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VOL.1A

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON GLOBAL EDUCATION V

PROCEEDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GLOBAL EDUCATION V

"GLOBAL EDUCATION, COMMON WEALTH AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY"

Organized By :

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VOLUME 1A

GLOBAL EDUCATION

10 - 11th April 2017

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THE FORMATION OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN MINANGKABAU SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we discuss the formation of entrepreneurship in Minangkabau society. The formation of entrepreneurship going through a learning process in society. In this regard, it is interesting to find the answer to how the entrepreneurial learning process occurs in the community and what is the basis of ideas and praxis in the process of its formation? To get answers to these questions do research with a qualitative approach in which conducted in-depth interviews to various business people and traditional leaders as well as observations on the process of the formation of entrepreneurship.

INTRODUCTION

One of the ethnic groups most often found as traders, merchants, or sellers in markets throughout Indonesia, from Sabang to Merauke, are Minangkabau. Minangkabau people engaged in various activities of commerce or trade in all goods. Besides the Minangkabau known as the culinary business, especially Padang restaurant (Damsar, 2016). The existence of businessmen as a merchant, merchant, or seller of a particular ethnic group in the market can be seen as an indicator of entrepreneurship for that ethnic group. Minangkabau people, therefore, can be regarded as one of the ethnic groups that have entrepreneurship among other ethnic groups in Indonesia (Manan, 1990).

The study on entrepreneurship in Minangkabau ethnic group have been carried out by some researchers from various discipline. Yulanda (2012), for example, examined the influence of cultural values about business in Minangkabau society towards entrepreneurial behavior of traders in overseas. She concluded that uncertainty avoidance culture, masculinity-femininity, as well as long and short-time orientation have influence significantly towards entrepreneurial behavior. While Games, Soutar and Sneddon (2013) examined the relationship between traditional values, Islamic values, and entrepreneurship. They see that Islam and Minangkabau culture provided any stimulus for becoming entrepreneurs. Whereas, Poespowidjojo et al (2013) explained that a culture of solidarity give significant effect to the success of the

entrepreneurial career in Minangkabau society. Furthermore, Hastuti et al (2015) exposed on the Minangkabau entrepreneur characteristic. They found some characteristics that contribute to the success of the Minangkabau ethnic entrepreneurship in targeted migration sites, namely characteristics of self confidence, hard worker, careful calculation/economical, self-reliance, perseverance, contribution to the family, consistency, ingenuity, flexibility, courage to face the challenges of the business. Besides Rahman (2016), exposed an informal entrepreneurial learning pattern that is undertaken by the Minangkabau tribe and relate it to cultural dimension and perceived value of a society.

From various studies on entrepreneurship in Minangkabau society mentioned above, however, we don't find a comprehensive study on the formation process of entrepreneurship. The study that conducted by Games, Soutar and Sneddon (2013), for example, demonstrates that the value of Minangkabau and Islamic values give any contribution to the formation of entrepreneurship. While Rahman's study (2016) shows that entrepreneurship is internalized through learning patterns of "merantau" (voluntary migration).

Both studies above demonstrate differences in the two approaches, namely structural and cultural approaches, towards the formation of entrepreneurship. The debate on the formation of entrepreneurship has been shaped by socio-cultural arguments whereby used two approaches, i.e., the cultural and the structural approach (Mavratsas, 1997). The cultural approach explains that values and cultural elements determine a person's entrepreneurship (Bears, 1982; Schell, 1983; Mauer, 1985). From this approach, however, the most common perspective has been to see culture as involving value. By using this perspective, researchers should always try to outline which value a certain social structure embodies (Swedberg, 2003; Harrison and Huntington, 2000; Lipset 1993). The latter tendency there is an alternative perspective which suggests that culture should be regarded as a "tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals, and the like, which are used by the actors as "strategies of action" (Swedberg, 2003; DiMaggio, 1997; Swidler, 1986). Both perspectives will be used to my analysis. On the other hand according to the structural approach, the structure provides the opportunity and a social, political, and economic circumstance for people to become entrepreneurs and shape their entrepreneurship (Dijst and Van Kempen, 1991; Cole, 1959). The structure constructs different factors such as market conditions, ethnic and

social networks, degree of accessibility, demand density, government regulation, economic policies, new technology, and social convention to facilitate interaction among social groups and in some way impact upon ethnic entrepreneurship (Van de Ven, 1993; Timmermans, 1986; Gouch, 1984; Mulligan and Reeves, 1983).

