

statements will be made about the position in the community occupied by wealthy people, in the past compared with the present situation. For the term "élite" ("a minority outstanding in some respect, and an embodiment of essential values of the community"³) to be used for them, a special economic position will not suffice. We will have to look, for example, at political and social factors, such as "influence" (that is, power), and "status" (in the sense of prestige).

It will, however, be necessary to differentiate within the category of "well-to-do people", in the *minus* as well as in the *dollar* period.

Sonder's Economy in Hard Times

The natural environment in the Sonder highlands at first sight seems propitious for agriculture: a fertile volcanic soil, an altitude of between 300 and 700 metres, a climate which is not too hot, with lots of rain. But the numerous steep hill slopes are an obstacle to subsistence agriculture. The method of shifting cultivation which was originally practised required an availability of large areas of potentially cultivable land in proportion to the number of inhabitants. In the nineteenth century, however, there was a growing disequilibrium in this respect owing to the reservation — on the order of the colonial government — of much of the land for coffee cultivation, as well as to the huge population growth in this period.⁴ Many Sonderese had no other choice but to cultivate on the same plots over and over again, with only brief intervals, which resulted in an exhaustion of the soil. In the highland area of the district of Sonder, seed-rice yielded less than half of that in thinly populated regions, such as Tonsea.⁵

In those days, there were few alternatives to a living based on agriculture. Posts in the indigenous administration were merely accessible to a select group of Minahasans, and what remained for the others were functions in the Netherlands Indies Army, and in the educational system or in similar jobs which might be termed as pertaining to a rudimentary "intelligentsia". In both cases, the enormous enthusiasm for these opportunities was disproportionate to the jobs really obtainable, and at the same time a symptom of harsh living conditions in the rural areas.

Prospects for a better standard of living seemed to improve when, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the compulsory cultivation and delivery of coffee was lifted, and the colonial government loosened its control on the economic activities of the Minahasans. Some European-owned enterprises settled in Minahasa, and among their workers Sonderese outnumbered those



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Old and New Élite in a Village of Sonder¹

Introduction

"Miserable and hungry Sonder". That is how the missionary Graafland expressed his grief for the population of the Minahasa district where he lived in the middle of the nineteenth century.² In his later works, he gives consistently very negative depictions of the villages of Sonder (for example, Graafland 1867, pp. 263–65; 1898, pp. 391–95). And his colleague J.A.T. Schwarz, who at the turn of the century had been active for many decades in Sonder, stated: "The [Sonderese are] in general *very poor*", he himself underlining these last two words (Schwarz 1895, p. 362). One of the villages of Sonder is Tincep, "a poverty-stricken, dead-alive village" (Graafland 1898, pp. 391–92). But nowadays, this same village enjoys a reputation of fabulous wealth, just like most villages of the former district of Sonder. This region, which throughout the colonial era passed for, what in modern Indonesia would be termed a *daerah minus* (poor region), has in recent decades undergone a transformation into a *daerah dollar*.

In the following, a concise outline is presented of that process: economic developments are sketched, but in focus are people and their line of action both in periods of want and those of wealth. Special attention is paid to the better-off and their backgrounds. For closer examination, developments in one village are presented as a case-study.

It may be assumed that the economic changes mentioned had consequences for social and political configurations, and therefore some

of other zones, desperately in need as they were of work opportunities outside the subsistence sector. Promptly responding to the increasing circulation of money, and the need for commercial goods which had been aroused, numerous families of this region specialized in small trade, laying the foundations of a tradition which in Sonder has now persisted for more than a century.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Minahasa, taken as a whole, encountered relative prosperity, thanks to the export of copra, at that time in great demand on the world market. Coconuts were predominantly cultivated on smallholdings. Sonder, however, had little to gain from this copra boom: the coconuts of its densely populated inland were, because of the altitude, mostly of inferior quality for copra preparation. The inhabitants of this region could, admittedly, have a tiny share in the favourable economic situation by offering their labour on coconut plantations elsewhere. In addition, hundreds of young families went to settle in thinly populated parts of Minahasa, and there cleared the land, especially to establish coconut gardens.

