

Toke: Rural Economic Institution in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: This study discussed toke as an economic institution in the village. Sociologically, toke is always studied through a patron-client approach that causes peasant households to always be in poverty. While the author's experience received social and economic support from toke. This is an ethnographic study, the researcher stayed with toke for more than a year. Researchers conducted engaged participation in all toke activities, observation of the entire area of Parit Baru village and in-depth interviews with selected informants. The study found that toke is a village economic institution that plays a role not only economically but also socially by ensuring the continuity of household consumption through debt. Toke requires 4 rounds of capital to stay on as a toke and always add clients through debt. If toke tidan is able to meet the demand for a loan of money from its client, then automatically the existing debt is considered to be paid off. This research contributes to rural socioeconomic studies, particularly to client patron theory. That the toke is not only a sucker for farmers but also as a guarantor of the slimness of household consumption.

INTRODUCTION

The strongest reason I did research on *toke* was, *first*, as a villager was supported by the toke institution. Toke was instrumental in ensuring my household consumption and financed family member to continue my education until undergraduate.

Second, the results of library studies since have encountered in campus libraries, online libraries and journals, the study of toke that only focus on the patron-client relationship approach, and put the village as a closed market unit, so that only toke can enter the larger market. In fact, my personal experience has been that I have benefited greatly from toke institution. Therefore, I did research on toke by anthropology.

In 2008 when I visited Parit Baru Village, I found Cu Deyen as a toke that was able to survive of the social change, while other tokes went bankrupt. Another reason, because the location of Parit Baru village can be reached 15 seconds from my home in Pekanbaru, making it easier for me to go down the field and go home when I need something. One of the important factors that causes the role of toke to be so important in the rural economy is because rural in Indonesia is still at the subsistence economic stage.

The concept of subsistence economy developed in Russia through the Russian economist Chayanov (1966) whom he called the microeconomic theory of households. Chayanov explained that subsistence economics is an economic activity that carries out *self-exploitation* with the intention of satisfying household needs with what domestic workers have without being paid. Subsistence economics according to Chayanov is described through the concept of *houses hold utility maximization*. This definition was also used by Scott (1966) that the subsistence economy as the maximum effort of the household to meet the minimum needs of the household. Likewise Ellis (1988) as stated in his book *Peasant Economics, Farm Households And Agrarian Development*. In the book Ellis lists five subsistence economic units, namely; *First*, economic activity is as a farmer; *Second*, land as an economic base; *third*, workers come from unpaid families; *Fourth*, capital, the amount of production is equal to consumption; and *the fifth* consumption is subsistence consumption. While Ever (1998) defines a subsistence economy as a direct relationship between production and consumption (production equals consumption) that is independent of the state's count, involving labor without paying in the household. The subsistence economy according to Ever (1991) has 2 variables, namely household units and community units. The two units have a very strong relationship in both the production and consumption processes. The household is a unit of production and consumption that is the main core of the economy, workers are family members without pay. In addition to being domestic workers, family members also become unpaid laborers in relationships with the community.

The core of the subsistence economy is debt intended for the fulfillment of shortages of primary consumption and mass costs. Production determined some of the required consumption.

FIELD RESEARCH

This study is an ethnographic in the village of Parit Baru. I lived in Parit Baru Kampar Regency, Riau Province from August 2012 to September 2013, in January 2022 I returned to Parit Baru to explore the data about toke in the village.

The research process went difficult because linguistically and culturally different from the language I used. Indeed, some people I already know well, because the working relationship includes with toke. But it is still necessary to carry out a deeper immerse process.

I really feel what James S Scott (2000) argues that ethnographic research is not an easy and simple matter, requiring a long time and time 24 hours a day. I am almost pessimistic to see the changes taking place in Parit Baru Village which in my opinion no longer allows toke to survive or act out the function of toke because toke has no land, the village is very open, residents are very critical and basic needs can be bought anywhere.

Basically, I already know the toke in Parit Baru Village, village officials and some residents who have interacted with me. But because the political conditions of the village are very dynamic, where the change of village head rolls quickly, so when I went to Parit Baru Village to start research, it turned out that the village head had changed.

The first thing I did was build a '*rapport*' proximity (Spradley, 1979; Chambers, 1983) and learning Kampar, going to mosques, participating in *yasinan* (read qur'an together) and various activities could bring me closer to them. The most important thing I told them, that I was learning about the village. To support my absorbency, I was assisted by recording tools, videos and other tools. To the informant I asked permission to record a conversation with them.

After September 2013 to January 2014 I went home to Pekanbaru every week, but every Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday I always in the village. Friday is the day of the market and toke sells rubber latex to the factory, Thursday and Saturday is the day of rubber latex sales to toke. Tuesday and Wednesday are slightly weighing days for toke to carry out other activities, while residents are days for extracting rubber and other agricultural activities. Until now I still communicate via cell phone to the residents for data update. In early January 2022, I again visited Parit Baru Village to explore data changes. But nothing has changed yet, only Toke Cu Deyen has passed away, the economic source of the village household has also changed from rubber to palm oil.

I write *fieldnotes* every day, after I write and then I also double-check the data. So the *fieldnotes* that I write, I print, and then I ask to be read or corrected, especially to toke and *datuk*¹ tribes and ex-head of village.

