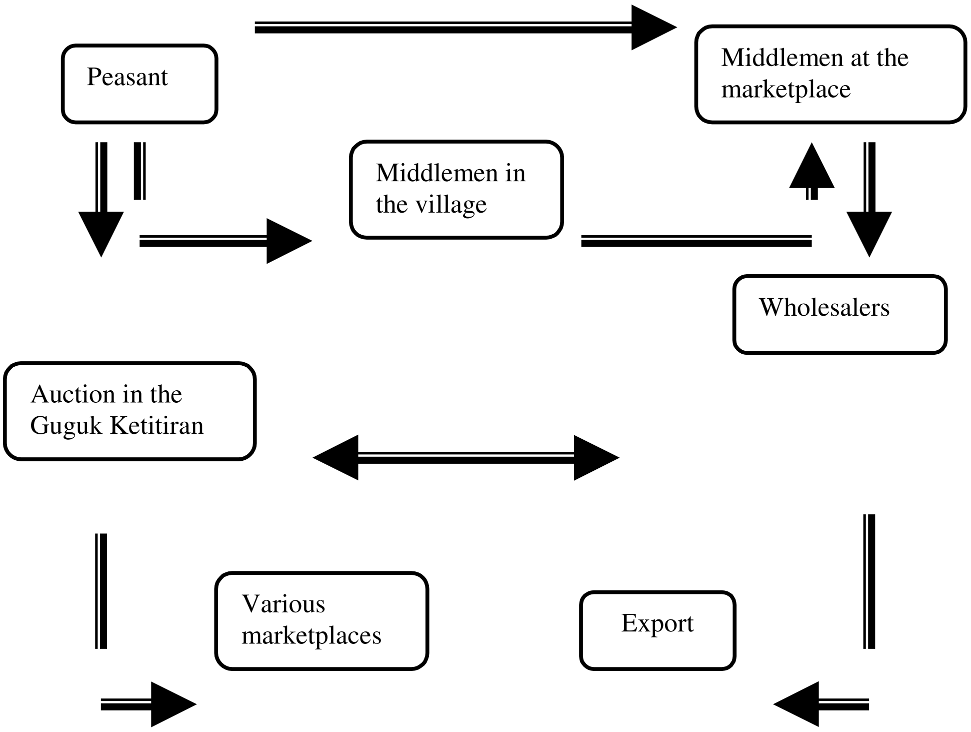
The argument above mostly does not represent reality, as the majority of peasants suspect. Such an argument gives more of a hint of the secret trading strategy practiced by most middlemen and their efforts to cover up their trick. In fact, a large number of middlemen, operating at the marketplace, have to compete with each other in their dealings with peasants in order to have goods. Peasants often feel unhappy when facing a middleman who is thought to be unfair to peasants about the dryness level. Since the level of dryness is the most important factor in the cinnamon transactions besides the price itself, a transaction usually is not done in a hurry. We often see the transaction, between the same persons, being carried out over and over. The price bargained for constantly goes up and down, as if the price will be never set.

But as long as the goods are bought and the price is set by the same middlemen, the peasant can never be “a winner” in the transaction. Since the price depends completely on the middlemen’s trading game, the successful peasant in a single transaction is one who is able to sell all his produce, whatever the price is finally set at. In this sense, cash is the primary aim of the needs sale. The money obtained from the sale must be sufficient to buy daily consumption needs, and leave a certain amount to be taken home. The main aspect in a “successful” transaction from the peasant’s point of view is to achieve some level of social satisfaction (*pueh*).

Do peasants lose a certain amount of profit when the selling price is far lower than what he or she expects? The answer is yes, but they still feel lucky because the money they have earned from the sale of the crop can replace the capital that was invested or borrowed. But, if the money obtained is far less than the capital invested, do they still feel a loss of a profit? The answer is no, because they still feel lucky. Why? Because all their goods could be sold (*tajua habih*), and they do not have to bring produce home, although they make only a small amount of profit. Also, they still are able to buy needed things at the marketplace. If the goods are not completely sold, do they lose a profit? Yes, but they still feel lucky because they still get cash.

This passage above is a general formulation of the peasant’s social satisfaction (*pueh*), that is aimed at in every transaction of their produce. The understanding of this social satisfaction seems to be an answer to why peasants maintain a network with middlemen despite being cheated.

Figure 5 Cinnamon Marketing Network



Cane sugar is another important local agricultural product, which also is associated with a typical pattern of transaction. Peasants, as the major producers of cane sugar, usually sell their goods at an auction (*lelang*) at which middlemen and other retailers take part. At the auction, middlemen play a role as the main buyers. The locally produced cane sugar is then supplied to other marketplaces or to certain cake factories. In the Tanah Datar, the Tabek Patah market is one of the central locations of cane sugar auctions. Most buyers who want to buy such commodities must go there.

This auction is not really carried out in accordance with the rules of a formal auction. Rather, it is carried out by means of an intensive higgling and haggling going on between the market actors. Buyers, who are mostly women, try to buy cane sugar for less than the standard price prevailing at the moment. However, the bargaining cannot go too far from the standard price. The peasants will otherwise only sell their goods at the more reasonable prices offered by certain other bargainers.

Cane sugar is distributed from producers to consumers in the following pattern of market circulation. This circulation becomes the basis of the distributors' system for retailing goods at different places and time. Choices of local markets for distributing the cane sugar to markets in Salimpaung district and surrounding area are the Tabek Patah market (on Monday), Barulak market (on Tuesday), Rao-rao and Sungai Tarab markets (on Wednesday), Tanjung Alam and Batusangkar markets (on Thursday), Salimpaung market (on Friday), Rao-rao market (on Saturday), and Sumanik market (on Sunday).

Producers of cane sugar sell their goods at the marketplace where demand for such goods is high and the markets visited are, as much as possible, located near to their home base. This is because they have to carry goods that weigh of 20 - 40 kilograms per sack. And only a limited local transportation is available connecting their village and the marketplace. In any case, peasants need local transportation to take their goods to the marketplace.

If producers want to go to other market places on different market days, they have to finish the production work connected with cane sugar a day before the market day to be visited. Moreover, they usually choose a certain market day that is suited to their production schedule. For example, if they are able to produce cane sugar only by Sunday, it means that they can go to the market on Monday. If they finish their work on Thursday, they will go to the market on Friday, and so forth. Thus, the market circulation becomes a basis of peasant work rhythms.

4.6. The Marketing Network in the Village

Besides trading, traders are alert to opportunities to build relationships with other traders at the marketplaces they usually visit. This intention shows that networks are established in a manner in which the accessibility and the acquisition of trade spaces can be maintained for as long as possible.

> The Tabek Patah market is one of important centers for the distribution of agricultural products in the Tanah Datar regency. At this place, middlemen and suppliers establish marketing network for various kinds of marketable produce. They deliver and distribute these to other traders in other urban regions, such as Pakanbaru, Duri, Jambi cities etc. The preparation of deliveries of commodities take place at night from 09.00 p.m. – 12.00 midnight. After that, the commodities will be transported and arrive at the destination on the following morning. At the destination point, these commodities are directly distributed to local wholesalers, retailers and local traders or sellers at various marketplaces.
>
> Distributors operating in the Palembang City of South Sumatra, who want to supply goods to the areas above, could not get access to markets there. They have to distribute their goods to the "Tabek Place" distributors. These traveling distributors

also occupy a place in the marketing network for agricultural commodities coming from Padang highland, especially from Tanah Datar, to many marketplaces in Pakan Baru, Dumai, Duri and Bangkinang.[103] Many local middlemen, who come from marketplaces such as Situjuh (Lima Puluh Kota regency) and Pincuran Putih (Bukittinggi), also meet at the Tabek Patah marketplace and sell their commodities to these distributors.

Table 27 Area of Origin of Several Commodities transacted at the Tabek Patah Marketplace

No	Commodities	Regions of Origin	
		Area	Province
1.	Red Chili and Tomatoes And other vegetables (beans, spring onions etc).	Situjuh Tungka Palembang	Agam, West Sumatra Medan, North Sumatra South Sumatra
2.	Red Chili	Simabur Solok Curup Jambi	Tanah Datar, West Sumatra Solok, West Sumatra Bengkulu Jambi
3.	Tomatoes	Baso	Agam, West Sumatra
4.	Sweet Potatoes and Cinnamon	Lintau	Lintau, West Sumatra
5.	Chicken	Payakumbuh	50 Kota, West Sumatra
6.	Blacksmith-made metal goods	Baso	Agam, West Sumatra
7.	Coffee Powder	Koto Tuo Bukittinggi	Tanah Datar, West Sumatra Agam, West Sumatra
8	Cloths and textiles	Jakarta Bukittinggi	Jakarta Agam West Sumatra

Source: own Data 1996/1997

Based on the table above, we see that several commodities are marketed to areas crossing the provincial borders. The pattern of marketing networks is indicated by the flow of a number of commodities, that come from the local level and are sent to the broader marketing level of the region. The goods, such as chilies, tomatoes, beans, springs onions, come from Tabek Patah village and are supplied to Dumai, Batam and Duri, Tanjung Balai Karimun, Selat Panjang (all located in Riau province), and the city market in Jambi province. Other

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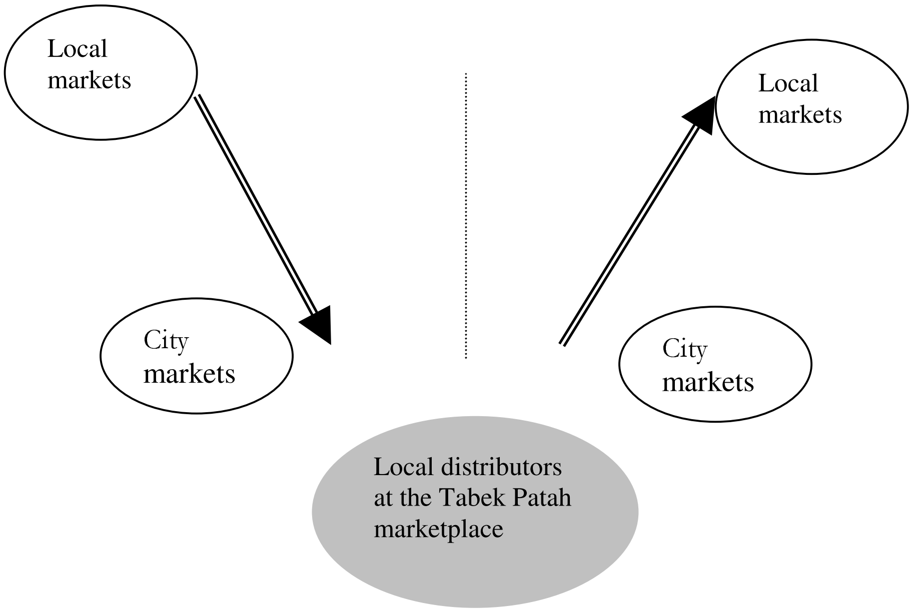
[103] All these cities are located in Riau province, the neighboring province of West Sumatra in the eastern part of the province border. In the past, this was an important eastern route of Minangkabau trade (Graves 1981).

types of produce such as chilies, tomato, avocados, bananas come from the Tabek Patah market and then are supplied to Palembang city of South Sumatra, Jakarta, and Padang (West Sumatra).

A marketing network is shaped by the role of local distributors who dominate the trading network from the local marketplaces up to the markets in the cities. One marketing network indicates the trade route that is dominated by local market actors.

Figure 6 Pattern of Distribution of Agricultural Products operated by Local Distributors at the Tabek Patah Market



4.6.1. Between Local Trader and Big Traders: Business and Faith

Personal relations between the local trader and the big trader are regarded as one important factor in the marketing network. These relations are characterized as informal relationships between trading partners who are interested in marketing certain goods. The networks so built are aimed at keeping the supply of distinctive commodities and services between traders sustainable. Taking a look at a trader who sells various types of hats (*pedagang topi*) at the Tabek Patah marketplace we can capture the essence of such relations:

> The trader explained that he is the only trader who sells hats at the Tabek Patah marketplace. He describes himself as a “lone fighter of a trader” (*galeh sorang*) because he has no relatives who attend this market, and as a traveling trader

(*pedagang babelok*). He admits that he has a marketing network that he deliberately set up with other big traders who sell various models of hats at the bigger market in the city. He does not like, in contrast, to join in a marketing network with other traders at the village markets. He does what he does because he wants to obtain certain goods. It is better for him not to have goods that are also sold by other traders at village markets. He claims that if many traders do not sell the same commodities as he does, it means he can reduce his competitors, and consequently, can have a greater opportunity to make a bigger profit. Therefore, he maintains supply channels with bigger traders who can give him specific goods. Many big traders usually reserve particular goods for him.

- Hats and socks are supplied from the city market of Bukittinggi.
- Belts are sent from Jakarta through his friends there.
- Bags are supplied from Bukittinggi and Jakarta.
- The normal Moslem-used hats (*kopiah*) are directly supplied from producers in Baso (near Bukittinggi City).

As far as the marketing network is concerned, both the local trader and big traders not only exchange goods, but also market information. The local traders often inform the big traders about those goods currently favored by villagers. Based on this information, the big traders then provide the local trader with the goods requested. I prefer to describe this type of relationship as a form of hierarchical network flow (*hubungan bajanjang naiak, bajanjang turun*). A local trader contacts the big traders. In turn, these traders send the needed goods to the local trader.

This kind of relationship lacks marketing network ties between local traders, but increases the networks with the bigger traders operating outside of the local marketplaces. This kind of network is primarily used to increase the chances of obtaining a supply of particular goods from the big traders. To maintain the network, local traders always pay cash for all the goods they obtain, instead of paying for them on credit. On the other hand, the bigger traders prefer to give the local traders, who pay for goods in cash, more chances of having certain goods, than those traders who want to have goods on credit. This means that the marketing network still operates on the basis of informal contracts by means of the practice of these cash and carry purchases. These relationships depict a use of market rationality.

In any case, market rationality requires the liberty and equality of relations between potential and real exchange partners. However, this rationality requires a depersonalization of the act of exchange, its reduction to a transaction on the basis of a contract, and is principally emotionally neutral in character as far as the trading partners are concerned, although with a highly individualized interest (Buchholt and Mai 1994: 163).

4.6.2. Between Local Traders and Customers

Some local traders and certain customers also establish a personal network. Through this network traders can retain certain customers by means of goods which are paid for by them on credit.[104] The credit is in fact a very suitable way of trading that is based in a combination of social and economic factors, namely, on trust (*picayo*), good faith (*nasib elok*) and faith in God (*pasrah*). For customers, the personal relationship they establish with certain traders is useful in obtaining desired goods when they do not have enough money to pay for the goods immediately.

The process of such credit-based trade is as follows: A trader sells certain goods to his customers on the basis of an informal contract of payments. In this kind of payment, the trader permits customers to pay in several installments and usually does not set any kind of interest for such payment. The time schedule of the payments is agreed upon considering the buyers' circumstances. The trader and the buyer then make a verbal deal that consists of the buyer's promise to pay for goods with certain sum of money divided into several payments. The trader records the customers' name and an address that is usually just the customer's village (*kampuang*) but not a detailed address such as name of a street, the house number etc.. They make no formal bill of credit or a formal statement of the transaction. At that time, the buyer plays a role of "a debtor" of the trader, and from that point on he is tied by the social and economic obligation to repay his/her debt.

On every market day, "the debtor" comes to the trader to pay his debt. This action is expressed by *pai baia utang*.[105] Sometimes, "the debtor" does not come to the trader to pay his debt on the agreed upon schedule. In this case, the trader has no ways of forcing the indebted customer to come to pay.

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[104] This credit, in local term called *kredit,* is not a loan as commonly practiced according to the formal procedure of business, such as by banks. This is only an indigenous custom of selling goods by traders where buyers are allowed to pay for the goods they buy in several installments.

[105] To a certain extent, this term is sometimes clearly said to be the symbolic expression of good manners. When a debtor can pay his debt on time, he will be proud of it. People often do not see the debt itself as the issue, rather to the action of payment as a symbol of a social obligation that is accorded with *adat* as it is called *kato dahulu batapati* (a word given must be kept) (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978: 157-158). The action of paying the word, called *manape'i janji* (when you give your word you must keep it).

Sometimes, the “debtor” comes to pay his debt, but the amount of the payment is less than promised. In this case, the trader also usually does nothing. A break of the stated promise by “the debtor” is so far tolerated by the trader. The trader then can only look forward to the next payments. The important thing is the credit should be finally paid by the “debtor”.[106]

An extreme event sometimes happens. The “debtor” often runs away from his obligation to pay the debt. In this situation, the trader can do nothing. The trader only thinks about it as a lack of good faith (*marugi*). By contrast, he will have a good faith (*nasib elok),* if the credit can be paid for by the “debtor”, even though not on time.

In agreeing to such credit, most traders are submissive to luck and faith, even if some of their “debtors” disappear and never show up again to pay their debts. This indicates a trader’s attitude of submission to the will of God (*pasrah*) in every bad situation of his business. A cloth trader (Said, 55) who usually practices such a local credit system said:

> “by trading with credit in this village (the Tabek Patah village), it is not necessary for me to be strict, rather I always follow local villager’s custom. As long as I do it in such a way, a bad situation that affects on my credit hardly ever happens to me. So far, I have been able to increase my customers. I only notice that many local villagers here like to do business with me...If the bad situation finally happens to me, I can only put my faith in God...”

The combination of doing trade with the use of a rational calculation and faith in God is the most characteristic trait of Minangkabau traders. Traders commonly believe that the final result of their trading is God’s decision. In many cases, religious belief still plays an important role in Minangkabau trade as a whole.[107]

4.6.3. Hidden Competition

Trade activities are not very busy except on market days. This slack period for trading threatens some businesses that are located at the market place, as experienced by many local restaurant owners (*lapau nasi*) at the Tabek Patah marketplace. Unlike on the main market day, the four local restaurants (*lapau nasi*) are often empty of customers. These slack days bring about a considerable decrease of profit due to lack of customers. Therefore, their expectation of having more customers on the market day, due to the market crowd, is very high.

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[106] As long as the credit is still ongoing, the “debtor” may apply for another credit to buy more goods from the same trader.

On the market day, the market crowd actually does not directly bring customers into the *lapau nasi*. One of the owners of a *lapau nasi* observes that many market customers love to eat at "a hot food counter under a bamboo shelter" (*kedai nasi bertenda*) that are only available on the great market day, instead of eating in the *lapau nasi*. These food tents offer various specific and favorable foods, such as *nasi kapau* (*kapau* rice). Considering this customer habit, she feels unhappy. She thinks that these *kedai nasi bertenda* are her big competitors in business. As she said:

> "Most of those *kedai nasi* (the food tents) mostly do not sell fresh-cooked foods. They usually cook their foods few days before. Sometimes they sell "old foods" (*samba nan diangekan)* from the leftovers left unsold on days before. So, I think the cooking of those temporary small food tents is not really tasty (*indak badaceh*). In contrast, I always sell fresh dishes everyday, therefore I can guarantee that my cooking is very tasty..."[108]

Her argument sounded cynical to me. It seems to signify a hidden competition strategy. She tries to spread a certain rumor with the hope that it will tempt many customers to come to her restaurant. Based on my interview with various owners of food tents, they do not ever sell non freshly-cooked foods that are leftover from days before. According to them, it is quite dangerous to do this.

Based on this contradictory point of view, I see a latent competition between cooked food sellers at the Tabek Patah market. The informant quoted above feels that other cooked food vendors are real competitors who pull her potential customers into their tents. She expects a good chance of having many customers on the main market day. In reality, her expectation does not come true.

In fact, cooked food vendors have no specific strategy of attracting as many as possible customers, such as making a promotion or advertisement etc. In general, they do not do anything to attract many customers to come to them. One persuasive strategy for their customers is telling something negative or spreading slightly rumors about other traders. This is regarded as a form of hidden competition among them. This illustrates another of traders'

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[107] In comparison with the case of market traders in Roman North Africa, the mechanisms of social controls over the market reflect the dominant ideological system in the society or the religion, instead of the controls being provided by the secular political level (Shaw 1979: 95)

[108] She made this statement to me as I interviewed her. At that interview, I was having lunch at her restaurant. This shows how is her feeling about the trade competition between local food vendors.

characteristic ways of doing business. In this regard, a personal network for mutual help does not come into play.

4.7. Conclusion

In general, the market circulation functions to serve traders as locations for the establishment of networks. As a matter of fact, the market circulation articulates two kinds of networks, these are, marketing networks (*hubungan dagang*) and personal networks (*hubungan pribadi*). The former is the network that takes place as a result of trade activities. That the market operates on different days and areas helps traders to build the network for the sake of goods provisions, reduction of trading competition and to maintain profits. Meanwhile, the latter is the kind of social network that is established by virtue of social closeness or in the spirit of Minangkabau relationships. In this sense, the social relationships is put into the framework of ethnic consciousness of the Minangkabau : "*samo maraso sebagai urang minang*" (the shared feeling of the Minangkabauness).

As expressed in many cases, most market actors regard politeness and friendliness as the most important elements of trading within a Minangkabau context. These reflect part of social Minangkabau life. One trader, Mawar (60) expressed it in an *adat* proverb:

Muluik manih, kucindan murah
Lamak diawak, katuju diurang
(The nice words, the joy of talks
What we like is what is acceptable to the other)

In general, this proverb means that the social balance is an integral part of successful transaction. The feeling of the Minangkabauness (*urang Minang*) cannot be put aside only in a single sphere of daily life. Doing business, or not, the Minangkabau must put this feeling first in order to maintain relationships.

In many cases, however, the social relationships, maintained by traders at the market places, do not automatically lead to the establishment of a business network. Thus, networks among traders at the marketplace can be characterized by specific process. This can be formulated as follows:

1. The network will be established if an internal competition is not present. In other words, the absence of network reflects the presence of internal competition. Traders do not want to participate in a network with traders who sell similar types of goods because of

competition. Traders do not want to establish a certain network as long as they are involved in trading competition with each other.

2. In many cases, a network is predominantly established in relation to the goal of profit. But, when this goal is not met, the solution is not blamed the mechanism of the network itself, rather an answer is sought in the religious sphere. The final decision on the trading network is based on faith in God (*pasrah*).
3. Hence, the network among Minangkabau traders does not only represent a mode of social or economic action, but also of a religious belief. This is because the formal system of the economy, that protects actors from negative impacts of the network, is not available. In this sense, the formal regulations of the economy or of customary law are absent in the operation of business networks. Therefore, the network is quite shaky in practice. The network cannot depend on it as a mean of success in all trade activities.

5. Market in Society: Household Strategies in the Rural Market Economy

5.1. Introduction

Concerning the market-based economy, Minangkabau villagers are not involved in subsistence production as their primary domestic economic activity, but also pursue commercial activities for the sake of maintaining the household economy. In this sense, villagers do not primarily seek to provide their basic needs, but also to fulfill growing consumer needs in response to the influence of the consumer culture.

It is scientifically obsolete to perceive the village as isolated from the ongoing process of changes affecting larger social, political and economic systems in Indonesia (see Buchholt 1989; Heersink 1994; Kahn 1980; Evers and Schrader 1994). Developments in the modern technology of communication, the (in)stability of the national political system, and the world-wide penetration of the global market not only affect urban areas, but inevitably, rural areas also. The local community, in any case, becomes an integral part of local, regional, national and global changes in society (Evers 1997). This intertwining of local and global change has also been experienced by the Minangkabau for many years (P & K Sumatera Barat 1994b). According to a study sponsored by the Indonesian office of Education and Culture (P & K), the process of globalization in all areas of Minangkabau life, especially through penetration of high-tech communication, can be observed. This process is indicated by changes in various aspects of local culture and society, such as the form of domestic economy, orientation to education and by new preferences in family type in accordance with "contemporary life"

(P&K Sumatera Barat 1994b: 15-54).[109] Unfortunately, this research did not give a clear-cut analysis of such changes in detail. A few years before this research was carried out, Kato (1982) published similar observations mentioned similar ideas of it. The declining functions of the *adat* house, a strong trend towards the nuclear family instead of the extended family, more individually owned property, and new trends in social stratification indicate change. Kato claims that a new social configuration of present Minangkabau society is apparently taking place (1982: 168-193) based on his observations.

In fact, alterations in Minangkabau life can be seen as an internal and external process of transformation. But, we cannot simply claim that only the external influences are driving factors in the changes. Changes in personal and impersonal fashions of social relationships, imitation or exchange of knowledge coming from inside or outside of social borders constantly occur in many ways. However, the rate of changes seems to be increasing along with progressive modernization of the economy. Taking this argument into account, we see that contemporary social relationships in Minangkabau villages are always related to broader and narrower mechanisms of the market economy.