Nowadays, in remote corners of the *kabupaten* of Minahasa, almost completely "Sonderese" villages are to be found. The migration to areas elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago also increased, but this concerned mostly people with some more-than-basic education, for whom, after all, few white-collar jobs in their homeland were available. The Sonderese were in the first decades of the twentieth century renowned for their enthusiasm for education. In this region, quite a few private schools were established which, notwithstanding the high school fees, had many pupils enrolled.

In short, during the colonial era, small peasants of Sonder, who suffered for the fact that their natural environment did not correspond to market demands, tried in various and sometimes risky ways to avail themselves of new opportunities to build a better standard of living.

Those Sonderese who continued to live in their native villages were increasingly hindered by the limited availability of land. Improvement in agricultural conditions would only be possible by implementation of new technology, that is, a more intensive type of agriculture. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, the colonial government had stimulated in Minahasa the construction of wet ricefields (*sawahs*), such as those existing in Java.⁶

But in Sonder, with its mountainous topography, it was a hard job to level the ground for the *sawahs* — much harder than in the region next to Lake Tondano, which also had better irrigation opportunities. Only towards the turn of the century, did the Sonderese succeed in making some dozens of hectares suitable for wet-rice cultivation. Because of their limited area,

these *sawahs* had little impact on the living conditions of the greater part of the population. Even more important in this respect was the fact that ownership of these plots was concentrated among only a few — primarily the families of men involved in administration. Formal leadership of the districts and of the villages was, in the nineteenth century, in most cases hereditary, although officially not so. These functionaries were exempted from the burdens which the government had imposed on the Minahasa population, and enjoyed a commission on the coffee and tax returns of their administrative area. Moreover, they had a right to material contributions and labour from their subordinates. This was instrumental in the expansion of their land.

It was the custom that land remained in the possession of the first clearer, passing thereafter, to his descendants. Those persons who could have the disposal of free labour were able to open up relatively much land in their name, on which they thereupon could lay a legitimate claim. This gave rise to an accumulation of land within the small group of so-called ruling families (that is, administrative-élite).

They were also the ones who, in Sonder, could best afford the laying out of the *sawah* — a highly labour-intensive job — and reap the fruits of it. Rice was highly valued, as a commodity for consumption as well as for trade. Thus, the appearance of *sawahs* led to a further increase in the wealth and exclusive position of those who were already privileged.

A Local Élite

The Sonder village of Tincep presently is partly surrounded by *sawahs*, laid out after the levelling of grounds in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and at that time mostly owned by the village head (*hukum tua*). This man was, according to written sources, the first one ever to occupy the post in this relatively young village, during the long period from 1856 till 1902. After his retirement and subsequent death, the lion's share of the land was disposed of by his heirs, most of whom emigrated and had no interest in agricultural income sources nor in the office of village head.⁷

None of the numerous men who in the next twenty years held the office of village head was a kin to the first one. Some of these *hukum tua* were natives of other villages, as the colonial government had judged at the time that no one from the local inhabitants was sufficiently capable. These men remained too short a time in their posts to be able to accumulate much wealth.

Nevertheless, the most economically powerful people in this village were still related to the government. They were the households of the two qualified teachers at the local school. As a rule, teachers in Minahasa led a humble existence, but the school in Tincep was different in that it was the only one operated by the government.

Government schools, because of their exclusivity and their superior equipment, were held in higher esteem than the other types of official schools, those of the missions; and the salaries of the government teachers were far above those of their mission colleagues. These two factors enhanced the formers' prestige.

Precisely in the period of instability in the occupation of the office of village head in Tincep, there were two teachers, Jacob and Hamilcar, who had been working at the local school for many years. Using the fact that they were holding highly-esteemed jobs, they exercised a lot of influence in the village and received many supplementary sources of income, such as gifts from parents, boarders' fees, and, incidentally, the unpaid labour of school-children. Thus, they acquired much land, including, as a matter of course, *sawahs*.