The key informan in this study is Toke Cu Deyen because of several considerations. *First*, the only toke in Parit Baru that can survive in the social of change. While the other five tokes are already bankrupt, there are indeed other tokes, but they do not fully perform the function of toke only as a collector; *Secondly*, I think Cu Deyen is a representation of toke in Indonesia in the face of the rapid flow of change, even though he did not finish school but was able to read the opportunities and enter the flow of change comfortably; *Third*, Cu Deyen's ability cannot be followed by other toke, so I think Cu Deyen's toke can be an inspiration for other toke in Indonesia. *Fourth*, consciously or not Cu Deyen has facilitated the peoples of Parit Baru Village to enter the culture of the city safely, through the function of banking broker, multinational products and, Cu Deyen plays a cultural broker.

Besides Cu Deyen, the other informants selected were one bankrupt toke, datuk tribes from the Piliang Tribe, Malay Tribe, Pitopang Tribe and Domo Tribe. Datuk this tribe was chosen because of its position in the social structure of the village, Datuk tribe plays a very important role. To interview the datuks of the tribe I was assisted by the son of toke Cu Deyen to meet the datuks. I also interviewed former village chiefs who were involved from the beginning of the formation of Parit Baru Village and at the same time partners toke. I interviewed informants based on age categories, namely young families aged between 25 – 40 years, consisting of women and men, young people under 25 years old, and over 40 years old. It also includes the client category. There are also two people who used to toke to Cu Deyen then moved and now go back to Toke to Cu Deyen. All informants interviewed in the interest of information about the toke and testing the correctness of the information obtained from the toke

Every day I'm with toke, if the toke has closed its tavern or has family business then I go around the village talking to the villagers about themselves, about the toke and about what they are going to do. I never did a formal interview with the toke or the public, but I still told you that the outcome of the conversation would be the subject of my writing. In addition, I have observed everything that is in motion – toke and residents. All my activities are recorded in voice recordings, and a small part I also record with a cell phone, where I am informed that the conversation I recorded, generally no one refuses to record the conversation. In the afternoon and evening, I sit around in a tavern selling fried bananas, satay and miso while discussing with residents and youth. After 10:00 p.m. I returned to my ride house, talking to the homeowner and writing a *fieldnote*.

¹ Informal leader

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STUDIES OF TOKE

The word toke or "tauke" is found in Indonesian dictionaries, but toke is interpreted simply as boss or superior. In everyday life² tokes are often also equated with middlemen, loan sharks and the like³. Toke is also often connoted as a Chinese merchant⁴ who gives debts to villagers and at the same time buys agricultural products or fisherman produced by villagers.

Toke is a socio-economic institution in the village that regulates the processes of production, distribution and consumption, where economic activity in the village is centered on toke. Toke is a village economic institution that runs a business as a merchant, toke sells daily necessities to the village community on a debt basis; as a collector, toke buys agricultural produce to sell to the market; And as a creditor, Toke lent money to the villagers. Toke is also a guarantor of the continuity of household consumption of farmers or fishermen in the rainy season or large sea waves.⁵

Toke is merchant in the village while acting as a charismatic figure having an obedient following because according to Emerson (1979) that relationships are built to strengthen cohesive bonds and social integration in the form of loyalty and honesty tied through debt. Toke's relationship with loyal and honest followers is known as the patron-client relationship.

Toke acts as a patron while the farmer he is in debt with is a client. As a patron,⁶ toke can freely determine the price in buying agricultural products and freely determine the selling price to farmers as consumers. Meanwhile, the client tries to fulfill his obligations by selling his agricultural production on toke, and buying the consumption needs of yes also on the toke by way of debt on the basis of trust and honesty.

The debt is the driving force of the toke that forms the patron-client structure and give status as a toke. Utang for toke is a binding transaction mechanism, the more households are in debt the greater the asset and the greater the profit. A toke is declared successful if there is more and more receivables to households in one village. Toke's ability to give debt to households is a guarantee that his business survives. If the toke can no longer give debts to households in the village, then the toke will automatically go bankrupt and the receivables cannot be collected.

Toke is not the same as loan sharks and middlemen, toke in the debt process does not recognize collateral, interest and maturity periods. Loan sharks and middlemen lending money require collateral, interest and debt maturity, such as the harvest season. The rice that is going to be harvested, the owner is lent money, the money is paid with the rice harvest at a price set unilaterally by the loan shark or middleman earlier.

Meanwhile, toke isa socioeconomic institution that ensures the continuity of consumption of fishermen who cannot work due to natural conditions, such as the high sea wave season and the rainy season, supporting the production process and distribution of household agricultural products. When the toke is unable to meet the needs of consumption and buy rubber of the citizen at the same time the debt is considered to be paid off.

Toke is also no longer synonymous with ethnic Chinese, indeed as the word toke is known and the perpetrator of toke is ethnic Chinese. A study conducted by Susan Mann (1984) found that in China the business patterns are exactly like the practices that are carried out by toke in Indonesia. However, in Indonesia, toke is no longer played by ethnic Chinese but is already a local population. Toke is already a rural economic institution that can be played by anyone and any ethnicity, which does not always name itself toke but is highly dependent on local idioms.

The toke referred to in this paper is a toke as a merchant, creditor and collector who actively acts as a small capitalist by collecting debt as his main business. The position of the toke controls economic resources and builds a wider market network. A person can only be called a toke if they get recognition from the village community as a toke and have a number of clients and not accomplices of a toke from outside the village. A toke should have a daily tavern where clients shop.⁷

² The word toke is taken from the pronunciation of the community which in the Big Indonesian Dictionary QT Media writes as Toke which defines Toke as an employer (who owns the company); Cekidot Bas (Head of Work). Read on Wikipedia, Id.Wikipedia in Indonesian.Org/Wikiv/Halaman_Utama, Chinese people translate Toke every day with the word Tuan. In the Indonesian dictionary, Toke is defined as an employer. Daryanto, 1998, Complete Dictionary of Indonesian, Surabaya Apollo.