Although penetration of the market economy into Minangkabau community is not a new phenomenon (Oki 1977; Kahn 1980; Kato 1982; Young 1994), (like in many Indonesian communities) (Leur 1955; Buchholt 1989), the response to such penetration varies from one local community to another and is not yet finished. During the Dutch colonial era, for example, the Forced Delivery System (*Kultuurstelsel*) was the major factor that intentionally drove local people to become involved in the so-called market economy (Amran 1985; Oki 1977; Young 1994). This constituting life process caused by market integration is still taking place. Today, most villagers experience the market economy in many ways, as a tension between individual and collective, conflict and conformity, sustainable and resistance, and change and continuity, etc.

In this sense, I want to explain the general pattern of household economy practiced by most villagers in the village of Tabek Patah in Tanah Datar regency. Villagers there are experiencing the so-called globalization process as a result of their involvement in the market economy. Villagers do anything they can do in order to survive economically. Everything possible is done to earn more income. Thus, villagers tend to characterize every action as

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[109] In illustration of it, the possession of a colored television equipped with parabola antenna, or of a car, or of a motorcycle, and of a famous brand name of clothing and shoes is the main life orientation of Minangkabau villagers.

being economic in nature. As a result, they see their social relations in economic terms, as I will explain later.

5.2. Phenomena of a Market-Oriented Basis of Activities

The major economic activities of Tabek Patah village is agriculture (49.4%). Most villagers work in their rice and dry fields (*sawah* and *polak*) everyday. They cultivate produce items for predominantly market sale, such as chili, ginger, and cinnamon (*kulit manis*), tomatoes, or bananas, rather than growing crops for their own consumption. They prefer to sell produce at the marketplace in order to earn money as fast as possible. The money so obtained is partly spent for daily needs and, always, for consumer goods. This is a simple picture of the rhythm of economic activities carried out by villagers from one day to another. These activities are also called mixed cash/subsistence economies (Hovelsrud-Broda 1997: 23-26).[110] It seems that the Minangkabau are obviously experiencing "getting a cash income" or "the cash economy. "Getting a cash income" always involves selling something according to the principle of market exchange (Bohannan and Dalton 1968: 20-21).

The marketplace is the main location for earning family income.[111] It is usually located near to their home area, and *nagari* members are able to take their produce to the market themselves. The amount of income depends on which agricultural products are sold at the market. Thus, the availability of the marketplace is a primary factor determining agricultural activities as a whole. Normally, the security and continuity of the marketplace are guaranteed by the *nagari* and the market administrator on behalf of the villagers. In this regard, the role of the lineage leader (*penghulu*) is quite crucial in keeping the marketplace running properly. Thus, the cycle of *nagari* members' economic activities is maintained.[112]

In fact, villagers decide on a cycle of market days in their own home area and neighboring areas as their time basis for producing commodities and subsequently exchanging them. In many cases, most peasants calculate their household economy on a weekly basis. According to my research findings respondents budget their income for daily needs (*makan*) on a weekly

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[110] The notion of a mixed cash/susbsistence economy is an attempt to reconcile the intersection of two different economic sectors: a "capitalist", or "market", economy and a "traditional" household economy. Mixed cash/subsistence economies are seen as operating simultaneously in what are often discussed as two opposing economic sectors: an industrial market economy, predicated on production for exchange, and a "primitive" household economy, predicated on production for use and sharing (Hoverlsrud-Broda 1997: 23).

[111] In this context, the family income is categorized as a kind of a privately earned property (*harta pencaharian*). This kind of income is used for the family at the level of a nuclear family, not at the level of a lineage (*kaum*) or a clan (*suku*). The produce harvested from clan or lineage land is only used for subsistence.

basis.[113] In general, the income is always connected with how it will be earned and spent within one week. Villagers calculate their household budget on a one-week basis. This corresponds with the operation of weekly markets (*pakan*). They must think from one week to another about what produce items will be sold at the market, on each market day, so that consequently the money earned will be enough for the weekly consumption.

By setting reasonable prices for goods, the system of market circulation influences villagers to visit certain markets. For example, Tabek Patah villagers prefer to buy chilies at the Batusangkar marketplace (located 11 kilometer from the village with local transportation costing Rp. 400,- pro person for one way) that is opened every Thursday, rather than at the Salimpaung marketplace (located five kilometer from the village and costing a fare of only Rp.200,- pro person one way) that is open every Friday. However, all respondents go to the nearby marketplace to buy food for daily use, and 4% of them also visit several other marketplaces, such as the Salimpaung market, the Batusangkar market, and the Sungai Tarab market (located eight kilometers from the village) without having any specific needs. Generally, villagers have a pattern of visiting certain marketplaces to get desired goods at good prices. Thus, villagers are quite well informed about the different market days and special goods sold at each marketplace. They are also familiar with the locations of marketplaces in various *nagari*s.

This pattern is not always valid for all villagers. Two custom related aspects should be taken into consideration. On the one hand, a main goal of villagers' marketing and purchasing is how to sell quickly produce and so circulate the money within "a short time period" (*barang capek tajua dan pokok capek babaliang*). On the other hand, villagers have to purchase goods that they need at once (*dapek apo nan dicari*). For this, Tabek Patah villagers tend to visit the related market that can meet this custom. However, this practice is sustained by the market circulation that facilitates a pattern of weekly market operation in rural areas.

The market visited is also determined by the availability of road networks and, thus, of local transportation. Therefore, many markets are located at a distance that is easily reached from the villagers' home base. Looking at the table below, we see that the Tabek Patah villagers have their market day on Monday. Thus. they regard Monday as a "determining day

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[112] This is mainly an argument from an *adat* leader, Datuk Rajo Panghulu, of the Tabek Patah *nagari* based on an interview on 11.11.96.

[113] Expenses for education of children (*biaya sekolah anak*) (especially for buying clothes, shoes etc) are calculated on a yearly basis, while expenses for transportation (*ongkos*) are calculated on a daily basis. People connect the purchase of clothes or shoes with the major religious holiday (*hari raya Idul Fitri).* They think new clothes or shoes etc. can be bought on such a day. Therefore, they calculate such expenses only on a yearly basis.

of life“[114] whether they will earn money from their fields or not. Bananas, sugar cane, chili, vegetables, beans, or potatoes are harvested just before market day and sold to market shoppers or middlemen.

Table 28 Market attended by Tabek Patah Villagers in one Week

Markets	Monday f(%)	Tuesday f(%)	Wednesday f(%)	Thursday f(%)	Friday f(%)	Saturday f(%)	Sunday f(%)
Tabek Patah (TP)	98.4%	0	0	0	0	1.2%	0
Tanjung Alam (TA)	0	0	0	0.8%	0	0	0
TP and TA	0.4%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bukittinggi	0	0	1.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4
Batu Sangkar	0.8%	0,4%	0.4%	9.1%	0.4%	0.4%	0.8%
Sungai Tarab	0	0	0.8%	0	0	0	0
Simabur	0.4%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baso	0	0	0	0.4%	0	0	0
Salimpaung	0	0	0	0	10.3%	0	0
Payakumbuh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.4%
Balai Tangah	0	0	0	0.4%	0	0	0
No visit the market	0%	99.6%	96.7%	88.9%	88.9%	97.9%	98.4%

Source: own Data 1996/1997

This Table indicates that the usual days for going to markets are Monday, Thursday and Friday. The other markets are visited occasionally by villagers depending on circumstances and special needs. Nevertheless, the major day for visiting the market is Monday, when villagers especially attend the Tabek Patah market. On this main market day, most villagers (69.5%) take time off from their normal agricultural work in the fields. On Monday, 64.4 % of them visit the local marketplace, 3.7% of them just stay at home or spend time for recreation, and 0.4% of them work at their second job. During the rest of the week, from Tuesday to Sunday, most villagers (81.5% in average) prefer not to visit the market, and are rather occupied with their normal work. Thus, we can say that the villagers use a weekly cycle for switching between their main jobs and their second jobs. In addition, villagers are always well informed about the market days at various marketplaces. Therefore, if they incidentally want to visit a particular marketplace, besides the market they usually visit, they know when

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[114] This is the day when the peasants measure their economic performance. If they do not do well with production they will have no cash and the next week and plans will be in danger.

and where to go. From the table above, it can be concluded that marketplaces are generally visited by Tabek Patah villagers on the basis of a week cycle.

Table 29 Preference of Marketplaces visited by Tabek Patah Villagers on a Weekly Basis

	Days	Marketplaces
1.	Monday	The Tabek Patah, Tanjung Alam, Batusangkar, and Simabur
2.	Tuesday	Batusangkar
3.	Wednesday	Bukittinggi, Batusangkar, and Sungai Tarab
4.	Thursday	Tanjung Alam, Bukittinggi, Batusangkar, Baso and Balai Tangah
5.	Friday	Salimpaung, Buktitinggi and Batusangkar
6.	Saturday	Tabek Patah, Bukittinggi and Batusangkar
7.	Sunday	Bukittinggi, Batusangkar, Payakumbuh

Source: own Data 1996/1997

Based on the explanation above, we see that villagers' main characteristic is their market orientation. The weekly market is used as the main opportunity to directly sell produce and to buy any kind of goods needed for daily consumption. To some extent, this illustrates what Young has argued (1994 especially in chapter four). He states firstly, that the rural Minangkabau household is characterized a cyclical process of movement between subsistence and commercial activity. This means households play a role in production as well as in consumption. Secondly, this market focus means that economic factors are the most important aspect of daily life. This leads to money, in the village context, becoming crucially important.

5.3. Labor Practices in the Village as the Consequence of Market Importance

As a result of the uncertainty of prices for produce at the local market place, villagers have become accustomed to oscillations in their income.[115] Therefore, they cannot strictly predict their income on a long-termed basis. The table below gives a picture of the personal income of Tabek Patah villagers in general.

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[115] According to the Statistical Office of Tanah Datar, a monthly individual income in Tanah Datar region is Rp. 76,164.94, or it is similar to Rp. 2,538 (or about US$ 1.15, according to 1996 currency),- per day in 1993. This figure, however, describes a general economic achievement of the region in comparison to the year 1988. From 1988 up to 1993 the regional domestic income has improved 71.16% which means that peoples' general income increased from Rp. 533,982.08 (or about US$ 242.71) to Rp. 913,979.36 (US$ 415.44) per year (Tanah Datar Statistical Office, 1996). This calculation does not pay any attention to the geographical diversity between rural and urban areas.

Table 30 Monthly Incomes of Respondents

No.	Income Category (in *Rupiah*)	f(%)
1.	< 50,000	141 (58%)
2.	59,999 – 120,000	37 (15.3%)
3.	129,999 – 200,000	29 (11.9%)
4.	299,999 – 320,000	25 (10.3%)
5.	>320,000	11 (4.5%)

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The table above indicates that villagers' income can be categorized as relatively low or below Rp.50,000,- per month, or equivalent to only about US$ 20 (based on 1996 currency). The respondent's entire income is Rp. 81,291.93,- on the average. This indicates that this average income is more than the figure issued by the Statistical Office of Tanah Datar in 1996 (Rp. 71,164.94,- per month). This figure is mainly based on the calculation of income from agriculture. The income distribution of the majority of villagers shows clearly their problem of shortage of money. With the above indicated amount of cash income, it is clear that villagers have to struggle to pay for their daily consumption.

Although facing such a problem, villagers seldom (3.7%) seek for financial assistance from their relatives in their own village or by requesting remittances from family members living in the frontier area (*rantau*). Other villagers (36.7%) try to independently support themselves by seeking various second jobs, and 55.6 % of families mostly depend for their livelihood on income solely provided by the father (a head of nuclear family). This is categorized as a nuclear family income (*penghasilan pribadi rumah tangga*).

Only 4.1 % of villagers live from the combination of remittances and their own job. These figures seem to oppose what some writers on Minangkabau have claimed, namely that the remittances from the Minangkabau migrants play a major role in helping relatives remaining at home and that this help symbolizes a maintenance of *kampuang-rantau* lines of matrlineal relationships (see, for example, Naim 1973; Kato 1982; Reenen 1990, 1996). In relation to the fact that the fathers are becoming the main agents in sustaining the family income. My findings show the growing financial responsibility of the father for his own children, indicating an increase in strength of "patrilineal-ship", rather than men being mainly responsible for their sister's children (*kamanakan).*

To cope with uncertain, oscillating and low incomes, villagers activate any other jobs that can add income from different resources. What is quite remarkable is that many villagers try to commercialize every job that is available to them, especially in relation to agricultural activities. The most striking element is that they give a money value to every task carried out, such as the custom of communal labor called *kongsi* (lit. the association of agricultural laborers).[116] *Kongsi* is a self-organized group of peasants who carry out their work on agricultural land together. This group is open to every peasant who wants to join.

Through *kongsi,* farm work is done together with the group moving from the land of one member to another's field day to day. For example, if the group works on a field of a member A today, tomorrow it moves to field of member B, and so forth. The group moves from one field to the next until each member of the group has had his or her turn to use the labor power of the whole group. Then the cycle will repeat again, from the first to the last.

The *kongsi* works in few hours on each member's field everyday. In the case of the *kongsi* in the Tabek Patah village and surrounding villages, the work takes place two hours each day, except on Monday. The group takes a break from their work each Monday, coinciding with the market day at that village. The number of members is different in each group, it can consist of five, or six, or up to ten peasants. Also the number of *kongsi* varies from village to village.

Besides its basic purpose, the *kongsi* has become a group of commercial laborers in the village now. Groups prefer to sell their labor to other peasants or villagers in general, who need assistance, and sometimes provide types of services other than agricultural labor to villagers who can pay. If a peasant wants to cultivate his land, but he is not strong enough to do it, and he also has a shortage of labor in his own family, then he can buy the labor of a work group (*kongsi).* The group then carries out certain tasks asked for by the person who buys the labor, such as digging, hoeing, plowing and so on. The current price (based on research in 1996-1997) is Rp. 750,- per hour for a male laborer, and Rp. 500,- per hour for a female laborer. Based on this price per worker, each *kongsi* group then sets a whole price for the group.[117]

The group sells not only its labor to someone else on behalf of the group, but it can also be sold on behalf of a single member. For example, a member A has his turn and the group is going to work on his field tomorrow. Instead of taking this turn, he can sell it to someone else.

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[116] In comparison to other communities of Indonesia, communal labor groups, based on the principle of mutual help (*tolong menolong*), in the agricultural scene, are common. This kind of group is called by different names, such as *Subak* (in Bali), *Julo-julo pertanian* (in Bengkulu and Enggano), *Marong* (in Ternate), *Gololi* (in Tidore) (see, for example, Koentjaraningrat 1980; Effendi 1989).

Therefore, the group will work at someone else's field instead of in A's field on the next day. The price is transacted privately between A and the person buying the turn and the payment then fully belongs to A, instead of to the group. In this context, the fixed price for the group may not be valid for the buyer. The buyer can bargain over the price with A (if A is willing to do it). Thus, the *kongsi* group represents another way to earn cash in the village.

The social consequences of this self-organization of peasants in the *kongsi* is, firstly, a creation of a clique consisting of the peasants making up the group. Peasants working in the same *kongsi* are inclined to form close relationships among themselves, instead of with non-members. They also perform collaborative work besides of agricultural tasks, for example *sarayo*.[118] The clique is sometimes involved in other activities, such as, reciting the Koran (*kelompok pengajian)* once a week on Thursday night (*malam Jum'at*).[119]

A consequence is that communal work, on a non-commercial basis in agriculture, is becoming rare.[120] Seen in this context, the *kongsi* have been encouraging the commercialization of mutual help (*tolong menolong*). Even though each peasant family tries only to mobilize its own family members, as laborers, to work in the family field, due to a shortage of potential agricultural laborers, they have to sometimes buy the *kongsi.*

The custom of mutual help (*tolong menolong)* in the village thus has a tendency calculated in money terms. The calculation of cost is usually compared to general labor prices outside of agricultural labor.[121] This comparison is used by villagers in order to judge whether mutual help, inside or outside of the agricultural field, is properly compensated for or not. Thus, work done by agricultural labors to help a fellow villager without payment, in today Minangkabau village context, seems to violate the current work custom.[122] The mutual help is not based on a social basis, rather on a commercial basis.

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[117] To some extent, however, the trade of an agricultural group of labors is not Minangkabau unique. This also takes place in another part of Indonesia, such as in Ternate and Tidore islands, Moluccas. There, the group is called *Gololi* (Effendi 1989).

[118] This is a labor group mobilized for a special purpose, such as to build a house.

[119] This is also a general religious activity that is enthusiastically carried out by villagers.

[120] In Minangkabau, there is a collective work, that is called *manunggal sakato.* This is male only work that is lawfully enforced by the local government. When someone is unable to take part in it, he must find a substitute worker, or pay money in substitution for it. Works done are usually related to the governmental development programs, such as to build roads, to build or restore a village head office, mosques etc.

[121] When I did field research, villagers were always comparing their work with hired labor in building and industry. In 1996, villagers estimated the wage of building laborer at Rp. 7,500 per day, and Rp. 10,000 in industry.

[122] It is usual to find free laborers employed in working in or outside of the fields as in the Minangkabau village now. A job as a free-lance agricultural worker (*buruh pertanian lepas*), outside of the *Kongsi* context tends to decrease. The wage, in this regard, is still flexible. But, to a certain extent, the wage will be compared with wages in other type of work, such as in building and industry.

Early one morning a peasant came to Amir's house. This fellow country man of Amir needed a large amount of manure from Amir's cows to use as natural fertilizer *(pupuk kompos*). In fact, Amir did not want to give the manure to him without any payment, although everyone in the Koto Alam village knows that Amir is not a "manure trader". Amir does have two cows that produce a lot of manure. For Amir himself, the manure was useless, he did not use it himself as the natural fertilizer for his field where he grows crops. That morning, Amir said that the peasant could take it after paying for it. The peasant hoped that he would be able to obtain the manure from Amir without any charge. Thus, the following transaction took place between them (Amir was accompanied by his wife at the time):

"How much are you going to sell this manure for "(*bara ka di jua kotoran ko?*) the peasant asked.

"How much do you want to offer?" (*bara barani manawar*?), replying without answering the question.

"Rp. 10,000,- for all this manure?" (*sapuluah ribu sadonyo*?), replied the peasant.

"Sorry, I can not sell all of it for such a price, lower than Rp. 15,000". (*ma bisa, 15.000 kami ka manjuanyo…").*

Amir's wife joined into the transaction and said: "he seems to trying to get rich man by buying our manure at a low price and selling it again at a higher price" (*inyo kakayo mah, jo bali ka awak murah beko nyo jua labiah…*).

"How am I going to get rich by trading these feces!" (*untuak a kayo dari mambali cirik mode ko…!*) replied the peasant annoyed.

Finally, the price was fixed at Rp.12,000 for the manure.

(After the transaction Amir said to me that he never wanted to sell the manure, accumulated in his stall, to that peasant. This was because he did not actually know the proper price for the manure, and he never knew how many kilograms, the manure in his stall amounted to. Therefore, he preferred to "shoot" *(manodong*) someone who was interested in it (in this case the peasant) with any payment. It was better for him to set the price in reference to the buying price offered first by someone, than to offer a selling price from his side. Based on this strategy, then the transaction was carried out. Why did he not just give the peasant the manure? By giving the manure away, the stall would be clean, and Amir would not have to clean out the stall himself. Later on, I knew why Amir sold his cows' manure, instead of just giving it

> away. Two days later, he brought his female cow to be served (*dikawinkan*) by a bull belonging to his neighbor. His cow seemed to be in heat (*masa birahi*). For this natural fertilization, Amir was supposed to pay Rp.10,000,-. The money obtained from selling the manure then was used to pay for having his cow fertilized. Amir actually did not agree to the charge set by his neighbor for this service. "This is only a simple job", he said. But, his neighbor said to him that this insemination by the bull is cheaper than that done by the veterinarian with the technique of artificial insemination (*kawin suntik*). For that, he said, you have to pay Rp.25,000,-. You also have to get a letter of permission ahead of time from the district office for it. It is quite complicated).

This case depicts that the commercialization of social relations, in relation to extra income, is quite visible in the village. Every exchange between villagers is done on a commercial basis (*dijadian pitih*), if possible.[123] A simple task, once regarded as helping a neighbor, can be altered to be a source of additional income.[124] The virus of commercialization in Minangkabau villages has, any case, been observed since the Dutch colonial era where the Forced Delivery System was imposed on villagers in the late nineteenth century (1847-1908). At that time, The Minangkabau villagers were forced to plant cash crops (especially coffee) that later on had to be delivered to government warehouses where they would be paid for in cash (Oki 1977; Kato 1982; Young 1994). Seen in this light, the Minangkabau have long been accustomed to exploit agricultural labor works as a source of income.

A collective labor project (*gotong royong*) sometimes becomes a legal obligation and means of punishment as well. In the case of Koto Alam village[125], a collective work project is, in general, enforced by the village head. To mobilize labor, the formal announcement is always made and shouted through the loudspeaker of the village mosque. By using a law [126], the village regulates the participation of villagers in collective work. And, the collective work

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[123] I was even asked for a sum of money by one informant who works as the local transportation organizer (*agen*) at the Tabek Patah market, when I tried to carry out an interview with him for a second time. I did not know exactly whether he charged me due to the interview or to my familiar presence in that village, as "*bapak dosen",* a university lecturer. Another case is one villager, who I know, who asked me for money. He said to me: "*pak ado pitih pak, 500 se...untuak bali rokok"* (Sir do you have money? Please give me just 500 *rupiah* to buy cigarettes). According to me, this is a clear evidence of commercialization of every interaction by villagers at any opportunity.

[124] One Informant said: "*dahulu awak cukuik maambiak sayua dari ladang sorang, kalau indak ado, cukuik maminta ka sabalah rumah, tapi kini sagalonyo harus dibali atau pai ka pakan…*" (in the past, I only ate vegetables from my own field, or if not, got some from neighbors without charge, but nowadays I have to pay, or even buy some at the market).

[125] The Koto Alam village is a former sub village of the Tabek Patah village.

[126] This is a decree of The Koto Alam village no.003/2023/PMDES-1996 about the social guidance and order of Koto Alam Village in the future (*Pembinaan Dan Penertiban Desa Koto Alam Untuk Masa Yang Akan Datang).*

is used as a form of a punishment when someone violates local customs (*adat*). If the offending person cannot do the work himself, he must substitute it with money that is equivalent to the wage for one day work, or up to Rp. 7,500. To some extent, a *gotong royong* in West Sumatra takes the form of a hierarchical command from the governor down to the village and sub-village heads. In Koto Allam village, every male has to be registered (*diabsen* or *diapel*) when participating in *gotong royong*. Villagers do not participate in *gotong royong* willingly, but out of fear.

Based on the explanation above, I argue that the collective labor (*gotong royong*) or mutual help project (*tolong menolong*) has become a market phenomenon, as we see in their commercialized aspects. It is regarded improper (*kurang pantas*) to employ someone without giving him any payment. The corollary is that peasants have changed their perception of a request to do some work for someone in the community from helping a neighbor to a kind of job offer. However, they do not want to talk directly about how much money they will get, rather they rely on the person's consciousness of the need to pay adequately after receiving help. If the recipient of the favor does not pay, the social relationship between the two afterwards will be marked by an undercurrent of conflict. In any case, peasants always see their time and energy as equivalent to some wage labor.

5.4. Female and Male Roles in Market Activity

With regard to gender, it is important to consider female and male roles in the earning of family income. Minangkabau women predominate in activities at the marketplace indicating that their strong role in maintaining the household economy is, to some extent, still relevant. Their presence at many Minangkabau marketplaces is very obvious from the past up to the present (Sumatra Westkust Rapport 1928; Steuers 1960: 64; Giffen and Chatra 1996). They play a role not only as buyers, but also are important as traders or sellers. Although the exact proportion of women is still uncertain, but from empirical observation, the majority of actors, occupying space at the Minangkabau markets, are clearly women. In any case, their involvement at the market is corresponding with an assumption that the Minangkabau women are also the main actors in the domestic economy. Due to the close connections between the domestic economy and the local market, women’s role is expressed by their holding of rights over communal inherited property as well as in the public economy through their activity as generators of income (Rasyad 1998; Reenen 1996). As the *adat* proverb says:

Bundo Kanduang, limpapeh rumah nan gadang

umbun puro pegangan kunci,
Aluang bunian sumarak dalam nagari,
pusek jalo kumpulan tali,
nan gadang basa batuah,
kok hiduik tampek banasa,
kok mati tampek baniek dan tampek maniru jo manuladan
(Mother central pillar of the house,
holder of the key to the ancestral treasure chest,
the voice of rice pestles, ornament of the village,
center of the net, group of the rope,
who is great and valuable,
while alive our vows are for her,
When she dies, she is still our model of a best and proper person)

This proverb means that the married Minangkabau women are responsible for their household in social and economic matters, as stated by *Aluang bunian sumarak dalam nagari*, *umbun puro pegangan kunci* (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978: 6; Rasyad 1998). Since the economic wealth of the family is controlled by mothers, the rice granary placed in front of the *adat* house symbolizes their role. In any case, they hold a customary right to control the household economy (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978: 6). The happiness and prosperity of the family are their general responsibility. They are a good example for their relatives and community, and only their death can separate them from the family as stated in the proverb above: "*pusek jalo kumpulan tali, nan gadang basa batuah, kok hiduik tampek banasa, kok mati tampek baniek dan tampek maniru jo manuladan".*

In terms of gender relations, while Minangkabau women directly play a role in earning household income, the men of the matrilineal clan act as managers of communal property (Oki 1977; Manan 1995). This means that the Minangkabau male is not directly earning income for his own family. Rather, they organize the economic resources of their own matrilineal clan for the well being of its members, especially for their sisters and their sister's children. This picture, according to my research, needs to be redefined by virtue of the fact that men's role in the household economy is also important. There is much empirical evidences for this. Considering my respondents, most of the families depend on the joint income resulting from the shared efforts of husband and wife. Both incomes make up the family income (*penghasilan keluarga),* instead of contributing to clan resources. Husband and wife work shoulder to shoulder to insure the prosperity of their nuclear family. Their efforts are transformed into a personally earned income (*harato pencaharian*), which increases the importance of the nuclear family over that of the lineage or clan.