In the meantime, another household was on its way to match the two. It was that of Claudius, a native of the nearby village of Timbukar, where his family belonged to the administrative élite and possessed extensive dry fields. After his installation in early adulthood as village head in Tincep, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Claudius turned his riches to good account, investing partly in trade, and in the purchase of dry and wet fields, as well as the sale of their products. His prosperity was reflected in the fact that in 1925 he was the proud owner of the legendary first car in the village, named "Waterkracht Tintjep" ("Water-force Tincep"), an illusion to the famous impressive waterfalls just outside the village.

Jacob, the teacher, died in 1926. The heritage was entrusted to the only one of his children who had kept residence in the village, and who in 1927 was installed as *hukam tua*, retaining this position until 1948 except for an intermission during the Japanese occupation. Using the advantages inherent in his office, he was able to manage the family heritage profitably, and even expand these.

Most of the children of the other teacher, Hamilcar, opted for the same type of career as their father, either in Tincep or its surroundings, but it turned out to be less profitable for them. The land was divided among the children; some expanded their part while others disposed of theirs.

The sons of Claudius continued the trading tradition established by their father. Thus, in the 1930s, the most prosperous in the village were the descendants of the three men, Hamilcar, Jacob, and Claudius. In the meantime, a few other residents of the village also became relatively successful in commercial activities, which meant that they lived above subsistence level, unlike the miserable living conditions of the majority of the local population. But these petty traders had still not attained the level of prosperity of the three kin groups mentioned. These three groups, however, were not always easy to distinguish from one another in the following generations, because of marriage alliances. None of the many children of Jacob married any of the no less numerous sons and daughters of Hamilcar, which would have been expected because of their similar social, cultural and economic background. In this respect, Minahasan parents tend to search for marriage partners of the same socio-cultural level for their children. In Tincep, however, there was still another kin group which could be considered — that of Claudius who, besides being rich, had a respected social background. In fact, the offspring of both teachers married children or grandchildren of Claudius. This meant that land tenure, especially of the *sawahs*, would be concentrated even more within certain lines of these families⁸ (see Figure 1).

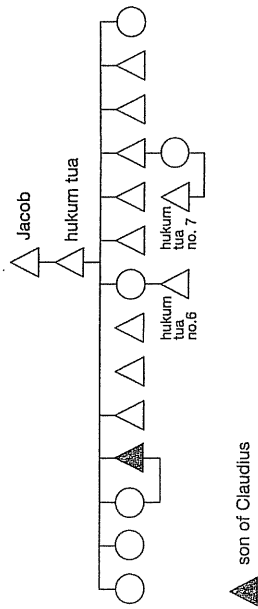
A New Era

Shortly after the independence of Indonesia, economic conditions in Sonder began to improve in a spectacular way. The key-word was "clove", a product for which the demand was booming, and so was the price.

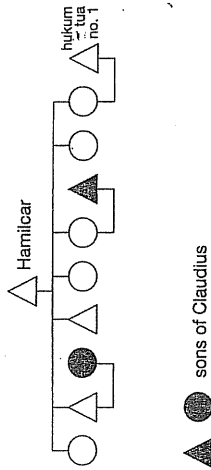
In the preceding decades, thousands of clove trees had been planted in Sonder; the people had done this usually not voluntarily, but at the government's command. In that period, no one could have suspected that the trees, once fully grown, would be a gold mine. When it reached that point, it was only logical that tens of thousands of young sprouts were added, not exclusively, but predominantly, in Sonder. The natural environment there proved to be ideal for cloves: the composition of the soil, and the altitude suited the clove tree perfectly. In addition, its requirements of dry roots and the absence of shade are fulfilled when the trees are planted on steep slopes which are easily found in Sonder.⁹ At last there was a commercial development suitable for Sonder, which is too high in altitude to yield high-quality copra, and with grounds which are unsuitable for *sawahs*. Almost everyone in Sonder with some land began to plant the better part of it with this new commercial crop.

