

The State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga* (Household) and the Minangkabau View of Gender and Power

Narihisa NAKASHIMA (Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan)

I will discuss how the New Order Ideology has penetrated into the Minangkabau Society through my observation of the impact of the Marriage Law of 1974. First I will discuss the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga* (Household), second the Minangkabau View of Gender and Power, finally I will attempt to evaluate what I can say the situation of *Reformasi* through my analysis.

Since 1991 I have done several surveys in West Sumatra especially on the Marriage Law of 1974. I have collected hundreds of consultations of marriage and family life in the column, *Konsultasi Perkawainan dan Keluarga* (Consultations of Marriage and Family) which used to appear almost every Friday on the *Harian Haluan*, a rather conservative newspaper in West Sumatra.¹ As the questions addressed to the column were answered by a high ranking officer of the Department of Religion in Padang, this column proved to be source of information about how the Minangkabau people reacted to the Marriage Law as well as how the Government wanted to apply the Marriage Law to the people.² Besides reading those consultations, I have done seven-month fieldwork on the Marriage Law in Agam in 1995.

1. The State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga*

The Marriage Law of 1974, which is often described as a 'curious' amalgam of the Islamic family laws and modern family laws, designates that husband and wife are equal, and restricts the conditions of polygamy, but reinforces the gender-biased roles of husband and wife, which is the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga*. Article 33 of the Marriage Law stipulates that the husband and wife must love and respect as well as help each other; however, it is

preceded by Article 30 which provides that a husband and wife have a duty to form a household which is the basis of the structure of society.³

Article 34 then defines the roles of husband and wife: a husband should protect his wife and provides her with enough belongings to maintain a household. At the same time, a wife is expected to organize the household properly. If either spouse does not perform his or her duty, this gives sufficient reason for the other to take legal action at a Religious Court.⁴

Before the State came to have greater influence in the field of marriage and divorce, these matters were resolved among the people concerned according to *adat*. Although the Minangkabau people are very pious *Muslim*, Islamic teachings did not have great influence in such private matter. However, Islamic Law does define the categories of people whom they cannot marry. *Suku* exogamy, which is the basis for maintaining the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system, has no relation to Islamic teachings, which instruct people that they should not marry anyone who is not Muslim.

Since the *KUA* (*Kantor Urusan Agama*: Marriage Registration for Islam) registration has been introduced under the Marriage Law into the Minangkabau marriage procedure, the *KUA* personnel are now in a position to advocate the Islamic idea of gender, which was the basis of the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga*, through their work as *KUA* administrators. According to my observations, after the bride's side receives the *mahar* (brideprice), a *KUA* administrator explains the duties of husband and wife to both of them. He tells to the new wife in detail of the gender biased ideology of *rumah tangga*, but says very little to the new husband.

Although Julia Suryakusma analyzed the informal ideologies of sex and gender of the civil servants stipulated in Government Regulation No. 10 (1983),⁵ I do not think her strategy of limiting her study just to civil servants is sufficient to gain an understanding of the impact on all the people of Indonesia from the State. In addition to the civil servants, the *Dharma Wanita*, in which a wife with a husband of a superior status could be the leader of a *Dharma*

Wanita, followed and embodied most drastically the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga*.

This gender differentiation within a household embodies the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga* (Household), which are also transmitted through the local administration system. Both the Marriage Law and the local administration system support each other, and are the agents for the New Order Government to penetrate village society. Since the Desa Law of 1979 (Undang-undang No.5, 1979), following reorganization of a *nagari* into several *desas*, it was the male *desa* head and his wife who were not only the representatives of the lowest level of the administrative system, but also were the embodiment of the State Ideology. Besides this the penetration of the state into *nagaris* had brought a serious result that lacked cooperation and initiatives among the *nagari* members.⁶

Through the New Order Era the *desa* (village) heads should be loyal to GOLKAR. If they refuse to do so, they were always demoted away from their status. Actually, most of the *desa* heads were ex-civil servants and ex-military men who were supposed to be loyal to the Government. In addition to this, a village head's wife automatically became the head of the PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Action Program for Village Family Welfare). The PKK works in a *desa* as a wife works in her household. The activities of the PKK include *Posyandu* (health planning activities), the promotion of KB (*Keluarga Berencana* or Family Planning Program), *Gotong Royong* (co-operative works), *Arisan* (a mutual financing association) and religious education, and so on. The wife of a *desa* head in Agam once told me that she admired Suharto and his wife, Ibu Tien, because they seemed to love each other and worked together. She was very active in PKK activities, and it was very clear that she took her model of her activities in her *desa* from the Suharto family.