In fact, the husband's and wife's contributions indicate a similar responsibility for maintaining the economy of the family. In spite of this development, men's roles in their matrilineal clan are still important. Much evidences show that a man shifts his role from a *sumando* (in-marrying man) to a *suami* (a married man), and from a *mamak* (a sister's brother) to an *ayah* (a father).

In terms of agricultural activities, a man's time and energy are mostly dedicated to working on his own land, and the communal land is cultivated less as a consequence. Men are busy with their own jobs. At the marketplace, their work as traders is becoming more obvious as one part of their business in general. In the case of Balai Tangah market, the number of male traders (54%) is higher than that of female traders (46%). However, at the Tabek Patah market, the situation is different. There, male traders correspond to 47.5% and female traders to 52.5%. These figures clearly indicate that women no longer monopolize the economic activity as traders or sellers at the marketplace.

Male and female traders sell goods side by side at the marketplace. If we assume that women only sell agricultural products, then in fact, we find also that men do so. If we say men mostly sell manufactured goods, such as soap, sandals, cloth, then in fact, we also find women selling the same goods. If we argue that only women sell cakes, food, and prepared foods at the market place, then in fact, we find that men also sell these items. Moreover, we also find husbands and wives working together at the marketplace to sell goods or foods. Therefore, I want to argue that the accepted view of the domination of women at the Minangkabau market cannot be totally accepted. Today, we must consider the presence of male traders as just as important as the role of women traders in market activities.

5.5. Money Politics as a Response to Life Difficulties in the Village

5.5.1. The Economic Principle behind Action

It is inevitably argued that money is what we need to. For the Minangkabau, its importance is expressed in an *adat* proverb:

dek pitih sagalo jadi,
dek ameh sagalo kameh,
hutang adaik harus dibaia jo adaik

(because of money is everything getting okay,
because of gold is everything getting good,
an *adat* debt has to be paid by *adat*)

In other versions of this proverb, related principles are expressed, such as, *nak labo bueklah marugi* (to have a profit, one must suffer a loss in the beginning), and, *nak kayo kuwek mancari* (to be rich, we must work hard) (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978:19). These are all indigenous principles evoking commercial motives. The first principle means that if the Minangkabau want to accumulate capital, they will have to suffer an initial loss. Later on, they will get it back when they make a profit, so they should have confidence and take risks. Everything we want to have will be obtained eventually. It is a matter of time (p.19). The later principle means that the Minangkabau should work hard in order to be rich but without considering if the work is hard or light, or if the time is long or short. Every effort should be made, even though we do it like "the way a fish breaths air" (*asa lai angok-angok ikan*) (p.19). The Minangkabau seem to refer to these sayings in response to any commercialized situation.

5.5.2. Commercialized Activities and Reality

5.5.2.1. The First Peasants' Strategy

The highly commercial sentiments mentioned above, however, do not seem to match with reality. As already mentioned, the Minangkabau are still shackled with the dilemma of low income, on the one hand. But, they experience an increasing demand for consumer behavior due to the market penetration, on the other. This conflict inevitably takes place in the villages as well. Perhaps, many observers still reject the idea of poverty in the Minangkabau context, since communal property (*harta pusaka*) is still maintained for the well being of matrilineage members, and the role of clan heads is to take care of all matrilineage members. In my view, this has become an idealized picture of social and economic harmony among the Minangkabau. The challenge of modernization, including commercialization and individualism, too much in conflict with the traditional Minangkabau social structure, so that social changes are the inevitable processes in relation to the maintenance of their own customs (see Prindiville 1985: 34 - 43). Evidence of these changes are, firstly, the strong tendency for exchanging the roles of *sumando* (in-marrying husband) for that of *ayah* (father), secondly, for privately owned property (*harato pancaharian*), and, thirdly, new trends toward social stratification based on personal levels of education and wealth, and, finally the changing pattern of land ownership (see Evers 1975; Kato 1982).

The dynamics of rural life, on one hand, and the struggle to make enough money to buy consumer goods as well as basic needs and, on the other hand, the struggle to observe local customs and still acting in a relevant and meaningful way in relation to the contemporary situation, are the contradictions that face the villager. In fact, villagers are long accustomed to the penetration of manufactured goods or "out-village" products (*barang dari lua*).[127], instead of local goods (*barang sendiri*), and the pressure to lead a modern life with its emphasis on the materialistic aspects instead of on traditions and customs. The owners of village shops and kiosks (*toko dan kios desa*) tend to set the prices of such "out-village" commodities in accordance to the general purchasing power of the villagers. But, their calculations are often inaccurate.

These goods are usually priced higher than local people can afford and the goods are usually more expensive in village shops than at most shops in the city, such as at the Batusangkar city market. For example (based on observation in 1996) a „Lux" soap in the city is priced Rp.350, but in the village, the same soap is priced in the range of Rp. 400 - 500,-. A small towel in the city is priced at Rp. 750,-, but in the village shops it is priced in the range of Rp. 1,000 – 1,500,- . A cassette recorder, a „Suny" brand, in quality lower than the real one, the „Sony", is priced the same as the real „Sony". Many other goods are higher priced in general in comparison to the same goods at the city market.

Along the chain of the marketing network, the prices vary according to location. The farther down the marketing chain the goods have moved, the higher will be the price. So far, most villagers mostly lack the ability to afford such high prices, but they are trapped by the influence of current life style trends.[128] Living on a low income, they have to pay more for goods than people in the urban areas.

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[127] The arrival of few suppliers offering manufactured products to local shopkeepers began in the 1980s. Five years later, various suppliers (*selesmen)* came routinely to the village markets supplying daily goods. They are well known as a car box supplier (*selesmen oto kampas*). Few suppliers are direct distributors of familiar producers, such as Unilever (supplier of soaps, tooth paste, and shampoos), Roma (supplier of cakes and foods), Indofood (supplier of foods), Marlboro, Luckystrike (suppliers of cigarettes), Aqua (supplier of mineral water), and the rest are suppliers who distribute various commodities from different producers, such as Wicaksono supplier, or distributors without a name (just called *oto kampas*). The last distributors are usually wholesalers who extend their marketing strategy by selling goods direct to local shopkeepers at many village markets. From this point, the village markets are included in the marketing networks of manufactured goods. The corollary is that local shopkeepers do not buy them at the big markets in the Bukittinggi, Batusangkar, or Padang cities.

[128] In some cases, villagers do not care about a new lifestyle trend in the village. They are more realistic about their situation. They are satisfied with doing what they can do and have. If they can not buy a TV, they can watch at the *lapau* or at their neighbors. If they can not afford to travel to the city (*jalan-jalan*), they prefer to stay at home, etc.

Consumption patterns in the village can be characterized as changing from subsistence to commercial, from basic needs to consumer goods. Meanwhile, the pattern of orientation and outlook is changing from a village bias to an urban bias. Villagers feel a push and pull force of circumstances. On one hand, they cannot avoid the increasing economic expenses. On the other hand, they do not want to abandon their original social system that usually allows them to overcome economic problems without having to have money. For example, in the village, it is common for someone to borrow from a neighbor any agricultural tool that he needs, or ask for some cooking oil if there is none at home, or borrow few cups of rice from a nearby neighbor when one's own rice supply is low. This is a partial picture of how economic burdens can be met by articulating social relationships. But, because everything must be measured with money nowadays, most villagers have become hesitant to ask fellow villagers for help when facing some kind of economic problem.

Table 31 Sources of Assistance when facing Financial Crisis

	Sources	f (%)
1.	Members of mother's lineage (not detailed status)	11.5
2.	Members of father's lineage (not detailed status)	2.1
3.	Close Neighbors (*urang dakek rumah*)	4.9
4.	Close friends (*kawan dakek*)	7.4
5.	Bank	4.9
6.	Village Co-operative (*koperasi desa)*	7
7.	Parents (Own Mother and Father)	7.4
8.	Working children (*anak nan alah bakarajo)*	9.9
9.	Mother's brother (*mamak*)	1.6
10.	Employer (*induak samang*)	3.3
11.	Wife's mother (*mintuo*)	2.1
12.	Kiosk or Shop owner	0.4
13.	By pawning goods	0.4
14.	Combination of number 1,2 and 4	0.4
15.	Combination of number 3 and 7	0.4
16.	Any familiar persons	0.4
17.	Own husband	0.4
18.	Not borrow money from anyone else, just handle problem alone	25.9
19.	Have had no money crisis so far	9.5
	Total	100

Source: own Data 1996/1997

The table above indicates that close relatives are preferred (parent, working children, own husband) when borrowing money (17.7%), over members of one's mother's lineage (7.8%).

Borrowing money from other persons (close neighbors and friends, an employer, kiosk and shop owners, and all other familiar persons) (16.4%) indicates a certain closeness intensity of relationship.

Although the strength of the social relationships among these respondents is not measured, at least the phenomenon of borrowing money is the most important indicator of how far a social relationship can be depended on whether the person is a relative or non relative, trusted friend or not. Borrowing money from someone reflects some important aspects, namely, social obligation, trust and sincerity (*picayo dan ikhlas*). For example, in the case presented in the table above, there is a wife who borrows money from her own husband (0.4%), a father or mother borrow money from their working children (9.9%). The word "to borrow" (*maminjam*) is also valid inside the nuclear family. In this regard, no "communally owned money" (*uang milik bersama*) is practiced by the Minangkabau within the nuclear family. The money borrowed must be paid back in any case. This shows at the extent and importance of private property (*harato pribadi*) as practiced by the Minangkabau. The consequence is that an economic burden is mostly handled individually rather than collectively.

The most common topic of village life is how to solve daily economic problems, including the issue of how to get and earn money in any way possible.[129] But, many villagers have to solve their problem on their own. One of my informants said:

„hiduik di desa kini lah nafsi-nafsi,
inyo mancari untung inyo, awak mancari untung awak"
(Village life is very "selfish" now,
everybody seeks his own benefit, and also we seek our own benefit)

A strong effect of this situation is that those who are better off economically tend to keep a certain distance from others whose economic level is low. Time to pay a visit to poor relatives is probably rare. When a communal labor project (*gotong royong*) in the village is carried out, many villagers prefer to substitute for their attendance with a money payment, or at least, they will ask someone else to take their place. In the past, the reciprocity was immediate and on a social basis (balanced reciprocity). A task would be repaid with a task, or a favor would be

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[129] I found some villagers who always complain about the constantly rising prices of some important commodities over time. At the same time, they can not keep up because their income increases very little. For example, today one *gantang* rice (one *gantang* is similar about two liters) costs Rp. 1,700,-, but a week later the price will be Rp. 1,900 or, even, up to Rp.2,000. Meanwhile, the income obtained from the sale of agricultural products during the week does not increase at all, even tending to be lower than before.

returned by eating a meal together, or work done would be reciprocated with a social gathering and by stronger kin ties (*ikatan dunsanak*) than before. Usually, everyone exchanged personal information with each other (*sasek batanyo*), about the state of their health, and good and bad news (*kaba baiak jo buruak*). These days, one hardly finds that anymore. Now, work for a fellow villager should be repaid with cash. In this sense, the social interaction is mostly being driven by economic motives, especially by consideration of profit and loss.

In turn, a tendency to see money as the basis of social motives is quite obvious. Villagers do not hesitate or feel ashamed to say that getting money is more important than the other goals of life. The corollary is that financial formulations dominate all other interests and this increases conflict when differences of interest arise among Minangkabau villagers. Everyone constantly tries to organize things to his own advantage. There is a money-oriented motive behind every social transaction. The following case illustrates this development.

> A plan to establish a local bus terminal was made by the government of Tanah Datar regency. The terminal was to be located close to the marketplace in Balai Tangah village. It was so planned to eliminate the permanent traffic jam around the market, and to facilitate the increasing economic development of the Lintau district, and especially Balai Tangah village. Despite the fact that the plan had been passed by the province government and on the village level years before in 1996, the project had not been realized yet. Meanwhile, villagers really hoped the terminal could be built as soon as possible, especially to ease local traffic (according to the head of Balai Tangah village). According to some officials at office of Regional Planning and Development Board (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah)* the problem causing a delay in the building of the terminal was the difficulty in acquiring the land where the terminal was to be located. The government had found a piece of land which was located just 200 meters from the marketplace. So far, its owner was unwilling to sell it before a proper price was agreed upon by the government. On the one hand, the owner of the land asked for 175 million *rupiah*s to sell the land to the government. On the other hand, the government offered to pay less than 50% of the sellers price, because the project was regarded as a social project, rather than a commercial project. The government argued that only a limited budget was available for the project. The terminal would be built mainly considering its social benefits, rather than the economic benefits. Many efforts, such as holding public meetings

> were made by local governmental officials to persuade the owner to sell the land for a lower price. But, so far, they had had no success. On the villagers' side, this problem seemed to present a chance for them to make a profit. Thus, many villagers, whose land was located near to the marketplace, tried to offer their land for the location of the bus terminal planned by the government. They set a competitive price for their land so that their land would be chosen as an alternative place for the terminal. Many villagers competed with each other to make a fortune from a „governmental" project. They seemed to realize that the most important thing is to get a general "trickle down effect" from the project. In fact, without a new bus terminal, the Balai Tangah market would stay very crowded, especially on the main market day. Up to the beginning of 1997 (the end of my research), building the terminal had not even been started.

An Informant (a caretaker of Balai Tangah village office) additionally said:

> "This conflict over acquisition of land for a bus terminal in our village has gone on for a long time. The villagers' current attitude is quite different from that of the past. They are now more aware of any potential for making profit from governmental projects planned in the village. They react to all projects as a chance for making profit. Thus, they compete to have it. They seem not to believe in the „social" purposes of projects. The effect is that villagers mostly are business-oriented in many ways. It is not easy now to invite them to talk about a social benefit for all (*untuak kepentingan basamo*). They only think that what has „social" importance can also offer them an economic opportunity...they are very smart now..."

Today, various levels of the economy can be clearly seen in the village. Some villagers' lives have enough economic resources; they have a car, motorcycle, or a good house and so on. They run an automotive workshop (*bengke oto jo motor*), or, workshop for woodcraft (*toko perabot rumah tangga*), or building business materials (*toko material bangunan*), or a rice milling enterprise, or are a local transport entrepreneur, a gold smith (*pandai emas*) and so forth. On the other hand, many villagers still live in poverty. They have very little money. The most stable economic status in the village is that of a government employee. They work as teachers, village and district officials, or some other kind of officials in governmental offices. With the increase in various social and economic levels, development in the village is highly unequal in terms of villagers' access to economic resources.

However, the numerical domination of villagers who are peasants is quite obvious in relation to those who work at non-agricultural activities. When we look at the economic or material evidence, we find many permanent houses built by villagers. In addition, some peasants are able to use advanced agricultural technology, and some of them do own some goods that symbolize “modernity”, such as a television, radio, or motorcycle of whatever quality, and so on. Some are able to send their children to schools located in the city. But, this is no evidence that they are rich. Interviews with respondents reveal that money difficulties are a major daily drama. They constantly complain that they have no money for this, for that and for everything.

Most villagers commonly describe problems due to lack of money,[130] such as when they need something immediately and must pay for it right away. In fact, many villagers are always in debt. When someone is sick, and we asked why they did not go to the doctor or the local clinic (*Puskesmas*), the answer was simple, „I have no money“. Or, why do you send this child to school but not others, the answer “I have not enough money to send them all”. The answer is almost always related to the lack or availability of money. But, when he/she is asked, do you really have no money? No, I “have” it indeed. Then, they point out that their “money” is located in their fields. Put in another way, villagers’ livelihood is really only guaranteed by the agricultural commodities that they can grow, rather than on cash. How could they build their permanent house, or buy a used motorcycle, or a radio, or clothes, or anything needed? They only repeat everything comes from the field.

Therefore, it is not rare that today’s peasants have a pattern of economic-oriented life signified by putting the money first and last. They experience a web of life that is not fully traditional, but more „modernized“. To put it in another way, the peasants’ claims on life are becoming more complex than ever before. They work not only to eat, to feast on social and religious occasions (Wolf 1981) but also to reach a certain lifestyle. Their needs increase in many ways, but they are trapped by the lack of money. A metaphor says, “the peasant’s heart is placed in the village, but his body lies down in the shadow of city life” (*hiduik di desa tetapi dalam bayang-bayang kota).*[131] This situation was, at least, influenced by the

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[130] During interviews, I often became the target of informants’ moans and complaints about their lack of money. They seemed to see me as an agent of development who could make the life in the village better. This has to do with my method. They think that an interview will have a beneficial impact on them.

[131] This expression can be observed in their pride in a ‘city story’ (*cerita tentang kota*). Villagers are proud of themselves when they have been to the city, or have relatives living in the city, or friends working in the city, or have goods bought in the city. Cities in the stories are Padang, Jakarta, Medan, and Pakanbaru.

penetration of a consumer culture[132] and the deep involvement of peasants with consumer goods. Peasants are always seeking cash to be used to fund the schooling of their children, to buy a television set and a cassette recorder and a radio, to buy clothes, shoes, cigarettes, fertilizer, insecticide, soaps, tooth paste, grass for their livestock, coffee, tee, sugar and so on. In the field, I noted that there are at least 17 important goods normally consumed by peasants (or villagers in general) (see chapter three). These items are mainly provided by the marketplace in their village (87.2% of respondents). When the desired good is not available, villagers find it at another marketplace (12.8% of respondents).

A major strategy of the peasants' contemporary life, however, is still expressed by the principle of the „short-termed basis of life" (*hiduik untuak jangko pendek*). Money obtained from the sale of agricultural produce will be used or spent immediately for commodities or consumer goods (that sometimes are actually not needed). Many of them spend money earned to build a house, for example, in a gradual process. Money obtained from the harvest in one season is used to build a house foundation. Then, the money from another season is used to pay for one wall of the house. After the next harvest, the money will be used to pay for a roof for the house, and so on until the house is completely built. In another case, for example, money is spent to buy a radio from this harvest. Then, after the next harvest, the money will be used to buy a TV. On the next occasion, they buy a bed, and so on. By doing this, peasants always have a lack of money for daily needs, because all profit from harvests is used to satisfy many needs at once. The result is a lack of money syndrome.

Why do peasants this? Firstly, in many cases, peasants are quite free to use the money they earned, and at the same time quite eager to earn money in every season from the sale of their valuable produce, such as tomatoes, chili, cinnamon, and coffee. They think that what they grow belongs to them. Therefore, they believe that their agricultural yield should cover their increasing needs.

> **In Tabek Patah, Gunung and Koto Alam villages (the three villages located side by side in Salimpaung district) tomato and chili, that are in high demand at the marketplace, are intensely cultivated by the villagers. These commodities are also exported to other regions. Meanwhile, other products such as avocado, sugar cane, cinnamon, potatoes, beans and sometimes coffee, are cultivated as additional cash crops. A peasant, who can cultivate 2000 tomato seedlings, can harvest at least about four tons of tomatoes each season. If the price at the market remains good (most peasants categorize prices as following: Between 800-1,000 *rupiah* is good, between 600 or 800 *rupiah* is enough, and between 600-400 is bad, under 400 is very bad), they will earn about 3.2 - 4 million**

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[132] A consumer culture in the village means a way of life that always prefers the modes of lifestyle of urban people, such as driving around with motorcycles, dress-in, showing off, and any commercialized activities.

> ***rupiah*. This is the result of a three to four months' work. The capital invested in the crop was 700 thousand to one million *rupiah* including expenses for fertilizer and insecticide. This means, in one month of tomato cultivation, a peasant can earn a net income between 800,000 - 1 million *rupiah*. Based on this calculation, many peasants are convinced they will have a good income over time. Such income places them on the upper level of the local economy. When we see peasants with a motorcycle, or a TV, or a permanent house, or a cassette recorder and so on, it is the result of the situation described above.**

In fact, this does not always happen. At the time of my research, especially in August – September 1996, the price of tomatoes sank to the lowest level. I personally observed the price of tomatoes as only 50 -100 *rupiah* per kilogram. Then, many peasants were throwing away their fresh tomatoes on the street. Their tomatoes were worthless. Everywhere on the ground by the fields one could see heaps of useless tomatoes. I found a few peasants who lost as much as several million *rupiah*s, due to such bad prices at the market. But, they could do nothing about this situation, rather than just continue to cultivate tomatoes with the hope that the price would improve in the future. In this situation, they could say "our faith is in God" (*pasrah*).

Secondly, peasants are quite convinced in selling their agricultural produce with help of other market actors, especially middlemen. Even though peasants always complain of their shortage of money, even right after harvest time, they never want to switch to the cultivation of other profitable types of produce besides tomatoes and chili. This is because they want minimal difficulties when selling their produce at the marketplace. Middlemen usually buy this type of produce everyday, and pay the peasants in cash. Moreover, they are always present at the marketplace near to the village. Middlemen also guarantee the peasants that all their product will be bought whatever its amount. In addition, the marketplace located close to the village guarantees peasants that they can sell their crops regularly. The disadvantage is that peasants have no power to influence the price paid by middlemen because the price is always set by them.

5.5.2.2. The Second Peasants' Strategy

In order to continue their activity despite the chronic shortage of money, most peasants share labor capital and financial capital with someone else. This strategy is called *pasaduo* (to divide two parts; derived from the word *duo* which means two). Basically, this concept means the sharing of agricultural labor and access to land between a landless peasant (*petani yang tidak punya tanah*) and an owner of agricultural land (*pemilik tanah*) who provides his land for cultivation. The peasant and the landowner make a certain agreement, such as that the peasant will cultivate the field which the owner provides, and then the yield (money or just produce) will then be divided into two parts between them. Or, another agreement is, for example, that the peasant works in his own, and the landowner provides a sum of money for buying seeds, fertilizer and insecticide and other necessities. Then, money from the harvest will be divided according to a particular calculation, for example 40 % for labor, and 60 % for owner, etc. This division will vary from one agreement to another.

Today, *pasaduo* is mostly practiced as a way of sharing of capital between a "financial owner" (*pemilik modal uang*) and a peasant with his own land *(petani pemilik tanah)*. In fact, the number of peasants who have land but cannot cultivate it due to a lack of money, to buy fertilizer (either chemical or compost) and insecticide, are greater than the peasants who own no land. On the other hand, there is an increasing tendency for villagers to have enough money but not enough land, to invest in agricultural production. Therefore, the development of these business partnerships among villagers to provide needed labor, money, and land for agricultural production is quite evident.

5.5.3. Substitution of *Pambaoan* with Money: An Example of the Interest in Money

When a Minangkabau is invited to take part in an *adat* occasion, such as an erection of house pillars (*managakan rumah*), a ceremony of "sealing" of the Koran reading for children (*khatam Qur'an*), a death ceremony (*hari kematian*) and the prayer 100 days after a death (*mandoa saratuih hari*), a wedding party (*perkawinan*), he or she must provide a socially valuable thing. This good is called *pambaoan*.

Those who are obliged to bring *pambaoan* are usually close relatives belonging to the same matrilineage and the family members of a *sumando*. On these occasions, *pamboan* from relatives will differ according to his or her lineage. For example, in the case of a "sealing" of the Koran of ceremony organized by a mother's sister son or daughter in Tabek Patah *nagari*, relatives belonging to the matrilineage must bring *pambaoan* which consists of various cooked foods (*samba langkok*) which must be brought in a certain basket (*keranjang*). However, the *bako* (father's sisters and brothers) and close friends bring only rice and two coconuts. Another occasion is an erection of house pillars (*batagak rumah*) in Tabek Patah village. To take part in it, invited persons who must bring *pambaoan,* are an uncle's wife, or father's sisters or a son of the mother's sister. They should bring a basket of rice, and a piece of zinc. In another example, when somebody gets married, his mother's brother's wife, and his wife's brother or sister, and father's sisters must bring a basket of rice, two coconuts, and a chicken.

