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Literary infrastructure in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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**LITERARY INFRASTRUCTURE
IN WEST SUMATRA, INDONESIA**

LITERARY INFRASTRUCTURE IN WEST SUMATRA, INDONESIA

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de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
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INTRODUCTION

A PROMINENT West Sumatran author, A.A. Navis, published an innovative book in 1997 titled *Geo Sastra dan Seni Minang Kabau*. This book opened up a new discourse on the Minang arts and 'literary geography'. The book was published as part of the supporting promotion of the prominent literary event for writers, critics, and academics, in some Southeast Asian Malay speaking countries, namely *Pertemuan Sastrawan Nusantara IX*¹ and *Pertemuan Sastrawan Indonesia*² located mainly in the historic Indonesische Nederlands School (INS, founded by M. Sjafei in 31 October 1926) in Kayu Tanam, West Sumatra, on 6-11 December 1997.

It is stated in the foreword that "the choice of West Sumatra as the place of the event is based on its potential as a *warehouse* of artists, while this land is well-known under the name of Minangkabau also possesses a long history, unique culture, and beautiful nature (Navis, 1997:1, emphasis in the original)."³ The word "warehouse" is used metaphorically to underline West Sumatra as a home for a significant number of artists, and as a place where many prominent Indonesian authors come from. Navis provided maps and a list of the 300 artists -half of whom are writers - with brief sketches on their biographies and works.

The information on the West Sumatran authors, as well as the choice of West Sumatra as the host of the literary festival as mentioned by Navis demonstrates the importance of West Sumatran authors and the literary dynamics of the province. The book strengthens the idea that West Sumatra holds a particularly strong position in Malay literary cultures. As I will show in discussion on the publishing houses in West Sumatra, the distribution of the published literary works in the province reached audiences outside the island of Sumatra and Indonesia, primarily in neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. This scope of readership is

¹ Nusantara literary meeting IX

² Indonesian literary meeting

³ *Pemilihan Sumatera Barat menjadi tempat acara tersebut didasarkan kepada potensinya sebagai gudang para seniman, di samping juga negeri yang dikenal dengan nama Minangkabau ini mempunyai sejarah panjang, budaya yang unik dan alam yang permai.*

based on the literary infrastructure of the province. In order to come to the assumed position, there must be a set of facilities that could be called infrastructural that assist the literary life in the province. The infrastructural components that play significant roles include a diversity of publishers, literary communities, bookstores, and support from government agencies and patrons. This study aims to explore the roles and involvement of these components in the West Sumatran literary life.

Research Question

The primary research question which is examined in this thesis is: what is the literary infrastructure in West Sumatra, what are its roles with regard to literature, and what kind of literary practices does it facilitate? Literature, in this study, refers not only to written works or spoken materials, but also includes its related supporting processes, activities, programmes, institutions, agents and stakeholders that contribute to the presence of the literary works. These literature-related components build a system that enables the production process of work as a whole.

This study focuses on the infrastructural components that play important roles in the practice of Indonesian literature in West Sumatra, a province located in Sumatra Island. In this thesis, I will use the term 'literary infrastructure' to designate the components that work or contribute to the literary field, which will be explored in the following sections. In the studies of cultures, infrastructure refers to the components - both people and what people make or do that support the operation and movement of a system. Larkin (2013:329) has explained from an anthropological view that in the study of culture, "[Our] study of infrastructure might thus center on built things, knowledge things, or people things." This statement provides an opportunity to explore whether the infrastructure can also be conceptualised in the operation of literary life in a certain place. Departing from Larkin's idea, in this thesis I focus on several components namely the publisher, literary community, bookstore, and institution (government and private organisation and individual act as a patron). These components, in my opinion, include the three (built, knowledge, and people) things in their forms and activities. In this study I discuss four elements of literary infrastructure. These are (1) publishing houses, (2) literary communities, (3) bookstores and (4) government and private institutions.

Literary Infrastructure

Infrastructure is the underlying base or foundation and basic facilities, services and installation needed for the functioning of an enterprise or society.⁴ It is used in various fields such as engineering, tourism, economics, and human geography. The use of the term infrastructure to refer to functional aspects of literature is relatively uncommon. The term and components of the literary infrastructure may be described differently. For instance, research on the literary infrastructure in Australia shows that the term of infrastructure in literature includes, for examples, the organisations or association within literary sector that actively support writers and their works, such as the Australian Society of Authors, state writers' centres, Varuna – the writers' centre, literary journals, writers' festivals and genre-based organisation (Ommundsen and Jacklin, 2008: 9). Gisele Sapiro (2016) explains that historically the French literary development, in particular the improvement of writers and publishers she called as “professional development”, is supported by the establishment of the literary institutions and events. She specifically looks at the roles of the French Academy which is given a mandate from the state to manage the literary production, the societies of writers and publishers which encourage literary professions, literary journals which disseminate the literary studies from academic disciplines and which are free from market pressures, the literary festivals and translations activities which provide forums for sharing and disseminating the French literature to a wider public.

The Booker Prize, as has been studied by Childress, Rawlings, and Moeran (2016), as an important cultural institution for measuring achievement of literary works in, or translated into, English. It is also supported by the prestige of the evaluation and criteria employed by the prize committee. The Booker Prize is an example of literary events and at the same time literary institutions that has an influential position in literature worldwide.

In this thesis, I investigate literary infrastructure in West Sumatra to understand the literary structure and practice in West Sumatra. The term literary field in this study refers to the whole of literary activities, practices, and productions done by such agents as writers, government, publishers, critics, patrons, and many others, in which they are all trying

⁴ See, for example, the meaning of the word infrastructure in *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (Judy Pearsall and Bill Trumble (eds.), 1995: 724)

to dominate (influence or involve) each other in the field of literature not only politically, culturally, but also economically (see Bourdieu, 1996: 214-223). My research on West Sumatra relates to the similar work done elsewhere by Sappiro (2016) and Childress, Rawlings, and Moeran (2016).

Previous Studies

Certain studies on the literary infrastructural components have revealed the operation, roles, and influences of literary institutions, government, private organisations, and personages in the literary life. Here I select parts of the previous studies which relate to my discussion. Studies on the publishing houses have explored many aspects of publication, focusing on the history of book, printing, and publisher and the distribution of reading material.

I devote the first two chapters in this dissertation to explore the publishing houses activities in (re)publishing literary works and also their involvement in the social field as well as the fields of education, religion, politics, and literature, both in colonial and post-independence periods. Studying the publishing house in correlation with the literary fields has been conducted by scholars, in particular those who use the sociology of literature approaches. Malik (2008) argued that publishing activity in general involves a set of historical processes and practices (composition, editing, design and illustration, production, marketing and promotion, and distribution) as well a set of relations with various other institutions as commercial, legal, educational, political, cultural, and other media. The new technology in the literary publishing has benefitted writers, readers, distributors, and many other related sectors (Erickson, 1996).

In correlation with the involvement of publisher with social and political movement, during the revolution era, for instance, publishers assisted readers by providing materials on the revolutionary movement. The involvement of publishers in political movements is shown by Peters (2005) in the example of the early Quaker movement in 1650s English revolution, where the publishers printed pamphlets to support the people's struggle. The publisher, in another situation, engaged in supporting social and political struggle and identity of a nation or society. The publisher also participated in the spreading of religion in society, the involvement of any society members, such as women's writing, for the purpose of gaining life improvement as well. The activities of publishing houses in social and political fields are shown in the first two chapters of this study, particularly in the case of *Penjajaran Ilmoe* discussed in Chapter 1. The

publishing houses took part in the distribution of knowledge related to community needs, equipping readers with introductory reading materials, and accommodating intellectuals and leaders in the social and political fields to spread their thoughts through the printed writings.

Research in the field of literary studies has regularly explored the dynamics and practices of literary communities. Based on its characteristics and programmes found in this study, in general after Indonesian independence, literary clubs can be understood as an association used by writers to develop and share literary activities and programmes. There are activities that commonly run through a club such as literary (writing) training, book discussions, literary festival, publishing, and competition. The form of the literary club can differ based on the purpose of its establishment. It could be a gender-based reading club as studied by Devlin-Glass (2001) or a book reading club specifically targeted for students called St. Kate Book Club in Minnesota USA which was shown by Fajardo (2010). In the field of Indonesian literature, a survey on the literary club was conducted by a team funded by the *Kompas* media group (Budianta and Gunadi, eds., 1998). The study found that literary communities play a role in filling the gap on the financial and social support of writers, and also policy and infrastructural need that ideally provided by the government for writers and literary field in general. The literary communities in Indonesia, as will be shown in this study, have different characteristics compare to the literary communities generally known in other parts of the world in term of their activities, management system, and their roles in applying the communities to promote their programmes and activities. It also confirms the previous findings on the value of literary communities, in various forms and activities, in establishing literary activities for writers, readers, and the public in general.

A study (2016) conducted by Koalisi Seni Indonesia, Indonesian Arts Coalition based in Jakarta, in which a number of arts clubs and individual artists accros Indonesia join as its members, shows that there are general problems in establishing and maintaining arts clubs. By researching the arts clubs in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Bandar Lampung, Surabaya, Makassar, and Malang, the study can be used to compare the condition of arts, including literary, life in places other than in West Sumatra. The result of the study in eight provinces shows that the common problems faced by arts clubs are ranging from the internal management (including in developing programmes, human resources) to

the support from, and cooperation with, external funding bodies (Hafez Gumay, Annayu Maharani, and Ni Nyoman Nanda Putri (eds.), 2016). Studies outside of West Sumatra show that literary clubs face similar conditions. There are similarities across literary infrastructure elements, such as the characteristics of literary clubs' management, members, and programmes which can also be found in Bali (Triadnyani et al., 2019), the role of literary clubs in social, religious, and politic fields in West Java (Moriyama, 2015), and on the literary clubs and literary life in Pekanbaru (Derks, 1997 and 1998).

Apart from studying bookstores in their correlation with the book trade, a bookstore's role in circulating and distributing published book and its function as a social space has been investigated by Laura J. Miller (1999, 2006). Her study found that bookstores in America have given cultural and economic values for local people surrounding the bookstores. It is not only a matter of book trading competition, but also has resulted from and affected by the literary publishing, literary writing, and book industry in general. The role of bookstores in the field of literature depend on its function of distributing and circulating the published literary works and its social function outside the book trading such as literary events (i.e. book signing, meet the author with the reader, sponsoring literary discussion or book launching, or providing literary award). The bookstore is one of many other public places that introduce literary works to the public. My investigation on bookstores in West Sumatra look not only at the distribution and circulation system of a published book in the province in terms of book trading, but also at how the bookstores involve or influence the literary field, especially in a local context.

Funding from the local or national government, private organisations, as well as individuals, is also an important part for the continuation of literary life. One of the Indonesian government's main duties and authorities is to provide and implement the policy, programmes, fund, protection, and support for culture. In a more specific field, according to the regulation issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (No. 11 Year 2015) on the organisation and working system of the Ministry of Education and Culture, language and literature are mandated as the primary programmes for the *Badan Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (The Language Fostering and Development Agency). Within this legal framework, the language and literature programmes are managed by the central government through the agency and its offices spread in

some provinces.

According to the ministerial regulation (2015, article 649), the main tasks of the Language Fostering and Development Agency, are (1) to prepare the technical policy, agenda, programme, and budget for developing, fostering, and protecting language and literature, (2) implement developing, fostering, and protecting programmes for language and literature, and (3) monitor, evaluate, and report the mentioned programmes. The government support of literature and arts, in general, is based on the fact that this field is part of public interest and therefore the government needs to take part in ensuring the field is well managed, with appropriate plans and instruments such as budget, rules, and facilities. It can be understood that in general, the rationale of providing funding for art is based on the idea that “art is a public, or at least a mixed, good that, like highways and education, benefits everyone and is unlikely to be adequately supplied unless partially supported by the state”, as stated by DiMaggio and Useem (1978: 357) referring to the United States of America’s national programmes for the arts and culture.

The aim of the Indonesian government, as stated in the Ministerial regulation mentioned above, actually shows that the government holds the main responsibility for the programmes related to the literature of a national interest. The government’s subsidy to the literary publication, for example, can be seen from Bode’s study (2010) in the context of Australia. According to Bode (2010: 39), the support or funding from the government to literature contributes significantly to increase the number of published literary works in. Bode in his research concludes that in Australia, “growth in the proportion of literary (or non-genre) novels at the beginning of the 1970s suggests the impact of increased government funding for, and protection of, such writing at this time.” I investigate the government and private institutions’ programmes which correlate with literature in West Sumatra.

I examine the roles and programmes of the government institutions whose duties relate to literature, by dividing them based on the working areas at both the central and provincial levels. Furthermore, I also look at the government funded and private organisations working on the literary field. The government and private involvement take place in many forms, such as the subsidy, budget, publication, and event. The exploration of the involvement of the government, private, or public institutions toward literature in a local area in West Sumatra can show how literature is

positioned and treated by the public.

The basic sense that urge the institutions' activities are the will to *improve* and *develop* literature. Publishing activities, government support, literary community programmes, the management of bookstores, are all directed to improve and develop the literary field and communities. The will to improve and develop is also felt and driven by individual agents, both in the field of literature as well as other fields. The will becomes an ideological background, mostly unconsciously embraced, for Indonesians as an impact of its massive uses in daily life of the national development programmes. The improvement and development are used as the starting point for many government institutions and spread widely within the society when preparing and implementing their programmes. The word *development* is commonly used to translate the notion of *pembangunan* (also 'construction' or 'improvement'). Development became the basic sense, and a key word, of all the government programmes, including arts and culture, during the New Order era (Heryanto, 1995). In the literary field, the word refers to the development of literary life, facilities, literary/aesthetic achievement from one stage/period to the following stages/periods. Other examples of development include various aspects of literature: the establishment and function of literary institutions, exploration of specific themes, the number, and quality of published literary works and criticism, the improvement of reader and writer's access and engagement in literary activities and events. The word development means moving to, or getting, a better condition in the future compared to the previous condition, with specific measurement used by the society.

Studies on the literary life in West Sumatra have generally focused on the textual aspects of written literary works. The first scholarly study on the traditional Minangkabau literary works was conducted by Edwar Djamaris (1991). He studied *tambo*, a Minangkabau traditional prose mostly consisting of the law and history of Minang, from the philological perspective. His study showed that *tambo* functions to strengthen a sense of community, and to position Minangkabau as the centre of the world, according to the stories presented in *tambo*. With these functions, *tambo* has a sufficient structure to accommodate the messages. The West Sumatran authors and editors have influenced the internal and external aspects of literature in terms of styles and themes, for instances, as examined by Faruk (2002). Other research on West Sumatran literary works has focused on stylistic and thematic elements. For example, on the corre-

lation between Minangkabau traditional legend and Wisran Hadi's play (Mursal Esten, 1992), the influences (adaptation or intertextuality) of modern Indonesian literary work from Minangkabau traditional folktales (Adriyetti Amir, 1991), and Yasnur Asri (2014) on the ideological aspects of works written by Minangkabau authors. A short introduction on the series of *roman Indonesia* (early modern Indonesian language *novels*) published in Padang was published by Suryadi (2007). It was a similar publication series as *roman pergaoelan* published by Penjiaran Ilmoe in Fort de Kock. The opportunity to explore further on the aspects of literary life, particularly on the external support for literature, is provided in this present study.

Alberta Joy Freidus in his book (1977) resulted from his master's thesis at Hawaii studied the contribution of West Sumatran authors and editors in the Indonesian literature fields, who published a significant numbers of works and who worked as the editors in some major publishing houses. From their involvement in the publishing houses as the editors, West Sumatran writers and editors had shape the usage of Indonesian language in the published literary works (Teeuw, 1972). Recent studies on the history of publishing in West Sumatra were conducted by Esha Tegar Putra (2018), who has analyzed the literary works by Soewardi Idris published by NV Nusantara in Bukittinggi and Zikri Fadila (2018) who provided a historical description of publishing houses in Fort de Kock (now Bukittinggi) from 1901 to 1942. Hendra Naldi (2009) has discussed newspaper publications in West Sumatra showing that publishing was supported by rapid distribution of information, establishment of newspapers, and the existence of other types of publications in the region. Yuliandre Darwis's study (2010) provided the history of Minangkabau press prior to Indonesian independence and related it to the social and religious dynamics. These studies show that the publishing activities in West Sumatra, especially during the colonial period, were experiencing a golden era.

Wannofri Samry and R. Omar (2012) analysed the role of female journalists in the Minangkabau region during the colonial era. Women in West Sumatra had taken part in journalism by initiating women-oriented bulletins. In the publishing activities related to the Islamic discourses, Khairul Ashdiq (2019) described a fortnightly magazine, called *Al Bayan*, published in 1919 by Tsamaratul Ikhwan in Fort de Kock. Ahmat Adam (1975 and 2012) has described in detail about the presses in West Sumatra, by listing the newspapers and periodicals published in this region. Based on the men-

tioned previous studies, there are very few which focus on the elements of literary infrastructure in West Sumatra. My research, therefore, analyses the fundamental elements of literary infrastructure in West Sumatra, which have not previously been studied. By focusing on literary infrastructure, this study tries to explore and connect the elements to find out how they contribute to supporting the literary life in West Sumatra.

Approach and Method of the Study

I place this present study in the context of area studies, by researching the literary life of West Sumatra, Indonesia. The approach of area studies provides an opportunity to explore deeply the social and cultural dynamic of the themes in the present study. This means that there is a possibility to provide the existing or even established debate on the literary studies with new findings from different perspective or seldom taken into account in a wider debate. The present study is directed to lift the existing local dynamics of Indonesian literary life into a broader context, with the support of various findings and cases about Indonesian literature and more specifically Indonesian literature in West Sumatra province.

There is a question posed by scholars, especially those who have a particular interest in Southeast Asian studies on how to consider “the collection of countries and peoples which they are trying to understand as a viable and meaningful unit of analysis and scholarly speculation” (Woo and King, 2013: 2). The volume edited by Woo and King entitled *The Historical Construction of Southeast Asian Studies: Korea and Beyond* (2013) and two other volumes *Southeast Asian Studies: Debates and New Directions* (Chou and Houben, eds., 2006) and *Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space* (Kratoska, Raben, and Schulte Nordholt, eds., 2005) give illustrations on the main concerns on the Southeast Asian studies, ranging from the rise and decline of the study in various universities across the globe, the field of studies, the origin or backgrounds of the scholars, and the future cooperation that suit best for the Southeast Asian studies. Among these point of views, Heryanto (2013) proposes that cultural studies is suitable to study the region, with an attempt to strengthen locally based studies about the region and bring the findings into wider context. The mentioned studies assumed that the diverse cultures in the region have similarities and differences, and in some extent have correlation, between one to another countries in Southeast Asia.

Studying literature in the frame of area studies could be positioned in a comparative perspective. The reason to divide some cultural and geographical entities into a single region as area studies is that they have common or similar cultural and geographical elements, including other aspects of daily life. With this view, these elements are put equally, considering their own unique and common practices of any studied aspects. This view echoes the statement mentioned by Arps (2016: 22-23), by taking an example on the study of religion in Southeast Asia that “the comparative approach will remain key, not focusing anymore on typology or influence, but rather on meetings between religious traditions in concrete historical circumstances.” However, from the comparative approach in a larger context, there is still a chance to extensively explore potential and unstudied fields, for instances exposed by three scholarly works on the literary studies mentioned below, to be compared with other countries in Southeast Asia. These three studies take different places in South East Asia countries; Indonesia and Thailand, which are aimed to explore the dynamics of the studied literary fields. This current study is one attempt to do so.

In a more focused context of Indonesian literary studies, recent studies with the emphasis on the exploration of literary development in specific area have been conducted by Mikihiro Moriyama (2005) with a focus on the Sundanese literary writing before the establishment of Balai Pustaka by the colonial ruler and Darma Putra (2011) on the Balinese literary history. Moriyama in his study tracks back the literary tradition in West Java. He investigates the roles of print culture that transforms the creation of printed literary works from previously orally performed, as well as the shaping of reading a profile in the province until the establishment of *Commissie voor de Inlandsche School- en Volkslectuur* (Committee for Indigenous Schoolbook and Popular Reading Books) in 1908. Darma Putra has investigated the modern Indonesian literature in Bali since its beginning to most recent date. He finds such changes and continuation from one period to another, representing social and cultural dynamics in Bali. In a different set of study location, Martin Platt (2013) explores the literary development in Isan province in Thailand, by researching its authors, literary works, and their role and position in national literature. He is exploring authors’ backgrounds, languages, and how they identify themselves in their society in Isan.

The aforementioned studies focused mainly on a single aspect such as literary community and its social and cultural engagement. As explained

by other scholars related to this present study, the literary fields in Indonesia are supported by the involvement of writers, as well as artists in more general context, through their involvement in the literary clubs, advisors for governmental and non-governmental organisations, as parts of cultural related governmental programmes (such as jury, instructor, or ad hoc committee member). This non-aesthetic involvement is a way to maintain the development of literary life in their regions. There are some common problems and characteristics in regards to the basic literary infrastructure across Indonesian provinces. This present study provides a more comprehensive exploration by investigating aspects that relate to the literary life in West Sumatra.

I argue that the finding provided in this study, especially in Chapter Four on the literary club, also reflects a similar condition, in parts or in whole, of the literary dynamics in other places in Indonesia. In a similar attempt of researching and exploring a region for its literary dynamics, but certainly, in a different theme, this present study tries to investigate West Sumatra as a focused place to be studied, by researching significant and important elements of literature in the area.

Methodologically, I conducted a series of interviews during the field works with informants mainly in West Sumatra. Field work in Yogyakarta was conducted for the special research theme on the arts communities in which I interviewed painters from West Sumatra who reside in Yogyakarta. The interviewees were those who involved with the fields of this research during my three consecutive field works (April-August 2014, October-December 2015, and September 2016). The interviewees consisted of writers, officials and staff of the government agencies, members of local parliament of the province of West Sumatra, publishers, distributors, (former) staff of arts and cultural organisations, academics, and artists from various art genres. My discussion with the interviewees helped me in formulating the research, exploring the possible answers toward the research questions, guiding me to find further necessary resources, and connecting one topic to another. I also observed sites and locations in West Sumatra such as bookstores, cultural parks, literary clubs' secretariats, personal collections, libraries, offices and literary events. The data and information from the interviewees benefited in building the general framework of each chapter.

The formulation of literary infrastructure in West Sumatra presented in this thesis has resulted from the field work consisting of interviews

and observations. I combine and add the information with archival studies, by visiting and consulting data from libraries such as Leiden University Library, PDS HB Jassin (Jakarta), Indonesian Visual Art Archive documentation (Yogyakarta), Komunitas Seni Intro's documentation (Payakumbuh), Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat's library and Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya's library (both in Padang), and individual collections of the author Gus tf Sakai (Payakumbuh), the late Yusriwal (Padang), the critic Ivan Adilla (Padang), and the author Syarifuddin Arifin (Padang). There are numerous data and information coming from the previous studies, journalistic reports, opinion and feature, including those attached to the published literary works utilized to support this study. My involvement in the field of literature in West Sumatra, since my study at the Faculty of Letters Universitas Andalas in 1995, has also helped me to understand more deeply in studying the research area.

Structure of the Study

The study is presented in five chapters, in addition to introductory and concluding chapters, each of which addresses a particular component of literary infrastructure. In each chapter, I demonstrate how the infrastructural component works in the literary field, including its activity, involvement in the literary fields, support or policy related to the literature. Based on the analysis of the data, I look further on how the literary infrastructure affects or supports the literary field. The possible impact can be observed, for instances, from the published works and publishing activity, established literary events, book circulation, and reader profile. The first two chapters are on the publishing houses and its activities during the colonial era and after Indonesian independence. The three following chapters are about the literary clubs, bookshop, and governmental and private sponsors in West Sumatran literature, mainly after the Indonesian independence periods. The study ends with a concluding chapter.

Chapter 1 explores the activity of Penjiaran Ilmoe, a local publishing house during the colonial period in West Sumatra, which had a literary series called *Roman Pergaoelan* (social novel). The series publication did not only exhibit the literary and publishing activities during the colonial period but also the literary production and the position of West Sumatra in a broader context. The chapter shows that West Sumatra began an important focal point of the literature in the region.

Chapter 2 examines the publishing activity of a local publisher after

the Indonesian independence, especially in reprinting Minangkabau folktales in the local language for the local people. The chapter provides information on the publisher's history, management, manuscripts and published books resources and distribution, and on the transformation from traditional stories into modern literature. The traditional stories are mostly based on the oral literature performed in the forms of traditional theatre and musical performances. The stories are familiar to local people. I argue that the republishing activity of folktales has a strong impact in preserving the stories in the written form, shaping reading the public profile (especially for young generation) from the traditional stories they familiar with, and also modern literary works.

Chapter 3 discusses literary clubs in West Sumatra. The literary club is an important institution for writers to mediate their literary activities, such as writing exercises and workshop, literary competitions, literary discussion, and publishing. Most of the literary clubs are initiated by writers and therefore the programmes are closely related to answer the literary needs. In addition, literary clubs can be used by the writers to collaborate with the government and other institutions to held literary activities as well. Based on four selected literary communities discussed in this chapter, ranging from the 1940s to 1990s, I show how the literary communities take an important role in promoting and filling the literature with essential activities.

In Chapter 4, I observe the role of a bookstore in circulating the published literary work in West Sumatra. The bookstore plays an essential function in the literature by connecting the published literary works with local audiences. The bookstore also links the production processes, from the local and national publishing houses and distributors, local writers, local government, and people, in the fields of literacy and literature. In this chapter, I take various types of bookstores, from a local independent bookshop, a major chain, and small-scale bookstores in West Sumatra to be discussed. The study shows that there is competition amongst bookstores and distributors, especially between local and foreign bookstores, in the book trading. However, they also have common obstacles such as the direct distribution system from publishers or distributors to schools. The local independent bookstore also has more involvement in the literary field, by accommodating local publishers and writers to sell their books in the store. It also engages in promoting books with local contents and also funds literacy and literary activities in West Sumatra.

What are the national and local government agencies working in this field? Do the private companies and organisations and individuals also take part in assisting literature in West Sumatra? How the support is provided and is there any impact upon the literary field? In Chapter 5, I aim to respond the questions on the government and private's involvement in the field of literature in West Sumatra. There are a number of government institutions working in the fields of art and culture in West Sumatra, those from the centralised government offices, provincial government, and district or city offices. Additionally, semi government-funded institutions; private organisations, and individuals have also supported the literary activities. The government institutions also implement their own programmes. The government and other institutions or organisations' involvement in supporting literature does not always help the literature works on its track but also create the instability because of the changing policy and aid from those institutions. The government programmes are based on their own planned activities, implemented according to their own system, and in most cases separated from the need of art and cultural condition in the fields. I discuss these types of the government institutions, government-funded organisations, private institutions, and patrons that have implemented literary programmes and activities in West Sumatra.