2.The Minangkabau View of Gender and Power

The Minangkabau matrilineal society can be characterized in two types of human relationships: First, there is the relationship of sister-brother of the same mother. This

relationship can be summarized as the relationship of *anak balam* in the Minangkabau language. Then I will discuss the mother-daughter relationship, or *samande* in the Minangkabau language.⁷

2-1. *Anak Balam*

Anak Balam literally means the different sexed twins. A *balam* is a kind of dove. As the dove always lays different sexed eggs at once, *anak balam* has come to mean different sexed twins. But the word *anak balam* can be extended metaphorically to mean a brother and sister born of the same mother. The Minangkabau people consider it ideal to have a combination of different sexed children, because the combination, they say, represents perfection in a *paruik*, or the matrilineal minimum lineage (extended family). To have children only of the same sex, as well as no children, means ‘imperfection’ for them. If there is no sister in a *paruik*, it means that there is nobody who will succeed the *paruik*. Therefore, the Minangkabau people used to continue bearing children until they had a female child. In case of having only daughters it is true that the matrilineal lineage can survive, but as there will be no *mamaks* who will lead the lineage and *kemanakans*, this case also means ‘imperfection.’⁸

In the stories of *Kaba Modern*, classified by Umar Junus, we can find a lot of stories in which a brother and sister of the same mother are the main characters.⁹ *Kaba Bujang Paman* describes rivalry between the husband of a sister and her brothers. The brothers decided a man named *Rajo Aniayo* to be their sister, *Puti nan Bungsu*’s husband in spite of the youngest brother’s objection because of the fact *Rajo Aniayo*’s infidelity. After their sister’s marriage the brothers went *merantau* to Padang. They became rich enough to send their sister some money, however, this made her husband so frustrated until they were ordered to come back home and were killed with poison. The sister were so afraid of her husband and ran into a jungle to bear a boy. Later the boy knew what his father did to his *mamaks* and mother, he killed his father because he himself might be killed by his father.

Kaba Siti Syamsiah narrates incest between a brother and sister, but strangely enough

it is not a big issue of the story. There were a husband and wife. They are not good natured and often punish their children even on minute mistakes. Getting afraid of being killed, *Buyueng Karuik* and *Siti Syamsiah* ran into a jungle to have a shelter from their parents. Later they were adopted separately by two families and were separated nearly forever. *Siti Syamsiah* changed her name to *Jawa* and they married each other without knowing their real relationship. They became successful migrants and *Buyueng Karuik* wanted to go back to his village to see his parents. Immediately after they arrived upon their village, *Siti Syamsiah* had just recognized that her husband was her real brother from the same mother. They had to tell village people a different story that *Siti's* husband died with a boy. Then both of them married to different village people later and their families had happy lives due to the big property of the result of successful *merantau*.

Kaba Malin Kundang, the most popular folk tale in Indonesia, is also well-known in the Minangkabau society. In the Minangkabau context *Malin Kundang*, who would not recognize his mother and even show any respect to her after becoming a successful *perantau*, had got changed to a big rock in the sea, is a man of *durhaka* (sin) not only to his mother but also to his *kemanakans* despite his success as a *perantau*.

The stories of *Kaba Modern* were said to be created around the late 19th century or the early 20th century. According to Joel Kahn this period was the time of social change due to the wide range of economic crisis coming from the forced coffee cultivation.¹⁰ It was a time when a lot of Minangkabau men went *merantau* looking for a fortune outside their *nagari*. *Kaba Modern* stressed the ideal pattern of brother and sister relationship.

Anak Balam also represents the relationships between *mamaks* and *kemanakans*. A *mamak* used to be a legal father for the *kemanakans*. In public, the *mamak* represents the matrilineal lineage in terms of managing the *harta pusaka*. But the power of the *mamaks* declined with the penetration of the monetary economy and the impact of colonialization.

