

Village-based Trading Activities on an Eastern Indonesian Island* :

a case study of Tomohon, Minahasa, North Sulawesi

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I. Introduction

This article is based on part of one-year field research in one of the Minahasan communities 'Tomohon', North Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia. Tomohon is a small mountainous sub-district which is located at a height of between about 750 - 1000 metres above sea level. This article is concerned with village-based trading activities of the Tomohonese. I have left the consideration of town-based trading activities for another occasion as they require detailed examination.

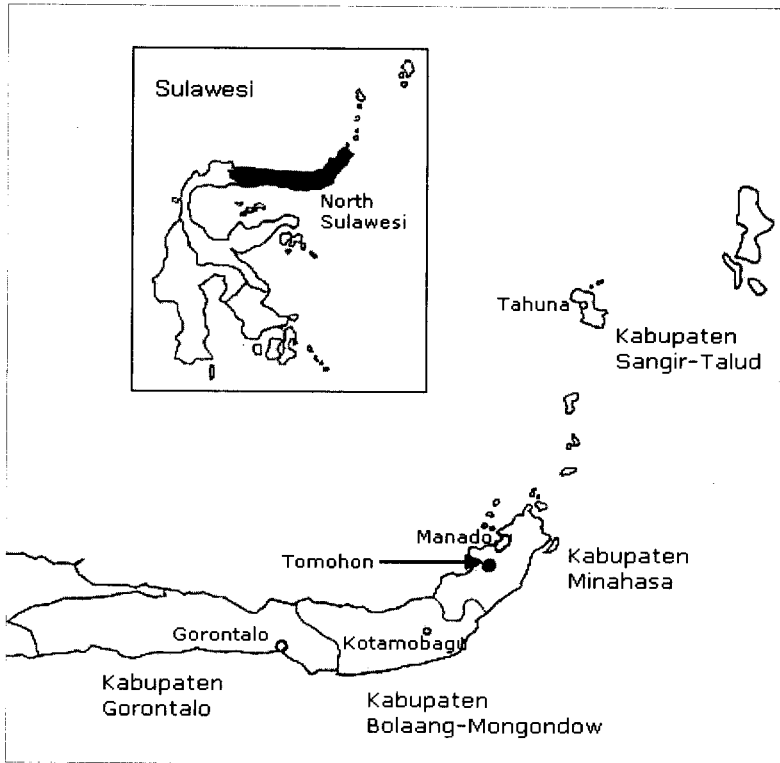
First of all it is necessary to discuss the general interpretation of the involvement of people in trading before proceeding further. Various arguments have been presented to explain the growth of trade in rural societies. Oshima (1986: 25-26) argues that seasonal

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variation in the intensity of agricultural work, especially in monsoon Asia, usually gives rise to a demand for off-seasonal employment in non-agricultural activities such as trade. Dewey (1962: xix) and Geertz (1968) assert that the development of trading activities is the product of incremental population growth and the decline in employment on the farm in rural areas. Mai and Buchholt (1987) claim that trading is a supplementary economic means for subsistence agriculture. They argue that smallholder farmers tend to take part in trading so as to supplement their income from cash-cropping and to meet the expenses of the household's immediate consumption. Furthermore, for Marshall (1964), Alexander (1987) and Davis (1994), the motivation for trading depends largely on socio-cultural mechanisms in indigenous societies. For instance, Marshall (1964: 184) indicates that women in particular regard trading as 'a necessary component of their socio-cultural roles as women' within the family. Alexander (1987: 1) points out that trading is a cultural expression in the sense that 'traders plan, execute, and justify economic actions' according to local cultural values and norms. Davis (1994: 234-235) argues that trading is not only 'a means of making a living' but also 'an important part of their [women's] social existence', that is, 'a way of life'.

<Map 1> Location of Tomohon



NB: Administration designation shown in this map is based on the period of my field research between June 1999 and July 2000.

Each of the above-mentioned arguments on trade seems to me to make sense in considering various aspects of trading activities among the Tomohonese. However, no single argument above can provide a full explanation of the economic activities of the Tomohonese because they are multidimensional and fluid in character, and the historical dimension of trade in the light of the develop-

ment of cash crops in Tomohon is more complex than any of these arguments would suggest. Nevertheless, what is worth noting is that all the authors above reveal the dominant participation of women in trade. For example, Geertz (1956: 94-119) indicates that in a Javanese market in the early 1950s, many 'semi-professional village or very small-scale town traders' were women, whereas the majority of 'fully professional traders' were men. In particular, the batik traders and the petty intra-local traders who traded foodstuffs and daily necessities were mainly women. Mai and Buchholt (1987: 74-75) observed that 72 per cent of traders in a market in Kakas, Minahasa, in the 1980s were women, who generally traded to provide a supplementary source of income to meet the extra financial needs of their household. Davis (1994: 212-223) reveals that in a Minangkabau market in the early 1990s, 67.9 per cent of 224 'regular traders' were women, and 'ad hoc traders' who traded on an infrequent basis were all women, while 'export traders' were based on a family business that demands the involvement of both men and women together. Alexander (1987: 31) shows that women predominated among 'small-scale traders', while many of the larger traders were men in a marketplace in Kebumen, Java, in the mid-1980s. Marshall (1964: 184) demonstrates that Yoruba women in Nigeria in the 1950s were customarily required to take part in trading to fulfil cultural expectations regarding meeting the economic needs of the family. For this reason, the market was primarily a world of Yoruba women. In Tomohon too, trading has been mainly in women's hands. However, the patterns of trade are more complex than those de-

scribed by the authors mentioned above, and far higher percentages of women are involved.