Lastly, in the conclusion, I recapitulate the key findings of the thesis. There are two key conclusions from this study. The first is on the 'development' as the basic spirit of literary activities in the region. It could be a driving force of the literary activities leading to achieve something better than before. The second is about the 'temporality' as the characteristic of most literary components. □

CHAPTER 1

REVISITING A PRIVATE PUBLISHING HOUSE IN THE INDONESIAN COLONIAL PERIOD: PENJIARAN ILMOE

THE PUBLISHING activities run by Penjiaran Ilmoe, a publisher located in Fort de Kock, discussed in this chapter show how the publishing house holds an important part in the literary infrastructure in a region. The publishing house is not only publishing literary works written by writers, but also influencing, and to some degree is influenced by, the literary dynamics take place around the location of a publishing house. The primary function of the publisher is to publish new works of literature, distribute the works, attract writers to write and publish their works, and develop themes or forms of literary works. Publishing houses operate within their local context, made up of non-literary aspects such as social, religious, political, educational, and economics. Roman Pergaoelan, a series of literary publication launched by Penjiaran Ilmoe which was established during the Indonesian colonial period (1938-42), faced numerous challenges in keeping the readers and subscribers. These included protests from *adat*, religious group well as from the colonial rulers in regard to the published contents. It also had to manage the distribution coverage, find suitable works, keep and expand publishing networks, and arrange strategy to maintain their existence. In this regard, the publishing house occupies an important position within the literary field. As a vital part of literary infrastructure, it is necessary to study this site of literary production.

This chapter gives a brief history of Penjiaran Ilmoe, a private publishing house in West Sumatra during the late colonial period.⁵ Penjiaran

⁵ This chapter was previously published in the *Journal of Indonesia and the Malay World*, 2010, vol. 38 (111), pp. 181-216.

Ilmoe's activities were an important contribution to Indonesian intellectual and literary development at the time. Its publications covered a wide variety of fields, from politics, religious and social issues to literature and included both textbooks and books for general readers. Although relatively free from the control of the colonial government because of its location in a peripheral area, Penjiaran Ilmoe was taken to court due to the content of its publications. In one case an author, Martha, whose work was published by Penjiaran Ilmoe was accused of causing offence not only by religious parties but also by the colonial government (Romanita, 1941: 73). The purpose of this chapter is to enrich the understanding of the history of Indonesian literature, in particular in West Sumatra, with respect to literary publication and the sociological factors involved. In doing so, in this chapter I discuss the activities of Penjiaran Ilmoe, its staff, including its writers, its book distribution system and the books and periodicals it published, which form the primary source material of this chapter, with particular emphasis given to the popular Roman Pergaoelan series. Published bi-weekly, Roman Pergaoelan focused on the prose (novel and compilation of short stories) written by authors coming from West Sumatra and some other places in Indonesia. By discussing the publishing house and its activities, I aim to show that the publishing house is an important component of literary infrastructure in West Sumatra. Penjiaran Ilmoe operated at all stages of literary infrastructure and thus provides a vital insight into the literary practices of West Sumatra and Indonesia more broadly.

A Brief Overview about Penjiaran Ilmoe and Roman Pergaoelan

Penjiaran Ilmoe was founded in June 1939 at Bioscoopstraat 90 in Fort de Kock. During this era, publishing was dominated by Balai Pustaka which had been established by the Dutch government with the purpose to publish and distribute readings for schools and public libraries.⁶ Penjiaran Ilmoe's main purpose of publishing books was to educate the general public

⁶ The back page of Kamizir's work *Spider Komplot Lawa2 (Spider the Bat Syndicate)* (1940: 78) features an announcement: 'Places you need to know in Fort de Kock are: 1st Bank Nasional established in 1930. 2nd N.V. INKORBA established in 1937. 3rd Penjiaran Ilmoe established in 1939. These are firms owned by your own people!' *Di Fort de Kock. Adres yang perloe toean kenal, jaitoe: 1e. BANK NASIONAL didirikan 1930. 2e. H. My. INKORBA N.V. didirikan 1937. 3e. Firma PENJIARAN ILMOE didirikan '39. Peroesahaan bangsa toean sendiri!*

and to inculcate readers with a nationalistic spirit. Publications by Penjiaran Ilmoe can be divided into three categories: social movement books, educational texts, and Roman Pergaoelan (RP). Social movement books addressed issues related to the betterment or modernising of society, for example by the founding of organizations (mostly religious organizations), state affairs, law, and other related issues. The educational publications of Penjiaran Ilmoe included language course books, school textbooks and reference books. The third division, the RP series, was a fortnightly literary series 60-120 pages in length. This series is the primary subject of this chapter.

The name 'Roman Pergaoelan' has two meanings. First, it implies various colours, forms or portraits of relationships, as indicated by a statement from the editors saying, "We will not be discouraged from keeping ROMAN (Indonesian word meaning: colour-forms or image) PERGAOELAN (society) in the public eye during these times of change."⁷ Secondly, it describes a literary genre: a novel or short story collection about relationships as the primary theme of the series. Stories within the RP series were themselves divided into four categories — history, politics, social commentary and detective stories. RP was intended by the editors of Penjiaran Ilmoe to be an alternative to Balai Pustaka and to provide material for the general public, especially young people. As mentioned in a statement by the editors, the purpose of RP was 'refining language use and encouraging the habit of reading. They [the novels] contain information and inspire critical thinking. Therefore the types of *roman* [novels] that are appearing in large numbers at the present time are of great value to Indonesian society in its present formative stage' (Hs. Bakri, 1939). The editors also stated that:

The stories published in RP take up many columns in newspapers, and are the subject of repeated debates because of the uproar they create in society. People who read *Persamaan* – *Sinar Sumatra* – *Pemandangan* – *Abad XX*, *Oetoesan* and other newspapers will undoubtedly understand the 'position' of RP in Indonesian society. As its name suggests, RP always provides readers with stories about the characteristics

⁷ *Tidaklah kita akan berpatah hati memperlihatkan ROMAN (warna-bentoek atau gambaran) PERGAOELAN kepada masyarakat, dalam zaman pantjaroba ini.* (From a statement attached to D. Umri's *Di Samping Kerobohannya Kota Bondjol*, 1940, p. 76). In the purpose of keeping the meaning of *roman* as fictional work comparable to novel, in this thesis I use the word 'roman' throughout.

(ROMAN) of our social life (PERGAOELAN). (Merayu Sukma's *Joerni Joesri*, 1940: front page)⁸

While RP was specifically published by Penjiaran Ilmoe, similar fictional series were published under different titles by other publishers in Medan (North Sumatra), Padang (West Sumatra), Batavia, Solo (Central Java), Malang and Surabaya (East Java), and other smaller cities. Publications from Padang and Medan were similar to RP in terms of length, size and themes and some authors who wrote for RP also published *roman* with other publishers. Most RP were originally written in Low Malay, using simple or popular dictions and grammars, and many were either translations or adaptations of foreign language novels. Detective stories, such as *Bereboet Wang 1 Million* (Fighting Over One Million Dollars) (B. Delannoy, translated by M. Kasim, 1939), were a popular source for translation. The use of translated material in addition to original works was initiated due to the editors' intentions to expand the diversity of texts available for public reading.

The first *roman* was probably published in June 1937. This information is drawn from the republished Thaher Samad roman *Student Dokter* which states on its front page:

This story is an RP publication from June 1937 four years ago. Due to overwhelming requests, we are printing it again for the second time, in June 1941.⁹

However, *Sinar Sumatra* newspaper (2 November 1939) informs us that publication of the RP series began in June 1939: 'The books have been published since last June, starting as monthly magazines, and subsequently printed twice a month with Penjiaran Ilmoe in Fort de Kock as their publisher.'¹⁰ This

⁸ Tjerita2 R. Pergaoelanlah baroe jang sampai mehabiskan berkolom-kolom soerat kabar, bahkan sampai bertoebi-toebi diperbintjangkan orang saking gemparnja masjarakat lantaran tjeritanja. Orang jang membatja Persamaan – Sinar Soematra – Pemandangan – Abad XX, Oetoesan dll. tentoe mengerti sampai dimana “kedoedoean” R. P. dalam masjarakat Indonesia. Memang sebagai namanja, R. P. senantiasa menjadjikan tjerita2 jang mengenai ROMAN (warna) dalam PERGAOELAN hidoep.

⁹ Tjerita adalah penerbitan R.P[roman pergaoelan] boelan Juni 1937 empat tahoen jang lampau. Oleh karena terlaloe banjak permintaan, maka sekarang kita tjetak kembali boeat kedoea kalinja, jaitoe Juni 1941.

¹⁰ Boekoe2 itoe diterbitkan semendjak Juni jang baroe laloe, moela2 sebagai madjallah boelanan, kemoedian diterbitkan doea kali seboelan dengan “Penjiaran Ilmoe” di Fort de Kock selakoe penerbitnja.

suggests that the first publication of *Student Dokter* (The Medical Student) may have been a trial issue for surveying potential readers and the market, as no RP publications have been found to have been published in the period between Samad's *Student Dokter* and *Archa* (Statue) in 1937, and Maisir Thaib's two romans *Mister Man* and *Timbunan Majat di Selat Dardanellen* (The Heap of Deads in Dardanellen Strait) in 1939. It may have taken the publishers two years to accumulate enough capital and literary material in order to ensure regular fortnightly publication of the RP series starting in 1939.

The Penjiaran Ilmoe office was a well-known gathering place for students and the general reading public in Fort de Kock because, as was common for publishers at the time, Penjiaran Ilmoe also functioned as a bookshop (*boekhandel*), providing schoolbooks and novels by other publishing houses in West and North Sumatra.¹¹ Penjiaran Ilmoe had connections with other publishing houses in North Sumatra and at one point had an agreement with them standardising the price of roman.¹² This price regulation was supported by the conference of writers, journalists and publishing houses that took place in Medan on 17 December 1939.¹³ The conference had been organised by Adi Negoro¹⁴ to respond to the negative reactions of readers and the general public (especially Islamic organi-

¹¹ Most RP contain a list of books, both fiction and nonfiction, available at the Penjiaran Ilmoe bookshop. See, for example, an advertisement for textbooks in Arabic for Islamic schools students available at Penjiaran Ilmoe on the back page of Martha's *Kamang Affaire* (1939: 73).

¹² The price of every RP in Fort de Kock and Medan was the same: i.e. f0, 18. See the front page of A. Damhoeri's *Zender Nirom* (1940) and the announcement placed on the back page of SZ. Kamisir's *Spider Komplot Lawa2* (1940): 'Announcement! The price of RP has returned to normal. We increased it in line with an agreement with our colleagues in Medan to raise prices together. But theory is different from practice. That's all right, isn't it?' *DIMAKLOEMKAN! Kembali harga RP sebagai biasa poela. Tadinja kita naikkan, karena soedah dipoatoeskan dengan kollega2 di Medan akan sama2 menaikkan harga. Tetapi teori berlain dengan praktik. Tidak afa-afa boekan?*

¹³ Some other publishers of novels in Medan at the time were Madjallah Dunia Pengalaman, Lukisan Pudjangga, Gubahan Maya, Tjendrawasih, and Mustika Alhambra.

¹⁴ His original name was Djamaluddin gelar Datuk Madjo Sutan (14 August 1904- 8 January 1967). A well-known journalist in Indonesia, he studied at STOVIA, Jakarta (1918-1925) and in Germany and the Netherlands (1926-1930). He was editor-in-chief of *Panji Pustaka* magazine (1931) and *Pewartu Deli* newspaper in Medan (1932-1942). He also led *Mimbar Indonesia* magazine (1948-1950) together with Prof. Soepomo. He worked for National News Agency ANTARA until his death and was involved in political and educational activities. His works include *Revolusi dan Kebudayaan* (Revolution and Culture) (1954), *Ensiklopedi Umum dalam Bahasa Indonesia* (Popular Enciclopedia in Bahasa Indonesia) (1954), *Darah Muda* (Young Blood) (novel, 1931), *Asmara Jaya* (Glorious Romance) (novel, 1932) and *Melawat ke Barat* (A Visit to the West) (novel, 1950).

zations) toward these reading materials (Bakri, 1939).¹⁵ The conference shows that writers and publishing houses involved in the production of *roman* attempted to forge a united front against their critics.

Penjiaran Ilmoe seemingly did not publish any books during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945),¹⁶ but began to function again as soon as Indonesia gained independence in August 1945. New books published by Penjiaran Ilmoe at the time included *Sjahrir Pegang Kemoedi* (Sjahrir Takes the Lead) (Natsir Thaib, 1946), *Pengertian Politik: Tata Negara* (Understanding Politics: State Administration) (Tamar Djaja, 1946), *Sedjarah Pergerakan Politik Indonesia* (The History of Indonesian Political Movement) (Tamar Djaja, 1946), *Islam dengan Politik* (Islam and Politics) (Aziz Thaib, 1946), *Islam sebagai Ideologie* (Islam as Ideology) (M. Natsir, 1950), and *Panti Pengetahuan Politik* (The Source of Politics Knowledge) (Tamar Djaja, 1950), titles which indicate Penjiaran Ilmoe's continuing role in developing civil society. Some RP series were republished in Medan after the Japanese occupation by the publishing house Tjerdas. This republication may indicate a lack of other texts available for publishing, but the fact that Tamar Djaja, previously the chief editor at Penjiaran Ilmoe, became the head of Tjerdas, suggests that he may have wanted to use the RP series to attract more readers and develop a wider readership in Medan.

Historical Background

A brief look at the social, educational, economic, and religious development found in Indonesia will enable us to better understand the era in which the Penjiaran Ilmoe publishing house was established. Throughout the Padri and Kamang Wars in the 1920s, West Sumatra experienced

¹⁵ Tamar Djaja (1955: 209) also notes: 'In other places, too, people engaged in lively discussions about dime novels. Not long after, those discussions extended to an exchange of opinions about roman publication in general, which at that time was thriving in East Sumatra and West Sumatra, especially after Mohammad Hatta issued a statement from his faraway place of exile: we do not agree with the publication of those kinds of roman. *Di lain 2 tempatpun orang ramai membitjarakan roman pitjisan dan pemitjaraan tidak lama kemudian meluas sampai pemikiran2 mengenai seluruh penerbitan roman jang pada waktu itu di Sumatera Timur dan Sumatera Barat sangat meriah. Lebih2 setelah dari Mohamad Hatta sendiri dari tempat pembuangannja jang djauh itu didengar pernjataannja: tidak setudju dengan penerbitan djenis roman2 itu.*

¹⁶ However, every roman I read in KITLV bore the stamp of Borneo Minseibu, a censorship body of the Imperial Japanese army in Kalimantan. This deserves further investigation.

rapid changes introduced by political and religious parties and organizations. A number of new, modernising organisations arrived in West Sumatra, including Muhammadiyah, an Islamic organisation founded by Ahmad Dahlan on 18 November 1912 in Yogyakarta, which became established in West Sumatra in 1927. While the Communist Party also existed in the area,¹⁷ the religious—mainly Islamic—organisations secured the most prominent social positions in West Sumatra, and people vigorously used these organizations as a medium for expressing their ideas and aspirations. The main reason why Islamic organisations such as Muhammadiyah became popular and widely accepted within West Sumatra was because of the many returnees and scholars from the Middle East who shared similar views. Political activities of the organisations were divided, with those led by the younger generation, the *Kaum Muda*, made up of those who had recently returned from studying in the Middle East and were strongly influenced by the Wahabi movement there, and others led by the older generation, who held closely to their Minangkabau *adat* or custom.

Fort de Kock, where Penjiaran Ilmoe was located, was an important place in Sumatra because it was the capital of the Padang Highlands regency (*keresidenan Padang Darat* or *Padangsche Bovenlanden*) and was therefore the centre of educational, economic, social and religious development in the region. The first European-style school in West Sumatra opened in Padang in 1825 (Graves 2007). In Fort de Kock, the first primary school (*sekolah rendah*) was established in 1843, followed by other schools in several places in inland Padang *nagari*. Pupil numbers at these schools increased steadily, reaching a peak in 1870 when schools could not accommodate all the students who wanted to enrol. Most of those who were rejected in West Sumatra went to attend religious schools in Aceh instead, or to traditional Islamic schools in the form of *surau* education in West Sumatra. But many parents wanted their children to become state employees, which required a diploma issued by a secular school. Competition for government jobs was intense: in 1911, for example, thousands of candidates applied for 100 positions. In an effort to meet the need for secular education, some people started to open private schools of their

¹⁷ A book about the Communist Party published by Penjiaran Ilmoe (second ed. 1945) was entitled *Trio Komunis Indonesia: Tan Malaka, Alimin, Semaoen, Berikut Stalin dan Lenin*.

own, with as many as 23 private schools operating in Padang in 1912 (Taufik Abdullah and Budhi Santoso 1983: 66-104). Although operated by locals, these private schools adopted the curriculum of European-style schools.¹⁸ For Penjiaran Ilmoe, this rapid growth in education was significant because by the 1930s there were a large number of literate and educated people who made up the readership of the various publishing houses.

The economic conditions of West Sumatra also improved during the 1930s-40s. Part of the greater economic prosperity can be attributed to the new policy of coffee plantations in the beginning of the 20th century introduced by the Dutch colonials, the implementation of *ethische politiek* in the field of education in particular, and the establishment of new schools. Increasing opportunities for education and improved economic conditions triggered growth in the number of young people who entered schools with hopes for possible employment within the civil service.

Publishing Houses in West Sumatra

Apart from the publisher Balai Pustaka and the *Pujangga Baru* periodical, there were several other private, commercial publishers which had an interest in publishing literary books during the colonial period. Besides commercial motives, private publishers also sought to educate and enlighten the general public. Many people having received formal education, working as editors, owners, and readers at different publishing houses, shared a vision of educating others by making reading materials more available. Unlike in Balai Pustaka and other Dutch printing houses such as Noordhoff and Kolff & Co, private publishers elevated local people who have received formal education to high-ranking positions, such as managers or writers (Farid and Razif, 2008: 279-80, Kuitert, 2020).

Although Balai Pustaka had the authority bestowed upon it by the government to choose what books to publish and distribute, and it held a central place in literary life in colonial Indonesia, it did not publish enough to satisfy readers, either in terms of volume of books produced or diversity of material. Between 1925 and 1941, Balai Pustaka published around

¹⁸ For more reading about education in West Sumatra during the colonial period see Graves (2007, in particular chapters 5-7) and for an interesting discussion on the special case of school textbooks in West Sumatra see Suryadi (2006).

872 book titles in various languages such as Javanese, Malay, Dutch, Sundanese, and Madurese (Balai Pustaka 1948: 19). The increase in graduates of local and Dutch schools, and in returnees from study in the Middle East, led to the creation of a new reading public, hungry for reading materials that addressed their experiences. Some also wanted outlets for their own writing. There was a great imbalance between the small number of publishers and books published, and the large audience. In addition to meeting the sheer demand for reading material, private publishers had other missions to fulfil. Some, of course, pursued purely commercial interests, by publishing pornography, for example. The production of pornography by private publishers may have later provided grounds for widespread disapproval of *roman picisan* (dime novels), cheap and sensual books which became popular after Indonesia's independence. This dismissive attitude towards dime novels deserves further investigation to compare it with prevailing attitudes toward other kinds of roman.¹⁹

During this pre-independence period, new publishing houses sprang up in places such as Padang, Padangpanjang, Fort de Kock, and Payakumbuh. Some specialized in the publication of schoolbooks, books about *adat* (custom), local and traditional stories, and religion.²⁰ By the end of 1939, there were 33 publishers in West Sumatra, including companies which published daily, weekly, fortnightly, and monthly (Indisch Verslag 1940: 129). These publishers worked in various languages. The most widespread language was Malay, used by 30 different publications, followed by Malay-Chinese²¹ (2) and Dutch (1).

Most of the publications from these new publishing houses were newspapers. According to Asma Naim and Mochtar Naim (1975: 6-9), by the middle of the 20th century, there were at least 118 newspapers and

¹⁹ See for example the discussion on defining pornography in literary works by Organisasi Pengarang Indonesia in Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana et al. 1957. *Apakah Bacaan Tjabul?* (What is Pornographic Readings?) Jakarta: Dinas Penerbitan Balai Pustaka.

²⁰ For further reading on publications in West Sumatra, see Suryadi (2002).

²¹ Malay-Chinese was quite different from the Malay used by many Indonesians, as it was used exclusively by the Chinese community as a medium of communication with non-Chinese business associates, and was categorised as *Melayu Pasar* (Market or Bazaar Malay). The use of Malay-Chinese in literary works by the Chinese Peranakan community also contained different grammatical structures and vocabulary from what is known as *Melayu Tinggi*, or High Malay.

magazines published in West Sumatra.²² Some newspapers and magazines were published to cater towards the readers of a particular community such as *Barito Koto Gadang* (Fort de Kock, 1929-32), *Boedi Tjaniago* (Fort de Kock, Drukkery Agam, 1922), *Soeara Kota Gedang* (Fort de Kock, Vereeniging Studiefonds Kota Gedang, 1916-17), *Al Achbar* (Padang, 1913-14, in Arabic), *Al I'laam* (Koto Toeo, Ampat Angkat, 1922-23), *Moeslim India* (Padang, Moeslim India, 1932), *Algemeenteen Advertieblad* (Padang, Padangsche Snelpres, 1921, in Dutch), and *Bintang Tiong Hoa* (Padang, Tiong Hoa Ien Soe Kiok, 1910-15).

Ownership and Editorial Staff

The managing director of Penjiaran Ilmoe was Tamar Djaja, born in 1913.²³ He carried out several activities in business and trading, publication, politics, and writing. He was a member of the board of *Angkatan Muda Indonesia* (Indonesian Youth Generation), as well as chief editor of the *Genderang Syahid* weekly, information chairman for the West Sumatra branch of Masjumi,²⁴ chief editor of the weekly publication *Berdjuang*, and head of the government Information Office. He moved to Jakarta in 1950 to become central information head of Masjumi, and subsequently chief of the publication section of the Department of Religion from 1953 to 1956. Tamar Djaja wrote several books and articles in newspapers and magazines after Indonesia's independence, mainly through Islamic publishers such as Panji Masjarakat, based in Jakarta, and was actively involved in various institutions related to Islam and the press in Java (Horton 2009: 5-6, 15).

²² Hendra Naldi (2008:5-8) mentions that during the period of 1900-1930, in particular, there were 53 newspapers published in West Sumatra.

²³ Tamar Djaja's name appears at the top of the list of Penjiaran Ilmoe staff on the back page of an RP special edition (Lebaran edition 1 Sjawal 1359 H). His full name and title, H. Tamburrasjid Tamar Djaja Gelar St. Rais Alamsjah, indicate that he had significant position within society and religious fields as well. In this book there also appears a list of people who managed and supported the production and distribution of the books published by Penjiaran Ilmoe, wishing a happy Idul Fitri to their readers.

²⁴ *Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*, Council of Indonesian Muslim Association, an Islamic based organisation since its establishment in 1943 and became a political party from 1945 until it was banned in 1960 because supporting PRRI in West Sumatra.

The owner and financial backer of the Penjiaran Ilmoe publishing house was someone known as Datoek Pamoentjak.²⁵ This is probably Sjamsoeddin Datoek Pamoentjak, who was deputy director of Bank Nasional between 1934 and 1941, and director from 1947 to 1953 (Aziz Thaib et al. 1970: 127-131). Sjamsoeddin Datoek Pamoentjak's biography can be found in Aziz Thaib's book, from which the following summary is drawn. Datoek Pamoentjak was born in Kampung Pisang IV Koto in 1905. After graduating from a *volkschool* he then continued his studies in an Islamic school in Padangpanjang. His father was a farmer and also a goldsmith. Datoek Pamoentjak also took part in his father's trading business in Lubuk Sikaping in Pasaman. He was an activist involved with Sjarikat Rakyat, a social and political organization in Padangpanjang. Difficulties related to his involvement in Sjarikat Rakyat forced him to move to Gunung Sitoli, where he opened a new trading business. He later returned to Lubuk Sikaping and in 1935, when Bank Nasional had been operating for five years, he obtained the position of deputy director, under B. St. Burhamam as director. He went to Payakumbuh every Sunday and to Batusangkar every Thursday to supervise the activities of bank branches. During the Japanese occupation, when people across Indonesia including West Sumatra were suffering economically and socially, the bank ceased its activities and Datoek Pamoentjak returned to running his own business. After the declaration of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, he returned to the bank and served as director from 1947 until 1953. He died after a short illness during a business trip to Jakarta in September 1953 (Aziz Thaib et al 1970: 98).

Datoek Pamoentjak's association with both Bank Nasional and Penjiaran Ilmoe is significant, in light of the bank's mission to improve social conditions. Bank Nasional was founded in 1930 by traders in Bukittinggi who wanted to raise and organize funds to help needy West

²⁵ A debate attached to Tamar Djaja's novel *Sebabnja Saja Bahagia* (The Reason of My Happiness) (1940) between Habe Espei, H. Siradjoeddin Abbas, and Tamar Djaja states: 'I, Siradjoeddin Abbas (editor) disagree with Mr Tr. Djaja. Of course we disagree, because he is a man of roman while I am a man of religion. He is well known because of someone else's capital, that of Mr Dt. Pamoentjak, while I am well known because of the work I do.' *Saja* (Siradjoeddin Abbas (ed.) *berlain dengan t. Tr. Djaja. Memang berlainan, beliau toekang roman, saja toekang agama. Beliau tersiar namanja karena kapital orang lain karena kapital t. Dt. Pamoentjak, sedang saja oleh karena pekerdjaan saja* (p. 80).

Sumatrans, especially those who had lived and studied in Middle East.²⁶ In the beginning, the bank was a cooperative (*koperasi Abuan Saudagar*) but later became a bank for administrative reasons. Bank Nasional provided support to smallholders to help strengthen the economy. As noted by Taufik Abdullah and Budhi Santoso (1983: 88-89), some of Bank Nasional's divisions were N.V. Inkorba, N.V. Nusantara, and N.V. Candi Minang. As a company which had a close relationship with the bank, Penjiaran Ilmoe received support from other bank subsidiaries. For example, the reward for the highest sales by a book distributor was a *batik* cloth provided by N.V. Inkorba.

Based on information from Mohammad Hatta (1939: vii) and Taufik Abdullah and Budhi Santoso (1983: 88-89), it is possible that Penjiaran Ilmoe also received financial support and guidance from the bank. According to Taufik and Budhi Santoso (1983: 88-89), Bank Nasional operated several smallholder companies as pilot projects under the guidance of, and funded by, the bank. In his introduction to a book published by Penjiaran Ilmoe entitled *Mentjari Volkenbond dari Abad ke Abad* (Searching for the United Nations for Centuries) (1939: vii), Hatta acknowledges Anwar Sutan Saidi for helping in the publication of his book. Anwar Sutan Saidi, an influential figure in Bukittinggi in the 1930s and 40s with close connections to the intellectual movement, was also the director of PT Bank Nasional, and the founder of Taman Siswa in Fort de Kock.

In order to provide evaluation, suggestions, and other comments for its improvement, the publishers assembled a consultative committee comprised of people well-known in Fort de Kock, many of whom were directly related to Bank Nasional. The committee members were Datoek Pamoentjak himself, H.M. Yatim (director of N.V. Inkorba), Anwar Sutan Saidi (director of Bank Nasional), H.Dt. Madjolabih (director of N.V. Handelsv) and Sjech Daoed Arrasjidi (an ulama or religious leader in Bukittinggi) (Djaja, 1941: 4).