Pambaoan is basically an expression of help, social solidarity and obligation. *Pambaoan,* nowadays, tends to be substituted by money. Those who are obliged to bring *pambaoan* tend to give money (*pitih*), rather than the items requested. The cash *pambaoan* is usually given in an envelope. This is another evidence of growing concern with money interest in all aspects of life among villagers.

5.6. Some Cases of Family Strategies dealing with the Market Economy

5.6.1. The Case of Syawal: A Pure Peasant (*sabana petani*)

> Syawal (45) lives with his wife (43) and five children in a nuclear family at the subvillage of Koto Alam. The house where they live is the inherited house belonging to his wife's lineage. His oldest child is 18 years old, and the youngest is only eight months. Two of his children (the first and the second) go to a governmental religious school (*madrasah negeri)* in a nearby village, called Lawang Mandahiliang. In daily life, Syawal bases his household economy on his farming activities. He said that, in the beginning period of his involvement in agriculture, he was very poor and sustained life only with much suffering. He did not have enough food and not enough money (*makan susah, pitih pun indak ado*). Since the third child was born (she is now 11 years old), his nuclear family's life has become much better. His agricultural work started to provide a good livelihood. Even, his family situation kept improving after the fourth child arrived (she is seven years old now). Syawal feels convinced he is now able to insure the daily needs of his wife and children. He can even send four of his children to various schools. He has intentions to send all of his children to the highest school level. He even plans to send his first child to the famous Islamic college in the city of Bukittinggi (located 19 km from his village) after the son finishes his religious school. Syawal's prime desire is to be able to run a good household made up of educated children.
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> To gradually improve his household economic situation, he constantly cultivates cash crops, such as tomato and sugar cane. Since this produce usually is in high demand at the local market, both crops are entirely sold on the market, not used for home consumption. From the sale, Syawal earns his main income. To add this main income, he practices also as a small-scale money lender. He lends sums of money to his neighbors living in his subvillage (*dusun*). He charges his borrowers small interest. His aim in lending money to trustworthy borrowers is to save some money.

He thinks that when the cash he has made is always in his hands, it will be "gone with the wind" *(habih ndak bakatantuan*). Thus, to be able to save it, it is better to lent the money to someone else who needs it. However, he does not want to put his money in the bank.

He can obtain a net income from cultivating a tomato crop in every four months. The net income he usually keeps after subtracting the capital invested, which is about Rp. 650,000,- on average, is between one up to two million *rupiah*s. The capital is for providing fertilizers and insecticide during the cultivation process. For this, he needs to spend at least about Rp.500,000. In addition, he spends up to Rp.150,000 for paying laborers from *kongsi.* From the net income, he then has living costs up to Rp. 160,000,- monthly. The rest of income goes for buying or fixing his agricultural equipment and for savings. Generally, Syawal can save up to about ¼ of his net income. However, this is not a fixed calculation. He feels that his living costs tend to increase, instead of being stable or decreasing. Fortunately, he can also make additional income from the sale once a week of the cane sugar he produces with the help of his wife and two young sons. The money from the sale of the cane sugar is used by him for the weekly consumption. Thus, the money from the sale of tomatoes can mostly be saved. He plans that part of this saving will be used later on to repair his house, and for financing his children's education.

At the moment he is preparing to restore his plank construction house (*rumah kayu*) with a better permanent stone house (*rumah batu*). For months he provides, little by little, materials for his future house, such as red bricks, sand, wood, stones etc. He tries to find additional funds to buy cement, and wages for the craftsmen who will restore his house.

Besides his main work in his fields, he is also a member of the village council (*musyawarah desa*). He always attends the village council, which usually meets at the village office (*kantor desa*), at least once a week. Everyday, from evening until late at night, together with his wife and children he spends much time in front of his black-white TV powered by a charged battery (*tv pakai aki*). Sometimes, some of his neighbors come to watch too. Once in five days he has to recharge the battery at the Tabek Patah marketplace.

Some important household utensils, that he has in his current house, are a nice-looking decorative cup board (*lemari bufet*), a wall clock, a cassette recorder, new plastic mats, and some decorative glasses. His house has only two rooms. The big room is used at once as a living room as well as a bed room. Both functions of the room are divided only by a cupboard. The other room is divided functionally between a dining room and a small fire room (*tungku*) for the cooking fire. In the corner of the *tungku,* there are stored a few of fertilizer sacks, a bicycle, a sprayer, pails, a pair of boot shoes, etc. It seems that the *tungku* functions as a storeroom for some farming tools and supplies.

Syawal is an example of a pure peasant (*petani tulen*). This means that his life is started with an involvement in agricultural work and is continued to be tied to agriculture. He tries to be consistent in seeking his fortune solely in all agricultural work. Nevertheless, he does not want to pass on to his children a 'peasant' status (*menjadi petani*), even though two of his young boys (the first and the second child) always help him by working in the field after coming home from school. To give his children a better heritage, he sends them to formal schools, especially to a religious school (*madrasah*). He thinks that it is important to give his children " a good thing for eternity" (*bekal dunia akhirat*).

According to his estimation, the cultivation of market-oriented produce will somehow guarantee his long-term family economy. In order to keep on working, he fully concentrates on cultivating tomatoes and compliments this effort by processing sugar cane. The combination of the primary and secondary agricultural products (cultivation of tomatoes for his main income and cane sugar for a second income) is his strategy for maintaining and continuing his household economy.

5.6.2. The Case of Zainir: From the City back to the Village

Zainir Y (43) has a wife, Fatimah (36), and two children. One child is in the third class of the state junior high school (*SMP*) and the second in the first year of the same school. He claims that he is one of the original inhabitants (*urang asli)* of Tabek Patah village. Even though his wife runs a small kiosk *(warung*) in their house, she says that she is not a shopkeeper, instead just a housewife.

Zainir's family now lives in a small house erected in the front yard of his wife's parents' house. In this case, the house was built on Fatimah's mother's land. Fatimah is their fifth child.

After finishing the Senior High School (*SMA*) in Batusangkar, Zainir migrated to Jakarta in the 1970s. He followed his oldest brother to the city and then lived there together. His oldest brother was working for an oil company. His brother had a very good job in this company, namely as a manager of an oil exploration site. Based on his senior high school diploma and helped by the good business connections of his brother, Zainir was able to gain experience working in a number of companies in Jakarta. He changed jobs several times, because the tasks were not appropriate for his skills. He had the opportunity to visit some other regions of Indonesia during his employment. In the beginning of the 1980s he was finally employed at a big oil company in Jakarta. This job was what he really wanted to do. But before he could start the new job (a letter of acceptance had already been sent by the company to inform him about being offered the position at the company), he received a letter from his parents in Tabek Patah urging him to return to the village as soon as possible. His parents sent a special message, saying that they had no son who can watch our home (*indak ado anak laki-laki nan dapek manjago kampuang*). (Afterwards, Zainir realized that this was his parents' final request. His parents died a few years later).

Burdened with a very difficult decision, he returned home in 1981. At home, he knew that another reason why he had to come back to the village was that his parents wanted to arrange a marriage for him with "a girl chosen by his parents" (*dijodohkan dengan wanita pilihan orangtua).* He felt very sad and full of regret at losing the opportunity to work for a big company, but he respected his parents' wishes, which turned out to be their final request before they passed away. (in memory, Zainir keeps the letter of acceptance from the company). At home, he had no definite employment. He did not want to become a peasant and he could find no works as a skilled laborer. Helped by the work connections of his wife's father (*mintuo*), who was officially employed as a teacher, Zainir was able to become a government employee. He is employed at the junior high school (*SMP*) administration office (*pegawai tata usaha*) in Mandahiliang village. His children also attend this school. Since that point, Zainir has had to adapt to life in the village again. His attempt to migrate (*merantau*) seems to have failed. He has to stay and take care of his family in the village.

Since their marriage, Zainir and his wife have lived in a small house located in the front yard of his wife's parents house. Zainir was aware that as a low level employee, with a small salary, he could not support himself and a family properly. Therefore, he and his wife started a tiny business carried out at home. They tried to supplement his income by opening a small kiosk. They altered a part of their small house to use as a kiosk (*warung*). To attract more customers, Zainir also operated his small kiosk as a *lapau.* He sold not only goods and daily consumption items, but also fresh hot foods and drinks. Thus, the house is now practically divided into two parts: one part of it serves as a bed room, and one part as a kiosk. This part also functions as the family's dining and living room.

In the 1990s his business has generated enough profit to partially support the family. Now, besides various typical articles sold there, some modern household appliances such as an electric rice cooker, a mixer, and a color television set equipped with parabola antenna, a video player, and a citizens' band (*CB*) radio complete his kiosk. He also retails kerosene supplied by a certain distributor in Batusangkar.

Zainir deliberately makes his kiosks as attractive for social gatherings as possible. He provides televised entertainment for his customers. He also attracts them with video films that are shown during the early evening until late at night. He also gives his customers, who are mostly peasants, the freedom of watching favorite Indonesian channels or video films in accordance with their wishes. Thus, his kiosk is sometimes called "a small village cinema". As a result, many peasants love to visit his kiosk after working in the field. He argues that this provision of a "film service" (*jasa tontonan*) to local villagers, especially to peasants, helps to relieve the peasants' tiredness. So far, his kiosk is well known by the villagers as "*lapau Zainir"* and local people are familiar with its entertainment program and services.

Zainir claims that the kiosk business generates a profit of no less than 10,000 *rupiah* everyday. He and his wife are quite satisfied with this income and it is higher than the villagers' level of income in general. For transportation, he has a motorcycle. Besides his main jobs as a government employee, and as a kiosk keeper, he also works as a billboard maker.

He is quite aware of the social networks necessary for increasing his tiny business. Thus, he includes himself in the local network of citizen band operators with whom he mostly exchanges news. He also builds social connections with the village elite. However, his good system of social connections is also based on the high social status of his father-in-law (*mintuo*) who is one of lineage heads in the *Piliang* clan and a member of *adat* council of the Tabek Patah *nagari*.

Thus, Zainir's family is regarded as one of the rich families in the village. Zainir and his family seem to have adopted an urban lifestyle. For example, he prefers to buy clothes and shoes for himself, as well as for his wife and children, at the city markets, such as in Bukittinggi and Payakumbuh, rather than at the local marketplace. Zainir believes, that to live on in the village now, a person cannot depend on a single source of income, rather he needs to have several jobs and a number of skills.

In an economic sense, the Zainir family is an example of villager's family that always divides their strategy of unlimited economic pursuits between subsistence and commercial activities, between private and public interests. On the one hand, he works as a government employee who gets a regular salary every month. On the other hand, he is a kiosk keeper and a free-lance billboard maker. Based on these jobs, he can meet all needs, but the frame work of his nuclear family's interest is not that of the lineage or clan. He is typical villager who concentrates on non agricultural work. He ever said that he does not like being a peasant. This is because he is not used to being a peasant, rather than a "clean hand work" villager (*indak bagalimang jo lumpua*).

In addition, he represents a type of relatively well educated villager, and has experienced migration and life in the city, like Jakarta. He claims that city life has taught him to be a "modern" person with a broader outlook. Therefore, his view on the seeking of fortunes in the context of village development is quite critical. He takes every opportunity in the village he can in order to further his business. Thus, he uses his house at the same time as the center of a small business, for exchanging communication among his customers, for social encounters, and for entertainment. At his kiosk, he sometimes plays the role of a "moderator" in the chatting going on among his customers. As a result of his experience and views, he can contribute a great deal of information, influence debates and certain conversations. Therefore, he knows his customers well, and the customers know Zainir well. The reciprocal relationships between Zainir and his customers allow him to run a successful "village business".

Seen in a traditional social perspective, even though his status is as a *sumando* (in-marrying man) in his wife's lineage, he can support himself. The kin relationship seemingly has no effect on his personally owned income. He lives in the house belonging to his wife's lineage. His face-to-face relationship with his wife's parents takes place everyday. At night, his children often sleep in his wife's parents' house, and during the day, they return to his house. Also, they often have a lunch or a dinner with their mother's parents. However, Zainir has the freedom to modify his house which basically belongs to his wife's parents and run his own economic household. This means that Zainir mainly strives for his own earned property (*harato pancaharian*) rather than depending on his wife's property. In this case, Zainir's type represents a matrilineal family with the father as the major actor of the family. He concentrates more on his role as "father" (*ayah*), rather than on his role as "mother's brother (*mamak*).

5.6.3. The Case of Amir Supono: From Village to Village

> Amir Pakiah Supono, informally called Amir Pono, (45) has two wives and one child (9 years old) with his second wife. In his daily activities, he is more appropriately called "a household manager". In terms of earning a family income, he does not work. Instead, his wives both work to generate income. His older wife (Fatimah, 40) works as a peasant and contributes to the income from the sale of the produce that she harvests. Meanwhile, his younger wife (Asna, 34) also works as a peasant and as a dry fish and vegetable trader at the Tabek Patah market. She sells goods once a week, on every market day at the Tabek Patah market. At this point, Amir only offers his wives guidance and advice about their work. He always says that it is not necessary for him at the moment, to trade or to constantly work as a peasant. Now he claims, it is better for him to help his wives with activities.[133]
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> Fatimah is very busy with her work everyday. Early in the mornings she goes to the field, while Amir stays at home. About 09.00, she returns home for a short time just to serve Amir his breakfast. Then, she goes to the field again, continuing her labors. After breakfast, Amir usually does do something but is often uncertain about what he is going to do. His wife often does not know what Amir is doing when he is not at home.
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> With his dependable day to day jobs, consequently, Amir cannot provide his wives with money to live on. Rather, his wives give Amir money to spend. The mother of his first wife (Sariah) said that Amir usually asks his wife (Fatimah) for a new sarong

and cloth for every Islamic holiday (*hari raya*). In contrast, he does not present his wife or his wife's mother (*mintuo*) with anything on those days. In this case, Amir is heavily supported financially by his wives. It seems that he is literally a *sumando* (in-marrying man) who is actually supported by his wives' families. According to Amir's first wife's mother, Amir's position in his wife's family presents, to some extent, a dilemma for her. As time passes, Sariah does not like Amir's failure to maintain his household. It seems to be unfair, because her daughter works hard everyday to earn a living, meanwhile Amir does not. He does not even help her daughter financially.

Sariah adds that her daughter actually even wanted to divorce Amir, because, after 22 years of marriage, the economic situation of her household has hardly changed. Nowadays, Fatimah's burden is even heavier. On the one hand, she must sustain her own life and that of her mother, and on the other hand, she finances all of Amir's needs. Thus, Fatimah's mother expresses the situation of her daughter's household as "riding in a leaky canoe" (*sedang menaiki biduk yang tiris*).

The relation between Amir's two wives seems to be harmonious. They often meet at the marketplace on market day, because one is a buyer and the other is a trader. Sometimes, Fatimah buys dried fish from Asna. In addition, they live in villages that are located next to each other. The younger wife lives in Tabek Patah village and the older one lives in Koto Alam village. At home, both wives live with their own mother. As peasants, these wives each cultivate their own land, that they inherited from their own mother's lineage, to grow rice and "quick" harvested plants (*tanaman mudo*) such as chili and vegetables, bananas, and sugar cane.

Actually, Amir has no house of his own. In other words, he lives at his wives' houses. He himself arranges a weekly time schedule for visiting his wives. He only helps his wives with agricultural chores, when he wants to. His main job is as a tax collector (*petugas beo*) at the Tabek Patah market. He carries out this job only once a week. So far, his work can be categorized as occasional jobs (*kerja serabutan*). In this sense, we can say that he takes on whatever job whenever he wants to.[134]

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[133] This statement was given to me when I interviewed him. When I revealed this statement to his first wife (Fatimah), without Amir knowing it, she opposed it. She, in contrast, claimed that Amir escapes from his responsibility as a family head to earn income. He does not work as hard as she does.

[134] He could never state his income for certain when he was interviewed. He only said that his money is sufficient for him to go around the village and neighboring villages, socializing and smoking.

> When he has extra income, he does give some money to his wives and to his little daughter, but this seldom takes place. Sometimes, he receives money sent by his mother's sister's daughter's son (*kemenakan saparuik*) who lives in Pakanbaru city. Amir has no sister. He is an only child (*anak tunggal).*
>
> Amir's hobby is socializing (*jalan-jalan*). He usually is unable to stay home long at either of his wives' houses. When he has some extra money, he likes to go to Pakanbaru, Padang or some other nearby cities rather than always just stays at home. He seems to be conscious of his position as an in-marrying man (*sumando*) in his wives' family. He is someone without a firm role in his wives' lineage. This role is expressed in an *adat* proverb: "*sarupo abu diateh tunggua"* (like ashes on the stone). This means that something is not firmly attached on the place where it lives. From his point of view, he does not have a strong economic position in his wives' family, but only a strong social position in the community. This is shown by the fact his first wife, although she does not like him, due to his inadequate efforts to contribute to the household economy, has not yet been able to divorce him. In addition, in the context of the local social structure, he has roles as "a traditional enforcer of public order" (*dubalang*) acknowledged by *adat*, as an important *adat* functionary, and he is also a member of the village council (*musyawarah desa*).

This is yet another example of the practice of household strategies dealing with the market economy. In this case, it is clear that a woman's role in a household economy is quite crucial. In fact, the woman has a double work burden. First, she works for herself and her family, and secondly, she works for her husband. In the Minangkabau context, a woman's role in the household economy is usually important only in regard to her matri-lineage or clan communal property (*harato pencaharian*). Despite this, she has full rights to use communal property, but her rights are still under the control of her mother's brothers' (*mamak*) authority. For example, to pawn or to share (*pasaduo*) lineage land, she must have the consent of the *mamak* and the lineage head. In lineage and clan contexts, a woman's position is mainly focused on economic matters, while a man's role has to do with political matters. This seems to be a pattern of authority and social maintenance at the level of clan and lineage. In the family context, this pattern must be performed according to customary law described, but the law can be interpreted in various ways (see the cases of Zainir and Syawal above).

What Amir's families do is to represent a pattern of modification of family member relationships in response to the reality of the current market economy in the village. In fact, Amir has no power economically in dealing with his wives, and even, with his own lineage. He has no specific occupation, rather than just occasional jobs (*serabutan*). Therefore, his wives and his sister's children are not able to depend on him economically. In traditional social structure, Amir is still acknowledged as an important person in his lineage and clan. He is a mother's brother (*mamak)* and a member of the group of *adat* functionaries (*pemangku adat*). Therefore, Amir has social bargaining power in any case, rather than economic power, especially dealing with his wives' lineage.

5.7. Conclusion

It is clear from the explanation above, that the Minangkabau villagers, regardless of gender limitations, react to the market economy by means of individual efforts and strategies in order to survive. They are involved in subsistence agriculture and commerce at the same time. Therefore, their activities represent a mixed form of cash and subsistence economies and a market orientation.

Villagers sustain their lives by doing a variety of jobs and earning income mainly for the benefit of members of their nuclear family, rather than for lineage or clan members. The main strategy of villagers always calls for several sources of income and jobs, rather than being based on a single cash source or job. This strategy can be interpreted as, firstly, revealing a strong tendency for the clan property not to be sufficient to support the economic needs of all the members of the clan or lineage. Secondly, as a result, we see the emergence of social values based on individual economic achievements, instead of on social capital ascribed by customary law (*adat*). This, in turn, leads to the meaning of social relationships carried out on the levels of clan, lineage and sublineage being mainly measured according to economic standards. Thirdly, because the market functions as the main place to earn income and for actualizing individual efforts for economic reputation in the village, the dependence on the market's existence in the village is increasing. All villagers work in order to get cash. Thus, a market-oriented basis of activities has obviously become the main economic strategy of villagers' households. In a nuclear family, husband and wife have a similar responsibility for contributing to the economic survival of the family. This fact also represents the switch in economic responsibility from the collectivity to individuals. Fourthly, the market is structured in such a way that the social system of the local community can be fit to each other. As a consequence, social relations in the community must correspond with the structure of the market.

On the level of the society, due to the market economy, the use of the commercial idea as the reference point for various social relationships carried out by the community is legitimized. In this sense, the economic principle behind every action becomes the main framework of social behavior. As a result, the strength of the religious and customary law (*adat*) principles, that underline the general social characteristics of the Minangkabau over time, is therefore at risk. The Minangkabau are now dominant being challenged to maintain their *adat* and their religion, although they compete with prevalent economic values, otherwise they will become meaningless for the community in the future.

In reference to the labor practices carried out by the associations of agricultural laborers, or *Kongsi,* the commercial motivations for carrying out any mutual help (*tolong menolong*) is quite obvious. Therefore, the practice of labor exchange as one of sources of individual income in the Minangkabau village cannot be doubted. Every social exchange between villagers is definitely based on commercial motivation.

Finally, the integration of the market into the local community forces individuals to adjust impacts from commercial purposes to the social system. As a result, Minangkabau villagers always experience a process of conflict and conformity, reaction and adaptation as a part of sustaining their lives, even though their income and their sources of income are quite limited. Consequently, the social structure of the local community can be seen to change in accordance with the demands of the market.

6. Market Expansion and Social Tension: The Declining Spirit of Minangkabau Togetherness?

6.1. Introduction

The development of Minangkabau markets before Indonesian Independence can be seen as a process of market expansion stimulated by the international trade that took place under Dutch colonial rule. This development represents an indigenous constituting of social and economic processes related to the establishing of the *nagari* (see chapter two; Oki 1977; Manan 1995; Graves 1981: 50ff). Today, the development of Minangkabau markets is a part of a process of "globalizing markets"[135] that takes place through the penetration of manufactured and

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[135] This term is borrowed from Evers' "globalen Märkten" or "*Globalisierung der Märkte*". This term is derived from the understanding of the concept of globalization and market. Globalization itself is (one of many understandings) understood as all those processes by which people of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society. A combination of both terms, in a term "globalizing markets or globalization of

consumer goods into local economic systems. In the context of Minangkabau villages, this process contributes to the increasing significance of the market as a vehicle, as well as a behavioral principle, related to the improvement of the local standard of living. Despite the fact that the market is not the only influential factor in economic development, the establishment and the enlargement of individual social status, caused by the accumulation of economic capital, is the most important aspect that has to be taken into account. In this sense, the market and social capital play an interrelated role in the changes going on in local Minangkabau communities.

One dimension of the market expansion, as experienced by the Minangkabau, is the adaptation of custom and tradition (*adat istiadat*) to the market, instead of rejecting the market or adapting it to customs and traditions. The meaning of market, and the *adat istiadat,* can be seen in the role of the market in the current social transformation of the Minangkabau, especially of those who live in rural areas. The fact, that market orientation forms the major content of Minangkabau social actions, indicates this integration.

The long-term operation of the rural market circulation system, to a large extent, sustains the ongoing maintenance of this global integration. In consequence, I claim that the local economy of the rural community is an integral part of the global economic system. Therefore, the question to be addressed is how do we indicate how the local and global relationships of market expansion among the Minangkabau are taking place? In the social sphere, how do the Minangkabau respond to such market expansion without abandoning the role of local customs in maintaining ethnic identity? We can assume that the global market forces the Minangkabau community to a classification of social groups based on economic categories. This classification, in turn, threatens the spirit of Minangkabau ethnic togetherness which uses kin categories as the basis for grouping individuals. I argue that, as far as the local and global markets become a power in daily life, the ethnic togetherness, that is usually implemented by social ties, will be distorted by the commercialized values. As a result, the formation of social ties becomes temporary and pragmatic in character. Therefore, ethnicity among the Minangkabau is becoming more crucial in maintaining social bonds. Thus, a study of local responses dealing with the market expansion is fruitful. This chapter attempts to explore some Minangkabau local responses dealing with the process of market expansion.

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markets", is still hardly understood on the theoretical level, despite being empirically observable (Evers 1996: 165).

6.2. Market Expansion and Problem of Ethnic Ties

During the Dutch colonial era (1818-1943), rural markets played an important role in the flow of local products, such as spices and coffee, into the world trade system and connected the local community with the international society. In addition, the flow of imported goods such as cotton, textiles and other consumer goods, and the arrival of foreign traders, were the result of such market expansion (Dobbin 1977; Oki 1977). In terms of this two-way traffic of indigenous and foreign trade, the Minangkabau, in any case, have been experiencing market expansion for many years.

In the current perspective, the process of market expansion is predominantly indicated by the process of globalized market (Evers 1996, 1997a). This process does not only take place through the flow of manufactured and imported goods, which change the use and function of various local goods, but also through the contribution of new images and values of lifestyle. At the same time, however, the actors that fill the local markets come from the indigenous community. Therefore, it can be argued that the so-called current global market expansion is indeed occurring in Minangkabau land, but has a local face.