³ Middleman and leech land be name other from loan shark that is Individual that give credit compass short, use guarantee Form thing that Value more big from the money that Loaned with flower relative tall see (<http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middleman>, Khudzaifah Dimiyati, 1997 and Ririn Darini (2007) see also reports in the media mass mention gecko same with Middleman leech land <http://jambi.tribunnews.com/2011/10/27/>; <http://bangka.tri-bunews.com/2012/01/12/>, <http://www.magazine.com>

⁴ Opinion that flower at community that gecko be merchant China, even Zamroni (2007) and Firth (1990) in a Palpable mention that gecko be merchant China.

⁵ Definition aforementioned Inspired by concept gecko that Delivered Shamsulbahri, (1996) at community fisherman at where gecko run Business Include merchant, Gatherer and Creditors.

⁶ At Village Ditch New, client called *anak semang*

⁷ Recognition of the Toke is not solely based on the assessment of the client but also on the assessment of the villagers as a Toke as a whole because the Toke has been doing business on its own responsibility for more than one year.

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Toke has long existed in Indonesia, it is even estimated that it has existed since ethnic Chinese migrated to the archipelago, therefore⁸ toke is almost found throughout Indonesia, especially in coastal areas and riverbank villages. Some researchers noted that in some villages in Indonesia there are exchange activities as befits toke di Pelawan Bengkulu Water Village is found called *pecinkau* which provides debt facilities and farmer coffee collectors (Tjahjono, 2001), in fishing villages of South Sulawesi and Kalimantan it is called *pongawa* as buyers and providers of debt for fishermen (Pelras, 1981; Purnamasari, 2002), in the fishermen villages of Pekalongan Central Java called *Cakong* (Wahyuningsih, 1997), in the fishing village of Jatimalang, Purwodadi Purwerejo called *Tungga* (Fitryah, 2006), in the fishing village of Kalibuntu Kraksaan Probolinggo called *pengambe*, (Martin & Melano, 2011). In the fishing village of Bajo Tanjung Pasir, Rote Island, East Nusa Tenggara is called *juragan* (Therik, 2008). In fishing villages and rubber farming in South Sumatra, Jambi, Riau Islands, and in Riau called *toke* (Syamsulbahri, 1996; Dirhamsyah, 2004; Joseph, 1994). In Malaysia it is called *toke* (Firth, 1990) and in China it is known by the name *yanang* where there is a common system that works patterned for the purposes of consumption and rural production (Susan Mann, 1984) exactly as toke does in Indonesia.

Research on toke has been carried out by many universities in Indonesia with a patron-client approach, especially in coastal villages, including villages on the coast with main jobs as fishermen and mainland villages in streams, whose main occupations are rubber farmers, coffee, oil palm and other perennials. Raymond Firth (1990) an anthropologist on the study of fishermen in Malaysia discusses the following toke briefly:

'.... This toke moves in a variety of ways. He gives down payment or foodstuffs such as rice and cloth clothes to fishermen in the catch season or in times of insufficient yield, namely as a guarantee of future catches. He borrowed money to buy a boat and instead he supplied fishing gear without more price. Instead of a toke making a contract with the fisherman: the toke will buy fish at a mutually agreed price or a price determined by the toke which is always below the market price level. In this connection the role of the toke is important. It bears a large part of the market risk. He gave liquid capital to the fisherman i.e. the means of goods and he saved the fisherman from looking for buyers.....' (Raymond Firth, 1990)

Purwadi Eka Tjahjono (2001) conducted research on the Semendo Lembak Ethnic Group in Palawan Air Village, South Kaur District, South Bengkulu Regency, finding *pencinkau* which acts as a *pencinkau toke* is a patron for coffee farmers in Pelawan Air Village, as a place for farmers to owe basic necessities, and borrow money and sell coffee crops at prices determined unilaterally by *pecinkau*.

Cristian Pelras (2000) conducted research in Makasar to find patterns of *pongawa* – *sawi* relationships in economics. Economic relations in South Sulawesi are built on the basis of patron relationships - clients are played by *pongawa* as a patron while *mustard* is a client, or fisherman. The function of *pongawa* is described as collecting fishermen's catches, as traders selling basic necessities to fishermen in debt and creditors in the form of cash, as well as buying fishermen's fish at prices determined unilaterally by *pongawa*.

Sudarmono, et. all (2012) in his article *Patron-Client Relationship of Urbanized Fishing Communities in Makassar*, examined *mustard* retainers in the urbanization process in Makasar. The study found that changes did not affect the *pongawa*-*mustard* relationship, even *pongawa* was a middle person that paved the way for *mustard* to interact with outsiders.

Purnamasari, et. all (2002) in their research on "Pongawa Production Relationship Patterns - Farmers in Babulu Laut fishing village, Babulu District, Pasir Regency, East Kalimantan" revealed that *pongawa* and farmers in reality have a vertical patterned relationship. The position of the *pongawa* (especially the large *pongawa* who is also an owner's farmer) is in the upper layer, then the owner farmer and the trapping farmer are in the lower layer.

Pongawa is tied to the owner farmers who borrow capital and the trapping farmers who manage the pond land. *Pongawa* – *sawi* interaction in the form of an exchange mechanism through a certain amount of value for money. Capital loans for pond businesses from *pongawa* are reciprocated by the owner farmer by selling the proceeds of his plantation to *pongawa* who provides loans at a predetermined price *pongawa* unilaterally. The factors that encourage farmers to be tied to *pongawa* are lack of capital and raw material needs, so farmers have no choice in selling their farm products. However, the exchange, which seems to be the more dominant economic element, actually contains an auxiliary element.