²⁶Anwar Sutan Saidi, one of the founding members of Bank Nasional, wrote in his article "Bank Desa di Sumatera Barat" (1969. s.n) about the revitalization of the self-management of the state fund in order to strengthen the economy.

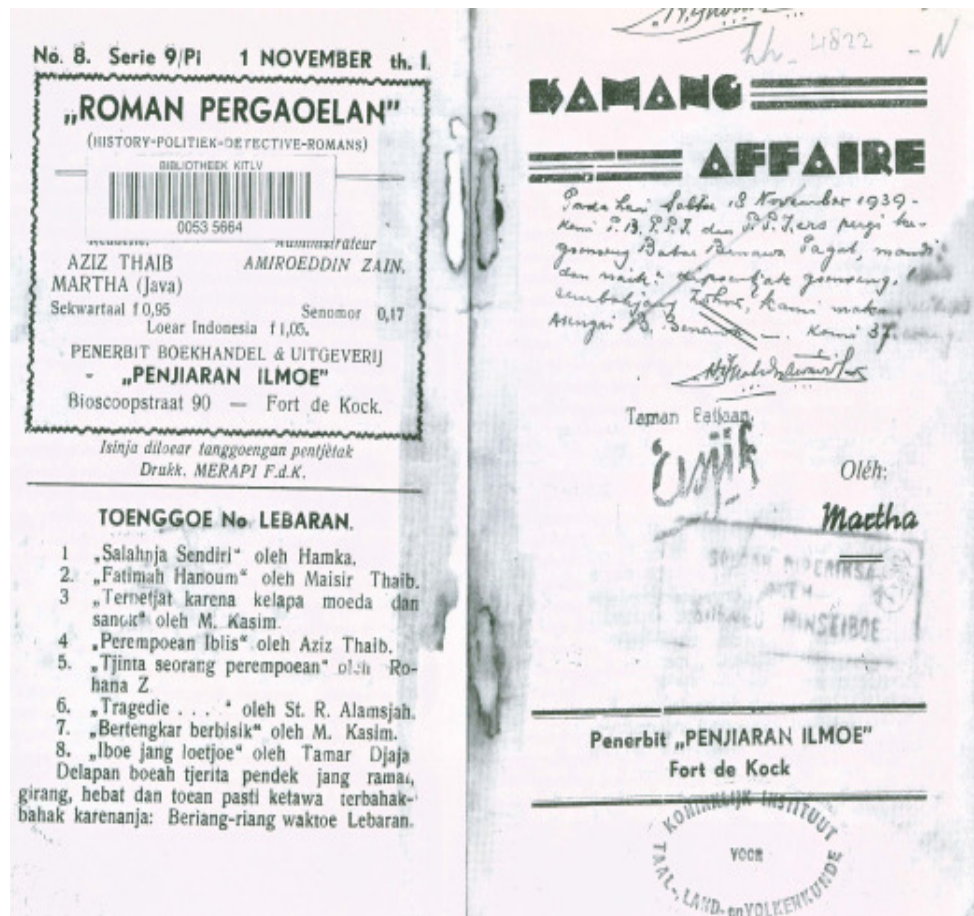


FIGURE 1 Cover page of a roman published by Penjiaran Ilmoe and information on its editorial staff Courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

The permanent editors of the RP series were Aziz Thaib, Maisir Thaib, and Amelz (A. Manaf el Zamzani). Other staff at Penjiaran Ilmoe included B. Doice who worked as an illustrator and in the marketing division, and A. Moenir and Kamaroellah who were distributors (*looper*) and sellers (*verkoper*) of Penjiaran Ilmoe. Writers published in RP often doubled as distributors. The authors of RP published by Penjiaran Ilmoe came from all over Indonesia, including, for instance, Merayu Sukma (originally Mohamad Sulaiman Hasan) who was born in 1914 in Balikpapan, North Kalimantan, and who grew up in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, and Trimurty (1912-2008) from Solo, Central Java.

The Lebaran special issue of RP from 1 Sjawal 1359 AH (1940) provides information about writers, distributors and associates, among them

Martha (Maisir Thaib),²⁷ director of Normal Islam Rantau, an Islamic school founded by a social organisation called Musyawarah Thalibin in South Kalimantan, Mohd. Kasim, a teacher (*Gep. Onderwyzer*), in Kota Nopan, S.K. Trimurty in Semarang, Merayu Sukma in Malang, M. Dimyati in Solo, and Andjar Asmara in Yogyakarta. According to this special issue, those who had close connections with Penjiaran Ilmoe included S. Rahmansjah, Aziz Thaib (director of Drukkery Timoer Fort de Kock), H.M. Jatim (director of N.V. Inkorba Fort de Kock) and Anwar Sutan Saidi (director of Bank Nasional). There were several more distributors in Fort de Kock and others in Jambi, Banjarmasin and Padang, suggesting that Roman Pergaoelan had a readership extending far beyond West Sumatra alone.

Distribution of Penjiaran Ilmoe Books

The RP series enjoyed wider distribution than was commonly achieved by Balai Pustaka, reaching beyond Indonesia into Malaysia and Singapore. This broad level of distribution shows that West Sumatra was not an isolated region, received large influences and gave significant contribution in the literary field in the neighbouring places. Agents, many of which were also bookstores, were the main medium of distribution. Most of the agents were *perantau* (temporary migrants) of Minangkabau descent running businesses outside West Sumatra. Penjiaran Ilmoe tried to maintain a network of agents by holding competitions: the most loyal and successful seller would be rewarded with books and gifts, such as *batik* cloth. The following announcement appeared on the back page of the RP special edition *Lebaran Number 1 Sjawal 1359*:

Reward: As 1941 is coming, we urge our agents to clear all monies owing. Those whose accounts are in the best order will be rewarded with 10 issues.

²⁷ Martha (Maisir Thaib), born on 7 January 1920, was one of the editors of RP. He wrote roman entitled *Timbunan Majat di Selat Dardanella* (1938), *Kamang Affair* (1939), *Oestaz A Masjoek* and *Leider Mr. Semangat*. The last two titles were banned by the Dutch Secret Police and copies of them cannot now be located. Martha finished his studies at Normal Islam Padang and then moved to Ponorogo (1938) to teach at Pondok Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) Gontor. He then moved to South Kalimantan to build and lead a private Islamic school. Martha was imprisoned in Sukamiskin in West Java for over a year because *Leider Mr. Semangat* was judged by a Dutch court to be subversive. For more information about Martha see his autobiography *Pengalaman Seorang Perintis Kemerdekaan Generasi Terakhir Menempuh Tujuh Penjara* (1992).

- No 1. Books to the value of f5 - your choice
- No 2. Books to the value of f4 - idem
- No 3. Books to the value of f3 - idem
- And so on, all of them will get *Poesaka Indonesia* II.²⁸

The result of a similar competition was announced in 1939 on the back page of M. Kasim's book:

Penjiaran Ilmoe Publisher
RP Rewards

Agents with paid remittances to the highest value:

- 1. A. Hamid Ibrahim Pajakumbuh: a piece of high quality "Inkorba" batik cloth.
 - 2. Hr. M. Nahar, Sei. Penoe: a book "Health".
 - 3. A. M. Thalib, Samarinda (Borneo): a book "Education".
- Remember! Roman Pergaoelan will present rewards every three months. And for the next three months, the rewards will be more valuable and considerable.²⁹

Another method of the publisher's promotion and market expansion was to send staff to go abroad to survey new markets, promote the publisher and its books, and perform other related promotional activities. The announcement below, from the inside back cover of a book by Hs. Bakry, suggests that increased distribution was directed towards Sumatra, Java, Singapore and Malaysia. These places had more people graduated from formal educations and therefore more potential readers and larger markets were available. The many Minangkabaus who temporarily migrated (*merantau*) to these regions were also potential readers for a Minangkabau-

²⁸ M. Kasim. 1940. *Bereboet Wang 1 Million*, p. 81.

Hadiah

Karena 1941 datang, haraplah agenten menjeter loenas2 segala toenggakannja. Oentong jang paling dan beres storannja diberi hadiah sampai 10 nomor.

No 1. boekoe2 seharga f5.- boleh pilih

No 2. " " f4. - idem

No 3. " " f3. - Idem

Dan seterusnya masing2 Poesaka Indonesia II

²⁹**Penerbit: Penjiaran Ilmoe**

Hadiah Roman Pergaoelan

Agent jang paling banjak dan beres storannja,

No. 1. A. Hamid Ibrahim Pajakumbuh satoe helai Batik haloes special "Inkorba".

No. 2. Hr. M. Nahar, Sei. Penoe: seboeah boekoe "Kesehatan".

No. 3. A. M. Thalib, Samarinda (Borneo) seboeah boekoe "Pendidikan".

Ingat! R. Pergaoelan setiap kwartal akan memberi hadiah. Dan hadiah boeat kw. jad. lebih besar dan berharga.

based publisher such as Penjiaran Ilmoe. The announcement states:

Sales Promotion of RP. RP is growing in popularity. In order to support its development, we have dispatched promoters all over Indonesia and Malaya. They are: 1st. Mr Darwis who is covering all of Java, 2nd. Mr M.St. Bagindo who is covering Jambi, Southern Sumatra and Lampung. 3rd. A.M. Malin Moedo whose areas are Bagan Siapi-api and Western Kalimantan, and 4th. M. Soeleman in Singapore and Malaya. In this way, the promotion of RP is constantly expanding.³⁰

A third method of promotion was to place book advertisements and reviews in newspapers and magazines that were published in many different places. Some newspapers contained reviews or small advertisements introducing new books. Usually newspapers provided a column with information on books they had received from publishers. Some of the reviews in newspapers or magazines were then quoted by editorial staff and placed on the front or back pages of a following edition. This was not only the case for Penjiaran Ilmoe's books, but also for books produced by other publishers in Batavia or Medan. For example, an edition of *Journalist Alamsjah* contains a quotation of a review of A. Damhoeri's *Menanti Soerat dari Rantau* (Waiting for Letters from Abroad), published in Medan, originally written in a school magazine named *RAYA* from Padangpanjang.

The publisher also periodically gave appropriate discounts to agents or distributors to increase sales. These discounts served to keep distributors loyal and to attract fresh distributors. On the back page of a work by Hamka (p. 65) an announcement states:

To all book distributors!

Beginning with this number, the discount for distributors is 25%.

Payments should be sent every 15 days, so we do not find ourselves under pressure with printing matters. Outstanding debts should be paid immediately and all unsold copies be returned. Your attention to these matters is appreciated. Our

³⁰ *Propagandisten R. Pergaoelan. Roman Pergaoelan kian hari, kian digemari djoega. Oentoek menambah kemadjoeannja, kita meoetoes beberapa propagandisten keseloeroeh Indonesia dan tanah Melajoe jaitoe: 1e. Sdr. Darwis keseloeroeh djawa. 2e. Sdr. M. St. Bagindo ke daerah Djambi, Sumatra Selatan dan Lampoeng. 3e. A. M. Malin Moedo kedaerah Bagan Siapi-api dan Borneo Barat. 4e. M. Soeleman ke Singapore dan tanah Melajoe. Dengan demikian, propaganda R. P. semakin loeas.*

communication should always be maintained in order. Thank you. Adm.³¹

Reader Profile

Penjiaran Ilmoe had a growing audience of increasingly readers who graduated from formal and traditional schools. In the beginning, the RP series was published fortnightly, usually on the first and twentieth of each month, with 1,000 copies printed per issue, but as readers' demands rose and management improved, its circulation volume reached about 5,000 copies per issue, the highest of any publications at the time. Some of the series were re-printed in second editions, including the story of *Oestaz A. Masjoek* (The Teacher A. Masjoek) by Martha, which was re-printed three times and sold more than 10,000 copies (Tamar Djaja 1955: 208).³² The real number of readers may have been many more, as a single copy was probably read by more than one reader.

The price of each issue of RP was f0.18, while the price of a subscription for 3 months was f1. In comparison with the price of rice in 1939, finest quality rice cost f0.90 per ten litres, f0.63 per ten litres of medium quality rice, and f0.50 per ten litres of the lowest quality rice (Indisch Verslag 1940: 356). So a three-month subscription to RP cost almost the same as ten litres of high quality rice. From these prices, we may conclude that RP was reasonably affordable.

Information about the readers of Penjiaran Ilmoe's books can also be derived from an announcement attached to the back page of Kamizir's *Spi-*

³¹ *Kepada seloeroeh agenten!*

Moelai nomor ini, korting diberikan kepada agenten 25%.

Storan wang, hendaklah dikirim tiap tiap 15 hari sekali, soepaja kami tidak terlaloe terdesak oeroesan tjitak. Storan jang lama, hendaklah selesaikan dengan segera, dan segala restant hendaklah dikembalikan. Diharap para agenten memperhatikan. Hendaknja perhoeboengan kita senantiasa terdjaga rapi.

Terima kasih.

Adm.

³² 'In the history of publishing houses, the publication of these roman has broken all records. Whereas the usual print run for a book or roman magazine is 1,000 copies, the print run for these romans can reach 5,000 copies, with many of them being reprinted.' *Didalam sedjarah penerbitan, penerbitan roman2 inilah jang telah memetjahkan rekor oplag. Kalau tadinja tiap2 oplag buku maupun madjalah roman biasanja hanya mentjapai 1.000 eksemplar, kemudian dapat mentjapai 5.000 eks, sekali terbit dan tak djarang ada jangdibuat tjetak ulangan.*

I did not find a copy of *Oestaz A Masjoek* during my research. It is possible that all copies of this roman were destroyed following its controversy.

der Komplot Lawa2. It contains comments, quoted from a letter and an interview, by three important individuals — Mochtar Loethfie, Iljas Jacoub and M. Yamin³³ —praising the contents of the RP series. While announcements of this kind were intended as advertising, they also construct a portrait of the readers of *Penjiaran Ilmoe* publications, and the RP series in particular, as coming from various levels of society, including both leaders and ordinary people.

Sinar Sumatra newspaper (2 November 1939) notes, in an editorial comment, that the RP series is an example of good reading material. The editor predicts the widespread distribution of the publication in the future, and his words also imply that RP enjoyed a good standing in society.

Finally we are glad to hear from all sides that the business carried on by *Penjiaran Ilmoe*, including the publication of RP, seems to have been well received by all its customers with pleasing results. So henceforth we may expect its journey to be a profitable and happy one.³⁴

³³ The announcement is: 'What the leaders say: Indonesia. "This letter is to acknowledge and thank you and your colleagues for your parcel. The content (RP) seems to me like a dawn breeze brushing away the listlessness, worries, anxieties and sorrows that usually plague the caravans crossing the deserts of dreams. For that reason your contributions are of great value, especially *Penjiaran Ilmoe*." (Mochtar Loethfie) "This book (RP), besides being a complete roman type of story, also depicts realistically the hidden behaviour of human beings. Even though it originates from the imagination it is played out in realistic form. I congratulate the writers from afar." (Iljas Jacoub).'

Apa kata pemimpin; Indonesia soerat inilah oentoek berterima kasih dan sjoekoer atas kiriman sdr. Dan kawan2 sdr. Isinja (*Roman Pergaoelan*) saja pandang sebagai angin fadjar jang mehilangkan lesoe, roesoeh, tjemas dan piloe jang biasa menggoda kafilah jang sedang melaloei sahara idaman. Maka dari itoe mahal harganja djasa sdr2 itoe, istimewa *Penjiaran Ilmoe* (Mochtar Loethfie).

Boekoe ini (R.P) selain dari sebagai satoe tjerita roman jang berawal dan berachir, djoega ia meroepakan dengan njata sifat2 manoesia jang tersembunji sekalipoen asalnja kebanyakan fantasi, tetapi ia sampai terhampar dengan roepa jang sesoenggoehnja. Kepada pengarang2nja dari djaoeh saja oetjapkan selamat (Iljas Jacoub). (p. 76). Mochtar Loethfie and Iljas Jacoub were the leaders of Persatuan Muslim Indonesia (Permi), an Islamic organisation founded in Padangpanjang, West Sumatra, in 1930. They, together with another leader, Djajaluddin Thaib, were sent to Boven Digul in 1934 by the Dutch government because of their political activities. M. Yamin (1903-1962), born in Talawi, Sawahlunto, West Sumatra, was an author, an important poet and a translator of literary works. He was one of those who proposed the Indonesian language as the national language. He became minister of the judiciary (1951-1952), minister of education and culture (1953-1955) and minister of information (1962-1963). Yamin also asked the Volksraad to abolish the exile of the three people above in Boven Digul. His speech before the Volksraad appeared in *Sinar Sumatra*, 20 July 1939.

³⁴ *Achirnja kita merasa girang mendengar dari kiri kanan bahwa sekarang oesaha jang dikerdjakan oleh Penjiaran Ilmoe, didalam mana termasuk penerbitan Roman Pergaoelan kabarnja telah mendapat samboetan dari segala langganannja dengan satoe hasil jang*

Maisir Thaib notes in his biography (1992: 43) that when he moved to South Kalimantan in 1939 to chair an Islamic school, many people in his new home were already familiar with him: 'Based on writings in "Pedoman Masyarakat" magazine and novels in "Roman Pergaoelan", readers in South Kalimantan already knew me through their readings.'³⁵ Judging by the list of distributors of Penjiaran Ilmoe publications, we can estimate that many regions, like South Kalimantan in this example, contributed to Penjiaran Ilmoe's readership.

Balai Pustaka Censorship Compared to Publications by Penjiaran Ilmoe

To study a particular publisher is an essential aspect of analyzing the literary works of a particular place and era. Publishers hold the keys to producing and distributing literature, because they control the process of selecting and editing texts to be published. The selection process is not always rule- and standard-governed. Some publishers exert an enormous influence over their authors, in some instances performing much unnecessary editing because of their own ideology, language preference, preferred themes, and even preferred authors. In the pre-independence period in Indonesia, this practice commonly operated as a form of implicit regulation by publishers, especially Balai Pustaka.³⁶ Balai Pustaka exerted a great influence upon the shape of books that it published, and as time passed it became more and more hegemonic and exercised greater power in choosing texts deemed to qualify according to its own sets of rules and standards.³⁷

By filtering books and constructing reading lists, Balai Pustaka also controlled the books produced by private publishers which the general public could read (Balai Pustaka 1948: 29-30). Almost every private pub-

menjenangkan, sehingga dengan demikian boleh diharap ia akan menempoeh oentoeng dan bahagia dalam perdjalanannja.

³⁵ *Dengan tulisan-tulisan dalam majalah "Pedoman Masyarakat" dan novel-novel dalam "Roman Pergaoelan", masyarakat pembaca di Kal-Sel sudah juga berkenalan dengan saya secara bacaan.*

³⁶ For further reading on Balai Pustaka, see for example Watson (1972), Jedamski (1992), Faruk (2002) and Hilmar Farid and Razif (2008).

³⁷ This attitude of Balai Pustaka is famously reflected in the cases of Abdoel Moeis' *Salah Asuhan* and Armjin Pane's *Belenggu*, in which the authors came under strong pressure from the publishing house (Balai Pustaka 1948: 72).

lisher had to send their books to Balai Pustaka to be subjected to their scrutiny. For this purpose Balai Pustaka established a special committee, in 1938, through which to inspect all lending libraries (*taman bacaan*) which lent books to the public in Java. The motivation behind the launch of this committee was the fear of the spread of ‘wild’ (*liar*) and ‘pornographic’ (*cabul*) reading materials among the Indonesian people. Balai Pustaka sent its own books to the lending libraries so as to restrict lending only to the books it provided. By the end of 1941 (Balai Pustaka 1948: 29-30) there were around 1,400 private libraries and lending libraries which regularly bought books from Balai Pustaka, and as a result, Balai Pustaka held a strong monopoly not only in deciding reading materials, but also in the matter of book distribution.

Umar Junus (2004: 55-57) contrasts the self-imposed visions and intentions of Balai Pustaka with those of other publishers. Besides ensuring that literary works were free from the influences of anti-Dutch politics, Umar Junus explains that Balai Pustaka avoided or censored anything that could be considered ‘improper’. From 1920 onwards, the works published by private publishing houses outside Balai Pustaka, like the RP series, were therefore considered by many in the general public to be more ‘attractive’ and more vocal in comparison to Balai Pustaka books. In most of the RP books the authors discuss and explore politics, education, religious practice, social organisation, and other issues, thereby risking the disapproval of the Dutch colonial establishment. Umar Junus’ observation is even more meaningful in this context, highlighting how, in contrast to Balai Pustaka publications, the RP series could attract readers’ attention and express the voice, hopes and dreams of the people.

Many of Penjiaran Ilmoe’s publications were intended to strengthen civil society and to support Indonesia’s independence movement. In some books, for instance, there are descriptions of social organizations, such as political parties or the League of Nations, along with details of their structures and responsibilities, as well as descriptions of the French and American Revolutions, and introductions to important Indonesian figures. One such case was *Poesaka Indonesia* (Indonesian Heirloom), the first book containing biographical information on important Indonesian leaders.³⁸

³⁸ The back pages of *Angkatan Baroe* by Hamka (pp. 65-67) state: ‘Major publication! Forthcoming! Appearing in a few days’ time! “POESAKA INDONESIA”. Indonesian people everywhere! There has never been a book published that could be called “Indonesian

Event the structure of a post-independence government was discussed in Penjiaran Ilmoe publications, before the nation of Indonesia was realised. The effort of Penjiaran Ilmoe to prepare Indonesia for nationhood was its response to the nationalist movement which had been nurtured by such events as Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Pledge) in Jakarta in 1928, and Kongres Bahasa Indonesia (Congress of Indonesian Language) in Solo in 1930.

Penjiaran Ilmoe Publications and Public Controversy

Some of the RP publications, whose contents which were seen as hurtful towards certain parties or groups, created great controversy. Even though the Dutch government did not itself condemn these readings, there were other groups, particularly *ulama* and high-ranking *adat* leaders, who responded to them negatively. Penjiaran Ilmoe, however, demonstrated that it was accepting of feedback from its readers. According to the editor, the publishers had predicted strong reactions to these works from their readers and society in general before they had even been published:

From the beginning, we predicted and believed that there would be bedlam in Minangkabau society if the story of “OESTAZ A MA’SJOEK” alias Goeroe Tjaboel was published. Because the story is really about the pillars of society, especially about the

heritage”. There have been many books published on politics and history, there have been romans and other books, but a book serving as the “heritage” of all the Indonesian people has never yet been seen. For that reason, in a few days’ time, we will purposefully issue a major publication entitled “POESAKA INDONESIA”. This book will really be a heritage item for our people. Apart from a complete history of Indonesia, the book will contain biographies of Indonesian leaders, their lives and struggles in this new age, making it a big, thick book. Every biography will be accompanied by pictures of the leaders described. ... To make the book available to everyone, we are deliberately keeping the price low: Before publication f 0.96. After publication f 1.35. Place your orders now. This is an opportunity you must not miss. Publisher: Penjiaran Ilmoe, Fort de Kock.’ (*Penerbitan Besar! Bakal Terbit! Sedikit hari lagi! “POESAKA INDONESIA” Ra’jat Indonesia seloeroehnja! Beloem pernah diterbitkan seboeah boekoe jang boleh dinamakan “Poesaka Indonesia”. Telah banjak boekoe-boekoe jang diterbitkan beroepa politik, sedjarah, romans sebagainja, akan tetapi seboeah boekoe jang boleh mendjadi “poesaka” bagi ra’jat Indonesia seoemoemnja, beloem kelihatan. Karena itoe sedikit hari lagi sengadja akan diterbitkan boekoe besar dengan title: “POESAKA INDONESIA”. Boekoe jang betoel-betoel akan mendjadi poesaka bagi bangsa kita. Berisi selain dari sedjarah Indonesia jang lengkap, djoega riwayat pengandjoer-pengandjoer Indonesia kehidoepan dan perdjoeangannja dizaman baroe sehingga ia akan mendjadi seboeah boekoe jang tebal dan besar. Tiap-tiap riwayat akan memoeat gambar dari pemimpin-pemimpin jang diriwayatkan ... Soepaja boekoe terseboet dapat dipoenja oleh rata-rata ra’jat kita, maka sengadja dimoerahkan. Sebeloem terbit f0.96. Sesoedah terbit f1.35. Lekaslah pesan dari sekarang. Satoe kesempatan jang tak boleh toean abaikan. Penerbit: Penjiaran Ilmoe, Fort de Kock.*)

religious schools of the present, from which have come some shocking rumours about the conduct of teachers toward their female students. This issue has become a public secret within Minangkabau society. (Umri, 1940: 75)³⁹

This controversy over Martha's *Oestaz A Ma'sjoek* continued to spread, with responses pouring into newspapers with criticism of, as well as support for, Martha's work. An editor of RP explained:

It is not surprising if the book has created tumultuous press in Padang and Tapanuli. Many columns of newspaper pages contain reviews of the book. On the part of the religious teachers, as represented by a person identifying himself as H. Abdoellah, we have received continuous attack for 9 days after *Persamaan* published its review. By other parties, the book has been received with boisterous agreement. The conflict between these two parties is not, obviously, a remarkable event. (Umri. 1940: 75)⁴⁰

Two letters of criticism, one anonymous and the other by a writer named Balis, appeared in *Sinar Sumatra* newspaper. The anonymous author writes:

After hearing the title of the story that would be published we were all impatiently awaiting the day of the book release, because according to rumour Martha would depict a story that really happened. While not giving my own opinion about whether the story is real or not, what lessons can we draw after reading it? It only gives a bad picture of social lives at

³⁹ Sedjak bermoela, kita telah menjangka dan mejakinkan bahwa Minangkabau akan gempar bila tjerita "OESTAZ A MA'SJOEK" alias Goeroe Tjaboel kita terbitkan. Sebab tjerita itoe betoel-betoel mengenai tiang masjarakat, teroetama mengenai sekolah-sekolah agama zaman sekarang, dimana diroepakan beberapa kedjadian jang menjolok mata jang dilakoekan oleh goeroe terhadap moeridnja jang perempoean. Soal ini di Minangkabau telah mendjadi rahsia oemoem.