Table 32 Years of the Establishment of Markets in Tanah Datar Region

No.	Name of Markets	Year	No.	Name of Markets	Year
1.	Rao-rao	1700	22.	Tabek Patah	1916
2.	Turawan	1900	23.	Padang Ganting	1917
3.	Panyalaian	1900	24.	Pasia Laweh*	1918
4.	Pangian	1900	25.	Kubu Kerambil	1920
5.	Tigo Jangko	1900	26.	Balai Tangah	1922
6.	Taluak*	1900	27.	Batu Taba*	1924
7.	Simabur	1900	28.	Guguk Malalo	1925
8.	Barulak Salimpaung	1900	29.	Koto Baru	1929
9.	Sumanik	1900	30.	Sungayang	1929
10.	Tanjung Alam	1901	31.	Ombilin	1930
11.	Buo	1901	32.	Pandai Sikek	1933
12.	Saruaso	1902	33.	Saribu Labiah*	1940
13.	Rambatan	1910	34.	Tanjung Barulak	1946
14.	Gurun*	1910	35.	Baringin Ungka	1947
15.	Pitalah	1912	36.	Kandang Juar	1949
16.	Tanjuang	1914	37.	Ranah Batu	1949
17.	Sumpu-Tanjung Barulak	1914	38.	Kamih Congkong	1950
18.	Salimpaung	1914	39.	Balai Sanayan	1958
19.	Belimbing	1915	40.	Situmbuk	1958
20.	Sungai Tarab	1915	41.	Longga	1961
21.	Lubuak Jantan	1916	42.	Baruah Bukik	1988

Source: own Data Collection 1996/1997 combined with data supplied by Department of Anthropology, Andalas University, 1990.

* These markets do not exist anymore.

(Out of these existing markets, 78.5% were set up during the period 1700-1940, the Dutch colonial era in Indonesia. Other markets, or 21.5 %, were established during the independence era, 1946-1988).

How are the current phenomena of market expansion occurring in the Minangkabau context? The emphasis, when answering this question, is on the understanding of local responses as evidence of the effects of global market expansion on the local community.

Two important aspects of the Minangkabau community that face the challenge for change are the system of customary law (*adat*) and ethnicity. Both elements are crucial in maintaining Minangkabau togetherness. The growing interest in economic rationality in the local community, which is demonstrated by the role of the market principle in promoting pragmatic and temporary social ties, cannot be in doubt. Resulting from this, the traditional culture is called in question.

The persistence of *adat* symbolizes the loyalty of the local community and pride in their indigenous identity. Meanwhile, the penetration of market principles in the community symbolizes the introduction of the global identity. In reality, the market functions as the vehicle for the meeting of both identities. Some evidence that indicate this function in the rural Minangkabau community are: firstly, an intense use of marketplaces by villagers as spaces for the expression of daily social and economic activities (see chapters three and four); secondly, the *nagari* and local government as major institutions that secure the existence of the local market in various ways; thirdly, the increasing meaning of consumer behavior as a part of tradition and customs of the local community.

As emphasized by the second evidence above, and as also argued by some writers on the Minangkabau, the role of *nagari* dealing with the market was made meaningless as a result of the implementation of governmental regulation No. 5/79. The consequence of this law is that *nagari* could not directly earn income from the marketplace. At the same time, its role has been taken over by local government from the provincial level down to the district and village levels (Manan 1995; Hasbi 1990).

This point is still arguable. I found that the right in practice of *nagari* to own, to arrange and to use the market as an important source of revenue has continued up to now (see chapters four and five). This means that the *nagari*'s major role in dealing with the local community, especially through the local market, is still reality.

In the political realm, however, the influence of the national bureaucracy and its apparatus as far as the lowest level of the rural community, makes the *nagari* compete with the government's impact on the community. Therefore, the simultaneous presence of *nagari* and (local) government produces an ambiguity of loyalty and social obligation among individuals in the local community. This results in contradictory expressions of social norms.

Through the habits based on market principles, which now play an influential role, this contradictory loyalty and obligation towards the community can be bridged. In this sense, the market principles function as a notion that gives a clear understanding of the changing process of rationality and morality, loss and profit (*rugi jo labo*), communality and individuality (*surang jo basamo*), family and village (*dunsanak jo nagari*), local custom and national rules (*adaik jo peraturan*). [136] Since the Minangkabau have been accustomed to a contradictory social structure (Abdullah 1972), the accommodation of contradictory social principles is easily adopted in Minangkabau culture.

In economic sphere, the local response, dealing with market expansion, is shown by the dynamics of the household economy (see chapter five). Evers argues that the decline of subsistence production is the concrete effect of market expansion (1996: 167). In the Minangkabau case, this situation occurs in a different form. Young argues that the subsistence and commercial production are carried out side by side in the context of the Minangkabau household economy. This is a characteristic pattern of Minangkabau household economy that has been carried over from the past (Young 1994). My findings, at least, show that the decline or the growth of subsistence production in the Minangkabau household economy is mostly in relation to the problem of maintaining family cash income. In consequence, the varying orientation of work moves back and forth from domestic to cash generating jobs, from domestic goods to market commodities, and from social interests to commercial pursuits.

What Evers has argued is that the market expansion results in the emergence of mass consumption (1996) and this is happening in the local Minangkabau community. The manufactured goods, consumed by the Minangkabau in the towns down to the village level, stimulate an intense individual motivation to earn money (see chapter five). In fact, a pattern of mass consumption has arguably been occurring in the entire Minangkabau area and is represented by the replacement of local goods with manufactured goods or "out-village "

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[136] Bohannan and Dalton argue that the market principle, in becoming the integrative transactional principle, has come to determine not merely the economy, but a wider range of activity in the society. Thus, in an economy in which market exchange is the dominant principle, the "marketplace" takes on varied physical as well as organizational forms (Bohannan and Dalton 1968: 9).

goods (*barang dari lua*) by means of the market. Operationally, the distribution of such goods throughout the whole region is carried out by traveling traders (*pedagang babelok*) in accordance with the pattern of the local market circulation. Thus, the growing habit of mass consumption in Minangkabau villages is an inevitable process which forces the rural community to be involved in the globalized market.

Principally, the Minangkabau still base their social ties on the mechanisms of kin relationships and Islam. In reality, the Minangkabau are caught by the contradictory forces of the communal and commercial base of social ties. Neither kin relationships nor religion can be maintained as the focus of social forces, when commercial values come into play. The corollary is that the Minangkabau individual always experiences an internal conflict of interests when negotiating his social role in relation to his own nuclear family and his lineage or clan. On one hand, the maintenance of ethnic identity in the sense of being a proper Minangkabau is quite important. On the other hand, the Minangkabau person does not want to lose the opportunity to maximize his or her economic capital which is always closely related to social capital.

6.3. Responses of the Local Community to Market Expansion

6.3.1. Socialization by Global Information at the Marketplace

The enjoyment of global media is quite visible among the Indonesians, including the Minangkabau. On the empirical level, the extent of the penetration of local, national and international information is crucial in indicating how far a local community has changed the orientation from the local to the global level. It is obvious that the ownership of mass communication technology, especially television sets and parabola antennas, is becoming fashionable in both urban and rural areas. Many houses and some kiosks and shops at the marketplaces are equipped with them. The availability of various types of information by means of TV, which can be received with the assistance of the parabola antenna, has given villagers a new outlook. Many villagers utilize the marketplace not only as a place to buy and sell goods, but also as a place to find entertainment and information from the outside „world“ (*dunia lua*).

The TV set is used by many shop and kiosk keepers as a substitute activity during the slow times for trade. At the same time, most market customers like to visit shops or kiosks which have TV sets. It is inevitable that some actually prefer to watch television at the kiosks or shops, than go shopping. The shop and kiosk keepers are generally aware of this desire, therefore many of them purposely make their shop a place for people to enjoy TV. In Situmbuk, Tabek Patah, Saruaso, Balai Tangah, Sungai Tarab, Baringin Ungka, and Kandang Juar especially, there are a number of kiosks or hot food shops (*lapau nasi*) who offer customers the opportunity to watch TV. This is a marketing strategy used by shop keepers to attract as many customers as possible to shop at their place.

For a time, many villagers assumed that such a TV set belongs only to rich people (*urang bapunyo*), because only they can afford one. As a consequence, only relatively rich people have a possibility to be socialized by global information. This assumption can be misleading. We observe that many common villagers are also able to watch TV. Houses in the village, equipped with the parabola antenna, often are visited by a large number of persons who want to watch TV.

> Sof, (36) works as a school guard (*penjago sekolah*) at *SMA* Salimpaung (Salimpaung senior high school) and he also works as the head of Tabek Patah village (*kapalo desa*). Sometimes, he earns money from an additional job as an intermediary in the buying and selling of citizen band radios (*radio* C*B*). By means of these various jobs, he can support his wife and two children. Even though the job as a village head is socially quite prestigious, he still categorizes himself as common villager (*urang biaso*). The income as a village head is far less than enough to live on, therefore he always has some other jobs. However, his few jobs have not made him a rich man so far. In fact, he is still unable to build his own house on his own land. He still is living in a temporary wooden house built in the back yard of the school. Although his house is quite simple (non permanent), and made with wood, floored with cement, he uses his house, which is only about 18 square meters, to live in and as a small food shop (*lapau*). He operates this tiny shop in order to earn more income. The *lapau* itself occupies the living room of his house. In his *lapau,* he provides a TV 20 inch equipped with a parabola antenna to his customers. He actually bought it because he and his family wanted to enjoy more films and news broadcasts, not only from *TVRI* (the national channel that can be received with an ordinary antenna), but also from Indonesian private channels, such as *RCTI, SCTV, Indosiar* etc, and the international private channels that can only be received with this type of antenna. He also needed to buy the TV as an attraction for customers to spend more time at his *lapau*. His customers can enjoy televised entertainment when buying food or other things. He is quite aware that,

> due to the presence of this TV set, his house became a multipurpose structure; for him to live in, to sell goods, and a place of entertainment for his family and others. During the break times at the school many pupils buy things and crowd into his shop to watch TV.

I see the phenomena of TVs and parabola antennas and the interest in receiving global information and entertainment programs as a direct local response to a globalized market. The important factor that links local people with the global society, in this regard, is the flow of information. In any case, the information gained from the TV evokes in the local community a greater appreciation of the global context. Through it, it becomes easier for consumer culture to penetrate into the cells of social life. This is demonstrated clearly by villagers who seemingly think that basic needs are less important than consumer needs. As my informant (Dt. Malano Basa, 65) said:

> **„I see that a new way of life (*sifat baru*) is taking place among Tabek Patah villagers. Many villagers place greater priority on fulfilling consumer needs than basic needs. This can be seen in the many people who build a house and then immediately equip it with a TV set and parabola antenna. Or they love to buy motorcycles. Sometimes we see an unfinished house and its living room has already been furnished with a TV set and parabola. In its living room there is almost nothing except the TV set. It is funny, isn't it?....“**

Considering the penetration of global information, the Minangkabau still uphold the social principle that reminds them not to abandon custom and family ties (*tenggang adaik jo kaum)*, even though they personally have changed. As an *adat* proverb expresses it:

Kaluak paku kacang balimbiang,
udang di mangguang di lenggangkan
bao manurun ka Saruaso, tanam sirieh jo ureknyo,
anak dipangku kamanakan dibimbing,
urang kampuang dipatenggangkan,
tenggang nagari jan binaso, tenggang sarato jo adatnyo
(a curved nail, peanuts and star fruit,
shrimps are swinging on the stage,
all are brought down to Saruaso, please plant betel vine together with its roots,
your own children should be on your own lap, but your sisters' children
should be guided,
we should retain our fellow villagers,
so that our *nagari* and *adat* are not wiped out)

This proverb contains an important message for all the Minangkabau, that states that every change experienced should take into consideration three main social elements, namely, the clan, customary law (*adat*) and *nagari*. These elements clearly represent the Minangkabau social system as a whole. If one of these elements changes, the social system of the Minangkabau will be affected. Considering the penetration of global information in Minangkabau villages, I argue that the markets function as a tremendous media of social communication. Evers emphasized that the market is a center of social and information networks. Thus, market can be interpreted as a sphere of significant interaction between sellers and buyers who are not only meeting, but also communicating with each other (Evers 1997b: 85).

6.3.2. Costs in Agricultural Undertakings

Peasants cannot escape those costs which have to be spent for their agricultural undertakings from the beginning of planting until harvesting. There is no cultivation of land without an investment of money. Peasants need a return for the money, time and labor they have invested in their crop. The main way to do this is through the sale of produce. The following example gives a general idea of the minimal costs of planting, cultivating and harvesting a crop.

Operational costs of a rice field per hectare:

- Rp. 5,000,- to plant 5 kg of *padi* seeds.
- Rp. 175,000,- for 350 kilograms of fertilizer.
- Rp.150,000,- cost of labor for plowing the field from planting until the crop is ripe.
- Rp. 150,000,- cost of labor for weeding and planting of cultivated *padi* seeds.
- Rp.40,000,- several kinds of insecticide cost.

The total minimal investment that must be made is Rp. 525,000,-. If the crop is successfully harvested, at this cost the peasant can grow 2.5 tons of rice for each hectare. When all the rice yield is sold, a peasant would have a monthly income of about Rp.107,143. The calculation is as follows: a normal price of rice at the marketplace is Rp.400,- per kilogram. When a good price is obtained, that means that the peasant will have an income of about one million *rupiah*. This represents 100 days or 3.5 months of labor. After the capital invested is subtracted, the profit is Rp.480,000,-. After his work time is subtracted the peasant earns only an income of Rp. 137,145,- per month, or Rp. 4,572,- (US$ 2) per day. Before using his real income, the profit from 2.5 tons of rice must be subtracted 10% to the wages for threshing and cutting labor. Thus, the final earning is Rp.900,000,- after subtraction of the total capital invested. In relation to the peasant's work time, this represents a monthly income of Rp.107,143 or Rp. 3,572 (US $ 1.5) per day.

Facing low income and uncertain prices at the marketplace, peasants force themselves to increase their efforts to cover their household needs (see chapter five). They can not maximize their agricultural cultivation by only depending on one crop, such as rice. Thus, it is common to find peasants engaged in various jobs, such working as a trader, a laborer on a construction site, and so on. They also divide up their land to plant various types of produce, such as tomatoes, sugar cane, cinnamon, bananas and chili. They will do whatever they can to earn enough money. In this context, the Minangkabau villagers face two general problems, namely, their lack is low ability to meet (or cover) the costs of planting and harvesting a crop, and the social welfare. Theoretically, on the one hand, the cost must be measured in relation to the social (not merely economic) value of product, and, it must be assessed in terms of its alternative non-economic uses. Welfare, on the other hand, deals with the problem of individual satisfaction or happiness, and the problem of a social optimum (Parsons and Smelser 1956: 29-32).

6.3.3. Local Market Embeddedness in Society

Looking at its spatial layout, the village market is always located close to other important and related buildings, such as the mosque, *adat* council house, village office, and schools. The juxtaposition of the marketplace with related spaces and structures symbolizes the range of their social functions and presents a clear picture of a system of economy which is embedded in society. However, the local market can operate independently of the other village institutions in terms of its functions and goals.

Considering its location and lay out, we see how the market place gathers all village social activities into one space. The members of the local community can combine their activities at the market with other activities such as education, religion, administration, or, even *adat* occasions. Villagers, then, are accustomed to closely interrelated communication with local social institutions. A simple example: during trading activities, when a nearby mosque calls Moslem to pray, most market actors can hear it, and as soon as possible, go to the mosque to pray. Another example, the *adat* council office is always open for its *nagari* members on every main market day. On this day, local people can combine their shopping with settling their affairs at this office.

An Example: The Tanjung Bonai Market

The Tanjung Bonai market, or as it is also called, the Ranah Batu market, is located in the area of the Tanjung Bonai Utara village and the Tanjung Bonai *Nagari* at the same time. This market is held every Saturday. Tuesday is also a secondary market day there. Market activities take place from early in the morning until 11.00 a.m. or 12.00 a.m. Before 1993, the market was included in the jurisdiction of Ranah Batu village, but after the unification of the area including Ranah Batu and Lareh nan Panjang village, a new village was established. The market is under the control of this new village administration of Tanjung Bonai Utara.

This market is categorized as market type A. Thus, the market supervision is under the Tanjung Bonai *Nagari*, but the administration is carried out by Tanjung Bonai Utara village. The market ground, about 700 sq., is on communal land belonging to the Payabada clan. The market administrator rents the land annually. Once a year, the market administrator pays either with seven *sumpit padi* (rice *sumpit*)[137] or a money sum of Rp. 92,000,-.

The marketplace is quite small and consists of only about 70 traders (nine cloth sellers, three mixed durable goods traders, *kelontong* sellers, a few vegetable and fruit sellers, and daily needs sellers). They usually come from Batusangkar, Balai Tangah, Lubuak Jantan and other villages and usually pay a market fee in the range of Rp.100 - 200. The marketplace itself consists of a complex of small halls which are divided in a number of small sections, each rented for Rp. 400,-. Near the market place, there is a local governmental clinic (*puskesmas*), some small shops as well as small coffee shops, and a small area, used as a livestock market, in a corner of the marketplace. Beside the marketplace a foot ball field is located. Besides the market tax, the market income is also generated by the parking fee for local transport vehicles that use an area of market ground (the parking fee is Rp. 250 for each vehicle entering the market area). A rent of some small sections of the hall, and 15% of the price of each live animal sold, are also part of the marketplace revenues.

The board for market organization consists of a market head (*penghulu pasar)*, in this case, also the head of village development affair (*kepala urusan pembangunan desa)*. The market head is assisted by a secretary, a treasurer, a tax collector, and a sweeper in running the market. The secretary and treasurer receive no wages for this,

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[137] *Sumpit* is a plaited storage bag used to hold rice.

> rather than they accept a kind of tip (called *uang rokok*) for their work, while the tax collector gets 10 % of the market tax collected for one day. Only the sweeper earns a monthly wage in the amount of Rp. 7,500,-. The market avenue raised on every market day is approximately Rp.10,000,-. The rest of the money will be kept for one year for accounting to the *adat* council.

This single case depicts the continuing existence of a close relationship between market and local community. Its existence sustains the continuity of the local use of the marketplace as a social, politic and economic center of the peasant village.

6.3.4. Market Principle as a Typical Social Attitude

The market principle has seemingly become a social characteristic. In the case of Tabek Patah village, most of villagers always discuss the native principle of "avoidance of suffering loss (*indak amuah marugi*)" in terms of finance and energy. At the moment, this social trait is quite obvious in that community. Villagers tend mostly to calculate profit and loss in their social actions and this means that a purely social sense of purpose is not a primary attitude of life among these villagers. This interpretation symbolizes how the market principle has penetrated to the level of ideas. In this meaning, the utilization of personal resources of money or physical energy should be as minimal as possible, but the result of the utilization should be as high as possible. Many social activities, then, are still carried out but with the motive of economic gain. This type of motivation is emerging as major social attitude.

> In the village of Tabek Patah, there was a common opinion that most villagers will take part in village activities, such as agricultural advice (*penyuluhan pertanian*), a communal work project (*gotong royong*) etc, when they profit personally from it, instead of spending their money. If they have to donate possessions or money as part of such activities, they avoid it rather than participate. An advantage, rather than giving something should be the most important reason. Every local program organized by village government (*desa*) or *nagari*, that needs people to donate money, things or do volunteer work, usually ends before it can be accomplished. In the beginning, most people are interested in taking part in the project, but not until the work is finished. All sorts of organized activities stop in the middle of projects such as women family workshop (*PKK)*, local meetings of the village assembly (*musyawarah desa*) and so on. At first, activities take place several times, but after initial efforts, most participants gradually withdraw. It is like are protesting against

something when they see no direct personal benefit. As it is said in a Minangkabau proverb: „*jika bekerja cangkul berlebih, jika makan pinggan kurang*" (when its time to work there are more tools than people, when its time to eat there are fewer plates than people). This proverb teases the majority of villagers who just seek their own benefit instead of the public interest. Therefore, there are some local cynical words that play on the translation of the name of the village "Tabek Patah" with "*apo nan dibuek pasti patah*" (Whatever being done, will be broken before its finished).

6.3.5. Socialization to Manufactured Goods in the Local Context

During the 1970's, shop and kiosk keepers located at the Tabek Patah market usually went to buy goods at the other, bigger, markets held in towns like Bukittinggi, Padang, or Payakumbuh. Since they had to buy goods or articles there, for their kiosks or shops, they could not sell these articles at low prices at home. Sometimes, the prices of their goods far exceeded the villagers' purchasing power. The operating cost involved in buying these goods caused their selling prices for articles increase considerably since the shop and kiosk keepers had spent much time and energy in going to the urban markets to buy goods.[138]

During the 1980's, this situation has changed remarkably. Village shop and kiosk keepers did not necessarily have to go to the city markets to buy goods. A number of suppliers directly came to them and offered various goods or articles. Since then, most local shop and kiosk keepers have been routinely supplied with products by the suppliers.

This flow of manufactured commodities by means of trading relationships between local shop and kiosk keepers and suppliers indicates the concrete linking of local market places within larger marketing networks. It is usual to find the same goods at the rural market that are normally sold at shops in the city, such as plastic objects, shoes, clothes and textiles, medicines, foods and biscuits, bicycles, household utensils etc. Goods are also retailed through small kiosks (*warung*) in subvillages (*dusun*), and also through sub-sellers (*anak galeh*) at the marketplace.

All of the goods offered by most suppliers can be categorized as manufactured goods and consumer goods and are completely new products for the local community. Ever since these goods were introduced most local products have been reduced to a marginal position. At this

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[138] This information is mostly based on an oral history given by one informant (Mawar, 64). He told how he experienced the trade situation at Tabek Patah market since the 1960's. Now, this informant is the oldest shop keeper at the Tabek Patah market.

point, as a result of familiarity with and preference for many “out-village” goods (*barang dari lua*), most local products are derived from agriculture and are supplied to other villages.[139]

> Cane sugar is a well known product of Tabek Patah village. To produce 10 kilograms of sugar cane, most Tabek Patah villagers have to work two days to process the cane. The process begins with cutting down sugar cane, then rubbing the stems, beating it, pressing the cane, and boiling the cane sugar to make an extract, and finally pouring this extract into a number of molds. After the blocks of cane sugar are dry and cool, they are packed into sack. The whole process requires at least two workers and a buffalo to rotate a press (*kilang*). At the market, the processed cane sugar is generally sold for Rp.1,000 per kilogram. Most villagers can produce at least 10 kilograms of cane sugar in each processing. The money resulting from the sale of 10 kg of cane sugar is only enough to buy a few needed goods, such as a piece of cloth, or a pair of trousers, or two pairs of sandals, or one towel. The money from sale of ten kilograms of cane sugar is sufficient only to feed one family with one small child for two days

The effect of the penetration of non-local products is that villagers need to spend more cash. For example, in the past, villagers were satisfied with home-made foods. Now, they prefer to eat instant noodles or manufactured cookies or packaged snacks instead of home-made cookies. They are proud of eating canned fish instead of the fresh fish caught in local ponds. Moreover, they want to use bottled cooking oil instead of hand made coconut oil, or they like to buy mineral water in plastic bottles instead of drinking boiled water. In the past, villagers were happy enough chatting with family members at home after work. Now, they are fond of listening to the cassette recorder and radio, or watching TV at home or at the kiosks or shops at the marketplace, where TVs equipped with parabola antennas are available. In the past, they were used to just working in the field without any kind of entertainment, but now they like to bring their cassette recorder or radio to listen to music while cultivating their plots. Such changes of local habits, related to the new habits of consumer goods, are very obvious in the village.

To some extent, these changes are accompanied by the emergence of additional and uncertain expenses. At the same time, most villagers still have a problem of low income (see

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[139] Another example, I met the only female trader of cooking pottery and storage wear at the Ombilin market. Her pottery was produced by Galogandang villagers who were famous as pottery producers in Tanah Datar region. She complained about the presence of plastic and metal wear as competing with her goods. Everyday she always hopes that people will be interested again in using pottery wear for household use. Due to less demand for her goods, she feels that her goods are becoming just a symbol of old traditions in household utensils. Thus, she hopes that local or foreign tourists will buy her goods as souvenirs.

chapter five). With their very limited ability to earn money, villagers are experiencing an increasing cost of living. As illustrated above, ten kilograms of cane sugar, as a main source of income is, of course, far from adequate. Therefore, villagers have to use their time, their energy, and any capability to find added sources of income. When they cannot exploit new local resources, they have to find another way of life, such as migrating, taking a job as a laborer or driver, or becoming a craftsman. In this sense, manufactured goods have become an external factor that forces villagers, whether on purpose or not, to be socialized into a global consumer culture.

6.3.6. Inter-Village Migration

Due to a shortage of income in the village of origin, at the same time the power of consumer culture is growing, villagers need to find sources of income outside of their own home base. Migration is the most obvious solution to meet their need for cash. In fact, many villagers migrate to find jobs in other villages in the same district, or in different districts in the same region of the regency. This is migration within the same region, and the same cultural area, at the regency level. This kind of intra-village migration reveals a new pattern of migration by Minangkabau. Thus, it differs from what Naim has described as voluntary migration (*merantau*) to different cultural areas (Naim, 1973). Migration within one's own administrative and cultural region indicates the closeness of the home base to the new destination of migration. This also represents the maintenance of consumer behavior in the migrants' home area.