Muhammad Chozin, (2008) in his article *Illegal but Common: Life of Blast Fishermen in the Spermonde Archipelago, South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, revealed that the act of catching fish using bombs is a series of actions involving *fiancées*, *pabalang* (fish brokers), fish traders, fish industry, fish exporters and suppliers of explosives. The series of involvement of various parties and fish bombing activities can occur due to the strong patron-client relationship. Clients who are in debt with patrons and are heavily

⁸Liang Liji (20120) Reveal that By excavation things era ancient at China, relationship China with Archipelago already last since 3000 – 4000 year that then. Joseph (1994) Reveal that relationship *gecko* with fisherman in Riau already last since era Invaders Dutch.

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dependent on the juragan cause fishermen to have no choice but to bomb the fish as the patron wants. It is not even just patrons and clients but also involves the fishing industry.

Wilson Therik, (2008) in his article "Fishermen in the Shadow of Juragan: A Portrait of the Life of Traditional Bajo Fishermen in Tanjung Pasir, Rote Island, East Nusa Tenggara" found that fishermen's dependence on juragan is due to debt. Juragan encourages residents to shop for what they don't need to increase the amount of debt. In bajo fisherman's house that is shabby and dirty, there is a 24" television, parabolic antenna, tape, radio, CD, VCD, DVD player, playstation, active speakers and a set of sofa chairs as well as several calligraphy paintings with Islamic nuances.

The study of toke in the Riau Islands was conducted by Yusmar Yusuf (1994), the focus of the study was intercultural relations, namely the relationship between ethnic Chinese and Malays. This research found that the relationship between ethnic Chinese and Malays has been going on since colonial times and continues to this day. The relationship between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Malays is bound by patron-client relations, patrons come from ethnic Chinese called toke while clients are ethnic Malays who are fishermen. Toke is also an extension of the big toke in Singapore.

The relationships built by Toke on fishermen are exploitative without being noticed by fishermen. Models of exploitation carried out by toke such as weighing in the middle of the sea which usually occurs weight reduction of up to five kilo grams every time the weighed because it is weighed hastily. As well as the debt system that causes fishermen to be tied to a price determined unilaterally by toke Toke makes tactical adaptations by giving red envelopes (ang pau) in it containing money on Chinese holidays and Eid al-Fitr.

Syamsulbahri (1996) conducted the study "Fishermen and Poverty; A Study on the Pattern of Patron-Client Relations in Riau, precisely in the Village of Mantang Baru, Riau Islands" found that the exchange of goods in the production process is widespread in various social interests. Production process activities include toke as fishermen, traders, collectors and creditors. Through debt, toke cements fishermen's dependence, by buying latex below market prices. Toke not only monopolizes one type of business but also combines four businesses at once by relying on a patron-client relationship. Toke does not allow fishermen to sell their catch to other parties, if it is known that the employment relationship is terminated, if there is a termination of the fisherman's relationship by the toke then the fisherman has difficulty getting a replacement toke.

According to Syamsulbahri (1996), toke makes debt a mechanism for obtaining and profiting. All fishermen obtain production assets by way of credit from toke charged 10% interest every month. In addition, the toke also provides cost and working capital loans without interest, as a consequence of such interest-free borrowing the toke buys fish at a price lower than 10% of the market price and is not counted as a debt installment. The position of fishermen remains weak because fishery facilities and infrastructure and various necessities of life are monopolized by toke

Dirhamsyah (2004) conducted a study of coral reef regulation policies in Selayar Village, Numbuh Kepulauan District, Riau. This research found that toke plays an important role in the fisherman's economy. Toke is seen as a patron of the fishermen's economy that directs for generations, thus forming a cultural system better known as the patron-client relationship culture. Toke takes advantage of the wave and strong wind season where clients can't go to sea so they have to owe toke

According to Dirhamsyah, toke takes advantage through four ways, first, subsistence transactions, namely shopping for daily necessities, second, from fish transactions, which are priced far below the market price, third, deceiving the weight scales of fishermen's fish, fourth, peddling luxury goods that fishermen do not need. Toke, in addition to exploiting fishermen, also protects fishermen when fishermen cannot produce and gives gifts during Eid, Chinese New Year and other big days.

Research on oil palm and rubber plantations conducted by Titik Sumarti (2007) in Indra Giri Hilir Riau found that there was an increase in poverty in oil palm farmers, because the pattern of controlling assets and capital entirely in the hands of toke Toke acted as a patron to determine prices in a lonely manner because farmers were bound by debt so that farmers were very dependent on toke and became poorer.

A similar study was also conducted by Kurniawan et. al (2012) on "The Pattern of Cooperation Between Rubber Farmers and Toke (Patron-Client) in Muara Musu village, Rambah Hilir District, Rokan Hulu Regency" This research found that the patron-client relationship with rubber farmers to cause rubber farmers cannot be separated from dependence on toke. Rubber farmers are bound by debt which has never been paid off, and the price of rubber is unilaterally determined by toke.

In addition to toke always being meticulous using patron-client relationships, other studies have also understood toke as a trade capitalist or a small capitalist. Sudarmono, et al (2012) revealed that the ponggawa-sawi relationship entered the realm of the urbanization process. Mustard cannot move to urban areas due to limited access, and resources, but mustard can move to cities while still relying on ponggawa even though the patron-client relationship has not changed.