⁴⁰ Tidak heran kalau boekoe ini, telah menjebakkan pers di Padang dan Tapanoeli mendjadi riboet. Berkolom-kolom halaman s. k. [surat kabar] memuat pertimbangan akan isi boekoe itoe. Dari pehak kaoem goeroe agama seperti jang ditoelis oleh orang jang menamakan dirinja H. Abdoellah, kita mendapat serangan habis-habisan sampai 9 hari bertoroet-toroet PERSAMAAN memoeat koepasan itoe. Dan dari pehak lain, boekoe disamboet dengan gempar menjatakan setoedjoe. Doea aliran jang bertentangan ini, pada hakekatnja tidaklah soeatoe hal jang loear biasa.

surau, even the *surau* of modernized schools. (*Sinar Sumatra*, 26 February 1940)⁴¹



FIGURE 2 Cover of *Disamping keroeboehannya Kota Bondjol* by D. Umri. Courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

In his newspaper editorial, Balis wrote that the roman had an important value for society. The theme and the story present a crucial problem which ‘should be very urgently discussed in public, because it relates to questions of common interest, society and religion, which all belong to the public realm and must be investigated publicly’ (*Sinar Sumatra*, 14 March 1940).⁴²

Martha’s work was ferociously attacked by the Association for Islamic Education (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiah or PERTI). When PERTI held its second conference in Limbanang from 25 to 29 August 1940, it included a special meeting to discuss RP in general and in particular Martha’s *Oestaz A Ma’sjoek* and Hamka’s *Angkatan Baroe*. Martha’s story features *suluk*, ritual Sufism practiced by certain Islamic groups, but focuses on episodes in which some *suluk* leaders have affairs with female *suluk* followers. As PERTI considered the contents of the roman to be

⁴¹ ... setelah mendengar titel tjerita jang akan diterbitkan itoe sama2 tidak sabar menanti hari terbitnja, sebab kabarnja Martha akan menggambarkan soeatoe peristiwa jang memang kedjadian. Dengan tidak menjatakan pikiran sendiri tentang terdjadi atau tidaknja tjerita itoe, peladjaran apa jang kita peroleh setelah membatja tjerita tersebut? Tidak lain hanjalah gambaran jang koerang baik dalam pergaoelan hidoep di soerau soerau meskipoen soerau itoe meroepakan soeatoe sekolah jang dipermodern sekalipoen.

⁴² ...sangat pentingnja dibitjarakan dihadapan oemoem, karena ia mengenai soal oemoem, soal masjarakat dan soal agama, sedangkan kedoeanja adalah kepoenjaan orang ramai jang mesti dikoepas dihadapan ramai.

criticising PERTI's practice of *suluk*, this session in the conference was meant to confront the roman, the author and the publisher. In its press release (*Sinar Sumatra*, 24 August 1940) the organization stated:

In a closed meeting, besides discussing internal organizational matters, invited participants will also discuss the affront of Mr. Hamka (H. Abd. Malik Karim Amroellah, the chief editor of *Pedoman Masyarakat* Medan) towards *suluk* teachers, who, in the introduction to the book *Oestaz A Ma'sjoek* published in Bukittinggi, are accused of conducting nocturnal affairs with their students, and also that those old ulama only teach their female students how to massage their feet and eat their scraps. This question will certainly be interesting, as the *suluk* community and their leaders feel libelled and insulted by Hamka's writing.⁴³

PERTI leaders from all over were invited to attend the discussion:

It is necessary to announce that starting from Sunday afternoon 26-27 [August 1940] there will be held a meeting located in the conference hall inviting all *suluk* teachers, Naqsabandi leaders, who feel they have been libeled by the writing of Mr. Hamka (h. A. M. Karim Amroellah) in his introduction to the roman *Oestaz A Ma'sjoek*, recounting that they have had nocturnal affairs with female students. All the Naqsabandi leaders will be invited and the invitation is so earnest that we ask everyone to attend even though they must walk or come by car and pay with pawned or borrowed money, in order to cleanse the stain placed by Hamka upon the heads of Naqsabandi leaders. (*Sinar Sumatra*, 26 August 1940)⁴⁴

⁴³ [D]alam rapat tertutoep, selain dari oeroesan roemah tangga perserikatan akan toeroet djoega dibitjarakan dengan orang2 oendangan, hinaan t. Hamka (H. Abd. Malik Karim Amroellah Hoofredacteur *Pedoman Masyarakat* Medan), pada chalifah2 soeloek, jang dikatakannja memboeat pekerdjaan mesoem dengan moeridnja tengah malam dan oelama2 toea itoe hanja mengadjarkan mengoeroet kaki dan makan sisa pada moerid2nja jang gadis2, dalam pendahoeloean boekoe roman *Oestaz A. Ma'sjoek* jang terbit di Boekit Tinggi. Tentoelah soal ini akan meriah poela, karena orang soeloek dan chalifah chalifahnja merasa terhina dan terfitnah oleh toelisan Hamka itoe.

⁴⁴ Dan jang perloe rasanja dima'loemkan bahwa petang Senin ddo 26-27 akan diadakan Vergadering metal genoogdigen, bertempat di Gebouw Conferentie dengan mengoendang sekalian Sjech2 Soeloek, sjech Naqsabandi, jang telah difitnah oleh t. Hamka (h. A.M Karim Amroellah) dalam moekaddimah boekoe roman *Oestaz A. Ma'sjoek*, bahwa beliau2 itoe memboeat mesoem dengan moeridja tengah malam. Sekalian sjech2 Naqsabandi akan dioendang dan oendangan itoe kelihatannja bersemangat benar sehingga dimintak semoeanja hadir walaupoen dengan berdjalan kaki, berauto merangkak dengan oelang

In the opinion of PERTI leaders, Hamka's introduction and the story of *Oestaz A Ma'sjoek* criticised the dignity and prestige of *ulama* and *suluk* teachers. The participants of the conference also stated that Hamka 'has written in the introduction to his book *Oestaz A. Ma'sjoek*, a roman published by the Penjiaran Ilmoe Bookshop in Bukittinggi, with great scorn towards the *suluk* leaders' (*Sinar Sumatra*, 30 August 1940).⁴⁵ Hamka therefore had discredited teachers in general:

[Hamka] has trampled upon the turbans of Naqsabandi leaders, spat in their faces, and scribbled upon their brows with coal and impurities which will never disappear, if we do not eliminate it/him together. He has scorned religious teachers in general, scorned organizational leaders, and scorned teachers at Islamic school in general. We are seen as garbage without value, having no brains and thoughts, as if he is the only person who is clever, he is the only person who knows the Quran and Hadith, and we are just shadows who cannot defend ourselves. (*Sinar Sumatra*, 30 August 1940)⁴⁶

As a result of this conference PERTI issued three recommendations in reference to both the literary works and their authors: (1) to burn books written by Hamka and Martha, (2) to pray for one month in order to accuse and execute the writers and publisher, and (3) to make a report to the Resident in Padang demanding a ban of the books (Tamar Djaja 1955: 208, see also Sudarmoko 2008). As a symbol of the earnestness of these recommendations, PERTI leader Siradjoeddin Abbas burned a copy of the book before a thousand PERTI members and conference participants.

Tamar Djaja responded to PERTI's recommendations in *Sinar Sumatra* (5 September 1940). He carefully answered each item of the rec-

jang dipindjam dengan menggadai karena akan menghilangkan noda dan nadjis jang telah ditjorengkan Hamka pada kening sjeich2 Naqsabandi.

⁴⁵... telah menoeis dalam moekaddimah boekoe "*Oestaz A. Ma'sjoek*", jaitoe roman, jang diterbitkan oleh Boekhandel Penjiaran Ilmoe Boekit Tinggi, penghinaan terhadap sjeich dan Chalifah Soeloek.

⁴⁶ [Hamka] telah mengindjak sorban2 besar Chalifah Naqsabandi, telah meloedah moekanja, telah mentjorengkan arang dan nadjis pada kening Sjeich2 Naqsabandi, jang tidak akan hilang selama2nja, kalau kita tidak bersama membrantasnja. Ia telah menghinakan goeroe2 agama seloeroehnja, ia telah menghinakan leider2 perkoempoelan, ia telah menghinakan goeroe2 sekolah agama seloeroehnja. Kita ini dipandangnja sebagai sampah jang tidak berharga, tidak berotak dan tidak berfikiran, seolah2 dia sadja jang pandai, ia sadja tahoe quran dan hadits, dan kita ini bajang2 jang tak pandai mempertahankan dirinja.

ommendation, and his response is impressive for its defence of the books he published as well as the authors. As a response to the controversy and reactions from readers, writers and publishers in Medan had earlier held their own conference to determine the future of the novel. The conference confirmed the publishers' conviction that not only did people still need reading materials such as roman, but that in fact they needed more of them and that they would therefore continue to publish such materials.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The complete statement: "Roman Conference": After visiting places in the area of Tapanuli and the Batak lands, we arrived in Medan. As we could not stay long in Medan and had to return to Fort de Kock early on the morning of Monday 18 December, a conference of journalists, publishers and writers of roman was hastily convened in the K.I.S. building on Sunday afternoon, 17 December. All in all about 40 people attended, under the leadership of Mr Adi Negoro. The topic of discussion was roman, the subject of a lively degree of controversy at the moment over whether it is useful for society or not. After statements by the following speakers, Matu Mona, Tamar Djaja, Joesoef Sou'yb, Adi Negoro, M. Yunan Nasution, Hasanoel Arifin, Hamka, Si Oema, Loetan Gani, Joesoef Hoesin, A. Damhoeri, M. A Hanafiah Lb. A W. Rata, Noerdin Soelan, M. Dien Jatim, Mr Indo, as well as others present, the meeting concluded that the publication of romans should not only not be obstructed, but actually increased. Romans are of value in refining language use and encouraging the habit of reading. They contain information and inspire critical thinking. So the types of romans that are appearing in large numbers at the present time are of great value to Indonesian society in its present formative stage. Finally, the call 'Long Live the Indonesian Roman' rang out. The Abad XX press photography unit made sure it recorded the conference session. For more information, read the extended report in the press. 'The first time a Roman Conference has been held in Indonesia,' said Mr Adi Negoro, closing the conference at 12 midnight. When we arrived back in Fort de Kock, "Roman Pergaoelan" will undergo a thorough reorganization. RP is set to delight you!

"Roman Komperensi" Sesoedah mengoendjoengi tempat2 di daerah Tapanoeli, Bataklanden sekitarnja, maka sampailah kita di Medan. Karena kita tak dapat lama2 di Medan dan mesti berangkat kembali ke Fort de Kock pagi2 hari Senin 18 Dec, dengan tjara tergesa-gesa pada petang Ahad 17 Dec. dengan bertempat digedoeng K.I.S diadakan KOMPERENSI dari para wartawan, penerbit dan pengarang-pengarang ROMAN selengkapnja kira2 40 orang joemlahnja, dengan pimpinan t. ADI NEGORO. Dibitjarakan tentang ROMAN jg sekarang sedang ramai mendjadi soal, apakah ia berfaedah oentoek masjarakat atawa tidak.

Sesoedah mendengar keterangan2 dari para pemitjara jang terdiri dari tt. Matu Mona, Tamar Djaja, Joesoef Sou'yb, Adi Negoro, M. Yunan Nasution, Hasanoel Arifin, Hamka, Si Oema, Loetan Gani, Joesoef Hoesin, A. Damhoeri, M. A. Hanafiah Lb., A. W. Rata, Noerdin Soelan, M. Dien Jatim, Mr. Indo, dan para jang hadir, didapatlah kesimpoean bahasa penerbitan roman INDONESIA, tidak mestinja dihalangi tetapi haroes ditambah. Roman, berfaedah oentoek **memperhaloes bahasa menagihkan oerang membatja**, dan tendenz (isi)nja senantiasa bersifat PROPAGANDA, MEANNDJOERKAN, DAN MENGKERITIK. Maka roman sematjam jang banyak terbit sekarang, besar faedahnja bagi masjarakat Indonesia jang masih dalam fase permoelaan ini. Achirnja diseroekan HIDOEPLAH ROMAN INDONESIA. Perspoto Abad XX tak loepa mengambil gambar sidang komperensi terseboet. Lebih landjoet batjalah perslah pandjang dalam pers Roman komperensi jang baroe pertama kali diadakan di Indonesia kata t. Adi Negoro menoetoep rapat itoe djam 12 malam. Sekembali kita ke Fort de Kock, "ROMAN PERGAOELAN" diorganisier benar2. Samboetlah R. P. dengan girang. (In front pages of Hs. Bakry, 1939. Mr. X.).

Similar controversy was aroused by Hamka's *Angkatan Baroe*, to which the publishing house replied:

The conclusion is as follows: we and the press who agree are defending Islam. H. Abdoellah and his colleagues are defending Islamic teachers. Which one of these two stands is correct is up to the public to decide. Thus it is with the book *Angkatan Baroe* written by Mr. Hamka which has become the topic of wide discussion. Penjiaran Ilmoe as the publisher of the book is very happy because its every step is watched by the people. We gladly accept criticism and advice and even attack in any form and from any parties. We accept what is good, and what we believe to be bad we discard. This attitude is something in which we have always believed. If RP this time has received a great attack in this way, with the accusation of disturbing unity, and many other accusations like it, these actions will not make us cease criticizing society and corrupt social life. We will work and work continuously. Praised or blamed, seen as good or bad, all of it depends on who is looking. We will not give up in displaying ROMAN (color-form or picture) PERGAOELAN to society in this changing age. (D. Umri, 1940: 75-76)⁴⁸

Despite these strong words, Penjiaran Ilmoe appeared to prepare for the consequences of its controversial publications. The editor decided to form a new publishing company, Bintang Kedjora, as an alternative if, for some reason, Penjiaran Ilmoe had to be closed. The person leading this new publishing company was announced to be Soetan Rais Alamsjah,

⁴⁸ *Kesimpoelannja begini:*

Kita dan pers jang setoedjoe, MEMPERTAHANKAN AGAMA ISLAM.

H. Abdoellah dan pengikoetnja, MEMPERTAHANKAN GOEROE2 AGAMA.

Mana jang betoel diantara kedoea pendirian itoe, baiklah kita serahkan pada oemoem.

Demikian poela dengan boekoe "ANGKATAN BAROE" jang ditoelis t. Hamka, toeroet djoega mendjadi atjara perbintjangan ramai.

Penjiaran Ilmoe sebagai penerbit boekoe2 terseboet, bergirang hati karena tiap langkahnja diperhatikan masjarakat. Kita sedia menerima keritik dan nasehat tapi djoega serangan walau bagaimanapoen matjamnja dari segala pihak. Mana jang baik kita terima, dan jang kita anggap tidak baik, kita boeang. Pendirian ini, selamanja mendjadi pendirian jang kita anggap baik.

Kalau Roman Pergaoelan sekali ini mendapat serangan hebat demikian roepa, dengan toedoehan mengatjau persatoean, dan lain2 sebagainja, tidaklah jang demikian itoe akan menjebakkan kita berhenti dari mengkeritik masjarakat, dan social jang roesak. Kita akan bekerdja dan bekerdja teroes. Dipoe dji atau ditjela dipandang baik atau dipandang boeroek, itoe terserah kepada orang jang memandangnja sendiri. Tidaklah kita akan berpatah hati memperlihatkan ROMAN (warna-bentoek atau gambaran) PERGAOELAN kepada masjarakat, dalam zaman pantjaroba ini.

which was the *adat* title of Tamar Djaja, the leader and chief editor of Penjiaran Ilmoe and RP. The series Perjoeangan Hidoep was prepared to replace the RP series:

“Perdjoeangan Hidoep” was born after roman stories received rampant criticism and attack from our press and intellectuals. Therefore, it will not publish ghost stories, zombie stories, stories by charlatans and many others which have long been forbidden by Islam. Instead it will publish selected stories that have been carefully filtered in the forms of: Epics, History, Knowledge, and Politics, that are useful for society, activating the spirit of struggle in life. (Thaib, 1940: 61)⁴⁹

Perdjoeangan Hidoep was published monthly starting from 1 April 1940 with Mohd. Kasim’s *Pengalaman Seorang Nihilist* (The Experience of A Nihilist) as the first roman it published. The second was Thaher Samad’s *Lady Marion Curtis*, followed by Tamar Djaja’s *Dari Desa ke Kota* (From Village to City) (Umri, 1940: 82).

Soon, however, the Dutch government too gave heed to the controversy over Martha’s book and in February 1941 banned the roman and withdrew it from readers, libraries and booksellers. *Sinar Sumatra* (18 February 1941) reported that ‘the famous book *Oestaz A Ma’sjoek* or *Goeroe Tjaboel* (Obscene Teacher) by Martha, which has created havoc and became a topic of discussion at the PERTI conference, has been revoked in some libraries here by the Sawah Lunto secret police. This revocation was also conducted in Pariaman.’⁵⁰ Martha’s *Leider Mr. Semangat* (Mr. Semangat the Leader) was also banned by the Dutch government because it was judged to be politically subversive. Martha was arrested when he was in Kalimantan. The editor of RP briefly summarised the case for his

⁴⁹ “**Perjoeangan Hidoep**”

“Perjoeangan Hidoep” lahir sesoedah tjerita-tjerita roman poeas menerima keritik dan serangan dari pers dan para Intellectuelen kita. Karena itoe, ia tidak akan mengeloearkan tjerita2 hantoe, tjerita majat hidoep, tjerita palasik dan lain-lain, jang telah diberantas oleh agama Islam bertahoen-tahoen jang laloe.

Tapi ia akan mengeloearkan tjerita pilihan jang telah disaring betoel-betoel, jaitoe beroepa:

Hikajat, Sedjarah, Wetenschap, Politiek,

Jang bergoena bagi masjarakat, menghidoepkan semangat berdjoeang dalam penghidoepan.

⁵⁰ ...oleh PID Sawah Loento boekoe jang terkenal jaitoe Ostaz A. Ma’sjoek atau Goeroe Tjaboel karangan Martha jang menggemparkan dan mendjadi pembijtaraan dalam kongres Perti telah dibeslag pada beberapa bibliotheek disini. Pembeslaghan ini, djoega terdjadi di Pariaman.

readers:

In connection with the restriction of the book *Leider Mr. Semangat*, we received a telegram from Borneo informing us that Mr. Martha was arrested in Kandangan; after 3 nights' incarceration there, on 29 November he was sent to Banjarmasin and on to Fort de Kock. (Front page of roman *Mawar Poetih* by Suara Sutji, 1940)⁵¹

Information on the revocation of the roman throughout West Sumatra can be found in *Sinar Sumatra*. On 25 November 1940 it informed its readers: 'Last Saturday 23 November 1940, the chief of secret police and the head of the market office at Payakumbuh raided bookshops in order to find the roman *Leider Mr. Semangat*, a roman published by RP Bukittinggi. According to information received, they succeeded in finding 3 copies of the book.'⁵² The search of the roman was conducted in many places in West Sumatra. The whole stock of the roman at Penjiaran Ilmoe was taken by the Dutch secret police (*Sinar Sumatra*, 26 November 1940), while in Padangpanjang, the secret police raided libraries and booksellers to find the roman on Friday, 22 November 1940 (*Sinar Sumatra*, 29 November 1940).

Martha's case was brought to court in Fort de Kock. After the trial, he was sentenced to one and a half years in prison. He was then sent to Sukamiskin, West Java, to undergo his incarceration. Tamar Djaja gave a short account of the case:

Maisir Thaib 1 year and 6 months. Last Wednesday 12 March 1941 the court at Bukittinggi led by Mr Dr Knottenbelt arbitrated upon the case of Maisir Thaib (Martha) regarding the book *Leider Mr. Semangat* which was accused of contravening Article 153 bis, resulting in the punishment mentioned above. The book is an RP story published on 5 July 1940 seized in our office on 22 November 1940 and then throughout agencies and from consumers across Indonesia.

⁵¹Berhoeboeng dengan pembeslahan atas boekoe "*LEIDER MR. SEMANGAT*", maka kita terima telegram dari Borneo menerangkan sdr. Martha di tahan di Kandangan, setelah 3 malam ditahan disana, maka pada 29 Nov. dikirim ke Bandjarmasin dan diteroeskan ke Fort de Kock.

⁵²Pada hari Saptoe 23 Nov. 1940 jl, menteri politie PID dan passarhoofd Pajakoemboeh telah melakukan pengeledahan pada boekhandel2 disana oentoek mentjari satoe boekoe roman: *Leider Mr. Semangat*. Satoe roman jang diterbitkan oleh Roman Pergaoelan Boekittinggi. Kabarnja telah didapat 3 boekoe tersebut.

Maisir Thaib was arrested on 26 November in Rantau (Borneo) and then incarcerated in Kandangan, and subsequently sent to Bukittinggi. We send our friend Maisir Thaib from us with uproar in our hearts and we will welcome his return with joy. On Tuesday 18 March, Martha departs to Bandung to undergo his sentence in Sukamiskin prison. With this, Penjiaran Ilmoe and RP lose an active assistant, and a very sympathetic young man. The process of the trial was running well. Go, friend! Go, and return to us...! Tamar Djaja. (Romanita, 1941: 73)⁵³

Penjiaran Ilmoe was not the only private publishing house to experience crackdowns from the authorities. A similar incident occurred with Roman Indonesia,⁵⁴ a private publishing house based in Padang. A roman written by D'niar entitled *Tetesan Darah Orang Pergerakan* (The Drop-lets Blood of Movement People) was banned by the secret police, and the 2000 copies of the roman were hunted out across the Padang area. Police succeeded in finding 500 copies in Berita bookshop (*Sinar Sumatra*, 10 July 1940). Another investigation was performed in Sawahlunto on Tuesday 9 July 1940, led by chief of secret police B.St. Mantjaja and the local *penghulu dagang* (chief of trade). From raiding Kita bookshop, owned by B. Syaraf, the police sized 20 copies which had just arrived the day before (*Sinar Sumatra*, 11 July 1940). On the same day, the police also inspected bookshops in Pariaman, where they found 20 copies of the roman in Ippa bookstore (*Sinar Sumatra*, 15 July 1940).

⁵³ **Maisir Thaib 1 Tahoen 6 Boelan**

Hari Arbaa 12 Maart 1941 landstraat Boekit Tinggi jang dipimpin oleh t. Mr. Dr. Knottenbelt telah mengadili perkara sdr. Maisir Thaib (Martha) tentang delict boekoe "Leider Mr. Semangat" jang ditoedoeih melanggar artikel 153 bis berachir seperti disebutkan di atas. Boekoe tsb, ialah satoe tjerita roman Pergaoelan jang terbit 5 Juli 1940 dibeslag dikantoor kita pada 22 November 1940 kemudian disegenap agent dan abonne seloeroeh Indonesia. Maisir Thaib ditangkap 26 November di Rantau (Borneo) dan kemoedian ditahan di Kandangan, dan teroes dikirim ke Boekit Tinggi. Kita lepas saudara Maisir Thaib dengan hati terharoe dan kita samboet kedatangannya kelak dengan girang.

Hari Selasa 18 Maart, sdr. Martha berangkat ke Bandoeng mendjalani hoekoemannja di boei Soekamiskin.

Dengan ini "Peil" [penjiaran Ilmoe] dan "Erpe" [Roman Pergaoelan] kehilangan pembantu jang actief, pemoeda jang begitoe sympatik. Djalan pemeriksaan menjenangkan. Pergilah saudara! Pergi, dan kembali lagi...!

Tamar Djaja.

⁵⁴ On the early exploration on Roman Indonesia see Suryadi's essay in *Padang Ekspres*, 3 January 2010.

Exploration of Examples of RP

The Roman Pergaoelan's mission in the literary field in West Sumatra can be viewed from the content or themes of the published works. The RP's editors had made a selection of which works were suitable to be published according to their mission. This is not only based on the types or qualities of the works, but also the works' relevance with the need of the problems within the society. The selection of the published works indicates the function of the publishing house to provide suitable readings for readers. With the view of the literary infrastructure operation, the selection of the themes made by the RP's editors shows the correlation between the publishing house with its environment. Therefore, in order to provide a more detailed picture of the literary works published in Penjiaran Ilmoe's *Roman Pergaoelan*, three RP publications are summarised and briefly discussed below: Hamka's *Angkatan Baroe* (The New Generation), Merayu Sukma's *Joerni-Joesri* and Surapati's *Rahsia Pembongkaran* (The Secret of Demolition).⁵⁵ These three RP demonstrate the significant themes that run throughout the RP series, and illustrate three different categories in the genre: social commentary, political commentary and the detective story.

1. Roman *Angkatan Baroe* by Hamka

In Hamka's introduction to his roman, he states that he is aware that it may trigger a range of reactions from readers. He also writes that the story was based upon real social phenomena.

By this present story "Angkatan Baroe" some of my friends will probably feel disturbed or criticised. Let them be penitent, because the problem has to be presented. This is all about conscience, the conscience of all Minangkabau society in this changing age, conscience which asks for attention from educators, organisational leaders, and more importantly, from the rulers of *adat* themselves. "Ensure the proper direction of our daughters' education".⁵⁶

⁵⁵ These summaries are derived from my book *Roman Pergaoelan* (2008).

⁵⁶ *Maka hikajat jang sekali ini, "Angkatan Baroe" agaknja aka nada teman-teman saja jang akan merasa tersinggoeng atau terkeritik. Biarlah dia merasa menjesal, karena hal ini mesti diterangkan. Hal ini adalah soeara hati, soeara hatinja seloeroeh masjarakat di Minangkabau dalam zaman pantjaroba ini. Soeara hati, jang meminta perhatian dari pendidik-pendidik, dari pengandjoer perkoempoelan, bahkan dari ninik mamak didalam adat sendiri. "Tentoekanlah arah dari pendidikan anak-anak perempoean kita".*



FIGURE 3 Title page of Hamka's *Angkatan baroe* (right). The information on previous and forthcoming *Roman Pergaoelan* issues (left). Courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

The story concerns two educated young people, Sjamsiar and Hasan. Sjamsiar returns to her village after finishing her four-year studies at an Islamic school in Padang. Sjamsiar does not know what to do with her life because in school she was not taught how to live in society. She lost contact with village life while she was a student. Nevertheless, the villagers respect her because of her education and her family provides her with whatever she needs. After a year in her village, she is unemployed, having refused an offer to become a teacher because of the low salary. She also rejects the numerous proposals of marriage she receives, because none of her suitors are well educated. Sjamsiar merely spends her time in her bedroom reading books, especially roman. Hamka briefly discusses the role of roman among young people. He states that young people like Sjamsiar use quotations about love from roman they read in order to attract men. In Hamka's opinion, there are some romans, especially those with themes of love affairs, which have a bad influence upon readers because readers try to practice the contents of the roman in their everyday lives.

Meanwhile, in another village, Hasan has a similar problem. Two years earlier, he graduated from Thawalib, an Islamic school in Padangpanjang. After graduating, Hasan taught at several schools in northern Sumatra and Aceh, but was disappointed by the low salary. His ambitions during his years of study are in sharp contrast with real life – there is an enormous gap between the salary he receives and the salary he hoped for. But Hasan has plans to develop a new curriculum for the educational system, and he decides to return to his village to found a new Islamic school in his village. At the school, he teaches his students a life skills course as an additional subject. He asks his students to work on a farm to earn extra money to help improve the school and also to help the students themselves prepare for their future. The school develops and he becomes a popular teacher and *da'i* (Islamic preacher) in his village and the neighbouring villages. Later, his family asks him to become engaged to Sjamsiar.

After their marriage, Sjamsiar tries to be an ideal wife as she understands it, wearing makeup and generally behaving in the way she has read about married life in works of fiction. However, she refuses to carry out household tasks such as cooking and cleaning, leaving them to her mother and sisters. Meanwhile, Hasan is distracted from his management of his school and students by the amount of attention he must devote to his household. He is also worried that he and his wife are dependent upon Sjamsiar's parents, with whom they have been living for a year. He hopes to find a solution to the problem by asking his wife to move to their own house; separate from her parents, so that Sjamsiar can learn how to be a proper wife and they can live as an independent couple, free from their families' influence. But Sjamsiar rejects his idea, appealing to their educational background. In her opinion, people like herself and Hasan who are well educated should live in a higher condition than that of other villagers. She believes that they should stay at her parents' house, where all their daily needs are met.