Bearing in mind the multidimensional and fluid character of trading in Tomohon and the dominant involvement of Tomohonese women in trade, I now move on to discuss in detail the historical development and various patterns of trading in Tomohon.

II. The commoditisation of agriculture and the development of trading

Before the Dutch²⁾ came to Minahasa, the Tomohonese seldom traded across the sub-ethnic boundaries of Tombulu walaks³⁾ in which Tomohon community was situated, as a result of the exclusive relations between sub-ethnic groups. However, Tomohonese swidden cultivators from time to time visited Wenang⁴⁾ [hereafter, Manado] to produce salt on the coast and also to barter with other people (Schouten 1998: 39). These contacts with Manado became in-

2) The Dutch made their first visit to Manado in 1608 and first settled in Minahasa in 1653 (Wigboldus 1987: 69; Volkman and Caldwell 1990: 192-193).

3) Minahasa formerly consisted of eight territorial groupings [*Tombulu*, *Toulour* (*Tondano*), *Tonsea*, *Tontemboan*, *Tonsawang*, *Bantik*, *Ponosakan* and *Bentenan*(*Ratahan*)]. Each territorial group was subdivided into numerous political and ritual units, the *walak* or *pakasaan* which was again composed of a number of related village. The *walak* was an endogamous and self-sufficient unit based on common descent, and the constituent villages within it were interrelated by marriage, ownership of land and common origin. Tomohon community belonged to Tombulu *walaks* (Schouten 1998: 19; G. A. Wilken 1883: 675).

4) Wenang is an old name for Manado or Menado, the capital of North Sulawesi. Manado is a coastal city. Tomohon is a small mountainous sub-district.

creasingly intense when a marketplace was set up for imported goods and agricultural products in Manado in the 1820s. During the *Cultuurstelsel*⁵⁾ (1830-1870), trading contacts with the neighbouring Minahasan community 'Tondano' also became frequent as a consequence of the lack of food crops such as rice. In 1875, a permanent marketplace was eventually formed in the town [Paslaten] of Tomohon. Since then, this has been a major trading centre in the Tombulu region (Watusoke 1968: 43). However, trading among Tomohonese smallholders was of no real significance until the mid-1890s, when following the collapse of the world coffee market, coffee cultivation instantly declined in Tomohon and Tomohonese people freed from the cultivation of coffee were increasingly involved in trade.

On the development of marketplaces in Minahasa, some German development sociologists (Mai and Buchholt 1987: 15-18; 1994: 154-157) suggest that the circulation of currency was the pre-eminent factor that determined and accelerated the development of the market economy in Minahasa. They argue that the Dutch failed to establish permanent marketplaces in Minahasa between 1852 and 1870, primarily due to the lack of currency circulation, but the market economy gradually developed when the use of currency became common from the 1890s onwards. Conversely, however, a number

5) The Dutch colonial government introduced a forced cultivation system called 'Cultuurstelsel (1830-1870)' in Minahasa. Under this arrangement, the Minahasan people, instead of paying land revenue in cash, furnished an equivalent amount of export crops such as coffee. Farmers were forced to set aside one-fifth of their land for the production of export crops, which were to be delivered to the Netherlands Trading Company for low prices (Penders 1977:7)

of anthropologists such as Bohannan and Dalton (1971), Polanyi (1957; 1975), and Dewey (1962), place emphasis on the indigenous mechanism of bartering and trading of native peoples in the process of the internal development of market places, rather than on the circulation of currency.

Bohannan and Dalton (1971: 152-153) claim that in considering the role of money we should avoid the assumption that it plays the same role in the primitive market as it does as 'the means of exchange' in market-dominated Western economies, and that there is a clear distinction between the characteristics of transactions with and those without money. This is for the reason that non-pecuniary transactions take a variety of forms, depending on the transactional principle involved, though sometimes subsistence goods are passed on or exchanged in accordance with the market principle. Similarly, Polanyi (1957: 256-270; 1975) questions the notions of money as 'the means of exchange', trade as 'the actual exchange in the market', and market as 'the locus of exchange'. In other words, he repudiates the view that the market is the all-inclusive institution 'of which trade and money are the functions': in a strict sense, market, trade, and money are separate institutions. For Polanyi, trade and money are separate institutions, independent of the market, while the market is an economic institution comprising 'a supply crowd and a demand crowd or both', that is, traders and customers who are driven by the 'substantive meaning of [the] economic' which is based in turn on man's interdependence, for his livelihood, upon his fellows. Dewey's (1962: 25) findings in a Javanese town, Modjokuto, seem

to support Bohannan's and Dalton's and Polanyi's arguments. She records that despite the perennial shortage of cash, the pasar [traditional market] in Modjokuto was well developed, organised, and maintained. According to Dewey, the development of the market seems to have depended, as Polanyi points out, on the 'substantive meaning of [the] economic' and the established trading activities of the Javanese, rather than on any distinguishing pecuniary effects. In this connection, I argue too that the development of the Tomohonese market economy is based much more on the historical involvement of local people in systems of exchange and their development in a time of cash crop penetration, rather than on the capitalist logic of the function of currency in the market.

Taking careful note of a local historian's record (Watuseke 1968: 43-44), it is evident that by 1825 currency seems to have already been sporadically in circulation among indigenous barter marketplaces in Manado, Kema, and Tondano. By the 1850s, the circulation of currency was reasonably high, so that a poll tax was paid in currency. As a result, it is more correct to point out that the failure to establish permanent marketplaces was not primarily a consequence of the lack of currency circulation, but because of a lack of interest in trade, on the part of Minahasans. Until the mid-1890s, native Minahasan smallholders and landless farmers in particular were engaged largely in the cultivation and delivery of coffee due to the steady demand of the world coffee market, although Cultuurstelsel was abolished in 1870. Back then, the trade in cash crops was mainly controlled by the colonial government or Chinese merchants

(Pietermaat et al 1840: 144; Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 226). Furthermore, outside coffee cultivation Minahasans were also involved in the cultivation of and trade in subsistence agricultural products. Until the mid-1890s, however, regional trade in food crops was of no significance at the grassroots level. It seems that it was often in the hands of indigenous chiefs (see Schouten 1998: 86). In this connection, prior to the mid-1890s, Tomohonese farmers also traded subsistence agricultural products in the regions near Tomohon. This trade was conducted sporadically by smallholder farmers, especially by female part-time traders (Longdong 1998).