Wigna, at all (2012) who researched the local capitalism of the Bajo Tribe. Wianti describes the Bajo tribal society as changing from a subsistence to a capitalist economy. Bajo people who turned into village capitalists because of the influence of interactions

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with outsiders of the village. Long before Joel S. Khan (1980) researched blacksmiths in Pariaman West Sumatra, about how the blacksmiths connected to a larger market. Benjamin Kojo Otoo (2012) conducted a study in Ghana, discussing female petty traders in Ghana.

Zawawi Ibrahim (1983) that the entry of capitalism into the village through trade capitalists. Capitalists buy farmers' produce cheaply and sell industrial production at high prices. Toke acted as a merchant, buying the latex and palm oil of the citizens and selling the capitalist production of the industry in the village relying on patron-client relations.⁹

Small capitalists are individual or household enterprises that have few workers and whose owners are directly involved as workers. This interpretation gives a very wide space to all small businesses to be able to enter as small capitalists, especially toke. This definition is not tied to an economic explanation that assesses a business based on turnover and labor, but on the process of the business being carried out. Therefore, Alan Smart & Josephine Smart (2005), includes family businesses such as street vendors, small producers and subsistence manufacturers.

C.K. Prahalad (2004) argues that multi-national should see the poor and isolated rural communities as important consumers for multi-national production, in my opinion, ¹⁰toke can play a role as the distribution of their production. The poor also want to have access to multinational products. It is important to create the ability to consume, with different access patterns, and create small unit packages. So that multinational products can be enjoyed by the poor even though they are low in purchasing power. Toke takes on the role of opening access to multinational products to remote villages.

The power of capitalism drives the form of a world network known as globalization. Globalization then builds networks through production systems, as stated by Philip Mc Michael (1996) with commodity chains. Companies in central countries, such as Japan, the United States and others, form branch installation plants in Indonesia or in Malaysia or through the expansion of MNC (Multi National Corporation) and TNC (Transnational Corporation). The MNC and TNC produce locally and use local labor. Immanuel Wallerstein (1984) reveals that the world is now connected by a global network of labor production, so that households in villages are already part of the labor production network for capitalism.

Rosen (1975) argues that globalization can easily enter the village because the activities of rural communities are very broad, they can never live alone, are interdependent societies with urban infrastructure, government, and global markets. It is evident, as Timothy P Barnard (1998) finds that villages in Riau have been connected for a long time to the global market through perennial farming; rubber, gambier, logs and others. The production of rubber, logs and spices produced by households is distributed through toke and then enters the market through Singapore.

Toke is also interested in growing the consumer society to maintain and increase its business turnover. The flourishing culture of consumerism in the village is an opportunity to increase the number of ¹¹ clients. If the client increases, it means that the amount of debt increases and the amount who spends also increases. For toke, the flourishing culture of consumerism in the village makes it easier for toke to market capitalist products in the village. Without a consumer society the products produced by capitalists do not sell.¹² Toke easily encourages consumerism in the village through debt mechanisms, through debt citizens can buy any product through toke. The task of toke is to make the things it sells a sign of certain identity values.

TOKE BUSINESS PATTERNS

Toke plays a dominant role in controlling economic and social resources. Toke is the only access for residents to sell rubber sap, palm oil and catches and buy basic necessities, residents can access out of the village only by river. The relationship built is vertical where the client is required to be obedient, honest and loyal to the toke. The position of the toke is like this because the villagers, especially the client have no choice to be able to avoid the toke *pola lama*. Toke can be seen in the following scheme:

Schema 1 describes the toke relationship with the client as a vertical one. Toke is in a central position and connects to clients through debt. Isolated clients do not have access, the only access door to economic and social resources through toke. Toke controls economic resources and can access easily to markets, factories and large tokes. The strategic position of the toke gives

⁹ Toke be reflection integration at network Global through relationship interchangeability or The market that not fair.

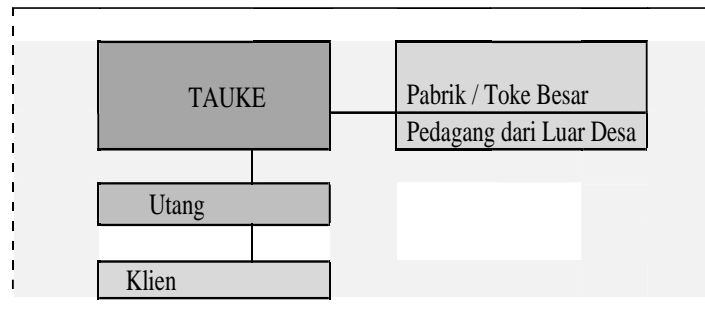
¹⁰ Prahalad (2004) offer concept capitalism Total through Approach *Bottom of The Pyramid* (BOP), that is build basis pyramid as manner wipe poverty. *First*, Change community poor become user. *Second* BOP as market and must give chance growth new for sector private and become Forum to innovation. *Third*, BOB markets must become part important from private.

¹¹ Attitude Consumerist as expressed Mowen (1998) as attitude without each other base planning but act in an emotional to gratification desire because interest or above basis Other.

¹² Learn from the experience of the Bajo tribe (Wianti, et al, 2012) that Consumerist that be-so Supported by possession television by the Bajo people in Village Bajo Mola, with Impressions Television that then provided example other from Consumerism. Fact, appropriate with change that happen at community in the region mountains Tengger. Hefner (1999) mention that Spread television at area slope mountains Tengger already Provides example other from challenge to receive Norms consumption.