6.3.7. Declining Function of the *Adat* Big House (*Rumah Gadang*)

6.3.7.1. The Case of Tabek Patah:

The Minangkabau big house (*rumah gadang*) typically belongs to the matrilineal group. The house is usually owned by the married women belonging to certain matrilineal clan (*suku*). The house, with its distinctive roof, symbolizes the existence of this matrilineal clan and its members. Thus, the *rumah gadang* is supposed to integrate all clan members into a single residential group.

Most of the *rumah gadang* in the village of Tabek Patah are at least 100 years old. Since the houses were built many years ago, their matrilineages have developed into different generations. In fact, most members are not interested in the clan life of the big house, rather they prefer to build ordinary new houses to live in. The result is that many *rumah gadang* now function as just a reminder of clan unity rather than as places to live. Many *adat* houses have been abandoned by their residents, they are now empty most of the time, and are falling into disrepair, or even, falling down.

> One *adat* big house, located just 75 m from the Tabek Patah marketplace belongs to the descendants of the *Caniago* clan under the headship of *penghulu* Dt. Bagindo Sutan. The house was established as a communal project of the members of *Nagari* Tabek Patah about 100 years ago. Its building represented the clan togetherness (or solidarity) of this *nagari*. This house had five rooms occupied by five married daughters, with their children, of the *Caniago* clan. Since the year of its establishment, up to the1960's, the house also functioned as "sacred" place (*tampek nan syah)* for the clan ceremony of the *adat* leader's installment (*batagak penghulu).* The house has been the location of three successions of clan headship so far. This *adat* house was in bad repair in the 1960's, and since then, abandoned by its members. Today, the descendants of this *adat* house have increased to 45 families with about 180 members. They now occupy many ordinary houses and most of them are not even living in the village anymore, but have migrated to frontier areas. Thirty of these families have also migrated to towns such as Medan (North Sumatra province), Tanjung Balai Karimun, Pakan Baru, Duri, Bengkalis (Riau province), Manado (North Sulawesi province), Jakarta, Jambi, Solok and Pasaman (the two last cities are in West Sumatra province). Only 15 families with 70 members are still living in the village. Since being abandoned, the house could not tie the members together properly. The house, in fact, is not used at all by this clan anymore. Clan members prefer to live outside of the big house in their own normal houses. In addition, the forth installment ceremony of the *penghulu* of the clan was held in 1997, and the ceremony was not carried out in the *adat* house, but rather in the ordinary house of the *penghulu* candidate. Now the house waits to collapse, all its timbers are decayed, and most are damaged. One of the member of this clan said :

> **„we are all just waiting for the collapse of the house. Our family members do not have enough money to repair it again. It will take a lot of money to repair it. We are all taking care of our families and our own houses now. Clan descendants are mostly scattered far from here. We do not have the ability and togetherness to build this big house like our ancestors did. But, we do not want to demolish the house, if we do that, it would be an insult to our own *nagari*,**

because this house is also a symbol of this *nagari*. Let it just deteriorate further through time and nature...“

In another case:

Some informants argued that some *adat* houses were also abandoned by their members due to the generational conflict occurring in that house. The problem might begin with the clan head of *adat* house, the *penghulu.* He is the powerful man in the *adat* house and usually exercises his power over his descendants, especially over his nephews, nieces, and sisters. He is quite strong in power and in authority, so that family members sometimes are afraid of him. His sometimes arbitrary leadership provokes conflicts between himself and his nephews. Many of his nephews are well educated and aware of democracy, rights and obligations in the family. They dare to go against him. When this conflict occurs, they would rather live far away from the house and do not care about it anymore.

Referring the last case above, however, conflicts among certain members in a clan can usually be settled through a clan meeting or *nagari* council. There is no dispute that cannot be settled, as is expressed over and over in *adat*. The collapse of the *adat* house as a symbol and reality is a consequence of the increase in individual decisions to choose a different pattern of residence and of nuclear family household organization. Nevertheless, a strong tendency to escape from the strict and hierarchical power exercised by the *penghulu* is quite obvious. This leads to the question of how effectively *adat* can maintain social bonds, and legitimate the authority of the *penghulu* in a clan when most of its members do not respect and obey him. At least, the Minangkabau always try to uphold *adat,* as stated in one *adat* proverb:

Adaik dibubuik indak mati, dianjak indak layu
(*Adat* will not die if pulled, and not wither if moved)

This proverb means *adat* will live forever despite the passage of time and generational change. In this case, the Minangkabau try to make *adat* an external symbol in their culture. They prefer to perpetuate *adat* as a physical object, rather than see it as an inherent element of individual behavior. The first consequence is that *adat* is always treated as external expression of ideology that cannot change or be changed. Secondly, the failure of individual behavior to uphold *adat* is always regarded as a result of human weakness, not *adat*. Most of the Minangkabau think that it is not acceptable that *adat* should be blamed for the changes in people and society. The Minangkabau always attribute the cause of change to the individuals involved, rather than regarding *adat* rules or norms as obsolete or out of date: “*adat tidak* *bersalah, yang salah orangnya"* (*adat* is not wrong, the mistake is derived from the individual himself).

Adat is regarded as never changing over time and generations. Moreover, the Minangkabau seem to have made it "taboo" to say that *adat* is obviously in conflict with Islamic rules and norms, despite the changing life orientation that is clearly taking place among the Minangkabau, and to question the function of *adat*. Abdullah deals with this issue as seen in the historical perspective (1985: 143ff). In this sense, Yunus argues that declining function (even the loss) of the *adat* big house cannot cause the loss of Minangkabau identity. This identity, or what is called "Minangkabau concept", is not mostly represented by physical objects, like the *adat* house, but rather by the feeling of "Minangkabauness" (Yunus 1995: 26).

6.3.7.2. The Case of Koto Alam:

> Like in Tabek Patah village, most traditional *adat* houses (*rumah gadang*) in the village of Koto Alam were built in "*bodi caniago"* style characterized by the lack of raised platforms (*anjungan*) at the left and right sides of the house. There are about 30 *rumah gadang*s in this village. Thirteen such houses are located in Lubuk sub-village, nine houses in Koto Alam Atas sub-village, and eight in Koto Alam Bawah sub-village. These *rumah gadang*s mostly are the three-room type (*rumah gadang nan tigo ruang*) and are still well maintained by their owners. Only three of these *rumah gadang* are not occupied anymore and almost in a state of collapse.
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> One of the most typical characteristics of these *rumah gadang* is the composition of the groups that occupy them. There are some *rumah gadang* which are inhabited by nuclear families, where husband, wife and all their unmarried children live in the house. This is, of course, opposed by the general customary law that gives no permission for one nuclear family to live in the *adat* house, instead of just the married females with their unmarried children, of the matrilineage. Thus, a *rumah gadang* is usually not occupied by married males.
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> With the 897 inhabitants (or 209 households) who live in Koto Alam, it seems that the number of *rumah gadang* there should be over 30 houses in order to accommodate an equivalent number of inhabitants and families. In fact, most villagers prefer now to built ordinary houses, rather than establishing new *adat* houses. This phenomenon clearly represents a lack of interest in maintaining the indigenous residence pattern. In some cases, there is even the loss of traditional

greeting said when inviting guests to enter the house. The expression traditionally used is: „*mari naiklah ke rumah* „ („please, come up into our house“) Usually, you must climb a ladder in order to enter the *rumah gadang*. “Please go up into the house” is the phrase that symbolizes a swell increase of visitors’ honor caused by the owner’s highly respectful attitude to visitors.

In the case of ordinary houses, the expression used by a host, inviting visitors into the house, has changed to: „*mari silakan masuk*“ („please, come into our house“). This phrase symbolizes the equality of honor between visitor and host. In fact, unlike the *adat* house, an ordinary house does not have a ladder that one must climb to go in. Due to this, some informants argued that the change in house structure represents not just a changing social meaning of houses but also changes in the relationships among the persons who live in them, as well as changes between house owners and their visitors somehow. However, the visitors’ honor is not immediately detectable through the use of the greeting “*mari silakan masuk*”.

6.3.8. Between Morality and Business

6.3.8.1. The Loss of Social Trust

Business or trade is not only transacted according to rules, regulations, consent, but also through the exercise of power and the influence of sentiments and emotions (Evers 1995:4). Therefore, a market is not just a place where traders and customers meet to exchange goods and money, but also a cultural act which is full of symbols composed of signifiers and what is signified (Evers 1995: 5).[140] In this sense, Evers argues that a market can also lose its moral aspect due to a cultural change coming from beyond the market, and the corollary is that the market may lose its viability (p.7). To perpetuate a proper market, or trade ethic, social values should be taken into consideration.

In the context of Minangkabau markets, in their daily activities traders are very aware of their trade ethic being an “accident”. In fact, there is no clear trade ethic formulated by most Minangkabau traders. There is only a “feeling” (*perasaan*) that is used as a major tenet deciding whether a trade practice is proper or not, good or not. Theoretically, trust is the most important factor in proper trade (Evers and Schrader 1994), however many traders, at the

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[140] This argument is, to a certain extent, theoretically related to the understanding of meaning described by Ogden and Richards (1960). They describe meaning as the triangular process of symbol, referent and thought or reference (p.11).

Minangkabau marketplaces, separate it from trade itself. Taking the case of the milled coffee transactions at many rural markets in the Minangkabau world:

> Most visitors are aware of that most coffee, which is sold, is not pure, but mixed with other substances, sometimes with milled roasted corn. This practice is the result of unfair local coffee producers (or traders) who want to maximize the profit from a limited source. Many brands of coffee are always advertised with claim of "100% *bubuk kopi asli*" (100% pure coffee). This claim is really not information about ingredients, but a reflection of long-term customer feeling of distrust for the local coffee sold by many traders.[141] In order to regain this trust, many coffee producers then try to convince customers with such a claim of purity. But this cannot be the only producers' strategy for selling their goods. A trader Mawar (64) said: "milled coffee, mixed with another substance such as roasted corn, will be accepted as long as coffee beans are the main component of the mixture". On one hand, this is only a part of their trade strategies to increase sales, but on the other hand, this is of course a trick to deceive buyers. It is difficult to say which is correct, good or bad, because each trader has his own reasons for doing it. In fact, nobody knows which product is pure milled coffee and which is mixed with other things. Both kinds of coffee can hardly be recognized as pure or adulterated by smelling or tasting.

Another practice, seemingly unaffected by a trade ethic, is a standard of honesty in using measurement tools, such as scales (*timbangan*), or a measuring can for rice (*takaran beras*). In fact, although most customers express their distrust of the devices used by most traders, but they cannot prove cheating directly. For example, according to some informants, some of the traders use a convex can (*takaran)*, so that the can appears to be full, but the volume is less than it is supposed to be. And, a number of traders are suspected of attaching a hidden weight (*pambarek)* to their pair of scales (*timbangan)***.** Or some of the peasant traders mix their goods putting a bad and a good quality of chili in one sack. Or, traditional medicine men or women use illusions and a long-winded speech to sell their goods. Another cheating strategy is to offer a counterfeit brand of goods that looks like a famous brand. Because of some traders' strategies, many customers have to examine goods carefully before buying them, otherwise

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[141] Based on my interview with some local coffee traders at Tabek Patah and Sungai Tarab markets, much coffee sold is regarded as not pure, instead their coffee powder is mixed with another substance such as roasted corn. According to my investigations in one traditional coffee mill in Sungai Tarab village, and of a coffee enterprise in Tabek patah village, coffee producers always make their ground coffee with pure coffee beans. They do not want to cheat their customers. In this regard, it is still unclear why many customers and buyers are suspicious of coffee trade.

they may be cheated. In these cases, honesty is far from part of a trade strategy. Traders always assume that whatever they do is their strategy. Meanwhile, customers consider their "strategy" as deception. In this regard, it seems to me, that Minangkabau trade still plays a role in the changing process of Minangkabau social identity (see Kahn 1993).

As a matter of fact, most traders usually adapt a local custom as part of a trade strategy. For example, the idea of sensitivity or friendliness (*pandang budi* or *ramah tamah)* in trade, or by talking to the customer with hospitality and kindness. They also try to be patient when dealing with customers and not show annoyance.

Since trust and honesty are very important aspects in doing business, everyone involved in trade expresses these values in various ways.[142] Therefore, the meaning of trade itself varies from one trader to another. In my research, some traders interviewed understood trade as just an agreement of different interests between buyers and sellers. Prices for goods, then, are only a tool to reach sufficient agreement until the "deal" can be made. Therefore, social formulas are used by many traders as part of their "trade politics" (*politik dagang*), instead of economic formulas. Traders set prices through the process of social contact. Thus, bargaining, as a characteristic mechanism of the marketplace, tends to be a social representation of the traders themselves. A Minangkabau proverb expresses this understanding:

„membeli hendaklah murah, menjual hendaklah maha
katuju diawak, katuju diurang"
(buying should be cheap, selling should be expensive,
What we agree on, it should also be agreed on by others)

In this regard, the market expansion is reacted to by the local community through a creation of a new meaning of trade. Local trade remains, however, concerned with the pursuit of social purposes that are more important than the purely economic goals of trade. It appears that both rationality and morality are quite embedded in most of the social norms and values of market actors.

6.3.8.2. The Market Principle of Sidewalk Shoe and Sandal Mender

Global market expansion has also contributed to a transformation of the economic sphere of local market actors. The force of profit maximization cannot be ignored although social

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[142] For example, I even saw a trader's car that carried cloth and other goods. On its window a sign stated: „honesty is our main capital" (*modal utama kami adalah kejujuran).*

interests are still an important market actor's motivation in trade. My personal experience demonstrates this argument:

> **When I needed to have my shoe repaired at the Batusangkar market, I looked for a sidewalk shoe repairer (*tukang sol sepatu kaki lima*). Usually the price charged by such a shoe mender is cheap. I found only one shoe repairman who was doing business beside a big shop. He looked about 50 years old. This shoe mender placed his tools and materials in front of a shop selling various articles (*toko kelontong*). Before I let him repair my shoe, I asked about the price.**
> **"How much will it cost to repair this slight tear in my shoe?" I asked.**
> **"Five thousand *rupiah*." He answered.**
> **"That is too much". I said in reply. "How about 2,500 *rupiah*?".**
> **"No…" he answered.**
> **"Why do you charge so much to fix this little tear in a shoe?". I said frankly.**
> **He calmly said to me, "can you repair your shoe by yourself? So why do you come to me?".**
> **He added in argument: "when you want a job done, the labor has to be paid for, doesn't it? Labor is very important in a business".**
> **I could not refute his argument, and just allowed my shoe to be repaired by him without bargaining anymore. My shoe was then fixed by a young boy, sitting near him, who had just watched and listened as I tried to bargain. After he ordered this young boy to fix the shoe, he left, heading to a stall located across from the shop. He joined with his friends to chat. While my shoe was being fixed, I asked the boy whether he was his son. The boy said no. He just started working for the shoe repairer, who has first opened this tiny enterprise many years ago. After the shoe was repaired, the boy called him and then gave the repaired shoe to him. He then looked carefully at the shoe, just to see if the repair work was done well by the boy or not. After that, I paid him for the service.**
>
> **Two interesting aspects can be seen in the case above. The first is the shoe mender's argument in defense of the price he has set. The second is a division of labor even in such a tiny business: greeting the customer, bargaining, repair and payment. The first indicates that a capitalistic mentality has been adopted by the shoe mender. He provides a shoe repair service by effectively controlling the transaction. He is very clever in his bargaining strategies in relation to the customers. To set a price for his service, he asserts the principle of the added value of labor.**
> **This case is also an indication of work efficiency in a small business enterprise. In this case, a tiny business, the shoe mender hires someone else to do the repairs. Meanwhile, he acts as a boss as well as a manager and deals with the customers. Therefore, we see that the idea of market rationality is also valid for some small scale trade or services like at the Minangkabau marketplace.**

6.4. Consumer Behavior of Villagers: *Adat* and Togetherness

Economic development appears to be drawing villagers into materialistic pursuits. In general, villagers increase their spending following harvest time. After harvest, when they have cash, is a good time to buy new (or second hand) clothes and textiles, to buy shoes, to improve nutrition, to purchase household utensils, to buy gold, and so forth. We can see this as a pattern of peasant economic dynamics, on the one hand, which is possible as long as villagers can afford to buy needed goods. On the other hand, this shows a pattern of a short-term organization of income. Most villagers invest in unproductive activities, even though they constantly face the problem of low income, especially during times of shortage (*masa sulit*). In fact, at the beginning of every week many villagers say "what job can I get this week?" (*a karajo minggu kini?*). A saying expresses the short-lived nature of happiness. "After harvest is over, suffering comes" (*panen habih, susah nan tibo*).

Most villagers think that their basic needs can be satisfied on a weekly basis. Thus, villagers have a saying "to get food for one week is no problem" (*kini makan saminggu bara banalah)***.** In general, this means that if a villager can earn at least Rp 40,000,- a week, his family's basic needs can be satisfied.[143] This represents enough money to buy what they need for consumption. Thus, the household economy is based on a weekly cycle.

In the village of Gunung located near Tabek Patah village, most villagers can usually reach this basic amount of income. After the harvest, many villagers are able to purchase, for example, a motorcycle, or build a permanent house (*rumah batu*). Then, when they transport their harvested produce, or fertilizer, or rice, they do not only carry the load with a pushcart, but also with their motorcycle. In the past, inhabitants of this village produced cane sugar using a traditional mill made of wood (*kilang kayu*), but now they use a metal mill (*kilang basi*). With the traditional mill, only 10 kilograms cane sugar could be produced. Using the new mill, up to 50 kg cane sugar can be produced in one day.

This improved standard of living is mainly the result of the tomato and chili cultivation introduced since the beginning of the 1980's. Through these cash crops, the villagers' economy has been considerably developed. At this point, villagers can respond to this development with a change from subsistence economy to consumer behavior. This situation is also supported by the role of local markets in the peasant community that makes possible the sale of produce for cash.

Knowledge of consumer commodities, in any case, is developed through the role of market. Villagers know what goods are available and which are usually sold at the marketplace. Things offered at the market increase the desire for possession of goods. To obtain goods, for example equipment and electrical appliances, villagers sometimes travel to another region. High demand for certain goods results also in the creation of new jobs, such as electronics "agents" (*makelar barang elektronik*) who offer villagers a door to door service for desired electronic equipment, such as parabola antennas, TV, radios etc..

Consumer behaviors are inevitably adopted by villagers. This leads inevitably to the question of customary law as a general social control over the effects of consumer behavior. Through *adat,* villagers are not only urged to spend their income properly, when used for consumer purposes. Distribution of part of one's earnings to certain members of the matrilineal clan is an important *adat* obligation. Sisters' children (*kamanakan),* for example, have rights to receive financial support from their mother's brothers (*mamak*). When a *mamak* only considers of his own wife and children, and saves their *kamanakan*, this does not fulfill the *adat* principle: *Anak dipangku, kamanakan dibimbing* (your own children should be on your own lap, but your sisters' children should be guided) (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978: 9).

In the past, an uncle initially questions his sisters' children to find out their situation by asking, "how about your education?", "how is your family doing?", "Do you have enough money or not?", and so forth. In a clan, individual problems would be communally handled, and the individual's mother's brothers would be responsible and hold a family meeting in order to solve the problem. When the problem was due to a financial crisis, a family meeting (*musyawarah keluarga*) would decide whether or not to pawn a valuable possession of the clan to raise the needed money. This ideal picture takes place nowadays less and less frequently. Sisters' children have to handle the problem by themselves rather than going to their mother's brother for help.

When a member of a matrilineal clan has enough income, but does not spend part of it for his matrilineal relatives, this represents a weakening of the Minangkabau *adat*. Perhaps, his improved economic condition is a step forward for him. Some informants interpret this situation as a Minangkabau putting money first, and, as a result neglecting, or even abandoning *adat*.[144]

In principle, economic redistribution to one's own matrilineal clan must be observed, because this is a symbol of clan solidarity, as stated by the *adat* proverb (Hakimy Dt. Rajo Penghulu 1978: 9):

ma nan ado samo dimakan, nan indak samo dicari,
mandapek samo balabo, kahilangan samo marugi

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[143] This is a general standard of villagers' cost of living based on an interview with a Tabek Patah village head in 1996. It prevailed during the field work in 1996.

[144] This is the opinion of some *adat* leaders of Tabek Patah village, based on an interview in January 1997.

(what foods we have we eat together, those we do not have we seek together; when we
have profit we must enjoy it together, when we have loss
then we suffer it together)

In reality, this solidarity is hard to maintain in day to day life among the Minangkabau. The tendency is more and more as described in chapter five. It means that there is now a weakness of *adat* hegemony over social life. It is common to find that, for example, when a Minangkabau man engages in trade, he does it for the benefit of his wife and their children. When he builds a house, he builds it for his wife. When he works, he uses his earnings only to support his wife and children.

To put it in another way, a Minangkabau man's economic endeavor is dedicated to acquisition of private property. In many respects, it is a symbol of decreasing "togetherness" or solidarity among the Minangkabau. Members of the matrilineage are not the focus of the individual economic cycle anymore. Thus, economic development, among the Minangkabau, apparently promotes individualism, rather than the communality.

6.5. Cultural Functions of the Market

6.5.1. Social Control over the Market

On the concrete level, rural markets function as a location for trade, and, at the same time, as a vehicle for obtaining the necessity of daily life. Small shops and kiosks, located on the fringe of the market area, sell everyday goods. People use these shops when they need something immediately. Young people use the market as a place of meeting and socializing date and a place to show off. Customers use the market as a place to meet friends and relatives. In general, the market is the focus of social meetings (*silaturahmi*). Thus, the market is not separable from the villager's normal activities and is part of the public and domestic spheres of life.

In terms of the distinguishing characteristics of the market, the village market is a major representation of local society and economy. Thus, the rural market is not simply an expression of a larger market system. In this sense, the peasant community has created and developed their own markets within their own tradition. For example, to produce cane sugar (*gula tabu*) villagers press sugar cane from Wednesday to Sunday, and then on Monday the processed sugar cane is sold at the marketplace. At the same time, the sale of local products is in the interest of other market actors involved.

On the other hand, the price is not just regulated by one or two market actors, rather by the many actors who compete with each other. Local markets allow peasants to sell their products to various other market actors. For example, one middleman bargains for a price of Rp. 1,000 per kilogram of a certain peasant's cane sugar while others pay Rp. 1,500,- and so forth. Thus, the peasant can choose the buyer who gives him the best deal. The local market system is an open media of price competition, therefore, bargaining (*barago*) is a crucial aspect of it. In this regard, an informant (Dt. Malano Basa, 65) said:

manggaleh di bawah pokok kayu, dijua di bawah pohon pisang
(we trade under the tree, we sell under the banana tree)

In general sense, this proverb means that everybody can sell and buy things freely at the market. We freely choose which offer is more profitable for us. There is no formal regulations that allow or forbid participants to sell or to buy in certain ways. All trade customs are guided by certain aspects of *adat*. One informant at the Malalo market, who plays a role as a middleman as well as distributor of agricultural products from the local village, argued that:

> "Traders, who come to this *nagari* as strangers to earn money at this market, should be polite when dealing with market visitors if they want to trade here again. Our *adat* teaches us to maintain an etiquette (*sopan santun*). However, there is no strict guideline for such politeness and how we must communicate with customers. In trade we have to be clever (*pandai-pandai*), which one should we „hit" (*pangkua)* and which one should we softly treat (*diluna'i*)...we have to be aware of …

In many cases *adat* leaders, through the *adat* council, try to keep the market system operating in accordance with *adat*. In the *adat* perspective, *penghulu* are allowed to be involved in business dealings, up to a certain point, as long as their trade serves a social purpose. Dealing with middlemen, for example, *adat* leaders will attempt to prevent negative influences of middlemen activities for the sake of the villagers' wellbeing. The a*dat* council, therefore, may directly punish market actors who deliberately cause many problems for the community in general.

6.5.2. *Nagari*s Market Style.

In the past, each *Nagari* operated its own market. Today, not all *nagari* still operate their own markets, because many local markets have died out (see the table 32). The loss of *nagari* markets may not be a consequence of a loss of market tradition among villagers, but due to the changing pattern of consumption. Rural markets, that continue to function only for the sale of local produce, tend to die out. Markets that provide space for the increasing trades in various "out-village goods" (*barang dari lua*), and stimulate consumer behavior, tend to flourish.

> In regard to their own marketplace, villagers, for example in Malalo *Nagari* Tanah Datar, use the market day as their "holiday" (*hari gadang)* from agricultural work. They go to the market then just to take a break (*pai malapehan panek*). At the marketplace they usually meet their relatives and friends and look for new goods on offer.

This means that, to a certain extent, there is a relationship between the market development, the maintenance of social togetherness and the consumption of up-to-date goods. As long as the market exists and is supported by a market style, the local community can exercise the social ties, which are related to the marketplace, and it functions as a major social outlet (*penyaluran sosial*).