We see a lots of *kaba* stories in which a *mamak* perform his responsibility to his

kemanakans. For example, *Kaba Si Gadih Ranti* dengan *Si Bujang Saman* narrates *Bujang Saman*, a mamak of *Gadih Ranti*, takes an initiative for looking for a husband for *Gadih Ranti*. There was no mention to her father.¹¹

Earlier, the decline of *mamaks* as the agent of power corresponded with the rise of fathers' power. Even though, the stories of *Kaba Modern* stressed the men who came back to their mothers' *nagari* as a successful *perantau* (migrants), there were a lot of Minangkabau men who stayed in cities with their families. The father used to be just the *semando* (a woman's husband) in a *paruik*, or matrilineal minimum lineage. But nowadays it is the father who represents the family, or Minangkabau small family. *Mamaks* still represent the *paruik* and *ninik-mamaks* and *datuks* or *punghulus* represent *nagari*, but they were not so powerful in the New Order Era.

Datuks or *Penghulus* are members of a *KAN* (*Kerapatan Adat Nagari*: Nagari Adat Council). But the *KAN* was restricted to dealing only in adat affairs, not politics. Joel Kahn pointed out that the *nagari* had lost its autonomy in 1910s. But the New Order Indonesia had brought more damage to the Minangkabau society than the Dutch colonial government did. Since the Desa Law of 1979, some penghulus were invited to be the members of *MUSBAN* (*Musyawarah Pembangunan*: Committee for Development). Those people were not powerful in the *MUSBAN*, because it was led by a *camat*, or the head of *kecamatan* (county) and they were called in to pacify the people who accused the Government because of the abolition of the *nagaris*.

But fathers, who have been the main breadwinners in small families, and *walis* of their daughters' marriages, often face a dilemma in terms of family affiliation: do they belong to their mothers' side, or their children's side (wives' *suku*). One of the main questions in my fieldwork in *Agam* was to clarify where the fathers and husbands in small families wanted to be buried after their death.

When *mamaks* were very powerful in the lineage affairs as well as in the *nagari* affairs,

they used to be buried in their *sukus* or their mothers' graveyards (*pusara*). Although people still admit that they should be buried in their own *sukus*' graveyards (*pusara*), it is not easy to tell where Minangkabau men should be buried after their death. Nowadays, the relationships to their *kemanakan* were not as strong as they used to be. In case where a *mamak* is rich due to a successful *perantau* (migrant), his *kemanakan* might come to his place after his death to get permission to bring his body to their graveyard although their relationship to the late *mamak* was not so close. The *kemanakan* might have just come to take some benefits from his *mamak's* property. I found many successful *perantaus* registered their lands of *harta puncarian* as gifts to their daughters. Then the land would become a *harta pusaka* of the daughter. Usually, village people would not dare to register their land because they are furious about the commissions of the Government. However if they have not registered the properties, their properties might have been 'stolen' by their maternal relatives.

The more the person was economically successful in terms, the more serious the conflicts between the wife's (children's) side and his sisters' (*kemanakans*) side. To avoid such troubles, some men prefer to be buried in their own family's yard, or his wife's *harta pusaka*. Even if the house was built by the man himself, mostly the land was his wife's property (*harta pusaka*). In such a case he is proud of having built the house and the house would be succeeded to his daughter. Or there are also some men who choose to be buried in a communal graveyard of a mosque. In such a case in 1990s, their families should pay some hundreds of thousands of *rupiahs* to the mosque.

I found the male in a Minangkabau family was very lonely. Even though he might be a *desa* head, a successful *perantau*, or the main breadwinner in his family, he himself still belongs to his mother's *suku*. All of his children belong to his wife's *suku* because of the matrilineal system. Usually, his status in public is high, but he is still lonely in his family life. Even though he is powerful in public, he is lonely and not so powerful in his *rumah tangga*.

2-2: *Samande*

In contrast, *samande*, or the mother-daughter relationship doesn't seem to have changed. In the villages we often see senior women (*neneks*) acting as a central figure in a *paruiik*. Even though the senior women's status is still high in Minangkabau households, it is wrong to suppose that their status in public is high as well. As the Minangkabau matrilineal extended family (*paruiik*) has been changing into a small family, Minangkabau women cannot rely on their *harta pusaka* as the main means of livelihood. This means that her husband's status has increased as a breadwinner.