Figure 1

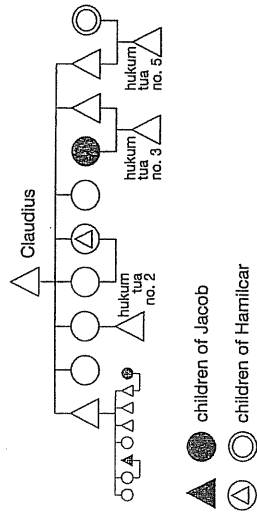
Descendants of Jacob



Descendants of Hamilcar



Descendants of Claudius



As a result of the high prices that the *kretek* factory owners were ready to pay for it, the clove brought a certain prosperity. However, this prosperity was not shared by everyone consistently. Firstly, the irregular production of clove trees meant that harvests varied considerably from year to year. Secondly, the people who profited most from clove production were not the peasants who limited themselves to its cultivation, but traders⁶ and moneylenders, in diverse forms. In the village of Tincep, at the beginning of the 1980s, several of these were to be found.

A Local Entrepreneur

Ferdinand was born in 1923, in a kin group of very limited means. For some years, he attended primary school irregularly, combining it with agriculture. Later, he continued working as a farmhand, but left his village to participate in military training in order to fight the Japanese armed forces. However, he never really joined the army.

Towards the end of the Japanese era he came back to his native village. He acquired on credit an ox-cart with the aid of which he acted as an intermediary trader of coconuts and *cap tikus* (a strong alcoholic beverage, distilled from palm wine by the local peasants). After his marriage in 1946, he stopped his trading activities for some time. His wife, also of humble birth, worked in agriculture on a daily basis, while he himself had secured an advantageous share-cropping contract on a *sawah*. He sold his share of the product on the market, and this provided him with a financial basis strong enough to start a pig-farm. This went on so well that before long he was able to redeem his debts.

In 1953, shortly after the first spectacular and lucrative clove harvest, he bought for a small sum of money about five hectares of land which had long been lying fallow, on nearby Mount Saleng. There he planted 700 young clove trees which soon began to flourish. Meanwhile, he earned a reputation as a supplier of *ijon*, which meant that he bought someone else's agricultural produce before the harvest had taken place in order to sell it later. This is a common type of agreement in Minahasa which, in economic terms, is rarely advantageous to the seller. Ferdinand also had a *warring* (small shop) but he felt obliged to close it during the *Permesta* period. In 1961, when his finances were more stable, he made a few large purchases: a car, a large compound, and land with more than 250 clove trees, which had belonged to a son of Claudius. He himself took care of the sale of his products in Manado, as well as of those of many other local clove producers.

Owing to his success in business and agriculture, he became one of the wealthier men in the village and was installed as a member of the Protestant Church Board. With this background, it was safe enough to run for village head in 1963. That year he did not succeed in being elected, but the next opportunity, in 1967, brought him victory. The post of village head, which he occupied until 1973, gave him freedom from the IPEDA (land-tax), and the right to regular labour by his fellow-villagers, with only a glass of tea in compensation.

After his election, he kept on purchasing various plots of land near the village. Thus, by the beginning of the eighties, when people still respectfully referred to him as *hukum tua pree* (the former village head)¹¹, he had 3,000 mature clove trees, besides coconut trees of good quality, and 0.7 hectares of irrigated rice-fields. Moreover, he owned two Suzuki buses for passenger transport. Each day he had, besides his own children, several persons working in his gardens, and a few more to take care of his cars. His compound ranked among the most popular places to which people in need of money had recourse, in order to settle some form of loan or *ijon* agreement.

In 1983 he wanted once more to run for village head. His motivation, he said, was that he expected to make material profit from it. His chances to be elected seemed reasonable. However, he was excluded from the actual competition as the district administration considered his educational background inadequate for the new legal requirements for village head.¹²

Old and New, Sawahs and Clove

Ferdinand, who in 1983 was among the top five economically successful people in the village, is only one of the many so-called *notreux riches*, who rose like comets as a direct consequence of the favourable clove price.

The *anciens riches*, that is, the three *sawah*-owning descendants of Jacob, Hamilcar and Claudius, were initially less prompt in their reactions. Not everyone could foresee in the early fifties what sort of revolutionary changes would take place in the market. *Sawah* owners were inclined to concentrate on their wet fields, which offered security and a bi-annual yield, whereas planting cloves required years of patience, and their profitability in the long run was still doubtful.