6.5.3. A Trade Attitude

Attitude towards trade is an important aspect of the social practice of trade generally. The attitude meant in this case is a reflection of proper conduct of the way in which traders provide a satisfying transaction for customers. In this sense, the "attitude" can be translated as the trader's patience and positive thinking when dealing with his customers. However, there is no assumption that "the customer is a prince" (*pembeli adalah raja*). In most Minangkabau transactions, trade is always understood as an exchange between equals.

> On a certain day, an agricultural tool trader (*pakakeh*) at the Balai Tangah market, who came from Lareh nan Gadang village near to Balai Tangah village, waited for buyers. During the slow period, he always arranged his articles, moved something from here to there, as if things were never really in satisfactory order. If a customer came, he stopped arranging his goods, and then sat and just watched the buyer chose and checked a tool before buying it. He also sometimes gave his customers some information related to the quality of goods he sold. Two men came to him. They took a sickle (*sabik*), which they examined thoroughly and then asked some questions related to its raw material and quality and the producer of the tool, and then put it down again on the counter. They picked up another sickle and did the same thing. Various sickles were picked up by them and examined. After about 15 minutes of looking at sickles, they finally decided on one that they seemed to be interested in.

> Then, the bargaining began. The trader and these buyers discussed with each other and tried to get the other to agree to a price, higher or lower. Buyers made sure whether the thing to be bought was good or not. Meanwhile the seller claimed that it was the best available. The bargaining to set a price took a long time, almost 10 -15 minutes. (Meanwhile, a previous custom, who came before these two men, has gone away without buying anything, after a few minutes bargaining over a tool that he seemed to be interested in). Both men constantly asked about the quality of the good to be bought. Meanwhile, the seller repeatedly argued that his wares were very good quality and the price was reasonable. The buyers argued in response that the price was too high for the quality of the sickle that they wanted to buy. The bargaining went on and on. Finally, the bargaining was suddenly over and after paying, they left away. The trader said to me:
>
> "to be a trader here, you must be very patient. You have just yourself seen how difficult it was to convince buyers. They probably did not believe my argument that the sickle they bought was a high quality because it was made by blacksmiths in the Lareh Nan Gadang village. Everybody knows the high-quality tools of these blacksmiths as good as the Sungai Puar, Bukittingi blacksmiths.[145] Some products of these blacksmiths are even exported to Malaysia...But these customers seem not to believe what I said. I know that that is their strategy to get a price lower than I offered. As in this case, a trader who faces such buyers has to be patient..."

This case indicates maintenance of social harmony in trade. The trader always tries to avoid conflict by emphasizing his patience. A loss of patience in a single transaction will only produce bad feelings and destroy a social relationship.

6.6. Conclusion

The phenomenon of market expansion is demonstrated by the involvement of local markets in the processes of globalized markets. This expansion has been experienced by the ethnic Minangkabau for many years. Allegedly, the expansion is not only indicated by the flow of commodities back and forth between local and global markets, but also by the transmission of materialism, from the global to the level, as an alternative behavioral principle and social value. These principles and values obviously now play a stronger role in the morality, social attitudes, and ethnic solidarity of the local community than do traditional local social values. Therefore, the phenomenon of market expansion brings about major social and cultural consequences for the local community.

In fact, the Minangkabau deal with market expansion through the maintenance of the household economy and by the use of commercialized values in their social ties and obligations. As a result, social relationships practiced by the Minangkabau now tend to be temporary and pragmatic in character. Thus, ethnic solidarity and identity among the Minangkabau, as based on values of customary law (*adat*) and Islam, are becoming less important. The market principle, in turn, functions as a "bridge" connecting the rational and moral basis of decisions having related to the maintenance of ethnic "togetherness". We can show that the intensity of Minangkabau "togetherness" is becoming quite shaky as a result of economic interests dominating. Therefore, the Minangkabau now often experience tension in maintaining their social structure, between the principles of individuality and communality, family and clan, Islam and *adat*, and so on.

In daily life, the market expansion is responded to by the Minangkabau through socialization to global information, development of consumer culture, changing pattern of migration to inter-village migration, and the changing meaning of the *adat* house that also symbolize changes in "togetherness" going on among the Minangkabau today. Therefore, on the one hand, we can say that the local community is accustomed to market expansion occurring as the consequence of local involvement in the local, regional and global markets. On the other hand, the local community attempts to perpetuate the importance of local social bodies in this case of the *nagari* council, in order to control over the negative influences of the market expansion on the community, as far as possible. Therefore, the tensions that reflect the antagonism, between individual economic interests and communal obligations emerge over and over again among the Minangkabau. The question of a "declining spirit of Minangkabau togetherness", the title of this chapter is still difficult to answer. The answer is a matter of the process of ethnic group redefinition that has to be dealt with by the Minangkabau in their dealing with market expansion.

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[145] Sugai Puar blacksmiths are well known in West Sumatra. This is a center of metal working that has developed modern techniques of producing tools of various kinds. These blacksmiths were studied by Joel S. Kahn in 1975-1976 (Kahn 1976, 1980).

7. Towards Alternative Perspective on the Minangkabau Today

7.1. Introduction

For the Minangkabau, the market, or in this context the marketplace, is an integral part of social life. On the one hand, it is assumed that to gain a better understanding of the Minangkabau today, or even of their social (or cultural) dynamics, we must take into account the phenomena of the Minangkabau market. On the other hand, the changing situation of Minangkabau life today may be seen as a response to changes in the market. Although the fairly recent development of towns and even cities in the Minangkabau highlands was remarkable, the village marketplace continues playing an important role in the Minangkabau world up to the present time (Dobbin 1983: 12). This points to the importance of the relation of the process of social transformation between the social structure and the rural marketplace. Dobbin (1972, 1983) and Kahn (1975, 1976, 1980) have touched upon this matter, as have many other writers on the Minangkabau. For example, Josselin de Jong (1980), Graves (1971), Kato (1982) also mention it.

The most famous characteristic of the Minangkabau is the role of the market in most areas of their life. Well known as entrepreneurs, traders (settled, long distance or itinerant, or petty traders), and as commercially oriented people, some other characteristics are also generally attributed to the Minangkabau, for example their strong motivation for education, activity in political arenas or, even individual achievement.[146]

This last chapter offers an alternative way of seeing the Minangkabau social characteristics that are especially related to trade and market phenomena.[147] Trade and market in the Minangkabau context represent cross cutting spheres of social, economic, cultural, political and religious actions. Market and trade do not operate independently in the community, rather they are integrated. Market and trade have also brought the Minangkabau into economic, social and political involvement in the global context. Hence, we see the significant position of Minangkabau people in the broader context of Indonesian society, such as in local government and the state. The expansion of the global market and development of the local society are the main processes being experienced by the Minangkabu up to now. Thus, what

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[146] Many writers noted these traits as existing from before the colonial era in Indonesia up to Independence (see Dobbin 1983; Graves 1971; Thomas and Benda-Beckmann 1985; Kahn 1976). Thomas and Benda-Beckmann noted that trade played an important role in overall Minangkabau economy well before colonial rule, and that the years 1780-1830 were characterized by a new trade boom in many parts of Minangkabau territory (1985).

[147] Most of these phenomena have been delineated in detail from Chapter Two to Chapter Six.

Evers argues, that the market expansion and development of trade cannot be understood as an economic process but mostly as social and cultural processes, is true (Evers 1997b: 81).

If the Minangkabau today can be regarded as an integral part of a global society as a result of their involvement in the market economy, how can we see this, and, as a consequence, how can we capture the current face of Minangkabau culture? The basic assumption for answering these questions is that there is a close relationship between culture and economy in the Minangkabau society. This is my starting point for roughly describing the functions of culture in the market. Beyond this aim, this chapter will hopefully propose an alternative understanding of the current social and economic phenomena typical of Minangkabau society.

Many scientific discourses on economy are dominated by the view, adopted by social science research and theory, that economic relations primarily influence culture. The opposite view, that aspects of culture also shape economic institutions and affairs, is less well understood and studied (DiMaggio 1994). The reasons for this situation are varied, but at least some of them can be mentioned. Culture is considered, especially by economists', to be a constraint on economic phenomena, or, to be more accurate, they think that it impedes rational choice. Thus, culture is regarded as a variable which should have little impact on economy. Another reason is a general skepticism towards using culture in order to explain economic problems (DiMaggio 1994: 27; 1990: 115).

Anthropologists, who always put culture in the center of all their social and economic research, think this strange neglect of culture in most economic thought is mostly a result of the different perspective of seeing culture.[148] There appears to be no intention by economists and anthropologists to merge culture and economy into a single perspective, rather to broaden our perspective according to the needs to analyze social and economic complexity in specific societies.

In sociology and anthropology, lengthy debates over different perspectives on economy have been carried out with the use of formal and substantive concepts (Polanyi 1957, 1968, 1992), of classical and neo-classical economy and economic sociology (Swedberg et al. 1987), of normative and descriptive theories (Plattner 1989; Martinelli and Smelser 1990).

Apart from these debates, the anthropologist Stephen Gudeman (1986) introduced a perspective called the Western model (or universal model) and the cultural model (or local model) of economy. He offers another way to fit the position of economy and culture in

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[148] Stuart Plattner emphasizes the study of economy in anthropology. Through this subject the phenomena of economy in society are studied by using a holistic perspective, the main conceptual frame of embededdness, and the method of ethnography (Plattner 1989: 2-4).

societies. Gudeman looked at livelihood studies dealing with the domain of material production, distribution and consumption. He proposed the local model as an opposition to the Western model of economy. The Western model, as he explained it, is derived from the development of economic thought which is represented by neo-classical economics, substantivists or institutionalists and Marxists (1986: 29-35). It is, however, a derived model, which features a set of axioms, a collection of operational rules, and a series of derived sets of results. Or, to put it another way, this model reflects from the cultural constructions of the Western world. In order to more fruitfully study all kind of societies, he raised five questions (1986: 35-37):

1. How do we explain the great variety of forms of distribution in all societies?
2. How do we conceptualize and methodologically analyze the different ways of productions?
3. How do we appreciate the meaning of consumption processes?
4. How do we define the best terms for discussing the connection between morality and material action?
5. How should we conceive the total configuration of a people's economic practices?

Based on these questions, he proposed the cultural model (or local model) as a response to the Western model which seems to neglect the complexity of economic phenomena. As stated by Gudeman:

> for the economic anthropologist, universal models represent an attempt to escape the reflexive circle in the local models of others by grounding our understanding of them in the 'constants' which our models take for granted (1986: 38).

In this model, in order to stress humans as the central aspect of social life, humans are regarded as "modelers" who make their social constructions based on a circular and self-referential process. This process is comprised of the beliefs and practices which constitute a people's world. Another main point in this model is that the domain of material production, distribution, and consumption is culturally modeled in all societies.

DiMaggio argued that economics and sociology (or anthropology) are not easily merged, nor is it necessary to do so. There is much work in this area that sociologists, or anthropologists, can do without engaging the tribal antagonisms that separate economics from other disciplines (1990: 129). However, I agree with DiMaggio's argument that if we take culture seriously in economy, then it can not only enrich our interpretative understanding of economic phenomena, but can also help us to explain them better (DiMaggio 1994: 27). By the same token, Martinelli and Smelser encourage us to take the concept of economic rationality as a variable feature in human institutional life. We should devote our research to understanding and explaining that variation, rather than being involved in debates over the fundamental place of rationality, non-rationality and irrationality in human life; the merits and dismerits of economic imperialism, and the like (Martinelli and Smelser 1990: 31).

7.2. Studies of Culture in Market Phenomena: The Functions of Culture

If we want to study market from the cultural point of view, I suggest putting it in the context of the relationship of culture and economy. Market phenomena today are being re-studied according to the classical works in economic sociology, for instance, Max Weber (1947), followed by Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser (1956), and Polanyi (1957). The current state of sociological and anthropological studies on socio-cultural aspects in economic spheres can be seen, for example, in Stuart Plattner (1989), Alberto Martinelli and Neil J. Smelser (1990), Roger Friedland and A. F. Robertson (1990), Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (1992), Robert J. Holton (1992), Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader (1994), Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg (1994). All these studies had the intention of studying market phenomena more deeply in modern changing societies. What Friedland and Robertson (1990) argued can illustrate that intention. First, there is the desire of economic sociologists to go beyond a conventional understanding of what the market means, through the re-examination of assumptions about the behavior of individuals in economic transactions. Secondly, there is the extension of the logic of market exchange to other arenas such as the household, political party, or the state.[149] Thirdly, there is the search for other institutions that shape the operation of markets. This intention expresses the notion of economic activities and economy itself as being embedded in and influenced by a larger social, political and cultural context (Martinelli and Smelser 1990: 45). Fourthly, there is interpretations of markets as a social and cultural institution as seen from the logic of individual exchange (p.3).[150]

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[149] In other words, it is similar to the coherent body of work called "Market, State and Ethnicity" developed by the Sociology of Development Research Center of the Faculty of Sociology, University of Bielefeld.

[150] Another attempt is to explore market phenomena based on various themes. The themes of recent market studies can be mentioned as follows:
1. Market as social structure which is divided into several problems:
    a. The structural markets.
    b. The problem of embeddedness and differentiation.
    c: The problem of social network of market.
2. The culture of market, which emphasizes:
    a. The relationships of market and culture.

When adopting the position of culture for analyzing economic phenomena, it is fruitful to look at an impact of culture on the economy and only secondarily useful to consider economic effects on culture (DiMaggio 1994). For the sake of an analytical tool, and in order to see more correctly how far culture is important (or not) in every economic study, DiMaggio argues for characterizing those forms of culture as constitutive which consist of categories, scripts,[151] conceptions of agency, and notions of techniques, and as regulatory, those which consist of norms, values and routines. Firstly, this is useful to avoid unlimited debates over the definition of culture. Secondly, it may avoid the broader antagonisms that separate the point of view of culture and economy (DiMaggio 1994).

On one hand, those who view culture and economic behavior as mutually generative tend to emphasize the former. They argue that culture provides the categories and understandings that enable us to engage in economic action. On the other hand, those who treat economic behavior as analytically distinct from culture stress the latter definition. They argue that norms and conventions constrain the individual's untrammeled pursuit of self-interest (DiMaggio 1994: 28). Furthermore, DiMaggio used these distinctions to theoretically portray the effects of culture in economic sociology and economic thought. In economic sociology, firstly, culture is put into the position of demonstrating to individuals or collective actors, who have some specific kind of culture, how to behave differently than others without it. The actors will behave according to their definition of culture either as "constitutive" or "regulatory". Secondly, culture is put into the position of demonstrating a "regulatory" or

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    b. Life-style and culture of consumption.
    c. The market and morality.
3. The social aspects of the structure of markets, which discuss:
    a. The problem of trade and trader.
    b. The problem of labor markets.
    c: The financial market.
4. Markets as fields of actions, which stress two general topics:
    a. Price, wage and bargaining systems in market.
    b. Normalization and segmentation in the informal sector.
5. The dynamics of market, which discuss:
    a. Market expansion and the problem of structural adjustment.
    b. Market expansion and the problem of social transportation.

I take above themes from the studies on market done in the postgraduate program of the Sociology of Development Research Center, University of Bielefeld (1995) titled Market, State and Ethnicity.

[151] For more understanding of this concept, see Schank and Abelson's book (1977) titled Scripts, Plans, Goals, and Understandings. Briefly, in definitive term, a script is a structure that describes appropriate sequences of events in a particular context. A script is made of slots and requirements about what can fill those slots. The structure is an interconnected whole, and what is in one slot affects what can be in another. Scripts handle stylized everyday situations, a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known

"constitutive" functions that does more than mediate structural or material influences. Accordingly, culture cannot merely reflect structural positions or material conditions for a "cultural effect" to be claimed. Although culture lurks near the surface of neo-classical thought, the marginality of the concept culture is still obvious compared to its centrality in anthropology and sociology (DiMaggio 1994: 28-30).

In many recent works, "culture" has been critically treated within the three main elements of economy (production, exchange and consumption). DiMaggio tried to differentiate studies dealing with these three main elements into the following forms. Firstly, the study of culture in production is mostly focused on three common areas. These are :

1. Organizational culture.
2. Class culture and economic consequences.
3. The relationship between cross-national variation in forms of culture and the organization of work.

Secondly, the study of culture in consumption is focused mostly on taste and preferences related to the emergence of consumer society. Thirdly, the study of culture in exchange emphasizes the function of culture in the market (DiMaggio 1994). In the following sections, I will only stress the last point.

According to DiMaggio (1994), the studies of culture related to market (exchange) have critically used the concept of culture for three important functions. These are:

1. culture as constitutive of market actors,
2. culture as constitutive of market societies, and,
3. culture as a means of instilling capitalist forms with meaning.

7.2.1. Culture as Constitutive of Market Actors

This is a view of how individual characteristics or values play an important role in the form of market. In the context of capitalist expansion, the individual's position, taken into account in economy, does not usually fit the general neo-classical assumption that regards the individual's behavior as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses. The relationship inherently gives individuals ways to use their rational choice to maximize utilities over various goods. This perspective, that sees individuals as atomistic and as having free choice in the pursuit of their untrammeled interest, is a modern Western construct (Sahlin 1976, quoted by DiMaggio 1994: 35). It is completely different, if we look

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situation (p.41). In a functional idea, a script is a structured knowledge of standard event sequences and it is used to interpret and participate in such events, to anticipate special mechanisms of situations and for fulfilling goals.

at individuals' positions to achieve economic goals in pre-industrial societies. They are usually caught in the web of their society which limits their ability to act to maximize material satisfactions. If they want to maximize material factors, they have to take into consideration intelligently the social and economic significance of such behavior (Burling 1968:184-185).

In fact, the penetrating of the spirit of capitalism on the individual level was not really smooth, and to some extent has been impeded by human values and the individual's resistance to respond to the economic situation (in this sense economic change) surrounding him. An individual does not have to completely lose his basic values in order to engage in the capitalistic economic wave. While using rational choice in his economic decisions, he still has the natural human characteristic of aversion to risk (Plattner 1989: 8). This leads our attention to the issue of the cultural embeddedness of economic choice (Polanyi 1957; Granovetter 1992; DiMaggio 1990). This issue is generally based on the notion that economic behaviors are integral parts of the broader system, that is, a social system. In terms of practical behavior, this notion points out that the tendency of persons is to view exchanges in terms of role relationships. Normative scripts define what one can exchange with whom and how one should go about it (DiMaggio 1990: 177).

Some anthropological and psychological research in cross cultural contexts show that individuals have various abilities to adapt to the market. Some of the individuals do better than others. Some people need an "agency relationship" and some do not, and are able to use individualism (DiMaggio 1994: 35). The different concepts of cultural contexts which influence cognitive functions of individuals play an important role in creating the personal characteristics and building various world views (Shweder and LeVine 1987: 158-159, 195). This position sees the various behavioral performances of persons, which actualize their conceptualizations of the relationship of individual and society, within cultural contexts and specific cases (Shweder and LeVine, 1987: 172-173).

What is the importance for cultural and economic studies of this view? DiMaggio argued that market society both causes and requires change in human values. Inkeles and Smith (1974, quoted in DiMaggio 1994: 35) demonstrated that citizens of less developed countries differed from those of wealthier societies in many attitudes, individualism to the need for achievement. Certain variables also are involved in forming these kinds of attitudes, such as education, political economy, rural and urban contexts.

In the case of Malays in Singapore, for example, Tania Li (1989) presents Malay attempts to adapt to market societies, and shows how Malays individually and collectively faced the image, in this sense the ideology,[152] which has been culturally created to form a social and economic relationship with the Chinese. The image is that of Malay backwardness in dealing with their participation in the national economy and in the economic and ethnic structure of the nation in Singapore. The Malays are considered to be economically inferior to the Chinese.

To understand why this fact has emerged, the role of cultural values is usually given prominence. The Malays are always identified in terms of their ethnic identity which is characterized as being rural-oriented with a lack of interest in education, and a belief in the predetermination of man's economic density (fatalism in *rezeki)*. They are said to have a lack of determination, and that this supposed lack is usually closely linked with their adherence to Malay cultural values (p.167). This situation causes the Malays to have difficulties in raising their social and economic level because they have to struggle, not only with material circumstances, but also with their cultural image. This image has been used as part of an ideology that keeps Malays in the lowest ranks of the common social life and the political realm.[153] Reforms to eliminate this problem have been attempted since the 1980s by Malay strategic groups, such as the Malay and Muslim Association, journalists, teachers, religious teachers, lawyers and businessmen. In practice, however, this negative image is difficult to erase because it has hardened into an ideology. Other arguments, however, have appeared in order to explain the fact of Malay disadvantage. The cultural explanation is not the only explanation available and it tends to be a reification. Attention has also been paid to the factor of material circumstances such as the status of Malay education, discrimination and observable practices in which the Malays differed from the Chinese in the early 1970s (p.172).

This study offers a picture of how the Malays have to struggle to overcome certain problems in order to be able to adapt in a market society, like Singapore. They need to adequately adapt to this difficult situation, otherwise it may bar them from the economic center and relegate them to the periphery of Singapore's society.

Paul DiMaggio (1990) put forward the thesis that economic behavior is embedded not only in social structure (see also Granovetter 1992), but also in culture. For this argument, he divided mainly culture into two levels of phenomena. First, culture consists of conscious

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[152] Tania Li stresses that she used the Gidden's (1979) concept of ideology, defined as those aspects of a symbolic system which legitimize the sectional interests of a dominant group.

[153] The Singapore government uses the issue of Malays' backwardness as an ideology in order to create a strategy for dealing with the Malays in all realms of life in Singapore and thus to legitimize the existing power relations.

cognitive phenomena referring to beliefs, attitudes, norms, values and evaluation or moral sentiments governing or regulating behavior. Secondly, culture represents a deeper level of cognition or what sociologists call strategies, logic or habitus, and that psychologists refer to as scripts or production systems or the taken-for-granted scriptedness of behavior (p. 113-114, and 129)).

These phenomena, then, are applied in seeing three economic problems: Firstly, contingent aspects of economic rationality. Some perspectives in economics and economic sociology view the individual's decision making process in economic behavior as the main focus of analysis. The idea is that the economic actor becomes the basic point of view for analyzing the various forms of economic phenomena. In the classical economic version, economic rationality is based on the assumption that the individual actor will behave in such a way as to maximize his or her material well-being, or utility, in economic transactions (Martinelli and Smelser 1990: 29). This perspective, if shifted to the cultural point of view, is not completely rejected because of the fact that the individual is embeddeded in his social relationships. But the problem is this how far we can identify individual economic decisions as purely economic? In this sense, can they be seen as rational choices, and also seen as social decisions in the context of real situations?

DiMaggio's arguments may be useful for answering this question (1990). He argues that we should concern ourselves with systems of classification and rules of relevance that influence the propensity of persons to act with intended economic rationality. Concerning the definitions of situations, in this sense, exchange patterns are also important. With whom is such an orientation defined as appropriate (or inappropriate)? He also gives at least four variations of the individual's economic orientation towards exchange and classification that underlie social restrictions on exchange (p.117 - 120):

a. General variation among persons that drive people to make exchange with various persons.
b. The role relation that impersonally evokes self-interested economic orientations.
c. Orientation to gain benefit among goods and services.
d. Orientation to exchange in various situations.

In addition to this, the classification used for exchange is based on a binary opposition of objects of exchange. The oppositions are sacred and profane. It is also based on the category personal relationship between inside and outside social contact.

The second problem is the efficiency of firms. For this economic problem, DiMaggio argues that culture influences economy not only on the individual level of action, but also at the organizational level of action. He refers to Polanyi who showed the self-regulating market to be a cultural construct in terms of which people orient their behavior, as well as a system of social relations in which they participate (Polanyi, 1957). To see the position and the effect of culture in this area of economy, there are at least four approaches used, namely, the cognitive approach, approach of expressive symbolism and organizational form, approach of culture of production and management, and the legitimization and effectiveness approach, such as the issue of cultures of industry.

At the same time, DiMaggio also argues that we must be concerned with the scriptedness of economic institutions and actual consequences of economic behavior. In addition, he suggests the problem of rationality as ritual. The questions that arise are what role do rituals play in enacting markets and bureaucracies, what are their consequences, and under what conditions and with what effects do such rituals fail?

The third economic problem is the "origin of preferences". This is the issue of tastes and their formation. Or, put in another way, it leads to the notion of the consumer economy. Bourdieu (1979)(1994) offers a profound study of the formation of lifestyle in relation to the accumulative process of various types of capital.[154]

7.2.2. Culture as Constitutive of Market Societies

In this view, it is assumed that market societies require a distinctive set of repertoires, strategies and institutions at the collective level. Internalization of this set can equip the individual properly for participation in market societies. Relating to this role, the function of culture should be further elucidated in terms of overlapping forms of social action. It is not sufficient to refer generally to culture as an expression of a value system in order to explain social action. In fact, action is not simply determined by one's values. Rather, one's action is also a part of the strategic process of reaching various goals in life. However, one's life depends upon a network of friends, kin or, even strangers in any given situation. These networks may allow one to achieve a number of different goals in life, and therefore, the individual inevitably needs a strategy[155] (Swidler 1986).[156] Swidler defines strategy as:

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[154] For the case of Indonesian symbolic consumption, see Gerke (1995).