In time, Sjamsiar becomes embroiled in a scandal with her old friend, Sjamsoeddin, who lives in Batoeraja. Sjamsoeddin fell in love with Sjamsiar when they were at school together, as Sjamsiar knows. Sjamsoeddin responds to a letter from Sjamsair but Hasan discovers their communication. Hasan writes to Sjamsoeddin, telling him that Sjamsiar is his wife and that Hasan ought not to form a relationship with a married woman. Sjamsoeddin apologises to Hasan for his letters, saying that he had not known that Sjamsiar was Hasan's wife and promising to stay away from her.

Hasan, however, cannot hide his anger toward Sjamsiar and reports the illicit exchange of letters to his family, who are equally enraged. He divorces Sjamsiar without giving her a reason. She once again tries to contact Sjamsoeddin, but he too rejects her. Then Sjamsiar's family marries her to an old merchant and she moves with him to Deli, in North Sumatra. The roman ends with the narrator stating that while walking around Deli he meets Sjamsiar by chance. The narrator invites Sjamsiar to share a meal. He also meets Sjamsiar's husband and sees that she now lives happily because she patiently confronts life's trials. She has learnt from her previous experiences how to live and how to become an ideal wife.

2. Roman *Joerni-Joesri* by Merayu Sukma

This roman tells the story of the potentially incestuous marriage between Joerni and Joesri. Joesri is a Dayak boy, orphaned after an *orang utan* attack on his village, and subsequently adopted by a merchant, Hadji Thamrin Navis. Having no recollection of his real parents, Joesri believes the merchant is his father. Hadji Thamrin is an ex-activist, a follower of Soekarno and Hatta, who was banned from south and east Borneo because of his activities. While in Surabaya he joins Muhammadiyah and then moves on to the Partai Islam Indonesia.

Hadji Thamrin takes Joesri to Surabaya, teaches him about business and enrolls him in a trade school (*sekolah dagang*, Handelsschool). After finishing his schooling, Joesri is sent to Padang to open a new branch of his father's jewellery shop. One day, while riding his bicycle on a Padang street, he is involved in a collision with another cyclist, a beautiful girl. They fall in love instantly, but do not meet again for a while. One day, Joesri is invited by Hadji Salman, a man from Banjar who used to live in Padang, to meet Salman's brother's family, Hadji Ishaq and Hadji Saidah. At the time, only Hadji Saidah is at home because Ishaq has gone to Siam (Thailand) to sell jewellery. At the house, Joesri again meets the beautiful cyclist who turns out to be Joerni, the daughter of Hadji Ishaq. She is also Haji Salman's niece and an activist in Aisyah, the women's wing of Partai Moeslim Indonesia (PERMI). Another member of Hadji Ishaq's family is Joerni's brother, Abdoel Gaffar. He is a PERMI activist, for which he was imprisoned in Sukabumi because of his involvement in this organisation. Later, Abdoel Gaffar becomes Joesri's best friend.

At Joerni's parents' house, Joerni and Joesri discuss many matters,

getting to know each other's visions for the future. When Abdoel Gaffar returns from prison, however, he is possessive and over-protective of his sister, and has changed his attitude towards Joesri. In light of this, Joesri decides to marry Joerni as soon as possible and sends a letter informing his adoptive father in Surabaya of his decision. A week before the wedding party is to be held, Joesri receives a telegram informing him that Hadji Thamrin is seriously ill. Hadji Salman's family suggests Joesri go to Surabaya and the wedding will take place without him. In some cases, wedding parties were held without the presence of the bridegroom, who was represented by the bridegroom's father or a male relative (such as a brother or uncle) or replaced by a symbol such as a *keris*, or even held via telephone. In fact, the wedding does not really take place, although Joesri believes that Joerni is his wife as they are already engaged.

Joesri meets his father and learns from his father's last wishes (*wasiat*) that he is adopted, but that as Hadji Thamrin's only son he is his sole heir. Hadji Thamrin asks not to change the love that Joesri has for his adopted father but also to look for his father's former wife. Joesri hires a private detective, Rooslan Louthfie, to trace his father's former wife. While preparing to return to Padang, he receives a telegram informing him that his wife and Gaffar have left Padang. Joerni's family assume that she is going to Batavia. He asks Rooslan Louthfie to find the whereabouts of Joesri and Gaffar. At the same time, Joesri hears that in Medan people are discussing a new roman written by an ex-activist. Curious, he buys the book but finds only the author's pseudonym. Nevertheless, from the book's contents, Joesri realizes that the author is Gaffar, and goes to the publisher in Medan to trace Gaffar.

Eventually, Joesri finds Gaffar in a small village in Binjai. Gaffar initially refuses to disclose Joerni's location, but relents at last. When Joerni and Joesri meet, Joerni does not give a clear reason why she cannot accept Joesri as her husband. A day later, she writes to tell him that she has decided to separate from him, because she is in fact the daughter of Hadji Thamrin Navis's former wife. This of course means that Joerni and Joesri are brother and sister. Joerni had learned of her true parentage through the message her mother left when she placed Joerni in the care of Hadji Ishaq's family. As her mother had stipulated, the message was given to Joerni only when she turned 20.

Finally, Joesri discovers that he was not the real son of Hadji Thamrin

Navis but had been adopted from a village in Borneo. Joesri and Gaffar go to Java in order to find Joerni and tell her the truth. She is seriously ill with malaria and although Joesri and Gaffar take her to Hadji Thamrin's villa in Batu Malang, she dies ten days later. After her death, Joesri and Gaffar dedicate themselves to political activities

3. Roman *Rahsia Pembongkaran* by Surapati

This roman is a detective story about the theft of money from the offices of a man named Sabihi. Sabihi has a biological son, Moeram, a student of law in Batavia, and an adopted son, Moenar, the leader of Pemoeda Indonesia Baroe, a youth movement. Sabihi loans company money to his family, but when this cannot be repaid he finds himself in difficulties. In addition, he cannot pay Moeram's tuition fees.

One morning, Sabihi finds his safe empty. He is deeply afraid and later is fired by the firm because of the missing money. The police investigating the case pursue Moenar because he ran away on the day the money was stolen. Moeljati, Moenar's girlfriend and a comrade in the youth organisation, believes he is innocent but cannot convince the police or anyone else. To escape her parents' plan to find her a husband, Moeljati moves to Ra'jat village, where she teaches in a small school, fulfilling her dreams of educating the public. In the meantime, Moeram continues his law studies in Batavia.

When Moeram returns to his village, he becomes a judge in the local court. Once again a theft occurs. Moenar reappears in the village, where he is captured and brought before the court. Moeram recuses himself as judge in the case because he has fallen in love with Moeljati. Moenar is sentenced to two years in prison.

In the end, however, Moeram confesses to his father that he was responsible for the theft because he was jealous of Moenar's career and his relationship with Moeljati. Moenar had not tried to prove his innocence because he wanted to help his father. Having heard the truth, Moeljati resolves to marry Moenar once he has served his sentence.

Ideological Views from *Roman Pergaoelan*

The ideological views reflected in works published by *Roman Pergaoelan* and, by extension, the views of Penjiaran Ilmoe, can be grasped from examining a selection of themes from these roman, as well as from

the polemical statements issued by the publisher. The three RP described above tell us about social change experienced by both male and female characters. The main problems that the main characters face are representative of the time: colonial oppression and the restrictions of *adat*. We can understand that the publishing house's selection of themes of the published works was resulted or influenced by the social and political dynamic in the region. It was a response toward the problems that the publishing house had to face. The literary infrastructure work is not driven by a single component, but supported by a complex component involving the literary life's aspects.



FIGURE 4 Cover of *Rahsia Pembongkaran* by Surapati. Courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

The first common theme that deserves further exploration is the role of young people. Many of the main characters are socially progressive young people working for Indonesian independence and/or the improvement of society, either in political parties or Islamic organizations. In Surapati's *Rahsia Pembongkaran*, the main character, Moenar, leads the group Pemuda Indonesia Baru (New Indonesian Youth) which promotes Indonesian independence. Hasan, the hero of *Angkatan Baroe*, attempts

to build a new education system based on his realisation of the limitations of the system in which he himself was educated. In Merayu Sukma's roman, the main character, Joesri, explicitly engages in political activity, notably after the death of Joerni when he and Gaffar dedicate the rest of their lives to advancing the cause of independence in Indonesia. Gaffar is even imprisoned due to his political activities. These characters are presented as taking great pride in themselves as political activists, in a way that suggests the authors were trying hard to propagate such characteristics among their readers:

‘Yes, I understand, Joes, for you a wealthy life without the girl you love is the same as life in poverty and destitution. But you will feel secure in this world, even without the girl you love, if you devote the rest of your life to serving the public good. The wealth you now regard as meaningless will be meaningful to you if you make use of it to support our movement, especially the Islamic movement.’

‘Yes, Far, the movement is the only thing that can give life to me, in this loneliness I feel at the loss of my wife.’ (Merayu Sukma 1940: 96-97)⁵⁷

The author continually stresses how Joesri and Gaffar struggle for independence and work towards constructing a better society. By presenting such protagonists, the writers of RP are implicitly trying to relate to the majority of their readers, who are seen as coming from the younger generation, and who may also be engaged in social and political activities. Series like RP may have been intended to stimulate and support their spirit.

Both male and female characters in the *roman* are portrayed as ideal role models for youth: as organizational leaders and young graduates of good schools. For example, the character of Soeriaty (Hs. Bakri, *Soeriaty*, 1941) has the idea to form a women's organization in order to eliminate illiteracy among women by publishing a magazine, opening a library, and teaching

⁵⁷ ‘Ja, akoe poen mengerti Joes, bagimoe hidoep dengan kekajaan tetapi ditinggalkan oleh kekasih itoe, sama dengan hidoep didalam kemiskinan dan kemelaratan. Tetapi engkau akan merasa aman djoega ditinggalkan oleh kekasihmoe didoenia ini, djika selama oesiamoe engkau pergoenakan goena kebaikan oemoem. Harta kekajaanmoe jang engkau anggap tidak berarti itoe akan monfa'at djoega bagimoe kelak, djika akan engkau pergoenakan oentoek menjokong pergerakan kita teroetama pergerakan Islam.’
‘Ja, Far, hanya pergerakanlah satoe-satoenja lagi bagikoe jang akan dapat meramalkan kehidoepankoe jang kini koerasa sangat soenji senjap sepeninggal istrikoem.’

women to read. Although she herself does not finish school, she wishes to contribute her skills to help society.

As a matter of fact, Soeriaty could only sit through the second grade of Mulo, and then asked to drop out of school. After that, she just stayed at home. Her activities were writing and writing....

But from one day to the next, she felt lonely with such work and wanted to improve the world of her acquaintance. Then a dream arose in her heart of building a women's organization. Her ambition lay dormant for a long time, until she made the decision to realise it.

She moved to Padang in order to realize her dream, because in Padang she had many colleagues who would be interested in working with her. Although she contradicted the wishes of her father and mother, she had so many reasons [to leave] that rather than prohibiting her they felt it would be better to support her. She was a strong-willed girl.

In the beginning, she felt that the work was very hard to do. Finally, as a result of all her hard work and activity, she managed to form a women's organization in order to eliminate illiteracy and develop libraries. She herself became the chair of the organization. The number of members involved was quite considerable, consisting of more than twenty women. (Hs Bakri 1941: 9)⁵⁸

The actions of these characters reflect the optimism of the RP authors towards the future of Indonesia. They believed that Indonesia would

⁵⁸ *Sebenarnya Soeriaty hanya baroe dapat mendoedoeki bangkoe kelas doea Mulo, dan lantas minta berhenti. Soedah itoe dia tinggal diroemah sadja lagi. Kerjanja sehari-hari mengarang dan mengarang....*

Tetapi dari sehari kesehari diapoen berasa soenji dengan pekerdjaannya itoe dan dia ingin memperhaloes doenia pergaoelannya. Maka ketika itoe timboellah didalam hatinja akan membentoe satoe organisatie poeteri. Tjita-tjitanja itoe lama terpendam, sehingga achirnja dia mendapat ketetapan bahwa perloe dilaksanakannya.

Keberangkatannya ke Padang adalah akan melaksanakan tjita-tjitanja itoe, karena di Padang banyak teman sedjawatnya jang akan maoe bekerdja bersama-sama dengan dia. Walapoen bertentangan dengan kemaoean ajah boendanya, alasan-alasannya amat banyak. Dari pada menegah baik menjoeroeh. Dia gadis jang berkemaoean.

Pekerdjaan itoe moela-moela amat soelit dia melaksanakan. Akan tetapi berkat oesaha dan kegiatannya bekerdja, achirnja dapat djoea dia membentoe satoe organisatie poeteri jang beroedjoed oentoek membentoe boeta hoeroef dan mengembangkan perpoestakaan. Dia sendiri jang menjadi ketoea organisatie itoe. Anggotanya banyak djoea, lebih dari doea poeloeh orang.

soon achieve its independence, and predicted a country and state which would enjoy a diversity of cultures and religions, an abundance of educated young people, and greater happiness than during its colonial past.

A second significant common theme in the RP is the importance of education. According to Hamka's *Angkatan Baroe*, education not only provides a better standard of living but also changes established opinions held by society about society. The conventional belief about education was that it provided graduates with good jobs, ideally as official employees (*ambtenaar*) in government offices. In contrast, the character of Hasan prefers to return to his own village to educate children after realising that his salary as a government teacher is insufficient:

Hasan regrets what has become of himself, and sometimes regrets the result of the learning he has acquired from his former teachers. But this regret has given rise to awareness. He realises that in this way he cannot hope to rise. It would be better to return to his village to attend to the children of his own village and to give them the necessary knowledge, in order to contribute to his village. That is the reason he returns.

When he returns to the village, although his uncle asks him to get into selling and trading, he refuses the offer. He wants to stay in his village to teach children based on the theory that has arisen from his experiences and suffering. He manages about 20 students; he teaches them farming during the day, and reading and writing in the evening, and to some students who are clever enough he gives religious courses as well. He believes that if the students manage to finish their studies, if they become intellectuals, they should be intellectuals who are able to find their own food. In the beginning, his efforts are laughed at by his friends who are attending religious schools, who rarely go back to their villages, but he just ignores them. In time, the villagers come to love him and the number of his students increases. He uses the *pondok* system [of Islamic boarding schools] but he modernises it by teaching the students to live modestly, because he had once been wrongly improvident. How lucky the young man is who becomes quickly aware. (Hamka 1939: 17-18)⁵⁹

⁵⁹ *Hasan menjesali dirinya, kadang-kadang disesalinja djoega pengadjaran jang diberikan goeroenja kepadanja. Tetapi penjesalan itoe telah menimboelkan keinsafan. Dia insaf*

Hamka clearly stresses the importance of developing a better educational system through his depiction of Hasan as the main character, whose ideals are contrasted against his wife Sjamsiar's blasé attitudes. According to Hamka, education was a method of preparing people for the future of Indonesia. The spirit of nationalism could be spread through reading materials, and only knowledgeable people could support political movements. People needed to be reminded that education was an important means to a better life, with which they could get access to information, knowledge, and even a good job. Education was also useful in promoting the economy.

Several of the RPs suggest that the amount of education a character has is not as important as what they do with it. In Surapati's *Rahsia Pembongkaran*, the most educated person, Moeram, is portrayed as having a bad attitude which renders him useless to society, while the character Moenar has limited education but is appreciated for being concerned for social conditions.

A third common theme in the RP is the positive portrayal of female education. A significant characteristic of the main female characters in these three RP discussed is that they are all educated, and are either graduates or students. Sjamsiar in *Angkatan Baroe* is a female graduate of a religious school in Padang. Joerni in Merayu Sukma's roman is an educated activist in the Aisyah organisation. Moeljati in *Rahsia Pembongkaran* is also a social and political activist who finished her studies

bahwa dengan tjara jang begini, tidak ada baginja harapan akan naik. Lebih baik dia kembali kekampoeng, disoesoennja anak doesoennja sendiri dan diadjarkannja ilmoe pengetahoean sekadarnja, soepaja djasa kepada kampoeng halaman ada poela. Itoelah sebab dia poelang.

Sampai dikampoeng, meskipoen mamaknja mengadjaknja lebih baik menoeroetkan dia pergi menggalas dan berniaga, dia tidak maoe lagi. Dia tetap hendak dikampoeng sadja mendidik anak-anak kampoengnja menoeroet theorie jang timboel menoeroet pengalamannja dan penderitaannja. Disoesoennja anak-anak itoe kira-kira 20 orang, siang diadjarnja bersawah dan berladang, malam diadjarnja menoelis dan membatja, mana jang otaknja agak tjerdas, diberinja poela pengadjaran agama. Dia berkejakinan, kalau anak-anak itoe lepas dari didikannja kelak, kalau dia djadi orang alim, hendaklah alim jang sanggoep mentjari sesoeap nasi dengan tangan sendiri. Moela-moela pekerdjaannja itoe mendjadi tertawaan dari kawan-kawannja jang bersekolah agama, jang poelang sekali-sekali kekampoeng, tetapi tidak diperdoelikannja. Tetapi lama-lama orang kampoeng poen sajang kepadanja, anak-anak itoe poen bertambah-tambah djoega banjarknja. Dia mehidoepkan system "pondok", tetapi dipermoderenkannja; Diadjarnja anak-anak itoe hidoep sederhana, karena dahoeloe dia telah salah dengan kerojalannja. Beroentoenglah anak moeda jang lekas insaf itoe.

at the Sekolah Ra'jat (People's School). Sjamsiar, however, is a target of criticism, through whom the author Hamka condemns the current educational system and the villagers' opinion of educated people. Educated people, as portrayed in the story, are no different from anyone else, and therefore should not be held in higher regard than others. Hamka criticizes how many formal schools alienate students from the daily life of ordinary people. As they prepare students to be official employees, they forget that the foundation of education is to provide students with life skills, social relationships, and religious or moral values.

In the other two roman, educated women are portrayed as ideal leaders. Joerni is an activist of PERMI and later, after the organization is banned, she becomes a secretary of Aisyah. She is involved with political and religious organizations, through which she wants to help people. She feels that people such as herself, her brother, and Joesri bear the responsibility for enlightening the public. A similar role is played in Surapati's roman by Moeljati, who is an activist of the New Indonesian Youth movement, the organization led by Moenar. She also graduates from a good school and later becomes a teacher in a nearby village.

In these three RP, as in many others, there is a clear suggestion that educated women have more opportunities to realize their dreams. They are involved in social and political movements, may teach in schools, and even secure concrete income resources within their capabilities, in no way differently from the male characters in the roman. In *Sebabnja Saja Bahagia*, (Tamar Djaja, 1940) for example, the female character and narrator, Matoen, has greater self-confidence and spirit than her husband Imran. She has ideas of how to keep their household together and even to initiate a small household business. She is wiser than her husband, and has more experience of how to face reality and how to cope with the social attitudes that influence their household. In one passage, Matoen tells the story of how she and her husband propagated their political ideas to people across Indonesia:

Then we departed to another city. We were continuously assailed by the sufferings of life, but luckily we still stored in our hearts the only invaluable crown of life, which is "Joy". Yes, as activists we experienced society's salt throughout our Nusantara, but we also carried out our responsibility towards nation and state in each place we visited. Wherever our party had a branch, we would go and distribute propaganda to the

public. In 1928, we departed for Borneo. In the beginning, we stayed in Banjarmasin for two months, but after we had no clear idea of how to live there, we continued our journey into the eastern part, Samarinda. (Tamar Djaja 1940: 70)⁶⁰

The final important theme in the RP is the creation of an ideal Indonesian family and society. In *Joerni-Joesri*, Merayu Sukma does not define the specific geographical location of his story, but lets it range across North Sumatra and Surabaya in East Java, which proves to be an effective method to suggest that the effort for national independence is universal throughout Indonesian soil. In this and other RP, the issue of what constitutes an ideal Indonesian and the practice of Indonesianness is discussed in some detail. The Indonesian people, according to these roman, should live in harmonious families, a process which begins with the wise selection of an appropriate partner. The goal of human relationships is to create and maintain a good family, underlining the significance of marriage as the basis of relationships under Islamic teaching, an undeniable influence upon people in West Sumatra. The Indonesian people should also prepare for national independence by cultivating good personal qualities, having a good education and a job deemed good from both social and religious points of view, helping each other, and being concerned for society. They should strive to reform their educational and economic systems, and develop positive mindsets and attitudes towards society.

Publicising this ideal representation of Indonesian people is one of the main purposes of the RP writers. This line of thought was considered at the time to be alternative, but in the chaotic social and political situation surrounding the struggle for national independence, the RP authors united with political movements to encourage people to prepare for independence by taking the necessary steps.

⁶⁰ *Kemoedian kamipoen berangkat poela kelain kota. Begitoelah teroes meneroes kami dilanggar kesoelitan hidoep, tapi beroentoenglah satoe2nja mahkota kehidoepan jang sangat berharga, masih tetap menjelinap didalam djiwa kami jaitoe "Kegembiraan". Ja sebagai orang pergerakan jg memahami banjak sedikit garam masjarakat dinoesantara kita kamipoen disetiap tempat jg ditempoeh senantiasa mengerdjakan kewadjiban oentoek bangsa dan noesa. Dimana2 tempat jg ada tjabang partai kami, kami senantiasa ikoet dan kepada rajat kami selaloe memberikan propaganda. Pada tahoen 1928, kamipoen bertolak ke Borneo. Moela2 kamipoen menetap dikota Bandjermasin doea boelan, kemoedian setelah tiada lant asangan kami hidoep disana, kamipoen meneroeskan perdjalan an peola kearah Timoer jaitoe Samarinda.*

The style used by RP writers creates a sense of intimacy and familiarity between writers and readers, which is produced by the narration by common characters, the frequent use of dialogue, and the setting of the action in existing locations. Readers of RP did not expect experimental writing styles from their writers, who mostly followed established conventions with only minor additions. The same pattern is evident in other popular novels published in different parts of the country. Some RP, however, such as Merayu Sukma's *Joerni-Joesri*, have more complex story lines and characters, and may be considered serious literary works.

The importance of the RP series, however, does not depend upon its literary quality. Although the authors relied upon established literary conventions, the key themes of their works, as discussed above, are significant in themselves. However, the editors of the RP series were also interested in publishing quality literature, a commitment demonstrated by the competition for new works that they conducted in 1939. The literary publishing related activities from the selection of works, the shaping of readers, to the aim to educate people through the published readings for instances, imply the operation of literary infrastructure played by Penjiaran Ilmoe as a publishing house.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how a private publishing house located in West Sumatra operated during the period that preceded Indonesian independence. From an examination of its published material, it can be safely concluded that Penjiaran Ilmoe played a significant role in the Indonesian independence movement. While it is challenging to investigate the history of Indonesian literature, despite its relative recentness, it would be worthwhile to explore the roles and functions of other publishing houses in other parts of the country during the same period. Our historical consciousness should bear in mind the contributions that such publishing houses have made to the development of the intellectual and literary life of Indonesia.

The above discussion shows how the publishing house, Penjiaran Ilmoe, has played roles in developing literature in West Sumatra. The similar roles are carried out by other publishing houses. It had opened a possibility to print and distribute printed literary works into readers, not only in West Sumatra but also in other places in Indonesia and neighbouring countries. From its publishing activities, Penjiaran Ilmoe shows how the publisher produced literary works during the colonial pe-

riod. The publisher also operated in attracting writers to write and published their works, distributing the published works through the book stores and distributors; providing a selection processes to have suitable readings for people, and to fulfil the need for reading materials that were limited at that times.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the publishing activities in West Sumatra after the Indonesian independence, with a focus on the republishing of folktales. These two discussions on the publishing house in West Sumatra show that the publishing house with its various activities have been a part of literary infrastructure that assists the literary life in West Sumatra. □

CHAPTER 2

REPUBLISHING FOLKTALES: THEIR AUDIENCES, READERS, AND INFLUENCES IN MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE

IN CHAPTER 1, I discussed the practice of a publishing house during the Indonesian colonial period in West Sumatra. This discussion showed that the publishing house is an important part of literary infrastructure which supports the production and distribution of the published works. This chapter explores publishing houses after Indonesian independence, with special attention given to the (re)publishing activities, mainly in the form of traditional stories. The publishing activities also indicate the relationship between traditional literary infrastructure (its orality, performative) and modern or contemporary literary infrastructure (its writing, reading, literacy) characteristics. Does the transformation of folktales through the republishing activities influence the profile of readers, alteration of the stories, and how does the publishing process support the survival of the folktales and production of literary works in the region?

This chapter explores the republishing of traditional stories or folktales, mostly in the form of oral literature, into written and printed form.⁶¹ This republishing activity has resulted in some changes to the stories, including the narrative's structure as well as writers' interpretation of the stories. The chapter also explains domains that are affected from this activity, which comprises the narration, the profile of the audience and reader, and the use of different media, particularly in the area of contemporary publishing and writing development in Indonesian litera-

⁶¹ This chapter was previously published in the journal *Kritika Kultura*, 2016, vol. 27, pp. 125-150.

ture. Finally, this chapter investigates the republication of folktales, by publishing houses, in correlation with the creation of the reading public of such published literary works in West Sumatra. The traditional stories have also been appropriated by some writers in modern literary works. The discussion also suggests that the republishing of traditional literature has significantly contributed to the shaping of folktales' audience and reader's profile.

The case of republishing folktales discussed in this chapter gives an understanding on what are the differences and similarities between traditional and oral literature and modern and printed literature, the resulted effects of the transformation processes in terms of the narratives, creation, and audience or reader. The case presented in this study is actually an example for the similar cases found in other parts of Indonesia, in the frame of Indonesian literary development. It shows how the development is connected from a literary form to another form, from a medium of distribution to another medium, and the public who enjoy the literary works in different forms of publication.

Republishing Folktales

The republishing of folktales from oral form into written form has become the focus of several literary studies. The term republishing is used throughout this chapter to refer to the activity of publishing stories from oral form into printed form, in which the stories are transformed from one medium of oral performance, for example, into another medium of paper based printing. Thus, the (inter)mediation of the stories through different mediums, which will be shown in this chapter, is a part of a greater system in literary infrastructure. It contributes significantly in the creation of reading public. This activity has connected traditional stories to modernity by transforming the classical world surrounding the folktales into another world of printing era. To a greater extent, the folktales have served as important sources for publishers. These folktales are published because it has a potentially large audience, i.e. oral literature aficionados. Traditional stories, such as legend, myth and fable, are referred to as a genre of literary works famous for being published and republished. These stories are transferred from one generation to another in the form of oral literature and later in the form of published books. These stories are also alive and transferred to society and educational institutions such as family, schools, and even in wider level such as aired in national television

and radio programmes in the form of drama or storytelling. The effort to preserve the traditional stories has resulted in recent concerns from various parties, including the publishing house. The following section discusses the use of old stories republication in connection with the creation of reader public, and the changes and continuation of literary development in West Sumatra.