However, this situation changed dramatically when the world coffee market collapsed in the mid-1890s. By the late-1890s, marketing activities had expanded rapidly throughout Minahasa, including Tomohon. In this regard, Graafland (1898: 217) observed that 35 villages and small towns each had a regular marketplace in 1898. In 1904, Watuseke (1968: 44) records that the number of marketplaces had increased to 47. This was due to the fact that, following the decreasing world market demand for coffee, increasing numbers of workers freed from the cultivation of coffee sought other income sources in trading foodstuffs while they returned to subsistence agriculture. In fact, while many other farmers who planted coffee returned to subsistence agriculture, a number of Minahasan swidden cultivators also switched to coconut plantation in a situation in which coconut products became more and more important during the twentieth century, due to the increasing demand of the world coconut market. Indeed, coconut plantation, with its low-energy technology,

was easily incorporated into the traditional swidden cultivation system. Quite a few Tomohonese farmers, especially in low-lying villages such as Tinoor and Taratara, have been engaged in coconut plantation. However, women's labour force was not favourably disposed to the new booming cash crop because the processes of coconut plantation such as lumapu popo [climbing the coconut palms] were regarded simply as soal tuama [men's preserve]. As a result, a number of Minahasan women, including those formerly engaged in coffee growing, were channelled primarily into part-time trade in agricultural products. After Independence, this trend became more striking when the new cash crop of cloves which favours male labour force became popular in the 1970s. With this development, the division of economic activities between men in cash-cropping and women in trading became clearer than ever. As a consequence, since the early 1900s, trading has been almost exclusively in the hands of women, while men have taken over the cultivation of cash crops (see Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 227; Mai and Buchholt 1987: 144).

III. The monetarisation of the Minahasan cultivation system and the development of trading

In this section, I will consider the interrelatedness of the monetisation of the Minahasan cultivation system 'mapalus kerja' [rotating reciprocal cooperatives] and the historical development of trading in Tomohon since the colonial period. In so doing, I will emphasise the fact that the exclusion of Tomohonese women in mapalus

kerja has resulted in the increasing involvement of Tomohonese women in trade, thereby ultimately contributing to the development of trading in the Tomohon region.

For a long time, 'mapalus kerja' has been a dominant feature of the Minahasan system of cultivation. In pre-colonial times, farming was performed normally using the integrative mechanism of mapalus kerja in which labour was exchanged on a reciprocal basis. Depending on the membership criteria and specific organisational purposes, the villagers were organised in various mapalus kerja under the supervision of the hukum tua [the head of the village]. The mapalus kerja was highly institutionalised and it normally had a committee and strict rules. There were broadly two types of mapalus kerja in the Tomohon region. The first was called 'maséndéan' [eastern Tomohon] or 'mawéténgan' [western Tomohon] in which usually 40 to 100 members worked in rotation on their farms from sunrise to sunset. The owner of the farm which was being worked had to provide the others with meals. The second type was called 'matulian' [eastern Tomohon] or 'mawewo'ondo' [western Tomohon]. People organised in this mapalus kerja worked for a few hours in the morning or half a day and had to bring their own food to work. In pre-colonial times, Tomohonese men and women, as equivalent units of production, participated in mapalus kerja and had a relatively equal role in agriculture (see Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 71-2). In this regard, Schouten (1998: 67-68) suggests that 'in the pre-contact era there was no simple, clear-cut division of labour between the sexes and subsistence agriculture was predominantly the domain of wom-

en'. This active participation of women in mapalus kerja appears to have persisted in subsistence agriculture, at least until the 1970s (see Wahongan-Kosakoy 1988: 3).

Following the introduction of Cultuurstelsel, however, the number of mapalus kerja gradually decreased (Kroeskamp 1974: 102-3). This was largely because coffee cultivation required more modern forms of work organisation. The Dutch strongly disapproved of the collective labour of mapalus kerja and encouraged Minahasans to work more individually. They viewed the indigenous institution as having little economic value, since they were of the view that people appeared to show more interest in being together, eating and drinking rather than in agricultural activities (Lundström-Burghoorn 1981: 166). The Minahasan idea of mutual labour assistance in mapalus kerja dramatically decreased as the wage system for the transport of coffee was introduced in the 1850s. Labour exchange in mapalus kerja began to give way to the exchange of labour for products and goods and, increasingly, paid labour (Edeling 1919: 54). Several authors indicated that women in many parts of Minahasa were gradually being excluded from mapalus kerja in subsistence agriculture and were increasingly involved in coffee production and the transport of coffee (Pietermaat et al 1840: 147-8; Graafland 1866: 372). However, in a mission report to the NZG [Nederlandsche Zending Genootschap; Dutch Missionary Society] on 30 January 1856, N. P. Wilken (1856) provided a different perspective on women in Tomohon. He reported that Tomohonese women, with their children, not only significantly carried out subsistence agriculture, but also

were engaged in *corvée* labour in the cultivation and transport of coffee (also see Wallace 1890: 187-190, 197). The pivotal change, however, was that, in Tomohon overall, the number of *mapalus kerja* declined dramatically because many Tomohonese switched from subsistence agriculture to coffee cultivation in which individual work became more prevalent. Moreover, increasing numbers of Tomohonese women were now engaged in coffee growing. As a result, the economic activities of Tomohonese women moved further and further away from the traditional mechanism of *mapalus kerja*.