Thus, the purchase and preparation of land for clove production was mainly undertaken by people who were not held captive by labour- and management-demanding *sawahs*. Some (borrowed) capital, audacity, and a commercial attitude were, of course, indispensable. Here, the "law of the

lead that acts as a brake" (as defined by Jan Romein 1935), is in operation: the members of the long-standing prosperous families, who remained on their *sawahs*, had been surpassed in wealth by people who took risks, but who, precisely for that reason, were more sensitive to new opportunities.

Before long, clove trees became the standard measure of wealth, and *sawahs* constituted an object of bitter complaint for the owners, who regularly emphasized their labour-intensiveness and the relatively high costs of working the fields. Most of the value was concentrated on the ponds in these fields, where costly gold carp were raised to be served to guests at feasts.

Nevertheless, Tincep people are still proud of their wet rice-fields. Even an enterprising *tukang belamtek* (a type of trader who purchases objects of worth to resell), who started out with little capital, would make it a point of honour to acquire a plot of *sawah*. As a commercial crop, rice is not attractive because of the price ceiling which is in force. Consumption is the main objective; *sawah* owners want to ensure that they have their daily *nasi putih* (white rice) on their tables "just like the civil servants", instead of the more common *nasi campur* (rice mixed with corn).

In 1983, however, the people who owned relatively large areas of *sawah* wanted to get rid of most of their fields, or entrust others with the management. Parts of the *sawah* were used for the cultivation of clove *bibit* (young plants). But neglect, or the outright conversion of *sawah* to clove plantations was a relatively unknown phenomenon in Tincep. In this respect, it distinguished itself from many other villages. One reason here may be the relatively good irrigation system. Other Sonder villages are dependent on Lake Linow for their water-supply, which has been irregular because of the fluctuating water level, not least due to erosion as a consequence of clove cultivation. Thus, *sawah* owners are harmed by the clove plantations, which motivates them even more to abandon rice culture and start planting cloves themselves.

Labour in the wet rice-fields has low status and similar pay. Tincep people who work regularly as day-labourers prefer the dry fields, in particular the clove gardens. Owners or managers of *sawah* now prefer to engage labourers from the "authentic", densely populated, *sawah* regions near Lake Tondano, where the natural conditions are less favourable for clove and where living conditions are precarious. Because of their skill and low demands they are very welcome as temporary labourers on *sawah* outside their own region.

Sonder, which in the past had exported labour for the most despised work in other parts of Minahasa, is now in a position to receive labourers for such work in their own region. Apart from this movement of labour, there is also a sort of temporary migration of predominantly young people, in the

direction of Sonder. This occurs especially during the clove harvest in good years as there is much to earn for the reapers. At the same time, there are several forms of entertainment in the village on which to spend their wages.¹³

In this discussion, therefore, the term "status" may be applied not only to the level of esteem some persons enjoy among others in their local community, but also to the economic level of a village, considered in the Minahasa context, in relation to one another. And "status" in all these cases is subject to change, albeit there is sometimes also continuity.

Economic and Social Position

Although the traditionally prosperous families in Tincep have lost their exclusiveness, they are, on the whole, still well-to-do. It is remarkable that few among them are professional traders and/or moneylenders and *ijon*-givers. Most have put all their energy into farming: the management of the *sawah* and the clove plantations, which they have also in the meantime greatly expanded. As far as trade transactions are concerned, they involve the sale of products and the purchase and sale of land. These activities are carried out by themselves, and profitably, with the help of their powerful, long-existing network comprising mostly of kin. Thus, local middlemen such as Ferdinand did not become richer because of these landowners.

It might be interesting to compare the position of the "old" versus that of the "new" rich in social and political respects during the clove era. What social esteem did they enjoy? And how far did their authority extend over others? A thorough examination of this question is not possible here, but some conclusions may be drawn from a cluster of data which might be considered apt for this analysis.