Based on this reality then there is a vacancy on a comprehensive study on the formation of entrepreneurship among the Minangkabau. This study, therefore, wanted to find answers to how the process of formation of entrepreneurship in Minangkabau society. The objective of this study is, more specifically, to find the answer to how the entrepreneurial learning process going on in the community and what is the basis of ideas and praxis in the process of its formation? To find answers to these questions do research with a qualitative approach in which conducted in-depth interviews to various business people and traditional leaders as well as observations on the process of formation of entrepreneurship among Minangkabau businessmen in Padang, Pekanbaru and Jakarta.

Nature Unfurled Becomes a Teacher

"Panakiak pisau sirauit, ambiak galah batang lintabuang, Salodang ambiak ke niru, Nan satitik jadikan lauit, nan sakapa jadikan gunuang, alam takambang jadikan guru" (Take the small knife for carving, make a staff from the lintabuang tree, the cover of pinang flowers becomes a winnow, a drop of water becomes the sea, a clump of earth becomes a mountain, nature unfurled becomes a teacher) is a philosophy of life for the Minangkabau people (Nasroen, 1971). Nature, for the Minangkabau, seen as a source of value and the stock of knowledge. As a source of values, the philosophy of "nature unfurled becomes a teacher" determines norms that dictate the patterns of thoughts, acts and attitudes towards many universal phenomena in the life of people. It provides the order of understanding, guidance, and inspiration in running all aspects of life (Damsar, 2004 and 2005). It also leads the way to think, feel, act and behave the Minangkabau people in various aspects of life such as cultural, social, political, economical, and ecological facets. In a social facet of life, for example, an old wisdom says *"nak jauh silang sangketo, pahaluih baso jo basi"* (if you do not want the dispute, softening your language and manners). This wisdom is the source of value for a person in a language polite and well behaved, so that conflicts can be avoided.

The goal of life for the Minangkabau people, according to their philosophy of life, is to serve (Manan, 1990: 216). The source of value for this goal of life is a proverb that states “hidup bajaso, mati bapusako” (when alive provide service, when dead leave a heritage). Another proverb that expresses this value is “gajah mati meninggalkan gading; harimau mati meninggalkan belang; manusia mati meninggalkan nama” (when an elephant dies it bequeaths ivory; when a tiger dies it bequeaths spots, when a human being dies he bequeaths a name). To serve is a goal in action. Besides, to bequeath is an impact of the goal in action.

In order to be able to serve and to bequeath something, both in material thing and in terms of a good name, for their “kaum”, “kampong”, “suku”, “nagari”, they, therefore, have to work hard. The source of value for work hard is a maxim that says “nak kayo, rajin mencari” (if you want to be a rich man, you should work hard). Minangkabau natural philosophy also be a source of value to other entrepreneurial characteristics such as self confidence, careful calculation/economical, self-reliance, and perseverance. The source of value for self confidence is a proverb that states “barani karano bana, takuik karano salah” (be bold because correct, be scared because wrong). While the adage says “bahimek sabalun habih, sadio payuang sabalun hujan. Salagi ado disimpan, salagi tido dimakan.” (frugality before it runs out, willing umbrella before it rains. When we have saved it, when we have nothing eat it) is the source of value for entrepreneurial characteristic of careful calculation. Whereas the source of value to the characteristic of self-reliance is “tahan hujan, barani bapaneh; baitu urang mancari rasaki” (endure rain, dare to feel the sun’s heat; that is how to make your fortune). Besides the source of value to the characteristic of perseverance is “berjalan sampai ke batas” (walked up to the limit).

Life for Minangkabau people is precious and meaningful, therefore they put a high value on time. They are always thinking of how to bequeath (heritage), as a result they spend their time prudently and for meaningful purposes (Manan, 1990). Their proverb says “jiko duduak marauik ranjau, jiko tagak maninjau jarak, jiko bajalan mampunyai makasuik” (while sitting construct an animal trap, while standing observe distance, while walking walk with a purpose).