After the abolition of *Cultuurstelsel* in 1870, Tomohonese women's participation in agriculture once again witnessed another significant change. Following the collapse of the world coffee market, the interest of the Dutch was drawn to another profit-making cash crop, coconut, and they encouraged the Minahasans to plant coconut, especially in coastal areas. Large numbers of the Tomohonese in low-lying areas were also attracted to coconut growing and switched from coffee cultivation. Due to the ecological conditions, however, the production of coconut plantations in Tomohon was moderate compared to that in coastal areas in Minahasa. Many other smallholders who planted coffee, especially in high-altitude areas, returned to subsistence agriculture and also their *arén* [sugar palm] and the production of *saguer* [Minahasan palm wine toddy] and *captikus* [a strong alcoholic Minahasan beverage distilled from *saguer*] However, women's labour force was not favourably disposed to the new booming cash crop because the processes of coconut plantation such as *lumaput popo* [climbing the coconut palms] were regarded simply as *soal tuama*

[men's preserve]. For this reason, Tomohonese women were usually involved in koré-koré popo [peeling coconut] and fufu popo [heating coconut] to produce coconut oil and copra. Nor was the labour force of Tomohonese women involved in arén production. In the process of making saguer and captikus, Tomohonese women contributed to distilling the saguer to produce captikus, since botifar [saguer-producing activities] was always men's work. As a result, a large number of Tomohonese women, including those formerly engaged in coffee growing, converged on mapalus kerja or household farming in subsistence agriculture or agricultural trade. By the early twentieth century, however, following the introduction of the wage system in the 1850s, the mechanism of mapalus kerja had become monetised to a certain extent and labour began to be exchanged for goods or cash. In this circumstance, people preferred to hire men's labour which was regarded as physically stronger and more efficient in cultivating the fields. In general, Tomohonese women's labour thus increasingly gave way to men's in subsistence agriculture, while Tomohonese women took a limited part in cash crop cultivation. As a result, increasing numbers of Tomohonese women began taking part in the non-agricultural sectors, such as trading.

Since clove cultivation has become popular in the 1970s, increasing economic prosperity has accelerated the monetarisation of mapalus kerja. Some German development sociologists argue that 'the abolition of mapalus kerja coincided with the introduction of cloves as a cash crop' (Mai and Buchholt 1987: 39). Given the historical background of the gradual decline of mapalus kerja since the nine-

teenth century, it is more accurate to see the monetarisation of the Tomohonese economy as primarily responsible for the decrease of *mapalus kerja* and the traditional spirit of mutual assistance. In fact, *mapalus kerja* has continued to be performed sporadically in subsistence agriculture, while coffee, coconut, clove cultivation has been carried out increasingly on an individual basis within a household or by wage labourers, rather than on a reciprocal basis in *mapalus kerja*. It is also true that the development of clove and coconut plantations had an impact on Tomohonese women's role in *mapalus kerja*. In clove farms, men are in general the ones who tend the clove trees and coordinate their harvesting. Moreover, when the harvest time comes, clove farm owners have usually preferred to hire male wage labourers. Tomohonese women were thus more likely to be involved in *mapalus kerja* or as unpaid workers on family farms. Overall, however, the importance of *mapalus kerja* has declined and women's surplus labour force freed from *mapalus kerja* was channelled into non-agricultural sectors such as trading.

The only cash crop activity that has tended to be based on the indigenous mechanism of *mapalus kerja* with the involvement of Tomohonese women's labour has been vegetable growing of carrots, cabbages, leeks, and chillies. In January 2000, for instance, in the Tomohonese village 'Rurukan' alone there were around ten groups of *mapalus kerja* engaged in vegetable agriculture, each of which had around 20 members, including a handful of women, although the majority of members were men. Tomohonese women have been significantly engaged in vegetable growing in Rurukan because it is not

so physically demanding as coconut, cloves, and palm tree agriculture. In February 2000, however, I observed far more men than women engaged in *mapalus kerja*. In a group of *mapalus kerja* called *Sanatarédém* involved in vegetable growing in Rurukan, for example, there were only three women out of 25 members. In this connection, pak Ando [60] in Rurukan mentioned:

In my group [*Sanatarédém*], there are women, but women here are not many. In my group, just four women. [.....] During the 1960s, members were far more. In my group there were once around 90 members. [.....] Sometimes, half were women and half were men. Sometimes, women were more than men. [.....] Normally, women tend to take care of their farms. Men usually participate [*iko*] in *mapalus kerja*.

As pak Ando mentioned, nowadays women in Rurukan tend to work on their own farms as non-paid workers or on neighbours' farms as wage labourers or occasionally trade vegetables as tibo [agricultural petty traders]⁶).