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the toke the right to unilaterally determine the price. Toke takes the initiative to increase client debt day by day, thus creating dependence on toke



Sumber : Diolah dari hasil lapangan,2013

Scheme 1. Toke and Client Relationship Patterns

Toke only bind the client through debt only on the one that the toke trusts. The trust gained from the toke is because it has its own rubber plantation or take latex the toke rubber farm, as well as not selling rubber latex to other tokes. The compensation from the trust of the toke is that the client gets a guaranteed consumption, can go into debt even though he is unable to produce. To maintain such trust, the client must maximally demonstrate obedience and honesty to the toke.

The position of the toke relates to the balance of production and consumption. When there is no production or production is running low, household consumption is not disrupted and remains fulfilled normally because they are given debt by toke. Households Residents who are in debt are clients who are required to sell rubber latex or palm oil on toke. The function of the balance of production and consumption takes place continuously due to some social, economic and ecological conditions as follows; *First*, natural conditions. During the year, there are two seasons, the rainy season and the dry season. In the rainy season farmers can not depress rubber sap. Rubber trees cannot be tapped because the latex that comes out of the pohan bark is mixed with water, the latex cannot be frozen and cannot be sold, so it is useless if the rubber is tapped. In addition, tapping rubber trees during rains, causes rubber trees to die quickly, because the wounds from the diteres are slow to close the rubber trunks, making it easier for beetles to nest. If the rubber tree has already been hollowed out by beetles and a lot of mold grows, then the latex decreases and soon dies.¹³

The production activities of residents in the rainy season are fishing, collecting firewood, and farming, to grow rice or other hard tamaman. After the oil palm entered the village in 2002, every rainy season residents went to the oil palm plantation, cleaned the plantation, fertilized and harvested, the residents started harvesting oil palm in 2007. In the dry season, the main activity of residents is to depress rubber latex, after returning from rattling rubber latex then continued by clearing land. Hasil latex sold to toke is mostly used to pay off debts. Prior to 2005, each weighing was directly paid to debt, for daily needs and cash needs, clients borrowed to toke The average client owes a monthly debt of Rp.200,000 to Rp.5,000,000,- accumulatively.

Second, residents do not have their own plantations. In young couples and poor people who do not yet have their own latex plantations their source of production is rattling rubber plantations owned by toke. Generally, toke has a large rubber plantation, which is sorted out by clients who do not have a plantation, done with a profit-sharing system. Residents who depress toke's rubber plantation, are provided with daily household needs for a week or even a month through debt first. At the time of weighing, the peneres got 2/3 and the toke got 1/3 of the results obtained. Toke determines the price unilaterally, the result of weighing directly¹⁴ to pay the debt and re-indebtedness for daily needs on the toke.

Third, the needs of celebrations and schoolchildren. At the time of religious celebrations, marriage traditions, and death traditions. The traditions of celebration in the village include, religious traditions such as *belimau kasai* before the entry of the month of Ramadan, the month of Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, fasting six, hajj, one Muharam, and other religious events. Marriage traditions, including weddings, seven months, births, naming, circumcision and devotion. Death traditions, including burial, tahlilan from the first to the third day, the seventh day, 100 days and others. Traditional traditions, such as traditional feasts, datuk appointments and others. Residents sold plantations and land for celebration expenses, shortfalls in the cost of going¹⁵ into

¹³Season dry season at Ditch New Isn't dry season Long because deep Month still exist rain, very or two river keep at season Rainy, deep Month certainly exist day that not go down rain.

¹⁴Officially the profit sharing system is 2/3 for drawer, 1/3 for Toke. Because rubber latex is purchased at a price far below the market price, while daily necessities are priced much higher than the market price.

¹⁵Fast that Done six day after Eid.

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debt to toke and extended family assistance. For example, the need to go to hajj is 60 million rupiah, after the land is sold is still less than 10 million rupiah, borrowing to a toke 5 million rupiah shortfall of 5 million rupiah is assisted by his extended family.

The above three conditions make the toke in the village very important, acting as the main buffer of the household economy in the village, which is not just a general trader but is already a village economic institution. Toke must be in the village, without rubber latex toke cannot be sold because there are no other traders besides toke because the village is still isolated and can only be connected by river to other villages. In addition, without toke residents will starve during the rainy season because there is no place for debt for daily consumption. As Markib points out below;¹⁶

"Toke is very important to the village, there is no toke who will buy the latex of the people. Where can people go into debt, can starve people. Therefore, the village protects the toke from the outside so that the toke can survive" (Interview with, Markib, Former Secretary and Kades, 2013)

The village provides protection to the toke, ensuring that there are no tokes from outside selling in the village. If the toke in the village goes all bankrupt, it makes it difficult for residents to leave the village to sell latex and shop for daily necessities.

Among the tokes, they also understand that toke outside the village cannot buy latex outside the village, and vice versa, only people from their village can become toke in the village. To be able to buy latex or palm oil outside the operational village, the toke must have a toke foot, but rubber or palm oil farmers can sell latex or palm fruit to toke¹⁷ outside the village. Village officials are responsible for directly supervising the implementation of the unwritten rules.¹⁸

TOKE CAPITAL

Becoming a toke is not an easy thing because it requires a large amount of capital and a large rubber plantation land. The rubber plantation is where clients tap latex with a profit-sharing system or motor boats for fishermen. Toke must have a daily shop or shop to supply the client's daily basic needs. The most important thing for a toke is that it must have strong capital, because it must be able to lend cash to the client whenever necessary.