I found there are many women in difficulties and troubles under the Marriage Law. It is true that the Marriage Law almost restricts any types of polygamy, however, there are a lot of Minangkabau men who go *merantau* and have other wives (lovers) without their wives' permission. As A. Navis once told me that the Minangkabau men were egoistic, some Minang men still seem to live in the time before 1950s. In the old days wives did not rely on the husbands' economy. In those days husbands were *semando* (wife's' husbands) and just 'ash on a trunk' (*Abu di atas Tunggu*). Once wind blows, he might be thrown away like 'ash on a trunk.' But everything has already changed. Without a husband's economic support it is very hard even for the Minangkabau woman with a small *harta pusaka* to live.

In order to divorce formally under the Marriage Law of 1974, it would take a long time and the process is very complicated. First the wife waits at least three years to start the legal process of divorce at a Religious court. In most such cases, the wife doesn't know where her husband lives, and has to pay some money to make radio announcement asking her husband to come to the nearest Religious Court. Even if she is able to divorce her husband some years later, she should wait another 100 days (*Idah*) until she can marry another man. The village people need to spend a whole day to come to a Religious court. She loses one day of work and must spend extra money, too. She has to come to the Religious court many times to finish her divorce process. There are many women who would not dare to take any action just because of

the expected complication of the process and amount of expenditures.

Seeing a woman as the ego, Tanner and Thomas summarized the Minangkabau matrilineal society as follows.¹² A woman is a central figure in her lineage and has definite dignity as a mother (*ibu*) and a senior woman (*nenek*). A man has a high status as a *mamak* and a *penghulu* in his (mother's) lineage, however, he is positioned peripherally in his wife's lineage. In the process of decision making in the *paruik* as well as in a *mupakaik* (lineage meeting), she is powerful like a man. In these circumstances it is not the money but ability of poetical language that was acknowledged as dignity. The hypothesis of David Schneider that it is not the woman but the man who controls even the matrilineal society, according to Tanner and Thomas, cannot be supported as long as the cases from the Minangkabau show.

Joke van Reenen assumed that the mother-daughter relationship, or *samande*, represents the wisdom of *Bundo Kandung*. She is right when she says that Minangkabau men work in the public with the titles of *penghulus* and *mamaks*, and women represent the center of kinship relationships. I support her view that men are rather inferior to women in the households. However, I don't support her when she says that the Minangkabau women are not only powerful, but also sometimes they are even 'matriarchal.'¹³ This may be true in her observation, however, I found she did not analyze the public life and outer world of the Minangkabau women.

Among the feminist anthropologists of Minangkabau society Evelyn Blacwood is rather moderate. Although she emphasized how powerful the Minangkabau women are, she showed us that a superwoman, who was an active manager of her own company as well as a mother, had lost her power while being involved in men's society and public life.¹⁴ In Solok I have met a senior woman who succeeded a lot of *harta pusaka* from her *mamaks* who used to be district leaders in the Dutch Time, and she is a *bundo kandung* in her *nagari*. Nowadays she has serious troubles with her aunt's daughter's son-in-law and a son of her aunt's daughter, who had occupied very high status in the Government of West Sumatra. One of them built a

fancy restaurant and leisure land (a kind of tourist center) in 5 hectares of *ladang* (dry land) without her permission and any meetings among the *kaum* members. He was the head of *KAN* as well as a high ranking Government officer, no one was brave enough to oppose him. The other man planted some *chengkek* (clove), *apokat*(avocad), and *kayu manis* (cinnamon) and *ubi kayu* (cassava) in *bukit* (a hill) without the *kaum* permission. The senior woman told me that they were even looking for gold and jewelry which she inherited as her *harta pusaka*, but she would not tell anybody except her daughter, or a legal successor, where it was kept. She said in desperation, “*Ambillah, nanti di adili oleh Tuhan!*” (Take as much as you want, and Allah will punish you.) This woman looked very curious to me, because she told me that she said the same words even to the Japanese armies when they occupied West Sumatra in early 1940s and to the Javanese armies in the time of PRRI rebellion. She said she welcomed those armies and contributed large amounts of food to them. Her stance to the ‘invaders’ made me suppose the content of power of the Minangkabau women. No matter how powerful they are in the *rumah tangga* (household), they are and used to have little power in public.