Socialization of The Minangkabau Values of Entrepreneurship

All values are socialized in traditional institutions of socialization such as family, lapau, surau, the edge of the bath, and performing traditional arts. Lapau (traditional coffee house) is a place to drink and sell basic goods such as chili, cooking oil, instant noodles, and more. The family is an important institution in socializing the young people. All family members occupy the "rumah gadang" (big house). In the big house one mother lives with her daughters. Inside the big house, there are several rooms that were inhabited by her daughter. Whenever a daughter marries, the husband moves into the house of his wife. This means that the big house reflects the Minangkabau extended family. If the big house is not there anymore, so they live in a regular house, which is occupied by the nuclear family, consisting of mother, father and children. But usually a regular house located at or not far from the same location as the big house then first. Under this atmosphere and situation, all member of the big house educated and socialized the young people. In other words, their extended family helped care for the young people of Minangkabau. In the big house, the father does not have an important role in educating children. The woman's brother is responsible for her children rather than her husband. Here the women's brother has a prominent role towards children. In contrast to the big house, at the regular house the father has played an important role in the education and development of children. While the role of the women's brother is no longer important. Both forms of the family, their members socialize the value of "adat" (local custom) and Islam to young people (Damsar, 2017). If there are members of the extended family as migrants, then they return to their hometown during Idul Fithri (an Islamic Celebration after fasting) will be an important moment in the process of entrepreneurship education. Because at that time, they will tell the beauty and success of their lives on the overseas.

Lapau also serves as a meeting place in the rural community of Minangkabau. Most Lapau attended by men, while women came to Lapau to buy food or essential goods. In some villages there are Lapau specifically for women. The topic of visitors Lapau varied and flowing. All life issues are discussed here, including the values of entrepreneurship. When migrants return to the village, he will be asked about the state of living overseas. These migrants are usually tells the story of success in the overseas. These migrants are usually explains how traditional values play an important role shaping entrepreneurship and become a strategy of action towards entrepreneurship.

The success story of the migrants will motivate young people to participate go with the successful migrants to the cities where they work.

Surau is a prayer house and place for basic religious instruction. Religious teachers teach about Islamic values and customs neighbor's life, including about entrepreneurship. When surau still serves as sleeping quarters for unmarried adult males, then the footmen who return to hometowns also slept here. Togetherness among young people and migrants in the surau is a process that socialized a wide range of values and life strategy includes the value of and the strategy of action towards entrepreneurship. Migrants tell how successful in making a living on the overseas. Migrants are usually boast a wide range of experience they have gained in the overseas. The interesting story among the young people was lured to follow their friends who have had many such experiences.

Public bath is a bath for all of inhabitants in the community. Each village has a public bath, which uses one side of the river, dug wells, or wellsprings. The public bath is not only used for bathing and washing clothes, but also as a source of drinking water for villagers. Because the public bath as a gathering place for the citizens, then it is also used to transmit the values and strategies of action towards all of life problems, including entrepreneurship, for its citizens.

Traditional art performances, such as "*randai*", "*saluang*", "*rabab*", and the like, have a significant role in the socialization of traditional values and religion, including the values that contain the entrepreneurial character, to the community. *Randai* is a folk theatre tradition which combines music, singing, dance, drama and the silat. *Randai* is usually presented for traditional festivals and ceremonies, and complex stories may span a number of nights. *Randai* is a medium to convey the tale or folklore through couplets or poem that contains the values of life, including entrepreneurial characteristics. While *saluang* is a traditional Minangkabau musical instrument, made of thin bamboo or chamfer (*Schizostachyum brachycladum* Kurz). *Saluang* accompanied with a song that comes from the poems and the proverbs; so that the values of *adat* and religion, including the value of entrepreneurship, could be conveyed to the audience. *Rabab* is a Minangkabau traditional stringed instrument, made of coconut shell. As with *saluang*, *rabab* is also complemented with the song that the lyrics come from aphorism and the maxims.

Matriliny, Marantau, and Entrepreneurship

Minangkabau matriliney is an established social system that appears to be drawn largely from the local custom (*adat*) that involves tracing inheritance through the matrilineal line and giving important roles to women in public ceremonies. Therefore, children belong to their mother clan where family name and the ownership of property (such as land, house or livestock) are passed down from mother to daughter (Navis, 1984; Kato, 1982; Naim, 1979). This kind of land ownership ensures their power and position alongside men. Minangkabau women have the upper hand in daily decisions involving household running – they decide on the budgeting, shopping, and kids' education (Blackwood, 2000). Besides, the Minangkabau ceremonies organized by women, such as a wedding (*baralek*), harvesting (*manyabik*), and clan leader inauguration (*batagak pangulu*), are not only displays of women power but also play a prominent role in reminding young men of their cultural roots and responsibilities (Sanday, 2002).