In the presence of expanding cash crop production, Tomohonese subsistence agriculture has diminished to a considerable extent. Nevertheless, it has continued to survive and provides an additional contribution to the Tomohonese livelihood. Farmers, especially in the two Tomohonese villages 'Taratará' and 'Woloan', grow rice in sawah [irrigated farm]. Nevertheless, unlike in the neighbouring sub-district 'Tondano', it has usually been for village or home consumption, although small amounts of rice are also traded in the local

6) Petty traders who conduct trade across islands are also called '*opsi*'.

market. Until the 1970s, *mapalus kerja*, rather than individualised cash crop cultivation, was the major element in subsistence agriculture in Tomohon (see Katiandagho et al 1998: 6-7). Until then, the economic activities of Tomohonese women were closely associated with the mechanism of *mapalus kerja* in subsistence agriculture. During the Orde Baru period [1966-1998], however, *mapalus kerja* gradually diminished in importance, due to the monetarisation of agriculture. However, the local government encouraged the Tomohonese to continue *mapalus kerja* in agriculture as the Orde Baru regime, in contradictory fashion, placed considerable emphasis on the preservation and cultivation of traditional forms of Indonesian culture as a source of national cultural identity and to protect Indonesian-ness against rapid Westernisation (Hatley 1997: 99; Turang 1983: 31-33). Recently, for example, the local government of the Minahasan district have striven to revitalise *mapalus kerja* in agriculture in the light of the economic crisis (Petunjuk Pelaksanaan, Pembentukan Pengurus KTNA Tingkat Desa, Se-Kecamatan Tomohon: 29 November 1999). Nevertheless, the official effort has been in vain as monetarisation has constantly undermined the spirit of mutual assistance in *mapalus kerja*. In November 1999, I observed that in Taratara there were around five *mapalus kerja* in operation on the basis of *matulian* or *mawtngan*: a large *mapalus kerja* named 'Mandiri' [self-reliance] and four small ones. The biggest, Mandiri, had 41 members, including seven women. What is worth noticing is that since the economic crisis of 1997, the number of *mapalus kerja* has decreased dramatically. It seems that the economic crisis has

conditioned the Tomohonese to work even more individually. As the head of Mandiri, pak Alfres [49], in Taratara said:

Alas! Before the economic crisis, there were lots and lots of mapalus kerja. Organised in every dusun [sub-units of the village]. [...] The original mapalus kerja is Mandiri alone. The others appear today, disappear next week. [...] Before the economic crisis, there were around eight mapalus kerja like Mandiri. But now they have all disappeared.

In the meantime, Tomohonese women, who used to take part in mapalus kerja, have been channelled to trade agricultural products as tibo while they also work individually as unpaid workers on the household farm or on neighbours' farms as wage labourers.

IV. Patterns of village-based trading in Tomohon

I have mentioned the contribution of the commoditisation of agriculture and the monetarisation of Minahasan cultivation system to the historical development of trading in the Tomohon region. Now I move on to discuss the patterns of village-based trading in Tomohon: petty traders ['tibo' and 'opsi'], katering [food trading], and warung [small shop] and kantin [petty snack-bar] inside the village.

1. Petty traders: 'tibo' and 'opsi'

According to my survey findings of 1252 households in four Tomohonese villages [Tinoor I, Taratara I, Rurukan and Talete II] in

1999/2000, smaller numbers of Tomohonese farmers than I expected responded that their primary economic activity is agricultural trading (see Table 1). There were 63 full-time and professional agricultural traders [I will later come back to the classification of traders]. However, I also observed that large numbers of smallholder women and housewives in general also conducted trading intermittently and perceived it as a part-time subsidiary activity, just helping their husbands', although they provided their household with a valuable alternative source of cash income, especially during the non-cash-crop-harvest season and when there is no income from cash crop cultivations.

In their studies on a market in Kakas, Minahasa, in the early-1980s, Mai and Buchholt (1987; 1994) recognised two different types of trader, in terms of the frequency of market attendance, scale of trading, and types of goods offered: 'part-time/peasant traders' and 'professional/full-time traders'. They argued that female smallholder peasants were predominantly engaged in part-time trading of subsistence crops, while full-time trading chiefly employed men whose households had little or no land on which to subsist. My observations in Tomohonin 1999/2000, however, suggest that large numbers of female farmers are involved predominantly in both part-time and full-time trading of agricultural products, while men are engaged largely in the trading of manufactured commodities. Moreover, there are more diverse variations in the types of female traders in agriculture than Mai's and Buchholt's categorisation would suggest.

〈Table 1〉 Number of Agricultural Traders in Tomohon [1999/2000]

		19-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		over 60		total	
		S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M
female	F	-	3	-	12	1	6	-	7	-	7	1	35
	P	-	1	-	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	10
male	F	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	6
	P	1	1	1	3	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	8

S: Unmarried / M: Married or widowed / F: Full-time / P: Professional traders

NB: Data constructed from survey of 1252 households in Tomohon: Taratara I [542], Rurukan [3476], Talete II [105] and Tinoor I [258]

NB: Tomohonese women are often engaged in several economic activities. However, the data are based on their own responses on their own major jobs.

Firstly, as Mai and Buchholt observed, there are part-time peddlers whose trading activities are irregular but relatively persistent. They are smallholders who produce products for sale on their own. Their trading is generally moderate in volume but tends to become intense when income from cash crops is unavailable. They often sell agricultural products to other peddlers or traders in the village. Secondly, there are intermittent peddlers. They are mainly landless farmers or housewives whose partners are non-farmers. Similar to part-time peddlers, the scale of trading is modest. Their attendance in the market is casual. However, they differ from part-time peddlers in that they do not produce products for sale but buy them from neighbours. Moreover, their trading activities are never recurrent. Their trading income is rather 'pin money for women' who are not involved in consistent income-earning activities (see Bohannan and Dalton 1971: 153). The third type is a full-time trader whose economic activities are conducted primarily in the marketplace. Mai and Buchholt (1987; 1994) suggest that full-time/professional traders had little or no land