As a result of my observations, become toke must provide capital at least four times, *first*, the capital to buy sap. In large toke rubber latex feeding takes place every day, solid days of weighing are carried out twice a week, namely Thursday and Saturday. On Thursday weighing is done to shop at the village market every Friday, while Saturday is for children who go to school to Pekanbaru. Toke sells its rubber latex to the factory on Fridays and Sundays if the latex is sufficient. If there are Tuesday to Thursday the amount of weighing is large, while there is not enough quota, then the toke will sell the latex to other toke who come to his shop looking for rubber latex.

Prior to 2005 all latex weighed in toke was intended to pay debts. If at the time of weighing the latex sold exceeds the value of the debt the money is paid in cash. For the daily needs of the client returning to debt and if there is another cash need the client borrows money to the toke. The cash supply must be available at all times, because the client borrows money at a moment's notice, if it is not met the client will borrow to another toke, if the client borrows money at that very moment, if it is not met the client will borrow to another toke, if the client borrowing to another toke then triggers the client's move to another toke who can provide cash loans at any time necessary;

Second, capital to carry out daily needs and other needs. Every week toke goes shopping to fill the needs of his shop. In addition to shopping outside the village, toke also buys from merchants who come. The toke shop should always be available for the goods of its clients as it is part of the addition of debt and additional profits that are multiplied. Toke, for example, every week must provide a minimum of 30 million rupiah to shop to fill his shop. If the toke does not provide the client's shopping necessities, then the client shops to another store which triggers the client's move to another toke. Special shopping is done toke during Eid to give Eid gifts to all its clients. ;

Third, capital to loans cash. Cash loans are interest-free debts, with no return limits. The need for cash must be available at all times, because from the client borrows money suddenly without prior notice. In addition, clients borrow money based on a certain period, for example during Eid, the beginning of the new school year and the rainy season. In that period toke had to provide special money to make loans to his clients;

Fourth, round capital for shopping and buying the next sap. The money lent to the client is uncertain when it will be returned, as the client borrows to the toke unsecured, indefinitely and without being billable. Therefore, the toke must have cash for the

¹⁶Without three condition at above, so Estimated role and function gecko will Reduced.

¹⁷Foot Toke exist just people who Appointed by toke to do transaction at outside village gecko

¹⁸Interview with Markib, former Village Secretary and Village Head, his opinion is not always true because I met three families who Toke to Tanjung Kudu Village.

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capital round of expenditure and purchase the following latex when the transaction to the large toke or to the factory is delayed because the amount of rubber latex has not reached the quota;

The turnover of money largely depends on the quantity of rubber latex collected. Rubber latex is sold to the factory if the quota of at least one *pick up car* is full. The slower the full *pick up car*, the longer the latex is sold to the factory, the longer the turnover of money back into cash. For toke that has many clients, the turnover of money is also very fast, every day rubber latex weighing can be directly sold to the factory. Toke sells rubber latex to factories at least twice a week, sometimes even up to four times a week. The more often the toke sells latex to the plant, the faster the turnover of money and the greater the profit. If the amount of latex is insufficient for the quota of one *pick up car*, it is common for the toke to sell the latex to another toke so that the scale reduction is not too much and cash is immediately available to buy the client's latex .

The following scheme illustrates that toke requires capital and clients to develop a business, the capital is able to multiply the client so as not to go bankrupt. If you don't have capital, you can't have clients, if you have capital but don't have many clients, then toke is also bankrupt. Therefore, the toke must have two components of capital and client. Capital should always be available, clients should always be growing. Toke not only has capital, but must be able to keep existing clients from moving to another toke.

Capital factors and the number of clients are the main determinants of whether a toke can survive or not. If capital is not available, the number of clients is certainly limited, if clients are limited, of course, the sale of latex to the factory is also limited, then the turnover of capital and profits is also limited. If capital is limited and profits are limited then the supply of capital to lend to clients is also limited. Meanwhile, the main factor for clients to survive and increase is the availability of cash every time they are needed. If it fails to provide cash to the client, it is certain that the client moves to another toke, while the receivables cannot be collected, then the history is that the toke is bankrupt.

TAUKE PROFIT MECHANISM

The core of the toke business is debt, debt for toke is a binding transaction mechanism. Through debt, the client is obliged to sell latex to the toke at a price lower than the market price. Through debt toke mastered the marketing of rubber latex in the village. The more households owe the greater the assets and the greater the profit for the toke. A toke is declared successful if more and more clients are in debt. Toke's ability to give debt to households, became the guarantee of his business survival. Toke continuously increases the number of citizens who are in debt, increases the value of the debt and does not want clients to pay off their debts. If the client pays off the debt on the toke then the toke no longer has binding rights to that client. Therefore, toke always takes the initiative to increase client debt to maintain and strengthen dependence.

Upliers are a toke mechanism for reaping profits. Through debt toke profit in the following way; *First*, the price difference. Debt makes toke can monopolize the price, monopoly of the purchase price of rubber latex, palm oil and selling daily basic necessities. Toke determines the price not based on the price circulating in the market. But based on the client's debt load. The more debt, the more toke tends to buy the client's rubber latex at a lower price. The low price also applies to clients who tap rubber toke. Debt-bound clients do not have the option of where to sell because they have to sell and buy on the toke at the price set by the toke

Second, quality categorization, each rubber latex is paid for based on the quality of the latex and fruit of the palm. To get the advantage of ¹⁹ toke categorizing the quality of rubber latex, the good quality category has the highest price, the medium quality category has a lower price while the bad or reject quality category means that the latex does not sell.²⁰

To get a large profit difference, toke never sets the best latex quality but tends to set medium quality, so the price of buying latex is low. It is not uncommon for toke to easily determine the quality of bad latex for some reason, which causes the latex to be reject. Against the latex that is reject, clients usually continue to sell the latex to toke at a very low price. At this time, the toke no longer enforces sap. All saps are weighed and calculated according to the category, for latex that is bad the reduction in scales is enlarged, for example 5:10, every ten kilos assessed only five (5) kilos. To indicate that the latex being weighed is of good quality, it can be seen that at the time of payment, the owner of the quality latex gets additional money given behind closed doors with a value of Rp.100,000.- up to Rp.200,000, - based on the amount and least latex weighed.