These data have to do with the kin and professional backgrounds of the men who, since independence which coincided with the beginning of the clove era, have held the post of village head. This type of functionary used to be elected by the local population, according to government regulations, every five years, although there might be numerous reasons for extending or reducing a term. The election result could be influenced by higher administrative organs or by local and supralocal interest groups and individuals. On the local level, the candidate's family plays an important role, as do persons with whom he had a dyadic relationship, such as that of patron and client. It is therefore important for a candidate to have relations with supralocal organizations such as the government and the church, and in trade networks, just as it is important, locally, to count upon relatives and the affined. The crucial factor is to be well-off: this facilitates access to

supralocal institutions, and is a *sine qua non* to pay the expenses of the election campaign. It is true that in quite a few Minahasa villages a candidate does not need to go on an extensive campaign; competition is not keen, since the job of village head there is considered tough and not remunerative. However, a shrewd *hukum tua* is able to delegate almost all of the work, and to take full profit from tax redemption, through manipulating his financial means, access to powerful organs and individuals at supralocal level, and the (at the time) still existing rights on the labour of others. Indeed, many a village head has been hesitant to make use of this last-mentioned right. Apart from these material profits, the function of *hukum tua* may be attractive because of the honour which it provides and which is evident in, for example, local ceremonies. That is why individuals and their kin groups sometimes make great sacrifices in order to be elected.

Thus, interests and connections play an essential role in being elected, but becoming a village head is also an indication of the social esteem enjoyed. Fellow villagers judge the candidates by their personal characteristics. A village head, ideally, should have a relationship with the history of the village, a reasonable education, display eloquence, and in general have a forceful personality. Of this last characteristic — which has to do with intrinsic qualities — people are usually convinced only when it is evident, in the form of results. And the most obvious ways in which, according to this line of thinking, success is demonstrated is by wealth. It is those people especially who have succeeded on their own efforts and achieved prosperity that are assured of approval. They are supposed to have something special in them — "divine blessing".

The following list of Tincep village heads is worth examining:

Village-heads of Tincep, 1949–83

Period in office	Descendant of ¹⁴ :	Professional backgrounds
1. 1949–1959	Hamilcar	teacher, worked for some time in Borneo
2. 1959–1963	Claudius	technician, worked in Batavia/Jakarta
3. 1963–1966	Claudius/Jacob	police officer, trader
4. 1967–1973	—	trader, farmer
5. 1973–1976	Claudius/Hamilcar	military
6. 1976–1983	Jacob	farmer
7. 1983–	Jacob	farmer

* For the family relationships, see Figure 1.¹⁴

As we can see, almost all the village heads belonged to one of the three traditional families; and most had some higher education. One person was dissonant — number 4, that of Ferdinand. His presence in this list is not without significance. For him to be elected, his personal success had to be so obvious that this counterbalanced the absence of other important sources of authority, such as education and illustrious ascendance. His sources of power were his economic relations within and outside the village borders.

His application for the position of village head had been part of a strategy which was not just economic or political. He had other means at his disposal to expand his wealth and his influence, but he wanted to see his success materialize in a formal position, not just a bureaucratic one but one which was also based on tradition. In this way, the post of village head might serve as a symbolic affirmation of his achievement in other fields.

Wealth is a factor which binds all village heads mentioned here, in whatever way it was acquired, and supplemented with whatever other qualifications. Most lines of the traditional families are still highly respected, partly because of their continuing economic strength.

Conclusion

There are two types of élite in the village now, each born in a different era. As mentioned earlier, local history can be divided into two periods, taking economic conditions as a criterion. Before independence, Sonder was a poor region except for a few inhabitants who were related to the colonial administration and the educational system. The wealth of these persons — who retained political power and enjoyed social esteem — was principally based on and expressed in the ownership of exclusive *sawah*.

In the post-independence era, when Sonder found prosperity, a new type of élite emerged, based on wealth, with neither special education nor ancestors who had played a significant role in local history. This group depended for its social relationships and for its economic position almost exclusively on the capricious lucrativeness of a commercial crop, cloves, which means that its position is uncertain and also has limited scope. By running for village head, some of the persons belonging to this category try to broaden their influence, and to use this as a function, reflecting values beyond the economic field.

But the "old" élite is still of importance. It derives its economic force from the security-providing *sawah*, as well as from the wealth-providing clove tree. Thus, its economic basis is broad, but the basis of its social status is

more diffused. One factor here is the association of certain persons with the local past, who are still recognized as being of importance. Another factor which contributes to their esteem is simply their wealth. Their leading position in the social and economic fields, especially in certain formal positions such as that of village-head, enhances their prestige even further, and may add economic advantages to the family in question.