on which to subsist. However, I observed that most full-time traders have more than 1.5 tektek [0.5 hectare] of farmland, while a handful of landless farmers also take part in full-time trading. The latter's trading pattern is similar to that of intermittent peddlers, in the sense that they normally buy items for sale from neighbours, while they also employ orang sewa [wage labourers] to produce vegetables on their [the peddlers'] own farm. They trade, as a rule, on a daily basis and the scale of their business is far more sizeable than intermittent peddlers. The fourth type is the professional trader. They resemble full-time traders in the pattern and volume of trade. On the other hand, they are rarely involved in farming and they concentrate wholly on trade. Moreover, they often trade across the whole of the Minahasan region. Some professional itinerant traders called 'opsi' conduct trade even across islands in eastern Indonesia [Kalimantan, Irian Jaya, Maluku, Ambon]. What is worth noting is that the total flow of their trade is to a certain extent impersonalised, while full-time traders still depend on a great number of person-to-person transactions (see Geertz 1963: 28-29). In the 1980s, Mai and Buchholt (1987: 54-56) observed that trade in a market in Kakas was based predominantly on long-standing personal relationships. In Tomohon in 1999/2000 as Geertz (1963) predicted in the Javanese case however, a movement away from a traditional bazaar-economy toward a modern firm-type economy has already taken place.

2. Modern *batibo* [petty trading]: catering [food trading]

Katering is a modern type of batibo which is concerned with selling Minahasan traditional snacks. Prior to around 1995, katering was undertaken on a small and occasional basis but it has since then become popular among Tomohonese women, particularly in the Tomohonese village 'Tinoor'. Since the economic crisis, it has grown dramatically in importance throughout Tomohonese villages. In this regard, I observed in 1999 that a great number of housewives or women from smallholder or landless households were attracted to katering as an alternative income source. Katering was popular especially among married women aged between 30 and 49 (see Table 2). This is demonstrated specifically in an interview with a female food trader in Tinoor, ibu Johana [51].

In general we only have products from our village [Tinoor]. Before, many women traded the products, for example, banana or chilli or maize. [...] Now, more women are doing katering [than trading agricultural products]. After the economic crisis, food traders have increased. Now, over 100 women are doing katering in Manado or Tondano. Many, aren't there? I just started [in September 1999]. [...] In the beginning, I felt shy. But it's alright now. You shouldn't be shy if you want to make a living. [...] Our farm? I hardly go to the farm now. Not enough income for our household. Well, katering is more important for us for the time being. It's more profitable. Money first, later farming is easy, isn't it! There is an economic crisis, isn't there!

As ibu Johana said, there were around 100 full-time and part-time food traders in Tinoor I and II in October 1999. Many of them were involved in katering on a casual basis while the others were full-time. I found in October

1999 that there were around 43 full-time food traders in Taratara I, Rurukan, Talete II, and Tinoor I (Table 2).

(Table 2) Number of people involved in catering in Tomohon [1999/2000]

	16-18		19-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		over 60		total	
	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M
female	1	-	-	7	-	11	-	17	-	6	1	1	1	42
male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

S: Unmarried / M: Married or widowed

NB: Data constructed from survey of 1252 households in Tomohon: Taratara I [542], Rurukan [347], Talete II [105] and Tinoor I [258]

NB: A Tomohonese woman is often engaged in several economic activities. However, the data are based on their own responses on their own major jobs.

The casual food traders participated in catering only when they needed alternative money or they were free from farming. On the other hand, as in the case of tante Olke[44], full-time traders do business on a daily basis and they rarely work on the farm.

Tante Olke is a full-time food trader. Her husband is a farmer who produces around five bottles of saguer per day and earns 2,000 rupiah per day. She goes to Manado five days a week [except Friday and Sunday] to sell traditional snacks for lunch in offices. Her typical daily routine is as follows:

4am: Her husband wakes up and cooks rice as a catering preparation.

5am: Wakes up and prepares for the catering of the day.

8am: Leaves on a mikrolet [mini-bus] for Manado, together with other food traders.

8.30am: Arrives in Manado and begins selling food in offices

12pm: Gathers the used dishes and then does shopping in a market

1pm: Sets off for Tomohon.

1.30pm: Comes back to Tinoor and takes a rest.

3pm - 6pm: Does domestic work

7pm - 10pm: Prepares for the next day with her husband

11pm: Goes to sleep

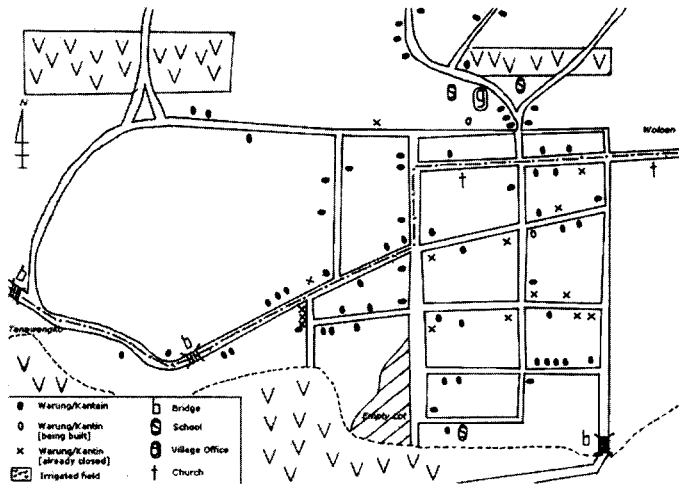
Each day, she sells Minahasan foodstuffs for lunch and makes a profit of around 30,000 rupiah. Basically, her household lives on her daily income as her husband's income is inadequate to meet its daily needs. Her daughter's household was also partly dependent on her income. She gives her newly-wed daughter a sum of money every month to buy milk for her grand-daughter. It was in fact a monthly financial support for her daughter's household.