Each society has stories to gather their community members, formed in various genres such as oral literature, traditional performance, or through carvings and other crafts. The stories are transferred from one generation to another through different mediums: oral, written, recorded, and audio-visual forms. The transformation of stories needs tools. The focus of this chapter is the transformation of stories from oral to printed sources. The folktales live within the society as long as the society uses and transfers the stories in daily life. In West Sumatra, the aesthetic form of oral literature has been acknowledged in a variety of genres; oral folktales are regarded as closely related to important social events such as public gatherings and ceremony (Drakard, 1999). Folktales are a central medium for Minangkabau society in their customary celebration, ritual and education. Nigel Phillips when discussing the context of *sijobang* (an oral performance specifically exist in Payakumbuh), notes that,

[T]he Minangkabau admire eloquence and enjoy both practising and listening to various kinds of verbal art. These ranges from such traditional forms as ritual speeches exchanged at weddings and other ceremonies, open-air theatre (*randai*), and the singing of tales (*kaba*), to religious homilies and political harangues, and include, at the less formal end of the scale, the rhetoric of coffee-shop politicians and the fluent sales-talk of market traders. *Sijobang*, like other traditional stories (*kaba*), thus forms part of a spectrum of oral entertainments enjoyed by the Minangkabau. For the young, it is also part of their education: Khaidir Anwar, in discussing the acquisition of verbal skills by boys and girls in his village, describes the learning of *kaba* as the most important component of literary education among the Minangkabau (Phillip, 2009: 2).

For the performers, as they are positioned as representative of their clan or people when having contact with other clans, have privileges and honoured by their people based on their abilities and skills in oral performances.

There are two categories of oral performances in West Sumatra based on geography; one which spread widely throughout the Minangkabau such as *randai*, *bagurau* and *salawat dulang*, and those which specifically only exist in certain places such as *sijombang* and *tupai janjang*. However, certain oral literatures only exist in certain places but are sometimes performed in other places (Amir, Zuriati and Anwar, 2006; Amir, 2013). This is based on the theme of stories that adhere with the forms or names of the performances. In terms of their themes, the oral literatures performed in West Sumatra have Islamic and non-Islamic values, such as *salawat dulang*. Islamic based performances usually convey moral or Islamic values aimed to educate the public. While non-Islamic based performances, such as *bagurau*, have primarily entertainment value. These two types of performances, and also based on the fact that Minangkabau is a matrilineal society that influence the stories in such ways, make its own characteristic compare to other oral performances in other places.

Kaba, a feature of traditional literature, can be narrated in *pantun* as well as delivered in *randai* (a traditional Minangkabau drama). It is performed by a group of people, forming a circle surrounded by an audience. The performers move clockwise around in each alteration scene of story, and while some of performers in the centre acted or tell the story, the others sit in a circle (Junus, 1994:400).⁶² The oral performances are mostly held at night, after the *Isha* prayers (roughly after 8pm in West Sumatra) until dawn (recently based on the local circumstances some public entertainment are limited to end at around 2:00 AM) located in a village's open air stage or arena or simply in terrace or front yard of a host's house. Some performances are purposely invited by a family, clan, or village in special ceremonies to present. Audiences may be those who are invited by the hosts of the ceremonies or hear the agenda from a word of mouth, depending on the type of celebration or ritual.

A study on the Minangkabau's folktales (Djamaris, 2002) has shown a general depiction of folktales' forms. Djamaris chronicles certain phases of literature in Minangkabau. The first phase is oral literature consisting of *kaba* (prose) and *cerita prosa liris* (lyrical prose). The second phase is written stories in the form of manuscripts. This comprises stories that

⁶² For more information about the shifting and continuation of *kaba* stories, including its problematic issues whether a *kaba* is a finished or newly arranged story, this Junus' writing gives sufficient picture.

were hand-written in *Jawi* (Malay Arabic) and Roman alphabets. The third phase includes written stories in the form of books. During this phase, the stories have been printed and published by publishing houses throughout West Sumatra and other places in Indonesia, as well as those in Singapore and Malaysia (Djamaris, 2002: 4-9). However, in my view, the categorization does not exist in a separate timeline. For example, in the third phase, the printed and published works do not instantly replace oral performance/literature. Apparently, oral literature is still performed within the society in this age of printing and writing technology.

My opinion is closer to the explanations of Sweeney (1974, 1980, and 1987) and McLuhan (2005) when discussing the story and audience in relation to the transformation into the text and reader. In short, there is no clear separation between the existence of oral and written forms of the story, and also their public. Both audience and reader of a story, in its oral and printed forms, could be the same person. On the way around, a person might be solely part of audience who never read the printed version, or s/he only read a story without watch or hears in oral form.

The changing medium of stories from oral into written form, however, has brought some distortion of oral tradition within society. Sweeney (1991) states that the Malay oral stories have an important function in society, “[O]f the most importance in an oral society, however, they are essential for the preservation and transmission of knowledge. In an oral society, however, if discourse were limited to the relatively ephemeral language of everyday conversation, that society would find difficult to survive” (Sweeney, 1991: 20). Oral literature, which is performed for the public in special occasions, is mostly used as a public sphere for society members to transmit their social, historical, and cultural values. In this regard, the writing form of oral stories, Sweeney states further (1991: 21), “would have seemed pointless to preserve in writing that material which had not been considered worth preserving in the prewriting era, that is, speech not processed for storage in the stylized form. Thus, in the context of the Malay-speaking world, when we speak of the displacement of the oral tradition by writing and the dwindling role of the oral specialist, it becomes clear that we are particularly concerned with the shrinkage, transformation, or depreciation in importance of the enclave of contrived speech which was his domain.”

The folktales are usually recognised by the readers because they are told, read, performed, or recited for them since infancy. The stories are

commonly told and read by parents or family older members to children for filling their leisure time or as bedtime stories. On more formal occasions, the stories are also performed and recited in public ceremonies, wedding parties, or festivities. It is also common for a multicultural society such as Indonesia to recognise other societies' folktales. The sense of multicultural awareness is encouraged by the teaching and reading of literature in schools or libraries. To strengthen this familiarity of other's folktales, reading materials in schools also include folktales as their important source. A contest of rewriting folktales has been held throughout Indonesia, particularly by the Office of Tourism and Culture, Language Office, and the Office of Education and Culture. The transformation of stories from oral literature into written and printed form brings some changes regarding its literary values and other social aspects of the literature. The change does not only affect literary transformation from oral into textual, but also when the stories are adapted into other media such as animation, movie, comic, or recording. A study on the adaptation of *Bawang Merah Bawang Putih* (Shallot and Garlic) story⁶³ shows that some changes are generated by the adaptation process from oral and written story into animated film (Ali et.al. 2014: 311-332). The story is currently widely spread in Malay society, especially in Indonesia and Malaysia in various different plot versions. The story is interestingly similar to the story of Cinderella in Europe.

⁶³ In a generally accepted version, the story tells about two siblings who have contradictive habits. Bawang Putih is a kind, helpful and hard-worker girl whereas Bawang Merah is a lazy and greedy girl. Bawang Putih as a stepchild in the current family has to do all duties of the house. One day, she washes the cloths in a river. She then realizes that her stepmother's cloth is floating. She tries to find it but her search comes to no avail. As she is drowning, she meets an old woman who keeps the cloth. The old woman will give back the cloth, but Bawang Putih has to clean up her house in return. Bawang Putih then disposes the offer. When she finishes, the old woman is satisfied and gives her a pumpkin. In his house, Bawang Putih peels the pumpkin and finds gold and other jewelries inside it. Her stepmother and Bawang Merah are jealous. She asks Bawang Merah to do the same. She washes some cloths in the river, drops the cloth, and drowns herself in the river until she finally meets the old woman. But she refuses to clean up the old woman's house; instead, she asks for the pumpkin directly. When Bawang Merah and her mother peels the pumpkin, they find a snake and other wilder animals instead. Finally, Bawang Merah and her mother realize and regret what they have done to Bawang Putih.

From Oral to Written Text: Four Publishing Houses and One Family

Some of the Minangkabau folktales have been composed and published by Kristal Multimedia and some other publishers. As an illustration, most of the stories in Minangkabau are available in different forms, such as in traditional performance, manuscript, recording (cassette and more recently in audio and video compact disc), and in printed material. During 1980s to 1990s, the cassette form was commonly aired in houses and public spaces such as mosques and public gatherings. Since then, with the development of technology, the VCD became more popular and attractive for the people (for a more detailed study on the Minangkabau traditional folktales, as well as modern Minangkabau recording industry in general, see Suryadi, 2014). Ekadjati et. al. (eds. 2000: 406-443) note that 83 manuscripts, consisting of stories, law, the history of Minangkabau have been transliterated from Jawi (Arabic script) into Roman script, in which some of them have been published by different publishers. As of currently, there are still thousands of manuscripts including old stories that are kept in *surau* (prayer room) or as personal collections.

The story of *Cinduo Mato*, transcribed by van der Toorn was published in 1891 in the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, volume 45 (Abdullah, 1970) is an example of the Minangkabau's popular traditional stories. This published story only consists of one third of the complete story. The same story was also composed by Datuk Garang from Tanah Datar and published in Malaysia in 1904. There are more than seven published versions of *Cinduo Mato* story. More recently, the story has also been adapted into comic, animated movie, prose, drama, and poem. There are 12 manuscripts of *Cindua Mato* kept by the KITLV (now part of Leiden University library collection) and the microfilm copies are also deposited in the Indonesian National Library in Jakarta, together with hundreds of other stories (Djamaris, 2002: 201-204).⁶⁴ The story of *Cindua Mato* is famous in its oral performance as well as in its published book form. *Cindua Mato* was published by at least five different publishing houses (Balai Pustaka, Balai Buku Indonesia (1982, 1985), Pustaka Indonesia (1987), The Department

⁶⁴ One can find the manuscripts in the Universiteit Leiden library with call numbers: Or. 5824, Or. 6119, D Or. 181, Or. 3217.

of Education and Culture (1980), and Kristal Multimedia (2004). In addition, the story was also written to be performed as theatre by Wisran Hadi, the founder of a theatre group Bumi, who was also a director, writer, and cultural activist in West Sumatra, published as one of plays in *Empat Sandiwara Orang Melayu* (2000). In its musical performances, the story appears in an anthology of an opera script written by Nazif Basir (2004).

The popularity of Minangkabau *kaba* and other oral literature genres have also been supported by its transmission into written texts and published in The Netherlands as well as Batavia during the colonial period. The printing shop P.W.M Trap in Leiden has published numerous Minangkabau *kaba*, mostly translated by C.A van Ophuijsen (1856-1917) who was born in Solok, West Sumatra, and later became a linguist who also established a system of Malay grammar and spelling, in the beginning of 1900s. This printing shop focused on publishing issues related to The Dutch East Indies' culture, such as folktales and school book texts.⁶⁵ In Batavia, Balai Pustaka published some Minangkabau *kaba* as an effort of some editors originated from West Sumatra working in this publisher such as Dt. Madjo Indo and Tulis Sutan Sati.⁶⁶ The role played by Dutch scholars and Minangkabau writers and editors working in the prominent publishing houses has introduced the folktales and oral literature into a wider audience. The published works as well as Minangkabau author's involvement in the publishing houses influenced the Indonesian language, in some extent, and literary styles used by other authors (Teeuw, 1972). The folktales in its original and mediated forms have strengthened West Sumatran literary life in term of traditional (oral performance) and modern (written text) forms.

The widely known story of *Cinduo Mato* in written form was composed by Syamsuddin. St. Rajo Endah, in Minangkabau language, and was published by CV. Pustaka Indonesia in 1960 and later reprinted in 1982. The same story was also republished by CV. Balai Buku Indonesia (2nd print-

⁶⁵ See for examples the P.W.M Trap's publications on the Minangkabau *kaba* and folktales by C.A van Ophuijsen: *Chabar Mama' Si Hetong: een Minangkabausche vertelling* (1892), *Kabar Si Ali Amat: een Minangkabausche vertelling* (1895), *TjaritaP si Palalo': een Minangkabausche vertelling* (1895), *Kabar Si Omboet Moeda: een Minangkabausche vertelling* (1896).

⁶⁶ Some of the *kaba* published by Balai Pustaka: *Kaba Si Rambun Jalua* (by A.J. Hamerster) (1920), *Kaba Sabai Nan Aloeih*, by Soetan Sati (1929), *Tjeritera Si Omboet Moeda*, by M. Taib gl. Soetan Pamoentjak (1930), *Sja'ir Si Banso Oerai*, by A. Dt. Madjoindo (1931), *Tjeritera Malim Deman dengan Poeteri Boengsoe*, by A. Dt. Madjoindo (1932).

ing) in 1985. Both publishing houses were located in Bukittinggi, and were owned by members of the same family. From my investigation in connecting these publishers and the authors of the published books, it turns out that the author, Syamsuddin, was actually the owner of those publishers. This fact shows that the effort in composing, printing, distributing, and preserving the stories is fought by a family, by establishing different publishing houses within one spirit and purpose.

Another printing and publishing house founded by the family was Syamza Offset, a company that had bookshop, printing, and publishing businesses. Syamza was an abbreviation of two brothers' names, Syamsuddin Mahyuddin and Zainuddin Mahyuddin. It published traditional stories as well as Islamic books including a Qur'anic thematic *tafsir* (interpretation) that was popular in the late 1970s. Founded in 1982, Balai Buku Indonesia had its markets in Bukittinggi and neighbouring districts such as Payakumbuh, Padangpanjang and Padang. Its first two published books were *Cindua Mato* and *Anggun Nan Tungga*, which were, in contrast to their original version in Minang published by Pustaka Indonesia were translated into Bahasa Indonesia. It seems that the endeavour to publish the stories in Bahasa Indonesia was aimed to expand the market. The translation of stories into Bahasa Indonesia by the publisher, however, attracted strong reactions from readers. As noted by Salman (2015: 22-27), readers were disappointed by the fact that the stories were translated into Bahasa Indonesia, which meant that readers who were Minang but who lived outside West Sumatra and had no opportunity to read the stories in its original language. According to Arfizar, the response from readers was communicated personally, telling that the translation was not fully correct (personal electronic communication, 26-6-2016). In response to the objection from readers, the publisher then withdraws the books from bookshops. Since then, the published stories by Balai Buku Indonesia and Kristal Multi Media are only in Minangkabau language.

In the context of literary works written and published in Minangkabau language, there were only few works written or composed by recent authors. Minangkabau language texts include the short story anthology entitled *Sapu Tangan Sirah Baragi* by Nasrul Siddik (1966), Musra Dahrizal (2007) traditional play *Tigo Carito Randai*, Ermanto's *Rindu Banda Sapuluah* (2019) and Firdaus Abie's *Indak Talok Den Kanai Ati* (2020). Additionally, local newspapers provide special columns for essays in Minangkabau language until recently. The common thematic is-

sues of these columns were about the social, political, and cultural phenomena, in dialogue or narrative form, using chat or conversation in *kadai kopi* (coffee shop or traditional café) as the setting.

According to Suryadi (2006 and 2007), the lack of literary works in local language is caused by the absence of standardised grammar (such as the spelling and dialect rules) of the Minangkabau language accepted by people as the common guidance in written form. Other possible reasons are the ability of the Minangkabau language as a medium to express authors' ideas in written form, as well as the familiarity of people with written text to understand the literary works. In other words, traditional Minangkabau folktales are generally accepted by readers in Minangkabau language, while modern literary works are more likely suitable in Bahasa Indonesia. As we can relate to the history of Indonesian language, for example as explained by Teeuw (1972), Minangkabau writers prefer to use high Malay language for written variety or form, and low Malay variety for oral conversation, which becomes a main medium for traditional folktales performance in Minangkabau. This phenomenon can also be implied from the Rancage literary prize, a well-known prize for works written in local languages, in which literary works in Minangkabau language are not included yet in the competition because of the lack of the published works and its continuous publication, amongst other reasons. The mentioned works written in Minangkabau language are published in irregular basis, indicating a small number of readers for the published works as well.

Those three publishers were then succeeded by Arfizal Indramaharaja, the son of Zainuddin Mahyuddin, who established Kristal Multimedia in 2000, located in Bukittinggi. Arfizal and his wife, Nielyar Wisma, firstly established Balai Buku Indonesia in July 15th, 1982. Balai Buku Indonesia focused on printing as its main business. Three years later, Arfizal started to publish folktales which were previously published under his father publishing house, Pustaka Indonesia. Since his secondary school age, Arfizal worked at his father company. Therefore, he knows by experience how to run his newly founded company. His initiative to publish more folktales led him to establish his own publishing house, in which some changes are added to it, including in company's organisational structure, employee, printing machine, and office. Arfizal changed Balai Buku Indonesia into Kristal Multimedia in May 31st, 2000 (Salman, 2015: 22-26 and 36-37). Organisationally, Kristal Multimedia is led by Arfizal Indramaharaja and

supported by his staff including Susi Susandra (editor), M. Yunir Chan, Hendri Sumitra, May Chaniago, and A. R. Nizar (illustrators), Nielyar Wisma (finance), and Zakno (marketing).



FIGURE 1 *Kaba* published by Kristal Multimedia

In the Kristal Multimedia's edition, the copyright is attached to the first edition's publisher, Pustaka Indonesia. Kristal Multimedia still acknowledges the Minang classical series to its first publisher in the cataloguing page of the books. Kristal Multimedia has published about 23 books, including literary works and books on Minangkabau culture.⁶⁷ The literary works published by this publisher are a republication of classical

⁶⁷ Among the published stories are: *Kaba Anggun Nan Tongga* (by Amba Mahkota), *Kaba Cindua Mato*, *Kaba Siti Baheram*, *Kaba Siti Kalasun*, *Kaba Puti Nilam Cayo*, *Kaba Laksamana Hang Tuah*, *Kaba Si Gadiah Ranti*, *Kaba Sutan Lembak Tuah*, *Kaba Si Buyuang Karuik*, *Kaba Tuanku Lareh Simawang* (by Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah), *Kaba Magek Manandi* (by Sutan Pangaduan), *Kaba Rancak Di Labuah* (by Dt. Paduko Alam), *Kaba Rambun Pamenan* (by Sutan Mangkudun), *Kaba Si Umuik Mudo* (by Ilyas Payakumbuh), *Kaba Angku Kapalo Sitalang* (by Darwis St. Sinaro), *Kaba Siti Risani* (by Sutan Nasarudin), *Kaba Malin Deman*, *Kaba Sabai Nan Aluih* (by M. Rasyid Manggis).

Minangkabau stories, which were previously published by Pustaka Indonesia and Balai Buku Indonesia. The newly published old stories are printed with colourful illustration in its covers. Until recently, Kristal Multimedia has republished *Cindua Mato* story several times (2003, 2004, 2005, 2014, E-book format 2015). I gathered this information from an interview with Zakno, the staff of Kristal Multimedia (1 December 2015) shows that the publisher in fact reprints 200-300 copies of the book for almost every two or three months. The schedule for printing depends on the stock and demand from buyers. That is way there is no exact record on the number of reprinting of a single title. The marketing staff regularly visits schools, libraries and bookshops around Bukittinggi in particular, including neighboring districts to offer the book and other titles from the publishers. There are some other new titles of literary works, mostly childrens' literature, published by Kristal Multimedia recently. The Syamsuddin's family publishing houses, which have been focusing on the republication of Minangkabau folktales, evidently show their long-standing contribution, since 1960 to present, in republishing the stories, including in creating and shaping the reader profile of the stories.

In the preface of Pustaka Indonesia (1982) edition, the publisher states that the republication of *Cindua Mato* story was based on the fact that "nowadays, the books of folktales are rarely available in the markets because the publishers no longer published the genre of folktale. The publication of this *Cindua Mato* book in "Minangkabau Classical Series" hopefully can re-stimulate our writers to explore the art and culture of Minangkabau, which is also the art and culture of Indonesia" (Endah, 1982: 5).⁶⁸ This shows that Pustaka Indonesia publishing house's aim for publishing the story is to stimulate writers to write and publish similar stories of the Minangkabau people.⁶⁹ Compared to the 1985's edition's

⁶⁸ *Dewasa ini buku-buku hikayat lama, sangat sulit mendapatkannya di pasaran, karena memang buku-buku tersebut sudah tidak lagi diterbitkan oleh penerbitnya. Dengan terbitnya buku Cindua Mato ini yang kami himpun di dalam "Seri Klasik Minang", mudah-mudahan akan dapat kembali menggairahkan penulis-penulis kita untuk terus berkarya, menggali seni dan budaya minang, yang juga merupakan seni dan budaya bangsa Indonesia* (Endah, 1982:5).

⁶⁹ However, the list of books published by Kristal Multimedia shows that the titles remain the same, with only few new titles published. The publisher's hope to have more new titles written by other writers seems far from reality. I assume that the publisher has no effective strategy in attracting writers to send their works and that writers do not see this opportunity yet.

preface, it seems that the publisher has managed to successfully sell the previously published and distributed book. The publisher stressed the importance of republishing classical story as a way to keep and preserve stories - that are traditionally transferred over generations by word of mouth - in written form. The publisher has tried to contribute to the effort of the preservation of the significant cultural values from the stories by publishing them.

It is undeniable that a folktale is already a well-known story for generations, since our ancestor to the next generations. In general the stories comprise of sublime arts and cultural values that we should keep and preserve. The role of publishing house is highly decisive. Without the publishers, probably the stories will be forgotten by next generations. By considering the feeling of responsibility to the mentioned purposes, the book of *Cindua Mato* is republished in the series of Minangkabau Classical Stories. This series also opens the opportunity for our writers and illustrators to continuously increase their works in re-exploring the values of Minangkabau's arts and cultures (Endah, 1985: 5).⁷⁰

Beside the purpose of introducing old stories to children, the publisher considers the possibility of this potential market as the result of the new additional school curriculum. The Ministry of Education has included local content as part of the school subject. This new subject differs in each province in Indonesia, in terms of name and content. In West Sumatra, the local subject is named as *Budaya Alam Minangkabau* (Minangkabau Culture). Kristal Multimedia fulfils the markets' needs through providing these kinds of reading materials. In accomplishing the required curriculum reading materials related to Minangkabau culture,

⁷⁰ Tak dapat disangkal lagi Cerita Rakyat merupakan suatu cerita yang sudah dikenal secara turun-temurun, sejak dari nenek moyang kita sampai kepada generasi mendatang. Cerita itu pada umumnya mengandung nilai-nilai seni dan kebudayaan yang sangat tinggi, yang wajib kita pelihara dan kita lestarikan.

Peranan penerbit dalam hal ini sangat menentukan. Tanpa penerbit, besar kemungkinan cerita-cerita itu akan terlupakan oleh generasi-generasi yang akan datang.

Terhimbau oleh rasa tanggung jawab yang besar terhadap nilai-nilai tersebut, buku *Cindua Mato* ini kembali kami terbitkan yang kami himpun dalam serial Cerita Klasik Minangkabau. Serial ini juga membuka kesempatan yang seluas-luasnya bagi para pengarang/penulis dan ilustrator kita untuk terus meningkatkan karyanya menggali kembali nilai-nilai seni dan kebudayaan masyarakat Minangkabau (Endah, 1985:5).

the published books on this theme reach their market.

When I interviewed Zakno (1 December 2015), he told me that he regularly approaches schools' headmasters or teachers in Bukittinggi and neighbouring districts to offer the published books. He also comes to seminars and other public gatherings, in particular those relate to educational events, and promotes the readings. He will offer a special discount for certain number of books ordered. Each school has special fund called schools' operational aid (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah*) provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture. This fund is managed by school's committee and could be spent to organise school's activities, including buying books for its library.

Another potential market for publishers is the Minang diaspora, known as *perantau*. About thirty percent of Minangkabau people live outside the province – they are men and women who have migrated to business centre cities such as Pekanbaru, Jakarta, Tanjung Pinang, Medan, Surabaya, Singapore, and some cities in Malaysia.⁷¹ Those who live in *rantau* still identify themselves as Minangkabau, by practising their custom and cultural activities, especially in important events or gatherings. The Minangkabau cultural values and teachings are also introduced and transferred to their children and descendants, by way of music, literature, reading material, recorded *adat* speech, or by visiting their homeland during the Hari Raya holidays. The need of reading materials in the theme of *adat* and cultural values is then very essential for *perantau*. In order to suit the needs of readers, in schools and expatriates, some changes of folktales in printed forms have been made. The stories are printed in pocket book form, comprising 130-200 pages, which shorten the actual length of stories. However, the decision to keep the Minangkabau language is a means to retaining strong cultural links.

⁷¹ According to some literatures, the Minangkabau began to come to Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia since the end of 14th century. The people in Negeri Sembilan, moreover, asked Minangkabau kings to send persons from Minangkabau to be their kings to lead the people in Negeri Sembilan, for several succession times (De Jong: 9-14; Samad: 13-30). Until recently, Minangkabau community in this region is still preserving and practicing Minangkabau traditions, especially in four areas namely Kuala Pilah, Tampin, Seri Menanti, and Jelebu (Jani and Hussain: 318-319). For an in-depth anthropological study of Minangkabau in Negeri Sembilan, see, for an example, Peletz's "Sibling and Social Structure in Negeri Sembilan" (1985: 73-109).