¹⁹Good quality category if the latex has been stored for a long time, little air and not mixed with rubber tree bark. Medium quality category if the water content is more than good category. The category of poor quality is if the new Rattling rubber latex is immediately sold, it contains rubber tree bark and contains a lot of air.

²⁰Toke tends to look for reasons to assign medium quality rubber to the category of rejects, thereby keeping prices down. Meanwhile, those who refused were only paid rudimentary, because it was impossible for the client to withdraw the rubber latex from being sold to another toke other.

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Third, depreciation reduction. In addition to categorization, there is also still a reduction of 1:10, that is, each scale of 10 kilos is removed one kilo for the good category, and 2:10 to 3: 10 for the medium and even ugly rubber latex categories for the latex is calculated at 5: 10. This reduction in depreciation, understood by the client as something to do, since the time distance weighs with the selling distance. By the time the toke sells to the factory, the latex sold by the client is already depreciating due to the release of water from inside the sap, which reduces the weight of the sap.

For example, Cu Deyen's toke weighs latex on Tuesday, if on Wednesday the next day the quantity of latex is insufficient for the quota of one *pick-up* car to be sold at the factory, then Cu Deyen contacts the toke from another village to sell it. If there is a price agreement, Cu Deyen's toke immediately sells the sap. The quantity of the weight of the scales on Tuesday was 1,200 kilos, purchased at a price of Rp.11,000 per kilo gram with a capital of Rp. 13,200,00,- on Wednesday the quantity of the weight of the scales was reduced to 1,123 kilograms, and sold at a price of Rp.12,500,- per kilo gram, the total price of Rp.14,037,500,- there was a profit of Rp.1,037,500,-. Whereas if it is sold to another toke on the same day and the same time without depreciation all are sold with a value of Rp.15,000,000,- with a profit of Rp.2,000,000,- but because there is a difference of one day the profit is reduced to Rp.1000,000,- Therefore, Cu Deyen's toke does not want to keep the latex for too long in the shelter.

Fourth, technical weighing. Toke also takes advantage of the scale limit, the width of which the actual weighing stone reaches a distance of five (5) fingers. Whenever the weigher should be the weighing stone only to the last number before the end of the scale, the position of the stone is inside of the scale boundary. In reality, the toke always puts the weighing stone to the end of the scale so that the toke gets a large difference of almost one (1) kilo every time it rises the scale.

The client did not protest against the toke's actions, because according to the client, when the toke sold to the factory, the toke also received the same treatment, even the whole latex was split to detect the moisture content, and the bark of the rubber tree inside. In the Factory, the latex that goes into the scales is split into six pieces, after which it is freshly weighed. This action is done to avoid a lot of rubber skin in the latex and reduce the amount of water in the sap. Along with the cutting of such sap, the quality of the latex is also determined, the quality is good, medium or reject

Toke can only treat this set of profit mechanisms pada who are in debt. Without debt toke can not enforce these four sources of profit easily. Non-debt-bound citizens can sell latex freely and act critically against the toke's profit mechanism and only sell rubber on toke who buy rubber latex at a higher price. Therefore, debt for toke is very important, through the toke debt device creates client dependence.

In addition, social benefits are obtained by toke through social security, toke is seen by clients as someone who is meritorious because it can ensure the continuity of household consumption, especially in the rainy season, dry season, fasting and Eid. For these "good services" toke has a loyal and honest following. For residents to become clients also get social benefits because debt is a sign that the household in question has received recognition and trust from the toke.

CONCLUSION

Theoretically, the results of this research contribute very significantly to the patron-client relationship theory developed by Scott (1972). Scott sees a personal client relationship that is reciprocally intertwined between two or more people who have differences in social and economic status. The two established a relationship specially. Higher social status acts as a patron who provides protection and benefits to the party whose social status is lower called the client.

The study found that client patron relationships are not just limited to personal relationships between two or more parties but rather a socioeconomic institution that produces the economic culture of society. Patrons not only involve power relations due to class differences, but are already a culture that involves social status in society. A person becomes a client not solely because of his lower socioeconomic status, but because of the choice of social status.

Toke, which acts as a patron, is a village socioeconomic institution that forms a socio-economic institution as a social security for the survival of households when they do not produce because of nature, disasters and mass production needs. The social security function of this toke exceeds that of the government's social networking program.

This study makes patron-client theory very cultural so that it strengthens the study of anthropology to be present in the study of village economics through a patron-client approach. This study also further strengthens the network approach in anthropology which was previously the preferred approach to studying complex societies.

Theoretical application to the development of anthropological theory is *first*, the development of rural economic theory. Rural economics can not only be analyzed with a *household utility maximization* approach, namely the economic subsistent activity of Chayanove (1991) and labor *consume balance* from Frank Ellis (1988), but the village is studied with institutional approach to rural economics.

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In addition, national companies engaged in credit services need to benefit from the results of this study, including the certainty of payment of goods and money loans in the village. Through this research, it was revealed that billing services can systematically be transferred to toke as an economic institution in the village. This study provides an overview of the efficiency steps that companies can take because they do not need to pay for installment collection and collection services.

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Map : Riau Province



Source: BPS Riau 2014



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