As shown above, tante Olke's daily income is far greater than that of her husband. In most cases the income of full-time food traders was greater than their spouse's so that their household was dependent primarily on them. Similar to the full-time food traders, the casual food traders significantly benefited their household in meeting its immediate financial needs. As a result, catering is now recognised not merely as an extra income-earning source, but as a major income-generating activity in Tomohon. What is more, as the secretary to Tinoor I, pak Bastian Rangian revealed, women's economic contribution from catering has been crucial for household well-being and village development during the economic crisis.

In terms of money circulation, catering is very important. This year, there are around 100 women going to Manado or Tondano. So the profit they make

may be around 2,000,000 rupiah per day. It's very important for their household, isn't it! [...] Now, the profit also circulates within the village. So these contributions [from catering] assist in the financial equilibrium of the whole village [Sehingga terjadi ya keseimbangan antara yang masyarakat]. So if you want to talk about the impact of the economic crisis, it's no big problem.

(Map 2) Warung and kantin in Taratara I in November 1999



3. Inside the village: warung [small shop] and kantin [petty snack-bar]

Polanyi (1957: 256) questions the marketing-focused approach for the interpretation of trade as an institution and warns against seeing the market as the locus of exchange. Nevertheless, a number of anthropologists and sociologists treat the marketplace as the locus of

exchange and focus on trading activities within its boundaries, while they neglect trading activities such as warung and kantin inside the village (see Dewey 1962; Geertz 1963; Alexander 1987; Mai and Buchholt 1987; Davis 1994). Given their volume and characteristics, however, trading activities inside the village are worth detailed attention.

Warung and kantin were introduced in Tomohon long after the first market was formed in 1875. Before Independence, they were not popular in Tomohonese villages. Since the 1960s, however, they have mushroomed, especially, following the economic crisis. They are found on every street corner. The Tomohonese warung and kantin are usually set up as a part of the family house, inside the living-quarters of the owner. Some of them are also located on the side of a main road on the outskirts of a village. In 1999/2000, I saw around 120 petty warung and kantin within the villages of Tinoor I, Taratara I (see Map 2), Rurukan, and Talete II. They usually sell daily necessities and foodstuffs such as noodle soup. Moreover, along the main road from Manado to Tomohon, I also observed large numbers of other warung and kantin selling fruits, flowers, souvenirs and snacks for road users and tourists.

It is Tomohonese women, especially married women, who are overwhelmingly involved in the warung and kantin inside the village. This is attributable partly to the fact that these small outlets are based on abilities such as cooking food and shopping for goods which fall within the woman's domain. It is also due to the fact that men usually work as full-time farmers or have other jobs outside the

village while those women largely remain within the village and household. In 1999/2000, Tomohonese women were actively involved in 82 per cent of around 120 warung and kantin in Tinoor I, Taratara I, Rurukan, and Talete II: 55 per cent of them [82 per cent of 120 warung] were owned and managed solely by women; 27 per cent were managed by men and women together (see Table 3).

(Table 3) Number of people involved in warung and kantin in Tomohon [1999/2000]

		19-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		over 60		total	
		S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M
female	I	4	16	1	25	1	17	-	4	-	3	6	65
	T	-	6	-	12	-	5	-	5	-	4	-	32
male	I	1	3	-	9	-	5	-	3	-	2	1	22
	T	-	-	-	13	-	7	-	4	-	5	-	29

S: Unmarried person or unmarried parent / M: Married or widowed or remarried

I: Independent management / T: Co-management with partner or other members of family

NB: Data constructed from survey of 1252 households in Tomohon: Taratara I [542], Rurukan [3476], Talete II [105] and Tinoor I [258]

NB: A Tomohonese woman is often engaged in several economic activities. However, the data are based on their own responses on their own major jobs.

Managing warung or kantin inside the village is a straightforward means of alternative income-earning for the household of the owner. However, these village-based establishments are characterised not only by their focus on making alternative profits to farming but also by the continuous traditions of exchange behaviour, the competitiveness for material gain among villagers, and their short-term existence. Firstly, trading inside the village operates in a context of community solidarity and the need to maintain face. The Tomohonese community is characterised by a high degree of

'kawanua' [solidarity] and by the spirit of 'mapalus' [reciprocal aid and help]. Under these conditions, in managing warung or kantin, the owners attempt to minimise the probability of losing face or solidarity with neighbours and friends rather than maximise their material return. For instance, the owners of a warung or kantin cannot easily refuse to sell goods on credit when their fellow villagers ask for it. Even when they collect a bill, they may be reluctant to ask for it until their customers are willing to pay.

What we should recognise is that exchange behaviour reveals what Polanyi (1957: 243) terms 'the substantive meaning of economics which derives from man's dependence for his living upon his fellows', and that the owners of warung or kanin are fully aware of the social and material returns of exchange behaviour as 'social capital', which may be later transformed into economic capital, in a situation in which they compete with other owners of warung and kantin (see Bourdieu 1998: 70-71). Secondly, it appears that many Tomohonese do not open warung or kantin solely on the basis of economic calculations. To a certain extent, the extraordinary boom in these small outlets in Tomohon also accords with the socio-cultural characteristics of the Tomohonese who tend to compete with each other in every aspect of socio-cultural life. As Schouten (1998) observed, Minahasan communities in general have been characterised by high competitiveness between walaks or between villages or among villagers. To survive in such a community, the Tomohonese are experienced at pitting themselves against each other and quick to take up anything which sounds new and promising. In this regard, manag-

ing warung or kantin implies not merely food trading or commodity supply in an economic sense, but also the practice of competing with other owners in profit-making. Thirdly, these small businesses are never stable and are often short-term, over one or two years, or sometimes a few months. The general trend is that most of them tend to ebb and flow on a temporary basis because they are vulnerable to fluctuating finances. In general, most of the owners run warung or kantin on a small amount of capital. Once they get into financial difficulties, therefore, they usually go out of business.