After the *desa* law of 1979, *bundo kandung* became members of a *MUSBAN* along with male *adat* leaders. I am very suspicious of the hypothesis that *bundo kandung* represents the wisdom of the Minangkabau senior women. As I have pointed, that senior women are still central figures in a *paruik*, or matrilineal extended family. However I do NOT suppose that *bundo kandung* represents the wisdom of senior women. As Tauffic Abdullah analyzed, *Bundo Kandung*, or Womb Mother, led men in the time of *Pagaruyung*, or the semi-mythical Era in the Minangkabau history. But we should know that Tauffic Abdullah also pointed to the image of *Bundo kandung* was ‘created’ in the late 18th century as the process of Islamization of the Minangkabau society.¹⁵

It is true that the Minangkabau senior women (*nenek*) represent the wisdom (*akal*) and have dignity in the eyes of their members, however, *nenek* are not equal to *Bundo*

Kandung. A Minangkabau writer wrote that the wives of *penghulus* in Solok created in late 1950s an organization of *bundo kandung* as an organization of the wives (not sisters) of *penghulus*.¹⁶ The writer, Rani Emilia, admitted that the image of *bundo kandung* were similar to *ibu* and *nenek* in olden times, but in recent times *bundo kandung* have changed to mean not as sisters of *penghulus* but the wives those people.

3. Discussion

So far I have been discussing the Minangkabau situation in the New Order Era. After Suharto stepped down, some significant reformations have been reported in West Sumatra, too. First, the issue of *tanah ulayat* (communal lands) brought us reevaluation of the Indonesian nationalism itself.¹⁷ Second *otonomi daerah* has been brought to West Sumatra, too.

As I have emphasized at the beginning of my presentation, the Marriage Law of 1974 and the local *desa* systems have been the most important agencies of the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga*. At least one of those agencies is losing the impact as the agency of State Ideology. There will be no *desa* in West Sumatra. *Nagaris* have revitalized as a minimum administration system. Although *nagaris* are characterized to be democratic, centrifugal against *desa*,¹⁸ it is still in doubt who will represent a *nagari*. It is the time when *wali nagaris* have been elected nowadays. It is not denied that *wali nagaris* are the smallest representatives of the state, but the representative of the people. As far as I know what is happening in Solok, *adat* has been strongly emphasized. Women representatives of a *nagari* are required to wear traditional dress. Men might be required to behave more 'traditionally.' As Joel Kahn stressed that the Minangkabau *adat* had been the discourse of the Dutch anthropologists and the Minangkabau middle class who supported the Dutch colonial policy in the early 20th century when the Minangkabau society had been very changed because of the colonial deprivation. Therefore it will be important what kind of *adat* will be 'created' along

with the process of *otonomie daerah*.

What can we expect in it from the viewpoint of gender and power? If the *desa* system were to be abolished in the whole West Sumatra, what would happen next in the PKK activities in case there will be no wife of a *desa* head? It is no wonder to hear that the *Dharma Wanita's* activities have been losing their power over the members.

Also, I am wondering what will happen to the Marriage Law itself. The Law basically reflected a victory of the Islamic groups over the radical women's movement groups, which brought a compromise between the military group and the civilian group of GOLKAR.¹⁹ I know some groups strongly call for the amendment of the Marriage Law nowadays. If the State Ideology of *Rumah Tangga* (Household) could be eliminated from the Marriage Law, what kind of Marriage Law might Indonesia have next? This will be one of the most basic question for the New Indonesia.

¹ The *Harian Haluan* circulates nearly 30,000 copies a day. Before Suharto stepped down there were only two newspaper in West Sumatra, however, we can read five or six newspapers, some of which are very radical, after Suharto's decline.

² My articles, 'Ethnicity and Religion in Suharto's New Order: Minangkabau Society under the Marriage Law of 1974,' in *Nation-State, Identity and Religion in Southeast Asia*, pp.25-54, ed. by Tsuneo Ayabe, Singapore Society of Asian Studies, Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 4, 1998, and 'State and Ethnicity in a Matrilineal Society in Indonesia-On the Discourse of the Minangkabau Family,' in *Ethnicity and States in Southeast Asia*, (In Japanese), Akashi Shoten Publishing LTD, Tokyo, 1996.