Although as a rule, members of this category retained the post of village head, the fact that one of the "new" élite also succeeded in being elected reflects the value that villagers can set on a person's economic success.

The clove trees, which are particularly related to the new élite, have rapidly brought spectacular but uncertain wealth: they stand for "change". On the other hand, a "continuity" which has lasted for about a century is represented by the *sawahs*, which have provided a reasonable and stable living for the villages. These are exclusively associated with the long-standing élite: old, but certainly not in decay.

Notes

1. This paper is based principally on fifteen months of field-work in 1982-83, financed by the Indonesian Studies Programme in Leyden, the Netherlands, and in co-operation with LIPI, Jakarta. When the present tense is used in the text, this refers to the period 1981-83.
2. N. Graafland, letter to J.C. Neurdenburg, 10 April 1852. In Archives of the United Mission Corporations, Oegstgeest (Netherlands) file 64.3.
3. Adapted from Keller (1968).
4. Although the population increase was not as high as in Java at the time, it was still considerable. Better health services played a minor role; probably the increase was related to a growing demand for labour (cf. White [1973] on Java).
5. Diary van den Broek, *controleur* of Amurang, June 1867. In Arsip Nasional (Jakarta), Archives of the Residency Manado, no. 40. See also Graafland (1864), p. 18; Graafland (1898), p. 391; Edeling (1919), pp. 25-26.
6. Wet rice-fields were not a totally new phenomenon in Minahasa: in pre-colonial times, on the shores of Lake Lobu (Tombatu) and Lake Tondano, rice was planted in fields which flooded from time to time. There was, however, no system of irrigation here.
7. After the death of a landowner, the land can remain in the joint ownership of the heirs, or divided among them, according to local custom and individual preference.
8. In Minahasa, with its cognatic kinship system, there exist many folk terms as well as folk definitions in relation to groupings based on kin. Here, I use "family" as denoting a group of descendants of a couple, often with in-laws included.
9. The drawback of this is erosion, which is sufficiently known but usually neglected.
10. Traders were the intermediaries (*tukang pengumpul*; *makelar*; *tibo*) related to clove purchase and sale to the regional centres, and further on to the PAP (Pedagang

Antar Pulau, who export to the *kretek* factories in Java). The role of the KUD (Koperasi Unit Desa, village co-operatives) here, although formally established by the government, was a failure.

11. In Manado Malay: *hukum tua* means village-head; *pree* (derived from the Dutch-word *vrij* meaning free) means retired (off-duty).
12. This was a transitional measure in the process of the transformation of the post of village head in Minahasa into that of a full civil servant (*jabat*), which meant that this functionary was not elected by the villagers but appointed by the government, and enjoyed a fixed salary.
13. Later in the 1980s, with the declining clove prices, work in the clove-harvest also came to be regarded as of low status, as it was lowly paid (Buchholt 1990, p. 249).
14. By marriage, someone may be "incorporated" into a family (see also note 8).



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Women's Role in Minahasan Rural Life: Case-Study from Remboken

Introduction

Studies on rural women in Indonesia have largely been done in Java; only recently has attention been focused on the roles of women in the Outer Islands. Among others, there have been two Master's theses on rural women in Minahasa. One of them, done by Wahongan-K. (1986), concentrates on the role of women in Rasi, a village in the subdistrict (*kecamatan*) of Ratahan. It analyses the amount of time women spend on their activities, including participation in *mapalus*, a Minahasan mutual aid institution which is now undergoing change. It has been found that the role of women in carrying out household tasks has a significant meaning in various social strata. Women allocate more time to similar household tasks than men do, thus confirming that housekeeping is still the women's main occupation. On the other hand, men allocate about twice as much time as women do to earning a living, which indicates that men's assumption of responsibility as the family (income) provider is still the norm. Women also assign less time to *mapalus* than men; according to the study, this has been influenced by the system of landownership, which is the basis for the existence of social strata in Rasi.

The motivation for joining *mapalus* varies among women — from raising the household's income to filling up leisure time, to obtaining help through the exchange of labour. The contribution from *mapalus* to households in the higher strata is small compared to the total household income.