Nowadays, Kristal Multimedia frequently advertises its publications on its Facebook timeline. A full list of its publication is also available on its blog.⁷² In addition to the printed form, there are 18 books available in digital form that can be purchased and downloaded via Google Play for smart phone and computer based application. By using these social media platforms, the publisher is able to expand the market to other groups, including young people who are technologically literate and those who live outside West Sumatra. In terms of direct distribution within the prov-



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Kristal Multimedia
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Telp./ Fax : 0752-337668

<http://kristalmultimedia.blogspot.com>

Daftar Buku 2015

No.	Judul Buku	Penulis/Pengarang	Harga
I. Adat dan Budaya Minangkabau			
1.	Tambo Minangkabau	Ir. Edison Piliang SH, M.Kn	Rp 90.000,-
2.	Tambo Alam Minangkabau	Brubins Dutek Songgoe Diradjo	Rp 75.000,-
3.	Peran dan Fungsi Nenek Mamak Alam Ulama sarato Cadiak Pandai di Nagari Karai	Yusriat, S. Sos. Sutan Manglate	Rp 75.000,-
4.	Mendelusuri Jejak Sejarah Nagari Karai Beserta Adat Lembaganya	M.A. Dt. Kangang Dolan	Rp 60.000,-
II. Pasmambahan/Pamltahan → Lagat Minang			
1.	Semarak Nagari	R. St. Tandiko – M. St. Rajo Batah	Rp 30.000,-
2.	Pasmambahan	Junihis Jamin – M. Dt. Mongkoto Rajo	Rp 30.000,-
III. Kaba Klasik Minangkabau → Lagat Minang			
1.	Kaba Angkon Nan Tonggo	Antihus Mahkota	Rp 30.000,-
2.	Kaba Cindua Mate	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 30.000,-
3.	Kaba Magik Manandin	Sutan Pangdura	Rp 20.000,-
4.	Kaba Lakoamasa Hang Tuah	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
5.	Kaba Angko Kapalo Stialang	Darwis St. Sinaro	Rp 18.000,-
6.	Kaba Malin Demas	M. Rayid Manggis	Rp 18.000,-
7.	Kaba Puri Nihon Cayo	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
8.	Kaba Rambun Pamenan	Sutan Mangkadan - Ryas St. Pangdura	Rp 18.000,-
9.	Kaba Rancak di Labuah	Dt. Pandako Alam	Rp 18.000,-
10.	Kaba Sabai Nan Alahib	M. Rayid Manggis	Rp 18.000,-
11.	Kaba Si Bayang Karauk	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
12.	Kaba Si Gadib Ranti	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
13.	Kaba Siti Buharam	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
14.	Kaba Siti Kahanun	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
15.	Kaba Siti Risanu	Sutan Nasrudin	Rp 18.000,-
16.	Kaba Si Umboh Mudo	Ryan Poykambuh	Rp 18.000,-
17.	Kaba Sutan Lembek Tuah	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
18.	Kaba Tuanika Larih Sinawang	Syamsuddin St. Radjo Endah	Rp 18.000,-
IV. Becaan Anak: Hikayat Lama dari Ranah Minang			
1.	Si Bayang Telang	Dt. B. Nordin Yakub	Rp 20.000,-
2.	Sang Saparba	Dt. B. Nordin Yakub	Rp 20.000,-
3.	Mikinsika	Yunas St. Majekelo	Rp 20.000,-
4.	Tuaniku Keramat	Yunas St. Majekelo	Rp 20.000,-
5.	Angko Putih	Azwani	Rp 20.000,-
6.	Angko Padang Duta	Azwani	Rp 20.000,-
7.	Sang Pankawa Pena	Heridien	Rp 20.000,-
8.	Kisah Heran di Selisir Kita	Heridien	Rp 20.000,-

FIGURE 2 List of books published by Kristal Multimedia

⁷² It is available at www.kristalmultimedia.blogspot.com

ince, the republished stories are distributed in West Sumatra through different strategies. Within the province, the books are mainly distributed in some bookshops in West Sumatra such as *Sari Anggrek* in Padang and Bukittinggi, *Seroja*, *Irama*, and *Asriyah* in Bukittinggi, *Hizra* in Payakumbuh, and *Carano* in Pariaman. These bookstores are owned by local people who welcome books published by local publishers to be sold in their store. In contrast, Gramedia, a national chain of bookstores, stocks few books from local publishers and thus does not serve the Minang market such as these Kristal Multimedia's books. For those who order the published books from outside of West Sumatra, they can submit a request and the publisher will then send the ordered books by a courier.

From Traditional to Modern Literature

The above discussion shows how traditional stories are adapted to suit printed form. This change in form has also changed the public as well as influenced other newly created literary works. There are several different kinds of folktales which have been reproduced in printed form. Some modern Indonesian literary works were written based on traditional and oral literature. The following examples are presented to provide an illustration of this stories elaboration. The short stories in the collection *Lima Tjerita* (Five Stories, 1962) written by Junus St. Madjolelo, for example, are based on oral stories told by writer's grandmother.

When my grandmother was still alive –forty years ago– she often told stories for us, her grandchildren. Among the stories, there are some which attract our hearts, so until now we still remember what the stories are. In order to be enjoyed by children who live in modern age as well, I recompose five of them. The difference is that grandmother told the stories in Minangkabau language whereas this presence stories are in our unity language, Bahasa Indonesia (Madjolelo, 1962:4).⁷³

⁷³ *SEMASA nenekku masih hidup- empat puluh tahun jang lalu- kerap kali benar beliau bertjerita-tjerita kepada kami, anak tjutju beliau. Diantara tjerita-tjerita itu, banjak jang menarik hati kami, sehingga sampai sekarang masih teringat oleh kami, bagaimana djalannja tjerita-tjerita itu. Agar dapat pula dinikmati oleh anak-anak, jang hidup dalam zaman kemadjuan ini, saja karangkan kembali lima buah diantaranya. Hanja bedanja: nenek bertjerita dalam Bahasa Minangkabau, sedang tjerita ini diolah kembali dalam Bahasa persatuan kita, Bahasa Indonesia (p. 4).*

A novel entitled *Talipuk Layur* (which refers to the name of the main character and literally means lotus) (Damhoeri, 1982) was also written based on an oral performance in Damhoeri's previous school. This novel was published under the series of above mentioned Minangkabau classical series. The story was directly adapted by Damhoeri from a story that is still known by the people in Payakumbuh, as stated by the writer in the preface of his novel. Each year, there was an arts performance as part of a farewell party for students in their final year. Damhoeri states in the preface of the book that the story he wrote was based on that kind of performance.

Once a year, when I was schooling at the Normal School Padangpanjang, we hold school party. The purpose of the party was a farewell with students grade IV who would leave the school. One of the agendas was performance of Minang classical songs that was common in students' kampongs. When we celebrated Or. Mandank, a well-known poet, he performed himself before the audience with a famous dendang in the Talang Pauh Tinggi region. With his specific funny gestures, Or. Mandank sang a song: *Talipuk Layur nan Dandam*. This was a folktale in Talang Pauh Tinggi.

As each Minang classical story brings full of moral messages and useful metaphors as guidance in our life, so this story *Talipuk Layur* did. Our hope was that this piece of contribution would benefit for recent Indonesian young generation.⁷⁴

These literary works were published in West Sumatra. In addition, there are also a number of literary works based on the Minangkabau folktales published by publishers with national reach. In the early estab-

⁷⁴ Sekali setahun ketika saya masih duduk di bangku Sekolah Normal Padang Pandang kami mengadakan pesta sekolah. Maksudnya ialah perpisahan dengan murid-murid kelas IV yang akan meninggalkan sekolah. Salah satu acaranya ialah mengadakan pegelaran lagu-lagu klasik Minang yang lazim di setiap kampong para murid. Dan ketika Sdr. Or. Mandank, seorang penyair terkenal kami pestakan, ia sendiri tampil ke depan dengan membawakan dendang yang terkenal di daerah Talang Pauh Tinggi. Dengan kocaknya diikuti gerak-gerik yang khas Or. Mandank membawakan lagu: *Talipuk Layur nan Dandam*. Ini ialah sebuah cerita rakyat di daerah Talang Pauh Tinggi. Sebagaimana halnya setiap cerita klasik Minang penuh dengan nasehat-nasehat dan ibarat-ibarat yang sangat berguna sekali sebagai pedoman dalam kehidupan ini maka demikian juga halnya dengan cerita *Talipuk Layur* ini. Harapan kami semoga secuil sumbangsih ini akan ada manfaatnya untuk generasi muda Indonesia sekarang ini.

lishment of Balai Pustaka, the published novels written by Minang authors explored the social phenomena of Minangkabau society. For examples, *Sitti Nurbaja* (Marah Rusli, 1922), *Salah Asuhan* (A Moeis, 1928), and *Sengsara Membawa Nikmat* (Tulis Sutan Sati, 1929), to name a few, examine conflicts between younger and older generations, the role of *mamak*, and forced marriage. Chairul Harun, in his novel *Warisan* (1979), investigates the conflict of a family in dividing the inheritance of their parents. The problems of society told in this novel, and in particular between the young and old generation represents the modernity (symbolised by young generation) and old fashion one (represented by old generation). Darman Moenir's novel *Dendang* (1988) tells a story about a young boy who migrates to Padang from his village, to study and work, and finally chooses to live in the urban area. However, the character still regards himself as part and a member of his village. In a more explicit exploration, Gus tf Sakai in his *Tambo Sebuah Pertemuan* (2000) challenges the established *tambo*, a historical story of the people of Minangkabau, in society. In his works, Wisran Hadi (1945-2011) explored traditional stories and performances as the basis of his writings. He entitles most of his plays from the characters' names of the folktales. A study conducted on Hadi's works, in which intertextuality from traditional story of kaba to his play was examined, is conducted by Hasanuddin WS (2003). Hasanuddin analysed the transformation and production of text from *Kaba Anggun Nan Tungga* (traditional history) to Wisran's modern play.

A slightly different case occurs in the elaboration of folktales in the modern literary works adapted from these folktales. In some of Wisran Hadi works, for example, there are some changes made in terms of the motifs of the conflicts as a result of his interpretation towards the established narratives. Hadi received objections and negative criticism from *adat* leaders because of his works that are perceived as digressing from the stories within the society (see Sahrul, 2005). So, besides its language change as mentioned above, the alteration of a story in terms of its narrative's structure could stimulate reaction and rejection from readers, in particular those who know the original.

From the above provided examples, the republication of folktales demonstrates that the transformation of literary works from one time to another, from classical to modern style, in various media does occur. The folktales, in various forms and media, were influenced by previously composed literary works, either from different part of the country or even

from foreign countries, such as from (Middle) East Asian countries, European, or Roman and Greek's legend and stories (see for instance Braginsky, 2004). Later, the stories have also influenced subsequent works. A number of the published literary works in contemporary or modern Indonesian literature period were influenced by, or are a continuation in many ways of, the folktales. In the genre of prose, the influences could be traced from the intrinsic element of the works. The conflict provides the narrative drive of the story. The conflict and other elements of stories in Minangkabau folktales mostly emerge in modern prose written by West Sumatran authors, especially during the early modern Indonesian literature and marked by works published by Balai Pustaka.

From Audience to Reader

Transforming folktales into written form has resulted in a variety of different effects, in particular on the shaping of the public. The republishing activities, in correlation with the literary infrastructure, have contributed partly in shaping and broadening the potential audience. Folktale performances enjoyed by the public as an audience could be seen as a collective activity, whereas the similar story is treated differently when it is told in the printed form (McLuhan, 2005). Readers can easily choose to read the story anytime, something that does not happen to audience of oral performance, because such occasion has to be scheduled well beforehand. The work of transcribing the oral performance into full-length story as well as an adapted and shortened printed version has also changed the public profile of the folktales. In the later development, the *kaba* stories were shortened in order to provide readings for specific targeted readers such as children. If a reader is coming from, or in the same time is a real audience of story, it would be true that he or she is familiar with the story. Thus, the changes in written and published forms are basically already recognised by the public.

Related to the republishing of folktales, a transformation of its public, from the 'audience' into 'reader' has been created. Finnegan (1977 and 1988) has extensively explored the effect of the transformation from oral into writing to the audience and reader. It is not only beneficial economically and culturally, but it also has brought some changes in the society. The readers of published folktales might be those of the buyers who find the books in bookshops, street book vendors, distributors, the publishers, libraries, or book lending. Each reader deals with the books in personal

ways and can produce a different interpretation and conclusion of the readings because of their various different reading instruments such as cultural background, education, and reading habit. The changing of public of these two genres also occurs in terms of the shaping of the public age as the result of the changing forms of the stories. In oral performances, the public consists of all ages, from infants to elderly. The separation usually takes place in connection with the time when a story is performed. In this form, audience's devices to enjoy the performance are mostly only eyes and ears. While in most cases, published folktales are seemingly directed for children and young readers and older people, the reader should be equipped by the ability to read that usually achieved from the schools. In correlation with the audience of folktales in Minangkabau, Umar Junus (1981: 17-18) separates the audience of *kaba* or folktales from that of modern literary works, based on their specific characteristics. The audience of *kaba* is characterised as (1) those who are not, or less, educated as logical consequence of being a part of village life, (2) those who have leisure time in business or family life, and (3) a group of young people which may be referred to as *parewa* (hoodlum), those who have yet decided their future, simply enjoying their life without thinking about their future, and spending most of their time chatting, 'playing and gambling'. This portrait of oral performance or storytelling audience is the goal of performances' moral message, with the wish that they would change their mentioned habits and characters. The activity of republishing folktales has shaped the public profile of the stories. The act of hearing or watching oral literature creates an audience who is regarded as a collective group.

On the other hand, folktales in printed forms create a reader who personally reads the text (Ong, 1975). The publication of folktales, for instance, those conducted by Kristal Multimedia, considers the reader as a consumer with regards to the number of printed books, because each reader is expected to buy the books. The publishing system with its apparatus has shaped reader. As mentioned above, the published folktales are directed as the reading materials for children and young educated people. Readers should have abilities in reading (education and literacy) and access to the stories (libraries or bookshops), and most probably have better status or characterisation rather than what Junus mentioned above. The books have brought the stories to readers who are able to understand the stories without watching or hearing them in oral performances. However, as a social medium, performed oral stories in society have their social and

educational functions that perhaps more effectively informed rather than by reading. In oral performances, audience could participate interactively with others such as their friends and fellows and parent.

When I attended the traditional performances festival held by West Sumatra Cultural Park, 18-20 December 2015, in which every district in West Sumatra performed their most popular stories, consisting of 15 performances from all districts and additional 4 exhibitions from arts educational institutions, there were only about 20 audiences sat before the stage, including the office's staffs and jury members. Traditional performances now have smaller audiences, especially in urban settings. My experience proves that even though the traditional performances are brought into people and free entrance, performed in a modern stage, facilitated by support from the government, but the audience are need to be asked to recognise the changing of traditional performances condition. Furthermore, in the context of audience of oral performance characterised by Junus and reader profile of Kristal Multimedia's published books, it seems that the audience, and in the same time also the performances, is associated as those who live in rural areas whereas reader, and literary activities in general, those who reside in urban areas. There are some additional facts that support this particular type of public, including educational institutions, literacy rate, economic condition, public infrastructure, and professions of people in both areas.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the activity of republishing folktales in West Sumatra. This activity has played an important role in the greater system of literary infrastructure in the region. The republishing of folktales supports the familiarity of reader with the literature and literary works, provides sources for writers to create stories based on the folktales and also encourages the distribution of the published works leading to cover the production cost needed by the publisher. The republishing activities played by publishing house have a significant contribution to support the literary life in West Sumatra. This contribution is an explanation of how the publishing house is positioned as one of the literary infrastructure components. However, the republishing of the folktales has also brought some changes such as the shortening the length of stories to fit the available spaces of printed form, efficiency of the language use, plot, description of the characters.

The activity of republishing the folktales has changed the audience of the stories. The reader profile of the printed stories is different from the audience of oral performance. However, this difference does not exactly separate the public from being the audience or reader; instead they can position themselves in both places in the same time. This fact is also supported by the reality that the oral performance still exists and performed in society and is watched by many people who are also act as readers of the stories. The republishing helps to preserve and adapt traditional stories into modern works.

Republishing stories, from oral into printed form, as illustrated in this chapter show an understanding that this activity impulses people to become readers. Furthermore, it supports the availability of the sources for publisher, writer, distributor, and reader to be involved in the continuity of literature and literary works presence. The folktales are used by contemporary writers as significant sources to create new works by treating the folktales as the basis for adaptation, giving new interpretation for the established stories, challenging the information from the stories, or finding new aesthetic style from the folktales. The folktales, however, are incorporated in recent and most likely in future works as their influences always present in many ways. The activities in republishing traditional stories into modern and printed forms have contributed to the preservation of the stories, the shaping of the reader, and challenged the author to write new stories and bring the cultural richness of the society to a different medium.□

CHAPTER 3

LITERARY CLUBS IN WEST SUMATRA

THIS CHAPTER focuses on the role and activities of literary clubs in the field of Indonesian literature in West Sumatra. Firstly, I argue that literary clubs have significantly improved the writers' roles in the literary field through their programmes in the forms of literary events and publications. Secondly, I demonstrate that literary clubs function socially as spaces for writers and the public to be involved in the literary field. Literary clubs are formed as institutions for literature, consisting of writers and literary aficionados, to run literary activities as common activities rather than individual actions. The literary clubs' programmes which engage the people as participants or target of the events reflect the action of public or society in the literary field. Literary clubs have been used by writers and literary activists to work together in order to have more spaces to more intensively support the literature.

In relation to literary infrastructure, literary clubs are forums that are frequently used by writers and literary aficionados to train and discuss their works or literary works written by others. Additionally, they also hold literary activities that involve public in general to participate, such as literary competition, literary performance, and public discussion. The literary club's roles in literary fields show its position within literary infrastructure. In most cases of the literary club activities in the field of literature, in particular through the examples in West Sumatra provided in this chapter, a literary club is a place where writers are deeply involved in their activities. This is based on the fact that literary clubs are established mainly to improve and foster the development of literary production.

I firstly provide a brief general historical background of the literary clubs in West Sumatra, in the period after Indonesian independence. I am aware that there were also literary clubs established during the colonial period, but with different circumstances especially in regard to the

public organisation and activities under the colonial law. In the following sections, I explain brief historical information and activities of four literary clubs in West Sumatra namely SEMI (established in the late 1940s based in Bukittinggi), Krikil Tajam (established in the early 1970s in Padang), Taraju (initiated in Padang in 1990), and Intro (established in Payakumbuh in 1994 until the present). I discuss these clubs in chronological order. These four literary clubs are used here as the examples based on their primary literary programmes, the time of establishment, and influences in the area. By presenting the four selected literary clubs, I seek to explain the differences, changes, and continuity of literary clubs' effort in the field of literature in West Sumatra over the periods, especially based on their literary activities, as the focus of my discussion in last section of this chapter.

Historical Background on the Literary Clubs in West Sumatra

In the early years of Indonesian independence, the government positions, especially those for high ranking leaders, were filled by military officers. They also established and led civil organizations. Therefore, it was logical that the government's agendas and programmes mostly directed to establish governmental organisational, including their infrastructures and staff, and fields that were daily needed by society. According to Rusli Marzuki Saria (interview, 30 September 2016), during 1955-1957, there was an RRI programme on literature, such as poetry reading, drama reading, and prose reading. The programme was hosted by Rusli, Motinggo Busye, Navis, and some others from SEMI, an art club in Bukittinggi. So, the club's activities in this period were directed to introduce and give an understanding toward, the literature and arts in general.

When the centre of activities was gradually moved to Padang, as the projected capital city of the province replacing Bukittinggi, the government officials, politicians, and other people working on the societal and political fields, including writers and artists, also moved to Padang. Some writers then started holding a regular discussion on literature and culture in Zaidin Bakry's house between 1961 and 1963. The regular discussion was stopped when writers became divided into two oppositional groups, those who signed Cultural Manifesto (Manifesto Kebudayaan) and those joined Lekra, a cultural institute affiliated with the Indonesian

Communist Party (PKI). This was marked by the signing of the manifesto in August 1963, when Lekra began to intimidate and limit the space for activities and publication in the local newspapers. In West Sumatra, some writers who joined Lekra included Rasidin Bey, Tazmir Tazar, and Haznam Rahman who worked as editor of literature and culture columns in *Haluan* newspaper. Since the mid-1965, some writers, including Chairul Harun, Leon Agusta, Rusli Marzuki, and Upita Agustin, hosted a weekly RRI Padang's programme called *Daerah Persinggahan* (Sojourn Region). In this live radio programme, the invited writers talked about literature and accompanied by poetry or prose readings. The audiences could respond or ask questions about the literature via phone. This RRI Padang's programme ended in 1969 when Rusli started working as editor of newspaper *Haluan* and the other writers had also different jobs.

In 1965, the government began to establish two art schools in West Sumatra. The first was the Konservatori Karawitan (the original form of the Indonesian Institute of Arts) Padangpanjang in December 1965, and the school of fine arts in Padang. Some of the teachers of those two arts institutions were West Sumatran artists who graduated from art academies in Yogyakarta. In the field of literature, a regular meeting to discuss West Sumatran writers was established since the beginning of the 1970s. The serial (weekly) discussion was run by the *Krikil Tajam* (Sharp Gravel) study group in 1973, founded by some writers who wished to have a regular session of discussion on literary discourse. The club discussed thematic issues, mostly based on the works of its members. The discussion group was designed to give feedback for literary works that were written by the members before sending them to the newspapers or magazines. It was also aimed to evaluate published works. A member should present his/her works while others read and commented on the works. After its first short running programme, the club was inactive for several years and the club was then re-established in 1989 by some writers previously engaged in the first phase discussion and joined by some more new writers (*Haluan*, 20-3-1989). In more general issues in the field of culture, a study group, *Saluang Balega*, led by senior writer Navis and supported by Rustam Anwar, was also established. In this study group, only those invited by Navis had opportunities to engage actively in the regular monthly discussion, given permission to talk in the forum. Those who were not invited could only sit in the back row and listen to the discus-

sion. During Krikil Tajam's years of operation, its activities were focused on the appreciation, criticism, and study of local writers' works.

In terms of their activities, some literary clubs focus on a single field and some others incorporate some arts genres and programmes. Krikil Tajam and Taraju are two examples of literary clubs focusing on the literary field. Krikil Tajam's main programme was studying literature and literary works written by its members. Taraju's concern in literary activities was expressed in the forms of the literary writing competition, publication, and discussion. Whereas SEMI and Intro are examples of literary clubs with various art genres in their programmes such as theatre, fine arts, literature as well as music included in their programmes. The choice whether to incorporate other arts genres or a single type are based on the agreement among the clubs' members. Some clubs that focus on literature were Dangau Seni Rell, Sanggar Menulis Pelangi, Forum Lingkar Pena Sumatera Barat, Komunitas Ilalang Senja, Komunitas Daun, Kandang Padati, Komunitas Hijau Muda, Forum Aktif Menulis, Komunitas Rumah Kayu, Komunitas Kedai Kopi, Komunitas Penggiat Sastra Padang, and Tubuh Jendela (Wimra, 2013, Fadlillah et. al., 2010). While some other clubs that work in some arts genres, in which literature is a part of their working area and include the study of arts and culture, are KSST Noktah, Komunitas Ganih, Magistra Indonesia, Ruang Kerja Budaya. Some of the mentioned clubs still exist and continue their programmes.

In general, literary clubs are initiated and managed by writers or those who are familiar with literature, such as literature aficionados, publishers, journalists, bookshop owners, academics. A literary club is generally founded with the intention of improving the quality of literary works and discourse. Literature is not simply a text or literary work; it relates to other things: the public, market, education, publishing, government, and the literary field itself. As such, writers themselves need to consider the necessary support for their work. Based on my findings, the initiative to establish a literary club becomes a common need by which they can work as a group. The first goal of the literary club is to uncover the literary obstacles such as writing skills, publishing possibilities, and writing competition. The second goal is how to connect literature with the public, by establishing literary events that involve the public as the participants or audience. These are common to all literary clubs, but the

emphases on what activities become their main programmes differ from club to club. This purpose can be shown from the activities which involve the public such as a literary festival, poetry reading (competition), seminar, or workshop. However, not all writers engage in the establishment of literary clubs. There are some writers who supported the initiatives to establish literary clubs and occasionally participated or took part in the programmes.

As will be shown in this chapter by taking SEMI and Intro as examples, a literary club is also able to partner with local government to implement the arts and cultural programmes. The difference between the literary clubs' and the government agencies' involvement in literature, in which the issue of the government involvement will be discussed in Chapter 5, shows that the literary clubs have more initiatives and programmes depart from the literary field. On the other hand, the government's involvement in literature is programmed normatively based on its position, mainly following the available budget and tasks decided by the law. Because of literary, and also other arts, clubs have more knowledge in the field, they are commonly placed as the executants of the programmes. Furthermore, a club could be easier to get funding or support from donors or sponsors compares to other activities held individually, for a trust and legal standing reasons needed by donors and sponsors. While Krikil Tajam and Taraju show how literary clubs made an effort to empower and improve literature from within, through their literary programmes.

Seniman Muda Indonesia (SEMI) (1947-1955)

Seniman Muda Indonesia (SEMI, Young Artists of Indonesia) was founded as an art club in Bukittinggi during the 1940s, when Indonesia was a newly independent nation in search of clarity about its identity. The functioning of the club was compromised several times during a period of Dutch military aggressions (1947-1949), Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PDRI, 1948-1949), a temporary government initiated and established in Bukittinggi by Syafruddin Prawiranegara when Soekarno and Hatta were captured by the Dutch in Yogyakarta. SEMI was founded at the same period when other art clubs established by young artists in some places in Indonesia, under a similar condition of

⁷⁵ For examples, Sudjojono founded Seniman Muda Indonesia (SIM) in Madiun in 1946, and later moved it into Solo and then Yogyakarta. Affandi and Hendra stepped out from

the Dutch aggression and the struggle of Indonesian people to defend their independence.⁷⁵ The birth of art clubs initiated by young artists was driven by the return of artists when the revolution began and forced them to do their activities in their home towns (Sumardjo, 1956: 132-133). Under this aggression, artists could not work both for their creativities and support the people's struggle.

SEMI, chaired by Zetka, a painter included artists and writers from West Sumatra. Among its members were writers and painters such as AA Navis, Motinggo Busye, Baharuddin Mara Sutan, Djanain, Betty Lukman, and Noerdin. SEMI's main activities were painting exhibitions, drawing and painting workshops, staging radio dramas in RRI Bukittinggi, and publishing. After the handing over of the Republic of Indonesia from the Dutch, SEMI was reactivated by some emerging artists (Yusra, 1994: 53-54).⁷⁶ SEMI used to hold art events publicly to introduce art works to people in the newly independent nation. Arts and culture were used to help people to form their social and cultural identity as shown by SEMI projects, as an initiative from the artists while the government was preparing its organisations in every level. The establishment of SEMI filled the art and cultural need for people.

Before Indonesian independence, there were few clubs established in the fields of arts and culture, but mostly focusing their programmes on the social and more particular in Minangkabau's customary debates and thoughts. For example, a discussion group named Perkoempoelan Minangkabau (Minangkabau Association) led by Datoek Sanggoeno di Radjo was built in Fort de Kock (Bukittinggi) in 1926 to discuss and publish their thoughts in a bulletin called *Barito Minangkabau*. This limited number

SIM and established Pelukis Rakyat in Yogyakarta. Sumitro in Yogyakarta also established Pelukis Indonesia which was later managed by Sholihin and Kusnali. Pelukis Indonesia Muda (PIM) was founded by Widajat in 1952. In Madiun, another club was Tunas Muda which was handled by Sunindyo, Sedyono, and Ismono. In Jakarta Sutikna, Nashar, Oesman Effendi, and Wakidjan founded Gabungan Pelukis Indonesia. Nashar together with Mardian, later on, established Matahari in 1956. In Bandung, Barli, St. Lucas Gilde founded Djiwa Mukti in 1948, Kartono Yodhokusumo established Sanggar Seniman in 1952, and Abedy established Tjipta Pantjaran Rasa. In Medan, Angkatan Senirupa Indonesia (ASRI) was led by Ismail Daulay and Tino Sidin since 1945. The word "muda" (young) in some clubs' name was used in several places at that time, indicating the network and common passion between those clubs at that time.