³ The Indonesian text: *Suami istri memikul kewajiban yang untuk mengadakan rumah tangga yang menjadi sendi dasar susunan masyarakat.*

⁴ The Indonesian text: *(1)Suami wajib melindungi isterinya dan memberikan segala sesuatu keperluan hidup berumah tangga sesuai dengan kemampuannya. (2)Isteri wajib mengatur urusan ruma-tangga sebaik-baiknya. (3)Jika suami atau isteri melalaikan kewajiban masing-masing dapat mengajukan kepada Pengadilan.*

⁵ Julia Suryakusma, 'The State and Sexuality in New Order Indonesia,' in Laurie J. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

⁶ Mohammad Hasbi, 'Intervensi Negara Terhadap Komunitas Nagari di Minangkabau,' in *Nagari, Desa Dan Pembangunan Pedesaan Di Sumatera Barat*, Yayasan Genta Budaya, 1990, p31.

⁷ My Article, 'Different Sexed Twins and Senior Women: the Concept of 'Person' in the Minangkabau Society,' (In Japanese), *Bulletin of Faculty of Liberal Arts*, Hosei University, No. 113 · 114, 2000. This article is based on my presentation in Genta Budaya on November 28, 1995. The title of my presentation was 'Anak Balam Sebagai Konsep Kunci "Person" dan "Gender" Minangkabau.' Not only among the audiences but also in the *Jurnal Kebudayaan*, I found some criticism to my thought. I found my presentation was not enough because I did not mention anything about samande relationship at the time. But their criticism was not directed to my thought, but they wanted to claim that the Minangkabau women were gender-free and the Minangkabau Society was democratic as well. I cannot accept these assumption about the Mininagkabau society. See, *Nagari, Demokrasi dan Perubahan, Jurnal Kebudayaan*, Nomor 3, 1996.

⁸ I will use the term family not as a nuclear family but as a small family with matrilineal orientation. No matter how the Minangkabau family looks like a nuclear family in which is living with the parents and their unmarried children, it is the daughters of the Minangkabau family who stay the house after getting married and succeed the father's property. Therefore we should not use the term a nuclear family to describe the Minangkabau small family.

⁹ Umar Junus, *Kaba Dan Sistem Sosial Minagkabau: Suatu Problem Sosiologi Sastra*, Balai Pustaka, pp.32-50, 1984.

¹⁰ Joel Kahn, *Constituting the Minangkabau: Peasants, Culture, and Modernity in Colonial Indonesia*, Berg, Providence/Oxford.1993.

¹¹ Umar Junus, *ibid*, p42.

¹² Nancy M. Tanner and Lynn L. Thomas, 'Rethinking Matriny: Decision-Making and Sex Roles in Minanngkabau,' in *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Histroical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, edited by Lynn Thomas and Frantz von Benda-Beckmann, Ohio University, 1978.

¹³ Joke van Reenen, *Central Pillars of the House: Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau*, West Sumatra, Research School CNWS, Leiden, 1996.

¹⁴ Evelyn Blackwood, 'Senior Women, Model Mothers, and Dutiful Wives:Managing Gender Contradictions in a Minangkabau Village,' in *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Politic in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ong and Peletz, University of California Press, 1995.

¹⁵ Taufic Abdullah, 'Some Notes on the Kaba Tyindua Mato:An Example of Minangkabau Traditional Literature,' in *INDONESIA*, 9, 1970.

¹⁶ *Singalang*, December 26, 1994.

¹⁷ Now I have been doing research on *tanah ulayat* issue in West Sumatra with some people in Andalas University and Padang State University.

¹⁸ Mochtar Naim, 'Nagari Versus Desa:Sebuah Kerancuan Struktural,' in *Nagari, Desa Dan Pembangunan Pedesaan Di Sumatera Barat*, Yayasan Genta Budaya, 1990,p49.

¹⁹ Leo Suryadinata, *Military Ascendancy and Political Culture: A Study of Indonesia's GOLKAR*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 1988(1992). Suryadinata says further that this is the result of compromise in which the civilian faction had to make a great concession to the military faction. Generally, when the interests of civilians in GOLKAR came into conflict with the military, the interests of the civilians were sacrificed.