[155] In terms of economic action, Swindler provides an analysis of the function of culture (1986). She proposes three steps in analyzing culture: First, it is imagined as a tool kit of symbols, stories, rituals and world views which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kind of problems. Secondly, culture is

> **a general way of organizing action (depending upon a network of kin and friends, for example, or relying on selling one's skills in a market) that might allow one to search several different life goals (p.277)**

Parallel to this idea, Polanyi argues that the economic strategy to develop the self-regulating market is that land and labor should be shifted as commodities not only as cultural elements (Polanyi, 1957).

Taking some empirical cases, Clifford Geertz's study (1992) of the bazaar economy (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992: 225-232) in Marocco seems to support the view stated above.[157] In the situation of market society in Marocco, as Geertz pointed out, the bazaar is seen as the real world institution nearest to the purely competitive market of neo-classical economics or *penny capitalism.* At the same time the bazaar is also seen as an institution which is deeply embedded in its socio-cultural context. These interpretations of the bazaar could lead to an extended debate between formalists and substantivists. In this sense, Geertz's analysis of the bazaar should be put on the same level as the model of pure competition. Also, socio-cultural factors should be incorporated, rather than relegating them to the status of peripheral matters.

In order to be involved in this kind of an economic system, people need to sustain their position through adequate market information. Otherwise, they will not succeed in market activities. To gain access to information, clientalization is appropriate. Clientalization means the purchasers' repeated use of particular goods and services through the establishment of continuing social relationships with particular purveyors (p. 228). The basic principle of clientship relations is not dependency, but competition. Put in another way, clientship is characterized as symmetrical, egalitarian and oppositional. Geertz, moreover, pointed out that whatever the relative power, wealth, knowledge, skill, or status of the participants, clientship is a reciprocal matter (p.228). Finally, the form of reciprocity between purveyor and purchaser is a kind of cultural strategy to maintain them both in their involvement in the bazaar.

In the case of social and economic changes in the rural distribution system, Günther Schweizer (1985) argues that the correlation of a territory belonging to a tribal area to the weekly market system is a kind of repertoire used by the people in order to involve themselves in rural market systems. Society and geographical areas result from the fact that

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analyzed as causal, as strategies for action. Finally, culture is analyzed as having causal significance, not in defining ends of action, but in providing cultural components that are used to construct strategies of action (p.273).

[156] See also a deep explication of neo-classical paradigm related to human's purposes or goals by Entzioni 1988.

[157] This type has been refined into the concept of „informal", or „lower", or „unorganized" market system (Plattner 1989: 228).

tribes in Yemen are defined mainly by their territory. In this sense the groups are generating action or interaction of the tribe's members. This leads to the argument that the tribal weekly market is a means of measuring the economy of a tribe. The main function of a tribal group is to guarantee the market-peace by means of its political power (p.117). Stuart Plattner conceptually outlined how the preconditions, or the repertoire, for market trade in agrarian regions are crucial for peasants to be able to freely commit themselves to the market. In other words, markets have to offer benefits to the peasant. Then, they can become involved in the market as a result of changing their mode of production from subsistence to commercial market production. These preconditions are (Plattner 1989:181):

1. Regularity. This means that market must be available and predictable for people to entrust their future to it. The supply of goods should be sufficient and appropriate, and the demand for farm goods must be predictable and steady enough for farm households to schedule their lives around it.
2. Adequacy. This means the assortment of goods offered must be sufficient to satisfy the needs of farm families; likewise, the transport and storage resources available must be adequate to handle all the farm products that the peasants wish to sell.
3. Security. This means that activity in the market system must be protected by authorities so that people can trade without fear for their safety. This security includes the enforcement of contracts between strangers so that trade can extend beyond kinship or residential ties.

7.2.3. Culture as a Means of Instilling Capitalist Forms with Meaning

This view assumes that in modern societies the role of culture will help people meaningfully adapt to the market society. Taking cases of the studies of city commodities, from modern theatre and serious fiction to newspaper comics, these are the instruments that can open up the mind and give the consciousness necessary for individuals to learn about the roles and representations of which market societies are made (DiMaggio 1990).

According to a functionalist view, locating cultural form logically is necessary to sustain the market in places where markets have emerged, albeit approaches that emphasize the normative regulation of exchange come closer to providing, not just accounts but explanations, of economic change (DiMaggio 1994: 36-37).

Culture is an important aspect that is scrutinized in market behavior as a revisited understanding of market rationality. Evers argues that market behavior may have symbolic meaning and cultural importance, at the same time that market rationality is regarded as irrational. Market expansion, as the main process of today's global world of economy, is generally embedded in social and cultural values (Evers 1997b: 84). However, market or economic exchange is not only governed by different values and norms in different societies, but also has different kinds of interdependence with other types of social interaction, such as those contained in the kinship institutions, or political institutions, or the stratificational institutions (Barber 1977: 23).

Günther Schweizer's study in the Yemen Arab Republic (1985) may still be suitable to give a clear picture supporting this view. The social change that occurred was caused by the development process that involved international capital, goods and commodities mobility. In the following process, this influenced the rural distribution system (weekly market). Schweizer pointed out that the weekly market in Yemen, albeit having changed to the form of, let us say, capitalist mode of exchange, is still influenced by a kind of social values. Another thing, and an interesting one, is that the smuggling and the trading linked with it, are considered by people as a kind of 'honorable trade' (p.112). These values depict the close relationship between the emergence of economic and cultural consciousness in the context of capitalism. People continue to use culture to allow perception and interpretation of the economic change happening around them at that moment.

7.3. Morality and Rationality in the Market Phenomena

That the phenomena of trade and market in the Minangkabau context is caught in the tension between, on the one hand, attempts to be rational in dealing with their cultural concerns and, on the other hand, to be rational in dealing with market needs is not doubted. In fact, both forces contribute to the complexity of the decision process of individuals to articulate their attitudes, behavior and relationships whether putting rationality or morality first in dealing with other people.

Being rational means that someone should consider goals. These goals, then, can be gained, if they meet the logic requirements, such as information, calculation and strategy. Someone should have reasons for acting in one way rather than another. If the action in one way rather than another serves one's purpose, then one has good reason to act in that way rather than the other way (see Schmidtz 1995: 6-7). In this sense, a normative consideration of individual action is a result of the process of meeting goals. This consideration is one formula that makes individual action rational. In fact, this way of being rational contradicts other normative consideration that prevents individual from being rational. Thus, it leads to the problem of morality. The meaning of morality may be formulated by these questions: firstly, “how do people come to care about themselves in the way we care about ourselves?”, secondly, “how do people come to care about others in the way we care about others?” (Schmidtz 1995: 8).

7.4. Conclusion

The attempt to introduce culture as a factor in the study of economy (DiMaggio 1990, 1994), seems to be the highlight of an intertwined perspective linking ‘economists’ and ‘culturalists’. The role of culture was, for many years, characterized by its ‘traditionalism’, with an emphasis on pre-industrial contexts for research and by tendencies to neo-classical thought (DiMaggio 1990). Now its use has shifted to contexts in current industrial societies, although with only small changes in its appearance. Is this a hint of cultural revivalism in our today’s world, or is it only a phase of the natural cycle of scientific ideas? Aside from this question, the study of culture in economic phenomena is still needed to give us a better understanding of what is really happening in the world.

Seeing forms of culture as constitutive and regulatory provide the alternative way which avoids long discussions on culture as being suitable or not appropriate for analyzing economic phenomena. By giving more attention to constitutive forms of culture in studying exchange (or market) we arrive at the fundamental argument which treats culture as being dynamic. Culture, in this argument, is not merely something stuck in the heads of individuals which merely provides the ultimate values according to which actions are oriented. Rather, culture shapes a repertoire or ‘tool kit’ of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct „strategies of action“ (Swidler 1986: 273). Thus, the analysis of culture should be reflected in every changing situation. This is the main point, I propose, for understanding the changing Minangkabau by using their perpetuating of their culture as an underpinning for analysis. The changes in Minangkabau life are mainly being caused by the changes in their economic life, and the market is the most important institution for understanding such changes.

As members of an entrepreneur society, the Minangkabau always experience sociological and psychological processes that can contribute to economic and social (in)stability in the community. They tend to change as a result of economic decisions they make, but they still maintain their local values. This situation is not fit to the characteristic of entrepreneurship in the sense of Shumpeter’s argument. Entrepreneurship calls for a certain type of personality and conduct which differs from the rational conduct of economic man. The entrepreneur acts through his will and personal authority, he must be willing to forgo the criticism that always arises when new and innovative behavior is regarded as deviant and dangerous (Martinelli and Smelser 1990:15). This argument is however not completely applicable to the Minangkabau entrepreneurs in general. The Minangkabau tend to perpetuate their traditional values and local culture as much as they can. Therefore, Polanyi's argument can fill the gap in our understanding of Minangkabau entrepreneurs' actions. That is, that economy is immersed in social relations and economic agents do not act to maximize their material interests but rather to safeguard their social positions, status preferences and social advantages (Polanyi 1957).

The strong involvement of the Minangkabau in market and trade constitutes a practical method of maintaining local social organization. This means that the position of the marketplace in the local community is crucial in maintaining and developing their social and cultural unit, the *nagari.* This can be demonstrated by the role of market actors and of *nagari* in operating the marketplace. This view shows how an enthusiastic involvement in the market economy is supported by the traditions of the local community.

The organization of the Minangkabau market clearly depicts how the local community is maintaining local patterns of social life through its involvement in market and trade. This observation, most importantly, enriches our understanding of the economic embeddedness of market and trade in the local community.

By dealing with the phenomena of market and trade as integral parts of the social rhythm of the peasant community, we show how the principle of market economy cannot be separated from an understanding of Minangkabau culture in general. Finally, I argue that the Minangkabau should be seen as a typical society that inevitably changes in response to the pressures of the economic world and that uses indigenous social characteristics rooted in local culture to organize such changes.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Markets Visited Based on Weekly Basis According to Traders Interviewed at the Tabek Patah and Balai Tangah Marketplaces, Tanah Datar

Traders And Market visited	**Monday**	**Tuesday**	**Wednesday**	**Thursday**	**Friday**	**Saturday**	**Sunday**
Traders interviewed at the Tabek Patah Marketplace							
1.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Padang Ganting	Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		
2.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao				
3.	Tabek Patah						
4.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Sungai Tarab		Salimpaung		
5.							
6.	Tabek Patah		Kapur IX	Kapur IX			
7.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab		Salimpaung		Sumanik
8.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao	Situmbuk	Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Sumanik
9.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batu Sangkar			
10.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab				Sumanik
11.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Situmbuk	Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Sumanik
12.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batu Sangkar			
13.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sawah Lunto	Batusangkar	Talawi	Sawahlunto	
14.	Tabek patah		Rao-rao			Rao-rao	
15.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Sungai Tarab	Situmbuk	Salimpaung	Balimbiang	Pitalah
16.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	
17.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung		Sumanik

18.	Tabek Patah				Piladang		
19.	Tabek Patah		Bangkinang		Pakan baru		
20.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab				Sungai Rumbai
21.	Tabek Patah			Batu sangkar	Salimpaung		
22.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Batu sangkar	Salimpaung		
23.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Sumanik
24.	Tabek Patah				Salimpaung		
25.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab		Piladang		
26	Tabek Patah						Sumanik
27.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao			Rao-rao	
28.	Tabek Patah	Barulak	Payakumbuh	Tanjung Alam	Piladang	Barulak	
29.	Tabek Patah	Barulak	Rao-rao		Salimpaung		
30.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao	Batusangkar	Salimpaung	Bukittingi	Sumanik
31.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao	Situmbuk	Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Sumanik
32.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar			
33.	Tabek Patah	Barulak		Tanjung Alam	Piladang		
34.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao			Rao-rao	Sumanik
35.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao	Tanjung Alam	Salimpaung	Barulak	
36.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Tanjung Alam	Salimpaung	Panco Kubang Putih	Sumanik
37.	Tabek Patah		sugai Tarab	Batu sangkar	Salimpaung		
38	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab				Sumanik
39.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung		
40.	Tabek Patah				Salimpaung	Rao-rao	
41.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Palembayan
42.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar	Talawi		Sumanik
43.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar		Batusangkar	
44.	Tabek Patah			Batusangkar		Batusangkar	
45.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar	Salimpaung		Sumanik
46.	Tabek Patah						

47.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Sungai Tarab	Situmbuk	Turawan	Balimbing	Sumanik
48.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar			
49.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao			Rao-rao	
50.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	SungaiTarab	Simabur	Padang Panjang	Simbur	Simabur
51.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	
52.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar	Tj. Sungayang		
53.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab				
54.	Tabek Patah	Barulak	Sungai Tarab	Tanjung Alam	Piladang	Tabek Patah	Pincuran Putih
55.	Tabek Patah	PakanSalasa Koto Tuo	Rao.rao	Padang Luar Bukittinggi	Lawang Bukit Tinggi	Palembayan Bukittinggi	Padang Luar Bukittinggi
56.	Tabek Patah						
57.	Tabek Patah			Batusangkar	Salimpaung		
58.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung		
59.	Tabek Patah				Salimpaung		
60.	Tabek Patah						
61.	Tabek Patah		Mahat Pyk	Batusangkar		Puah Pyk	
62.	Tabek Patah				Piladang		
63.	Tabek Patah						
64.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao	Batusangkar	Salimpaung		Sumanik
65.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab		Salimpaung		
66.	Tabek Patah		Sungai Tarab	Situmbuk	Salimpaung	Rao-rao	
67.	Tabek Patah						
68.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar	Atar	Tj. Barulak	Saruaso
69.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Tj.Sungayang	Balimbing	Sumanik
70.	Tabek Patah						
71.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar			
72.	Tabek Patah		Sungai tarab				
73.	Tabek Patah						
74.	Tabek Patah						
75.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Sungai Tarab	Lintau	Tigo Jangko		

76.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar			
77.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung		
78.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	Sumanik
79.	Tabek Patah	Barulak	Sungai Tarab	Tanjung Alam	Salimpaung	barulak	Sumanik
80.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Balai Jum'at		Sumanik
81.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Sungai tarab		Salimpaung		Sumanik
82.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung	Rao-rao	
83.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Ombilin	Batusangkar	Talawi		Ombilin
84.	Tabek Patah		Rao-rao			Rao-rao	
85.	Tabek Patah		Sungai tarab	Batusangkar			
86.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis					
87.	Tabek Patah			Batusangkar		Balimbing	
88.	Tabek patah	Tj. Alam	Bukittinggi	Tj. Alam	Piladang	Bukittinggi	
89.	Tabek Patah		Gadut Pyk	Limanan Pyk	Piladang		Payakumbuh
90.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Sungai tarab	Batusangkar	Salimpaung		
91.	Tabek Patah			Batusangkar			
92	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Rao-rao	Balai Tangah		Rao-rao	Sumanik
93.	Tabek Patah		Sungai tarab				
94.	Tabek Patah	Talawi	Sungai Tarab	Batusangkar			
95.	Tabek Patah		Sungai tarab				
96.	Tabek Patah				Salimpaung		
97.	Tabek Patah	Talawi		Batusangkar			
98.	Tabek Patah	Kumanis	Padang ganting		Padang Panjang	Tanjung gadang	
99.	Tabek Patah	Rambatan	Padang Ganting	Batusangkar		Balimbing	
Traders interviewed at the Balai Tangah Marketplace							
100		Lubuak Jantan		Balai Tangah		Tj. Bonai	Buo
101				Balai Tangah			Buo
102		Alaban	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang	Sarilamak	
103				Balai Tangah			Pangian
104				Balai Tangah			Buo
105	Tanjung	Kumanis	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah	Baringin Ungka		

	Ampalu						
106				Balai Tangah	Tigo jangko		Buo
107				Balai tangah	Tigo jangko		Buo
108		Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo jangko		Buo
109				Balai Tangah			
110				Balai tangah			
111	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
112				Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		
113				Balai Tangah			Buo
114				Balai tangah			
115				Balai Tangah			
116				Balai tangah			
117				Balai Tangah			
118				Balai Tangah			
119				Balai Tangah			
120	Tanjung Ampalu	Lubuak Jantan		Balai Tangah	Balai Jum’at		Buo
121				Balai Tangah			
122				Balai Tangah			
123	Tanjung Ampalu			Balai Tangah			Payakumbuh
124				Balai Tangah		Ranah Batu	
125				Balai Tangah			Buo
126				Balai Tangah			
127	Tanjung Ampalu			Balai Tangah		Tanjung Gadang	
128	Payakumbuh	Payakumbuh	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Payakumbuh	Payakumbuh	Payakumbuh
129	Baso	Laban	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang	Dangung	
130			Gadut	Balai Tangah			
131	Tanjung			Balai Tangah	Baringin Ungka		buo

	Ampalu						
132				Balai tangah	Baringin Ungka		
133	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo jangko		Buo
134	Tabek Patah	Kumanis		Balai Tangah			
135	Simabur	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo jangko		
136	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Talawi	Tj. BarulK	
137				Balai Tangah			
138				Balai Tangah			
139		Kumanis		Balai Tangah			Buo
140	Baso	Halaban	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang		
141	Baso		Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang		Payakumbuh
142	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Taluak		Buo
143			Gadut	Balai Tangah			
144				Balai Tangah			Buo
145				Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
146				Balai tangah			
147	Tanjung Ampalu	Talawi	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		
148		Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
149				Balai Tangah			
150				Balai Tangah			
151	Tanjung ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
152		Halaban	Gadut	Balai Tangah			
153				Balai Tangah			
154		Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
155		Kumanis	Gadut	Balai Tangah			
156	Tanjung	Kumanis	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah	Atar		

	ampalu						
157				Balai Tangah			
158				Balai Tangah		TanjungBonai	
159.		Mung-ka Pyk	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang	Dagung-dagung	
160.		Kumanis	Gadut	Balai Tangah			
161	Sungayang		Sungai Tarab	Balai Tangah			
162	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
163							
164	Simabur	Kumanis		Balai Tangah			Buo
165	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Atar		
166		Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
167				Balai Tangah			Buo
168	Balai Tangah	B.Tangah	Balai Tangah	Balai Tangah	Balai tangah	Balai Tangah	Balai Tangah
169				Balai Tangah			
170	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
171	Tj.Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		
172				Balai Tangah			
173				Balai Tangah			
174				Balai Tangah			
175				Balai Tangah			
176				Balai Tangah			
177				Balai Tangah			
178				Balai Tangah			
179	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah	Atar		
180				Balai Tangah			
181				Balai Tangah			
182				Balai Tangah			Buo

183	Sungayang			Balai Tangah			
184				Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
185				Balai Tangah		Tj.Barulak	Buo
186	Tanjung ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah			
187				Balai Tangah			
188				Balai tangah			Buo
189	Muaro Paneh			Balai Tangah			
190	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
191		Lubuk Jantan		Balai Tangah			Buo
192	Tabek patah		Rao-rao		Salimpaung		
193	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis	Pyk Kota	Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
194		Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko		Buo
195	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis		Balai Tangah	Tigo jangko		Buo
196	Baso	Halaban	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Piladang	Sarilamak	Ibuh Pyk
197				Balai Tangah			Buo
198				Balai Tangah			Buo
199	Tanjung Ampalu	Kumanis	Gadut	Balai Tangah	Tigo Jangko	Tanjung gadis (Swl)	Buo
200		Talawi	Pd.Ganting	Balai Tangah			

Appendix 2.

Numbers and Types of Marketplaces According to *Nagari* and Districts in Tanah Datar Regency in 1989

No.	District	Nagari	Market	Year of Establishme	Type	Size of Place	Land Ownership	Market Day	Distance from the	Distance from the

				nt		(m²)			District center (km)	Regency center (km)
1.	X Koto		Koto Baru	1927	A	6000	-	Tuesday	-	-
		Panyalaian	Panyalaian	before 1900	A	5000	*Nagari*	Tuesday	-	-
			Pandai Sikek	1933	A	2000	*Nagari*	Monday	-	-
2.	Batipuh	Batipuh Bawah	Kubu Karambia	1920	A	2250	Nagari	Tuesday	-	20
		Batipuh Bawah	Pakan Kamih	1950	A	352		-	-	-
		Barat	Congkong	1924	A	2500	*Nagari*	Thursday	10	31
		Batu Taba	Batu Taba	1925	B	1980	*Nagari*	Tuesday	15	35
		Malalo	Guguk Malalo				*Nagari*			
							Guguk Malalo-Pd.Laweh			
		B. Tanjung	Pitalah	1912	B	7500	Nagari *Pitalah-Bungo Tanjung*	Sunday	-	-
		Tj. Barulak	Sumpu-Tj.Barulak	1914	B	2000	Nagari	-	-	-
			Sumpu Bawah	-	A	200		-	-	-
3.	Rambatan	Rambatan	Rambatan	1910	B	4000	Rent	Tuesday	-	6
		Simawang	Simawang	1930	A	468		Wed & Sun	12	17
		Balimbing	Balimbing	1915	A	3000	Nagari		6	10
		III Koto	Turawan	before 1900	A	450	*Nagari*	Saturday	4	9
		Padang Lua	Balai Senayan	-	A	1000	Clan	Friday	5	12
							Nagari	Monday		
4.	V Kaum	Batusangkar	Batusangkar (ex terminal)	-	-	250	Market	Thursday	-	-
		Batusangkar		-	-	400	-		-	-
5.	Sungayang	Balai Gadang	Sungayang	1929	B	5000	Market	Monday	6.5	10
		Tanjuang	Tanjuang	1914	B	4000	Nagari	Monday	-	-
		Andaleh	Baruah Bukik	1988	A	750	Private	Friday	-	-

6.	Sungai Tarab	Rao-rao	Rao-rao	1700	A	4800	Clan	Wed & Sat	5	-
		Pasia Laweh	Pasia Laweh	1900	A	-	Nagari	Tuesday	3.5	8
		Sungai Tarab	Sungai Tarab	-	A	10100	-	Wednesday	-	-
		Gurun	Balai Gurun	1910	A	1200	*Nagari*	-	-	-
		Situmbuk	Situmbuk	1958	A	1500	Clan	Thursday	-	-
7.	Salimpaung	Tabek Patah	Tabek Patah	1916	A	15625	Nagari	Mon, Wed & Sat	10	16
		Barulak	Barulak Salimpaung	1900	A	1375	*Nagari*	Tue & Sat	9	25
		Salimpaung	Salimpaung	1914	A	1000	*Nagari*	Friday	4	13
		Sumanik	Sumanik	-	A	10000	*Nagari*	Sunday	10	10
		Tj. Alam	Tj. Alam	1901	A	2000	*Nagari*	-	-	-
8.	Pariangan	Simabua	Simabua	-	B	30500	Nagari *Pariangan-Simabua*	Monday	-	-
9.	Tj. Emas	Tj. Barulak	Tj. Barulak	1946	A	1500	Nagari	Saturday	7	20
		Atar	Baringin Ungka	1947	A	2400	Clan	Friday	13	26
			Pasa Longga	1961	A	150	Private	Wednesday	10	20
		Pd. Gantiang	Pd. Gantiang	1917	A	3600	Nagari	Wednesday	-	18
		Saruaso	Saruaso	1902	A	3000	*Nagari*	Monday	-	-
10.	Lintau Buo	Tj Bonai	Ranah Batu	1949	A	1500	Lineage	Saturday	13	43
		Balai Tangah	Balai Tangah	1922	B	6000	*Nagari* Tj.Bonai,Balai Tangah,Batu Bulek	Thursday	5	27

		Tigo Jangko Buo Taluak Pangian Lubuak Jantan	Tigo Jangko Buo Taluak Pangian Lubuak Jantan Saribu Labiah	- 1901 - - 1916 1940	B B A A A A	2500 3648 1000 100 1500 80	and Tapiselo Nagari *Nagari* *Buo-* *Pangian*. Nagari Private Nagari Private	Friday Sunday - Wednesd ay Tuesday Saturday	- - - 17 4 10	- - - 30 36 30
	Source: Andalas University, Padang, 1989									

Appendix 3.

General Characteristics of Traders at The Tabek Patah Marketplace
Data collected by The Market Administration of Tabek Patah in 1996

Numbers of Traders	Female /Male	Village of origin	Home base	Type of commodity sold	Place of Trade
1.	F	Sungai Tarab	Sungai Tarab	Vegetables/agricultural products	Temporary hut (*dangau/layang-layang*)
2.	F	Pagarruyung	Nan 4 Tj. Emas	Vegetables/agricultural products	Temporary hut
3.	M	Koto Hiliang	Koto Hilian		