Following the economic crisis of 1997, many businesses closed due to financial difficulties. Nevertheless, numerous warung and kantin have ironically sprung up in Tomohon since 1997. In 1999/2000, for instance, there were around 69 of them in operation in Taratara I, and half of them had been established between September 1997 and September 1999. This is because increasing numbers of people, especially women, have sought alternative income-earning opportunities outside farming, and 'mapalus wang' [reciprocal credit association] activities have also increased and provided funds to set up small businesses.

V. Conclusion

I have mentioned the two socio-historic settings of the development of village-based trading in the Tomohon region: the commoditisation of agriculture, namely the expansion of cash crops and the monetarisation of mapalus kerja. I have also described the patterns of

trading in Tomohon: various agricultural trading, catering as a modern *batibo*, and *warung* and *kantin* inside the village.

Swidden cultivation for food crops was the major economic activity of the Tomohonese until the Dutch introduced the *Cultuurstelsel* in 1830. Following the forced cultivation of coffee, the Tomohonese community witnessed dramatic changes in agriculture. Since then, its agriculture has been oriented increasingly towards cash crop plantations of coconuts, cloves, and vegetables. Under the commoditisation of agriculture, Tomohonese women's participation in agriculture witnessed significant change. In other words, women's labour force was not favourably disposed to cash crop plantations on the grounds that the processes of cash crop cultivation favour men's labour force. In the meantime, the Minahasan system of cultivation, *mapalus kerja*, has been rapidly monetised. The factor, 'the monetarisation of *mapalus kerja*', has generated a situation in which increasing numbers of the Tomohonese, overwhelmingly women, have been attracted to trading as an alternative economic activity. In so doing, they have contributed significantly to the historical development of the Tomohonese market system. After the economic crisis of 1997, the employment of the Tomohonese, especially women, outside agriculture such as trading has accelerated as they search for alternative sources of income.

Given the historical development and patterns of trading in Tomohon, it can be argued that trading activities of the Tomohonese are to a significant degree the construct of a dialectical process of socio-economic change (see Bourdieu 1977: 72, 1990: 53). The

Tomohonese community has undergone successive processes of agricultural and economic changes, during the colonial period, under the New Order, and in the shadow of the economic crisis. These changes have engendered the objective situation in which the Tomohonese have been progressively moving out of agriculture and into non-agricultural activities. The objective situation has generated reactions consistent with it, which prompts Tomohonese men and women to adjust to the demands of the objective situation and to cope with future demands. In such a dialectical process, the objective situation has been the reflexive source of their alternative economic activities such as trading.

Key words: Eastern Indonesia, trading, patterns of trading, commoditisation of agriculture, monetarisation of cultivation system

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국문초록

동인도네시아에서 마을을 기반으로 이루어지는 교역활동 : 북술라웨시에 위치한 미나하사 지역의 또모혼 공동체에 대한 사례 연구

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본 논문은 인도네시아 북 술라웨시에 위치한 미나하사(Minahasa) 지역의 또모혼(Tomohon) 공동체에서 행한 1년간의 현지조사를 바탕으로 작성되었으며, 또모혼 지역에서 마을을 기반으로 이루어지는 교역활동에 대한 인류학적 사례연구이다. 논문의 내용을 요약하면 다음과 같다.

첫째, 교역활동에 대한 다양한 이론들을 살펴보고 교역활동에 있어서 여성들의 지배적인 역할을 부연한다. 동시에, 교역활동에 대한 기존의 이론들과 또모혼에서 이루어지는 교역활동 사례들과 간략하게 비교하여 본다. 둘째, 이른바 ‘농업의 상품화’에 따른 교역활동의 역사적 발전을 심도 있게 알아본다. 네델란드 식민정부가 1830년 커피 강제재배 제도를 시행한 이래 또모혼의 농업은 다분히 환금(換金)작물 지향적으로 발전해 왔다. 이러한 과정에서 여성들의 경제활동은 환금작물 재배에서 멀어지게 되고, 여성들의 잉여 노동력은 교역활동에 투입되게 된다. 셋째, 또모혼 토착 경작 노동 체계인 ‘마빨루스 크르자 (mapalus kerja)의 통화(通貨)화’와 또모혼 지역 교역활동 확장의 상관관계를 면밀히 살펴본다. 경작 노동 체계의 통화화로 인하여 상대적으로 비효율적으로 간주되는 여성들의 노동력은 점차 토착 노동 체계에서 소외되게 되고 여성들의 노동력은 전통적인 경작활동에서 멀어지게 된다. 이러한 상황

하에서 여성들은 대안적인 경제활동으로서 교역활동에 종사하게 된다. 이러한 교역활동은 1997년 경제위기 이후에 더욱 가속화된다. 넷째, 또 모혼 지역에서 이루어지는 교역활동의 패턴을 세분화해 본다. 우선, ‘띠보(tibo)’ 또는 ‘옵시(opsi)’라고 불리는 상인들의 교역활동과 토속음식 교역활동인 ‘까프링(katering)’을 살펴보고, 교역활동에 대한 기존의 유형화를 더욱 세분화하여 보충한다. 이어서 마을 안에서 이루어지는 영세상점 활동을 알아본다. 특히, 이부분에서는 교역활동에 대한 기존의 시장 중심 연구의 문제점을 지적하고 마을중심 연구를 제안한다. 마지막으로, 본 논문은 앞의 논고를 종합하면서, 또모혼 지역의 상행위는 다분히 주변에서 일어나는 변증법적 사회·경제 변화 과정의 부산물이라고 피력한다.

주제어: 동 인도네시아, 교역 활동, 농업의 상품화, 교역 패턴, 경작 노동 체계의 통화화