Minangkabau matriliney is a structural basis for the activity of *merantau* (going out of one's home in village in search of fame and destiny). The fact that Minangkabau men do not have the properties owned and managed privately. In contrast to the Minangkabau, the property is privately owned by Batak, Aceh and Malay men. In Minangkabau, he could manage only the property for the common welfare in his extended family (his clan). At the seminar on custom law of property in Batusangkar in 1968, which attended by legal experts and Islamic scholars, agreed difference in property between "harato pusako" and "harato pancarian". *Haratopusako* is property owned by the extended family. While *haratopancarian* is the individual acquired property. Prior to this agreement, there were frequent conflicts, against the properties of a man who died, between his children and nephews.

Marantau derives from the basic word, "*rantau*", which means to the flat sea-coast. As a verb, it means to travel from coast to coast. *Merantau* is a process and pattern of migration in the Minangkabau ethnic group. It is a social institution in Minangkabau society built in their culture. It is the process of leaving the hometown of his own, for a long time or not, with the goal of earning a living, studying or seeking knowledge, usually with the intention of returning home (Naim, 1979). In the Minangkabau culture, it can be regarded as a strategy of action towards problem solving of Minangkabau's life. It is a strategy to prepare the next generation that are resilient

and smart in overcoming their problems. The Minangkabau *Adat* encourages young men to leave their hometowns and travel the world in order to gain knowledge and experience as well as to seek the fortune. Young men must be sent away from the village to prove their manhood so that there will be no competition between them and their sisters (Sanday, 2002). It is a strategy to balance between population and land so that people do not experience such agricultural involution like in Java and to ensure the welfare of the women and future generation (Navis, 1984; Kato, 1982; Naim, 1979).

Socialization of *merantau* has occurred by the time a child of about seven years. At that age a child was encouraged not to sleep at home. He was led away to sleep to the *surau*. If he did not sleep in the *surau*, he would be taunted by peers (St. Alexander, 1960; Radjab, 1950). Displacement from the big house to the *surau* can be symbolically regarded as the first migration to the outside world (*surau*). The young men who slept in the *surau* not only sleep, but more than that, they are prepared to face the outside world, more broadly, the overseas. In the *surau* they introduced an overview on the overseas by their seniors who have migrated or migrants who are returning home. All images of overseas are attractive and motivating young people to immediately migrate (Damsar, 2016; Radjab, 1950). All of these processes reinforce the maxim of *adat* that says "Karatau Madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun, marantau bujang dahulu, di rumah baguno balun" (Karatau grows in the upstream, fruiting flowering yet, bachelor wander first, at home useful yet). This proverb means that the bachelor is expected to wander to the overseas and to return as a successful person so that he may be deemed worthy or useful to his clan and village. In this sense *merantau*, therefore, could be also regarded as a mission of the Minangkabau culture, which has a goal to accumulate knowledge and wealth for the provision to life in the village (Pelly, 1994).

The process to migrate is not a personal decision, but it often becomes a decision of the group, such as families, neighborhoods, friendship, and other groups. This is caused by the decision to migrate with respect to capital, cultural, political and social network owned. The decision to migrate is set after the supply of initial capital in the form of travel expenses and a provision to be able to live a few days overseas. The initial capital is derived either from the nuclear family such as parents, as well as extended family as brother's and sister's mother, and others.

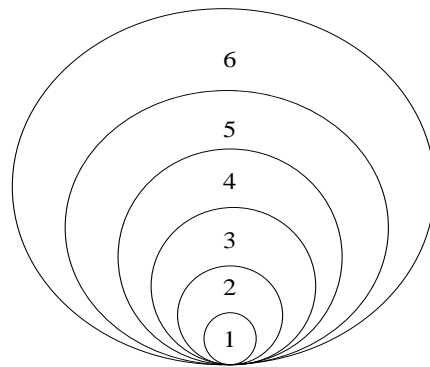
The initial capital, especially the provision of living for a few days in the overseas, tend not necessary if the prospective migrant has a social capital (social

capital). Social capital, referring to Alejandro Portes (1995: 12-13), is the ability of individuals to manage scarce resources based on their membership in the network or the wider social structure. The ability to move network of social, political, and cultural relations is a tool of kit to resolve the problems which faced at the oversea. Expertise in using social capital can provide a lot of opportunities and possibilities. When the network has had a relationship of mutual trust, then either party may provide capital money and goods to the other party. Because of its ability to mobilize a network of relationships that lead to trust others, the new migrants most likely have the opportunity to manage a business or capital money and goods for their economic activities.

In Minangkabau society relationship networks are constructed through matrilineal kinship system that stems from the relationship *semande*, *seperut*, *senenek*, *seninik*, *sekaum* and *sasuku*. *Semande* refers to the relationship created because they were born from the same mother. *Seperut* is a network of relationships that arise because some people have the same grandmother. *Senenek* refers to a network of relationships that arise because some people have a great-grandmother. While *seninik* includes a network of relationships that arise from the fact that they originate from the same mother of one's great-grandmother. *Sekaum* is a network of relationships of the same sub-clan. While *sasuku* is a network of relationships that are formed because they have a same clan.

The Minangkabau social networking systems can be expanded in a relationship founded on similarities in the locality, namely the relationship based on *senagari*, *seluhak*, and *seminangkabau*. *Senagari* is a network of relationships derived from the same village. While *seluhak* a network of relations on the basis of the same luhak. The luhak is a core area of the Minangkabau culture. In the context of the Minangkabau culture, the core areas cover *luhak* Tanah Datar, Agam, and Limopuluh Koto. In the context of contemporary Minangkabau, *luhak* has been replaced by relations of the governmental administrative locality, for example, a network of relationships among people from Pasaman district. While *seminangkabau* refers to the network of relations in the same cultural sphere, namely cultural areas of the Minangkabau. In this context, when circle of the network is smaller, then the networks becomes more cohesive. It means that the possibility of the establishment of mutual trust is higher. (see figure below).

Figure Social Networking System in Minangkabau Society



Note : (1) semande (2) seperut (3) senenek (4) seninik (5) sekaum (6) sesuku

What was done by the new migrants who have linked their network on a social networking system in Minangkabau society? In general, new migrants usually follow the apprenticeship process on their patrons at the overseas. They become a client (*anak buah*) from the patron (*induk semang*). Their patron is people who is considered successful in his business and can help them in their economic activities.

What do new migrants when they did not find a network on a Minangkabau networking system in the overseas? If that happens then they have to find or create new connections. First they map out the possibilities of potential networks of relationships to be formed, which are a network of relationships based on the same alma mater (the same school or college), the same religion, fellow Sumatran, or fellow immigrants. When they migrate into the interior of Borneo or Papua, for example, where they could not find the Minangkabau, then they could have tried to get closer to building a network of relationships based on religion, alma mater, cantonal (Sumatra), or social solidarity among the migrants. This is consistent with the value of the custom are revealed through the adage that says "jikok di rantau, nan partamo dicari induak samang" (if at the overseas, first look for is the patron). This means that social structure and Minangkabau culture have had a tool kit in dealing with problems of life in the overseas, including economic activity. In general, their patrons are people associated with the Minangkabau social networking system.

The jobs which most favored by the new migrants are occupations related to trade and independent skills as a tailor. All of these works cannot be separated from its association with the market. Thus wandering for the Minangkabau people, basically, is

to go to the market. According to Minangkabau Adat, the market is declared as one of the requirements for the existence of a village, namely babalai bamusajik (has a hall and a mosque). The hall can have two meanings, namely council hall and market place. Both meanings could arise at the same time. The presence of the council hall as the custom hall created the presence of a hall (spot) for the market which needed by people who attend a hearing in the council hall. The spot for village's market, therefore, is located not far from the custom hall (Damsar, 2016).

Conclusion

Minangkabau Adat becomes a source of values and a strategy of action for the development of entrepreneurship. Various maxim and proverb derived from philosophy "nature unfurled becomes a teacher" can be a source of value and a strategy of action for the Minangkabau overseas in a variety of activities, including economic activities. Minangkabau social structure is the basis and tool kit in the implementation of the values and the strategy of action towards entrepreneurship. The relationship between social structure and culture of Minangkabau in encouraging people to go the overseas and do business run dynamically. That means that the relationship is changed along with the developments taking place in the social structure and culture.

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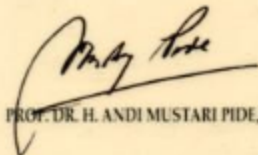
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