⁷⁶ These artists were Djafri, Jurnalis, Mahyudin, J.T Tan, M. Taher Harahap, A. Muis, Raja Sihar, Rasjidin Rasjid, Asni Rasjid, Hasan Hasibuan, Astalina R, Sjamsinar and Delsy Sjamsumar.

of clubs was also supported by the strict rules of the Dutch colonial government on the public meeting and organisation. During the early years of Indonesian independence, particularly in Central Sumatra at that time, SEMI was most likely the first literary club. Literature, however, was not the only focus of the club. It also served as a partner of the government in the field of arts and culture. SEMI received grant annually for the planned programmes. Four of its members were sent to Yogyakarta to study at the Indonesian Fine Arts Academy with the government's fellowships. SEMI was a pioneer in the arts activities and preparing initial programmes to be implemented by the provincial government. One of the main reasons why this club received annual funding was that AA Navis was appointed as the staff of the Bureau of Information and Culture of the Central Sumatra province. Navis also prepared and distributed the programmes and subsidies to others arts clubs and artists, such as by distributing painting equipment or cash to those in needs. According to Navis (Yusra, 1994: 39, 47), during the early years of Indonesian independence, there were other art clubs established in West Sumatra, such as Barisan Seni Bangsa (Front of People Arts) led by Sofjan Naan during the Japanese occupation, Sumatera Symphony Orchestra which was founded by some internally displaced people from Padang, Medan, and Bukittinggi.

One of SEMI's programmes was the publication of bulletin SEMI, with a tagline *Berkala Kantjah Seniman* (Journal for Artists' Realm). This bulletin, according to the editor's statement in its initial issue, was a continuation of previous editions, which was published in limited copies in the stencil. From the two editions of the bulletin that I could find (see figure 1, the cover pages of the two editions), the bulletin was finely printed, illustrated with sketches, consisting of 37 pages in book form, and provided literary works and criticism. Some of the columns were a short story, radio drama, poem, and essay. There were also advertisements from bookshops, publishers, hotels, pharmacies, tailors, and service stations located around Bukittinggi. Bukittinggi at that time was the capital city of the Central Sumatra province so it became the centre of businesses and administration. The first issue of SEMI bulletin was in May 1955. Most of the writings published in the bulletin were written by the SEMI club members. The fact that most of the members were writers, and in later periods some of them became well-known writers in Indonesia, made this publication possible to be published several times. Each copy of the bulletin was sold for Rp 3.50. The bulletin had only small print runs, but the edi-

tor hoped to be able to distribute the bulletin as widely as possible throughout Indonesia.

SEMI was aimed to become an important institution through the implementation of programmes, by placing the foundation of the later development of West Sumatra's cultural policy, and bridging the dialogue with the external influences by inviting outsider artists to meet with the local artists, collectors, government officials (including President Soekarno). It also helped some of the members to study to some higher arts educational institutes outside West Sumatra. The club's contribution to the cultural development in West Sumatra was not only taking place in the field of literature but also arts and culture in general. Additionally, SEMI was supported by some artists from different arts backgrounds, affecting different activities and programmes run by the club. The challenges to prepare the cultural identity for people after the Indonesian independence in the region were a collective effort to establish the foundation for the future culture. The club has also shown an important



FIGURE 1 Two cover page editions of SEMI bulletin, the SEMI's publication that include primarily literary works written by its members (photograph by Aminuddin TH Siregar).

role played by an art club to positioning itself as a medium for emerging artists to train and exercise their skills.

SEMI terminated its activities at the end of the 1950s or early 1960s. I have been unable to find any information on its demise. But Navis in his biography (Yusra, 1994) hints that he felt that he has had enough of taking care of eccentric artists. Most of the SEMI members moved to other places, mainly Jakarta, to continue their creative processes and professional careers.

Krikil Tajam (1971-1973 and 1983)

Padang became the capital of West Sumatra in 1958, assuming the role from Bukittinggi. However, its position as the province's capital was only legally confirmed in 1975. Arts activities most commonly took place in the urban settings, such as the capital city of a province. While SEMI, as described above, operated in Bukittinggi, another literary club which will be discussed here was located in Padang when it began to be the capital of the province. The shift of the city's position and role has shown the characteristic of literary activities as an urban style.

Since the late 1950s to 1960s, the popularity of art clubs has diminished. This was caused by the obligation for art clubs to be affiliated with political parties. Bujono, a visual arts critic cum journalist, in 1975 stated that "Arts clubs and associations as in 1950s-60 are no longer popular. It may have been caused by the government's intervention which ordered each organization to be any political party at that time" (Bujono, 1975).⁷⁷ This was also the case in West Sumatra during this period. In Padang, before the 1970s there was only few art clubs existed. One of them was Lingkaran Seni Kota Padang (Padang arts circle), nurtured by Syafrial Arifin.⁷⁸ A fine arts school (Sekolah Seni Rupa Indonesia) was founded in Padang in 1965. In the same year, a conservatory (Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia, ASKI) was also instituted in Padang Panjang. These two educational institutions were filled by teachers and academic staff graduated from arts educational institutions in Yogyakarta in its initial years. In the field of literature, Krikil Tajam was established to focus mainly on the literary discussion activities.⁷⁹ This club was founded by some writers

⁷⁷ "[P]erkumpulan-perkumpulan kesenian seperti pada tahun 1950-60 tidak lagi populer. Barangkali sebabnya adalah karena turun tangannya pemerintah yang mengharuskan tiap organisasi berlandung di bawah partai politik yang ada pada waktu itu".

⁷⁸ No sufficient information was found to discuss this club, except its main program in theater and Arifin's later career in the fields of writing, film and television drama series (sinema elektronik or *sinetron*).

⁷⁹ The information about Krikil Tajam is based on interview with Darman Moenir, one of its founders, in Padang (12 November 2015).

who wanted to have regular meetings.

The club was founded in 1971 as a result of a discussion and motivation from Rusli Marzuki Saria, at that time he was editor of literature in *Haluan* newspaper when some of those people met Rusli in his rented house in Koto Marapak, Padang. The meetings were mostly held at the office of Indonesian Journalist Association (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia) Padang in Jl.Cokroaminoto, in Darman Moenir rented a house in Simpang 6, and in a park nearby the army post (Rindam) in coastal Padang. The name of Krikil Tajam was actually derived from the book title, *Krikil Tajam dan yang Terempas dan yang Putus (Sharp Gravel and That which is Slammed Down and Broken Up)*, the poetry anthology written by Chairil Anwar (1949). The rule within the club was that the members should bring their own works, a summary of readings, criticism of literary works, and other materials to be shared with other members in the meetings. All of the materials were handwritten or copied using a typewriter because there was no photocopy machine to duplicate the materials. The reading materials at that time could be accessed in the provincial library located in Jalan Sudirman. Another popular place to find readings was at a book lending service, located in Taman Melati, in the front of provincial museum Adityawarman in Jalan Diponegoro.⁸⁰ The owner of this book lending was Haji Amran. This book lending service provided various readings, ranging from novels, poems, translations of foreign literary works, puzzles, magazines, and comics. Additionally, this book lending service became a famous meeting point for many local writers and readers to meet and spend the time to discuss book related themes.

Krikil Tajam's members were mostly emerging writers who had published their writings in some national and local newspapers and magazines such as *Aman Makmur*, *Angkatan Bersenjata*, *Haluan*, and *Kartini*. However, other writers have supported the club's activities in many ways, such as by contributing fund to provide consumption and reading materials. Those who wanted to be members or participated in the meetings or club were openly invited and joined the discussions. To attract potential

⁸⁰ A book lending is a place, usually located within traditional market or shop near schools, which rents the reading materials for a certain period. The main readings are comic, popular novel, magazine, and literary works. The main costumers are students. Nowadays, most of the book lending in West Sumatra are closed because of the damaged buildings of earth quake, the decrease of costumers, and sluggishness of book distribution and trading in general.

members, each discussion session was reported in *Haluan* newspaper and the forthcoming session announced in the same newspaper.

One of Krikil Tajam's most successful events was a poetry reading held on December 22, 1972. The event took place around Taman Melati, in front of the museum Adityawarman. The request for permission from the police to hold the poetry reading and other public events at that time was difficult because of political tension. In order to obtain permission from the police, two of the committee members, Darman Moenir and Asnelli Luthan, had to be interrogated by the police two times within 24 hours, to screen the poems to be read and other information about the event. The poetry reading itself was attended by a large number of intelligence agents in comparison with artists and poets (see figure 2). The political situation, especially after the 1965 coup, was constrictive for arts and cultural events, taking into account that these fields had been used as the arena of ideological debate between two groups, communism and nationalist. The tension was not only taking place in Jakarta or Java, but was also felt in West Sumatra and other places throughout Indonesia. As the result, the event and the interrogation were widely reported by national and international newspapers as well as radio such the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Unfortunately, during its establishment Krikil Tajam did not publish any books, except a collective anthology of selected poems read in the poetry reading event. Arts and cultures were treated as well as managed differently during the Old Order and New Order eras. On one hand, arts and cultures were used as the means to support the



FIGURE 2 Poetry reading night held by Krikil Tajam in Padang in 1972 (source: *Padang Kota Tercinta*, Padang, Genta Singgalang, 1983: 74).

government's programmes. On the other hand, they were suspected as becoming threat for the government's programmes (Jones, 2013).

Krikil Tajam disbanded in 1973. The reason was that its members began to find professions and had less time to actively run the programme and some of them moved to other places following their jobs' requirement. Later on, in 1983 some exponents of Krikil Tajam including Darman Moenir, Harris Effendi Thahar, and some other emerging writers such as Gus tf Sakai, tried to re-establish the club. The similar previously held programmes were reactivated during the Krikil Tajam's second phase. With the support from the museum's head, the discussions were regularly held in the Museum Adityawarman. During the pause of Krikil Tajam's activity, Padang was however still stirred by some arts clubs which held arts and literary activities. In 1976 Bumi, an art club that in the beginning focused on the fine art was established by some artists and led by Wisran Hadi. It had no specific programme in the field of literature, and therefore I do not explore Bumi further. The rise and fall of literary communities with similar reasons became a common phenomenon as mentioned above. Very few literary communities in Indonesia survive for a long duration, usually those which have good management, dedicated managers, and permanent facilities or programmes.

After its second phase which lasted over two years, Krikil Tajam closed for good. There were other groups consisting of intellectuals, artists and cultural activists in the late 1980s to the early 1990s such as Saluang Balega, discussion series in Genta Budaya, and arts and cultural discussions held in the Cultural Park and universities. Saluang Balega was a focused discussion group led by Navis, exploring development issues in West Sumatra. While Genta Budaya held discussions by inviting experts to discuss specific issues and published the results in its monthly magazine, *Genta*. Other discussions in the field of literature were held by arts-related institutions and organizations. One of the most influential events in the form of literary studies was a seminar in Bung Hatta University in 1988. The seminar involved the participation of some outstanding literary critics and resulted in a book of collective papers presented in the seminar, entitled *Mencari Kritik Sastra Indonesia yang Relevan* (In search of relevant Indonesian literary criticism) (Esten, ed., 1988).

Yayasan Taraju (1990-1994)

In early 1990, four writer-journalists Asraferi Sabri, Zul Effendi, Afrimen, and Yusrizal KW founded Yayasan Taraju (Taraju Foundation).⁸¹ Taraju, a Minangkabau and Malay word, means “balance”. This foundation was aimed at supporting literary activities in West Sumatra. The foundation grew out of the writers’ monthly meetings organised by Asraferi and named as *Temu Penulis Muda Sumatera Barat* (West Sumatran Young Writers Meeting). The name of the club was *Kelompok Studi Sastra dan Jurnalistik* (Literature and Journalism Study Group). The participants would meet at the Exhibition Room, Taman Budaya. Usually, the invited speakers were editors from local newspapers. The editors talked about the policy and standards of the newspapers, so the participants could understand the expectations of the editors and prepared themselves on how their works could be published in those newspapers. The participants came from various cities and districts across West Sumatra.

Over time, the monthly discussions, the number of submission of literary works and writings to local newspapers increased significantly. During the first two years, participants enjoyed the regular discussions. The meetings became a space for writers to get to know each other. Even though the invited speakers were not paid and there was no consumption provided by the organiser, they were pleased with the meetings because there were no other similar opportunities at that time. Based on the fact that the interest of emerging writers increased, Yayasan Taraju initiated literary competitions for poetry and short story writing in 1992. The poetry writing competition was intended for poets from within West Sumatra. This competition was influenced by a similar competition held by *Sanggar Minum Kopi Bali* (a literary club in Bali). Since the early 1990s, the network between literary communities in Indonesia resulted in some similar activities such as writing competition, poetry reading competition, and publishing collective anthology of poems and short stories in stencil and in limited copies because of the lack of the fund. In addition to the best ten poems, the committee also included twenty nominated poems for the purpose of book publication from the competition. The ten best short stories were also published in a short stories anthology.

⁸¹ The information about Taraju is based on interview with Asraferi Sabri, one of the founders, in Bukittinggi, 13-8-2014.

Yayasan Taraju commenced poetry writing competitions in 1993. The result of this competition was compiled as an anthology entitled *Antologi Puisi penyair Sumatera Barat* (Singgalang, 18 January 1993, *Semangat*, 21 January 1993, *Kompas*, 3 February 1993, *Media Indonesia*, 25 January 1993). The news about the competition in some national coverage newspapers was inaccurate. There were poets from other parts of Indonesia, including Jakarta, Bandung, Jambi, Tegal, Tangerang, and Bekasi participated in the competition. However, those poems submitted from outside West Sumatra were not being judged because the works were not fulfilling the criteria (Singgalang, 5 April 1993). During its establishment, Taraju has published other collective anthologies entitled *Taraju '93* (1993), *Sahayun* (1994), *Kaba dalam Kaba* (story in a story, 1994), and *Batin* (soul, 1996) (the cover pages of the mentioned books, see figure 3). These books were published as result of creative writing competition and as part of literary events initiated by Taraju. *Batin* (Soul) was published as collective poems of that poet who were invited to participate in *Mimbar Penyair Abad 21* (The Podium of 21st Century Poets) by Dewan Kesenian Jakarta in 1996.



FIGURE 3 Four literary works books published by Taraju (photograph by author).

In the effort of providing financial rewards and fund for the competition held by Taraju, most of the collected expenses were gathered in an innovative way. Asraferi, the head of the foundation, found that in each month, he saw that in the bill from the *Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum* (PDAM, local water company) there was a coupon of Indonesian Red Cross attached to it to gather funds. He then asked the local government to give a permission to put such a coupon in the PDAM bill. The government gave its approval for Taraju to put the coupon for three months, worth a

hundred rupiah for each coupon. From 10.000 coupons printed for that purpose, PDAM donated about four millions rupiahs to Taraju. As an illustration, there were 11,724 consumers of PDAM in Padang in 1987, while the population of Padang was 600,094 inhabitants (Bappeda Tk. II Padang, 1998: 20 and 153). However, Taraju only put the coupon in the bills issued by the main office of PDAM Padang, with about 2.000 consumers, as there were many branches and outlets where people can pay the bills. Asraferi, in his speech of the opening ceremony, informed the audience that the main sponsor of the competition and anniversary were citizens of Padang city who donated via the coupon of the PDAM bills. Another strategy was by asking a discount from Garuda, the national airline company, for the travels cost for invited speakers from Jakarta.

In promoting the activity, Taraju then held another event: a poetry reading performance competition in several districts of West Sumatra. The competition was divided into two stages; city/district level and provincial level. The poems to be read by the participants were taken from the published anthology of poetry writing competition. In doing so, Taraju appointed its representatives in some districts to manage the poetry reading competition. They were given a recommendation letter by the Taraju's head to search fund in each local district. The winners of those competitions were then sent to the provincial level of poetry reading competition, in accordance with the celebration of the Taraju's anniversary.

Following its successful competition in previous years, on 25 January – 30 March 1994, Taraju held poetry and short story writing competition. The poetry writing competition was open to Indonesian poets, while the short story competition was open to West Sumatran writers. After two months from the opening of the writing competition, the committee received poems from 27 poets, coming from across Indonesia (*Singgalang*, 14 May 1994). From those three competitions, Taraju published three books. This event was also intended to celebrate the birthday of Taraju. Besides the poetry reading competition as part of the celebration, Taraju held a seminar and workshop by inviting well-known writers such as Leon Agusta, Afrizal Malna, and Eka Budianta.

After 1994, Taraju was no longer active in conducting literary events because the management members and club's participants began to move to other places. This situation was caused by the exodus of some journalists of *Singgalang* newspaper, who later on founded *Mimbar Minang* newspaper in 1999. Asraferi and Zul Effendi moved to this newly established

newspaper *Mimbar Minang*. Afrimen still works in *Singgalang*. While Yusrizal KW (editor of arts culture pages of *Padang Ekspres*) together with his other colleagues Khairul Jasmi (since 2006 he becomes the editor in chief of *Singgalang*) and Nita Indrawati (the chair of IKAPI West Sumatra), initiated another foundation namely Yayasan Citra Budaya Indonesia, a publisher and also works on the literary workshops and other cultural activities.

Komunitas Seni Intro (1990 - Present)

Literary clubs are not only located in the capital city such as Padang but can also be found in other medium-sized cities. Komunitas Seni Intro is based in Payakumbuh, one of the towns in West Sumatra, about 120 km from Padang.⁸² Intro, according to Iyut Fitra, chairman of the club, was established on 2 May 1990 by some emerging poets in Payakumbuh, including Sigit A Yazid, Iyut Fitra, Ijot Goblin, and Yusril. The idea to establish the club was driven from their informal discussions on their creative writing, and other art and cultural, processes. Intro is based in Iyut Fitra's *Rumah Gadang* (big house, a Minangkabau traditional house), in Padang Tengah, Payakumbuh. The club has a public library, music equipment, an open air theatre, and cafeteria (see figure 4). It is also surrounded by public facilities such as the office of the *kelurahan* (village administrative unit), a *mushala* (small mosque), a senior high school, and previously a *pasar ternak* (cattle market) was about 100 meters away. Intro is one of few literary clubs in Indonesia, and the only one literary club in Payakumbuh, that has survived for more than three decades. Besides literary workshops as its main programme, it also provides training for theatre and music.

Intro was established as a group of the committee that prepared a poetry reading competition participated by some readers from West Sumatra and Riau. The group participated in Payakumbuh's art activities, particularly arts performance competition such as breakdance, dramatised poetry performance and musical. The members of the group, later on, moved to Padang and other places to pursue their education. Yusril studied at Andalas University, with a major in Indonesian litera-

⁸² The information about Komunitas Seni Intro is based on an interview with Iyut Fitra (27-11-2015) and in many other opportunities when I visited the club and chats with Iyut Fitra and other members.

ture. Iyut Fitra also moved to Padang took self-learning on his creative writing process with some writers living in Padang. Ijot Goblin studied dance at the Indonesian Arts Institute in Padangpanjang.

Before the 1990s, literary activities were rare in Payakumbuh. One of the possible reasons is that the distribution of literary information, mainly from Padang or other important places where literary activities were held, was limited. However, some well-known writers who have published their works widely come from, and live in, Payakumbuh such as A. Damhoeri, Gus tf Sakai, Iyut Fitra, and Adri Sandra. As the writers' programmes were held individually, it had no vibrant movement previously, since the establishment of Intro, in comparison, has brought the popularity of literature in the city. Literature then became a common movement. When *Horison*, a monthly literary magazine based in Jakarta, held a programme called *Sastrawan Bicara Siswa Bertanya* (Writers talk, Students question), a national programme in promoting literature and literacy in Indonesia and supported by the Ford Foundation, one of the creative writing workshops was held in Payakumbuh. The programme was based at a school in the city. When it ended, Intro wanted to adopt the programme, and more importantly to continue to provide a place for talented writers in Payakumbuh to learn.

Since 1995, Intro already has held regular programmes, particularly in literature and theatre. It initiated a programme called *Sajak Sabtu Sore* (Saturday Afternoon Poetry). There were 10-15 children from some middle and senior students joined the programme. They brought their own poems to be read and discussed in the sessions. In later time, the programme was changed into every Sunday morning, starting from 10.00 AM–1 PM. There are some writers who have emerged from this programme. From the beginning to present, the number of participants decreased gradually. If in the first years there were about 15 students joining the programme, there were only 5 participants in later years and in 2015, only 3 students joined the course. This phenomenon also happened within the period of the running programme, from 15 students registered, for example, only 5-7 students enrolled the programme until it ended. I suppose that this decrease was caused by less enthusiasm of the participants in following the lesson. Some of their parents also have negative thinking on the literary and arts activities which are associated with wasting time and have no use for the children future, and bad effect from the interaction between the children and artist.

From the literary activities, Intro has published two collective poetry anthologies entitled *Di Balik Ruangan (Antologi Puisi Pemenang Lomba Cipta Puisi SLTP/ SLTA Kota Payakumbuh dan Kabupaten Limapuluh Kota /Sepuluh Puisi Terbaik* (Behind the Room: a poetry anthology of the winners of poetry writing competition for secondary schools students Payakumbuh town and Limapuluh Kota district/ Ten Best Poemst, 1999) and *Pelabuhan Desember (Sajak Cinta dari Para Sahabat)* (December Harbour, Love Poetry from Friends of Intro, 2007), and one collective volume *PDRI dan Revitalisasi Kebangsaan (Esai-esai Pemenang Lomba Menulis Esai PDRI 2012* (PDRI and the Revitalisation of Nationalism: Essays of the Winners of Essay Writing Competition on PDRI, in cooperation with LP3SM and YPP PDRI, 2012).

Since 2008, Intro has held a poetry reading competition called Puisi November. The competition provides books collected from contributors (writers, publishers and readers in general) across Indonesia as the prizes for the winners. The competition does not provide cash as the prize instead of used books collected from writers and publishers in Indonesia. This was supported by the opinion from Intro members that it is difficult to collect funds to hold a literary event in this small city. Fortunately, Intro receives many books as donations. That is the way the committee could be able to provide 40 books in the first year and increasing into 50 books in 2008, and in the last time, they could present 100 book titles for the winner. The jury members come from a wide-range of different professions, not necessarily related to literature or the arts. These include *tukang ojek*, village administrative staff, a street vendor, and (former) legislative members. The purpose of this jury member selection was to introduce literature as widely as possible regardless people's backgrounds and professions. Additionally, the participants of the competition got feedback not only from writers or critics but also from readers and those who are not familiar with literature. It was a challenge provided by Intro for the participants to present their performances before the jury members consisting of people who were not familiar with literature.



FIGURE 4 Intro's secretariat and public library. The photograph shows some members who are mostly students of high schools waiting for a class on writing (photograph by author).

One of the main reasons why Intro could survive until present is that Intro is managed by those who have similar hobbies and concerns. Those who are involved in managing the club would voluntarily cover the cost of such activities personally if there is an insufficient fund available from sponsors or donators. The members only pay the registration fee (Rp.10,000; about \$1) to attend the creative writing workshop. In fact, the sum of money collected from the participants is insufficient to cover operational costs. The money is spent to buy materials, photocopying, and provide meals for invited speakers. But Intro has positioned the *Sastra Minggu Pagi* as part of its 'brand' as can be seen from its long-running programme and the main genre the club management's background. Nowadays, Intro has a public library and its collection that stimulates the literacy programme called *Payakumbuh Membaca* (Payakumbuh Reads), a collective movement spread in several cities in the past few years, and in various types, opening a public library in remote areas or marginal communities.

Problematizing Literary Clubs in Indonesian Literature

The literary clubs in connection to their position in Indonesian literature had been discussed widely by critics during the 1990s for their literary movement to challenge the domination of central (Jakarta) power in the literature, and cultural fields more generally. The main topic of the polemic published in numerous newspapers was the roles of literary clubs particularly those associated with the literary communities movement based in hinterlands (*sastra pedalaman*), places outside of major cities. The movement was a response to the centre of authority (Jakarta) in terms of unfairly publishing selection in major newspapers and other presses, which was thought by those who lived and wrote in peripheral regions as providing limited sources or channels to participate in major literary events and even funding. Will Derks illustrates the tension is caused by “*Koncoism* (favouritism), *persekongkolan* (scheming, plotting) and *kolusi* (collusion) are among the typical terms used to characterize this perceived state of affairs” (Derks, 2002: 325). The polemic about the tension between literary activities in hinterlands and big cities shows the important position of literary clubs in supporting and improving the literary field. The literary clubs movement, in particular, those based in hinterlands, has been responded by many literary clubs and writers and the effort to strengthen literary clubs, under the movement called *Revitalisasi Sastra Pedalaman* (*RSP, revitalisation of regional literature*), which became a strong movement throughout Indonesia between 1994-1996.

Will Derks (2002) also gives a picture of the relation between local and regional centres through the literary clubs’ movement. His interests in local literary activities are also reflected in two other articles (1995 and 1996) which explore the literary life, including the literary clubs’ activities, in Pekanbaru. The argument that Derks uses to show the atmosphere of Indonesian literature “is that the Indonesian literary system as a whole is strongly oriented towards orality.” Therefore the genres that are mostly produced by Indonesian writers are short story and poem, “because they can be, are meant to be, and frequently are, *performed*” (2001: 330). This characteristic of Indonesian literary system is commonly utilised by literary clubs to hold public events of literary performances. This system is also reflected in most literary events conducted by the literary clubs, such as literary performances, that involve the public to watch and hear the literary works through the performances. It is worth comparing the liter-

ary clubs' portraits and activities in West Sumatra to studies on the literary clubs in Indonesia. Moriyama (2015) presents his analysis on the role of Acep Zamzam Noor, a poet and founder of some literary clubs in Tasikmalaya, West Java, and more significantly his literary clubs to respond to the social, political and cultural challenges. Noor and his clubs have taken part in promoting literature within society, by inviting people to write poems and air the writings on local radio. Sanggar Sastra Tasik, a literary club in which Noor actively engages, has been influencing the local social and cultural dynamics.

Compare to what has been explained by Derks (2001) about the purpose of the movement to revitalise regional literature (the RSP movement) during the 1990s to confront the monopoly of Jakarta or the centre's authority (publication, activities, and clubs) to decide the aesthetic trend and writers' network, the similar goals are not expressed through the West Sumatran literary clubs' programmes. The literary clubs in the province of West Sumatra focus on the effort to improve local literature, including with the way of building a network with other literary clubs outside the province. Based on my communication and interaction with some writers, writers in West Sumatra, tend to avoid being part of certain institutions in Jakarta and other places. This practice, however, will limit one's access to being published in other publications and presses and participate in other events held by other institutions instead of their networks. However, during the RSP movement, in which Yayasan Taraju was still in its early years, there were national literary events especially on the poetry writing competition which had similar form of event with other literary clubs in Denpasar, Malang, or Tegal. I assume that it was part of the movement's influence for literary clubs throughout the country.

Similarly, in most cities and districts in Indonesia, literary clubs are established by writers to respond to the increasing interest of emerging writers and to drive the local literary life. Some literary clubs further abroad have agendas such as regular international literary festival such as Makassar International Writers Festival organized by Rumata' Artspace in Makassar, South Sulawesi, ASEAN Literary Festival organized by Muara Foundation in Jakarta, and Ubud Writers and Readers Festival hosted by Mudra Swari Saraswati foundation in Ubud, Bali. The financial difficulty to cover the programmes' expenditure is still a problem for most literary clubs. But they usually adjust the programmes based on the

availability financial source, both in the forms of activity and people who will be involved.

In a larger coverage of the study, during 1997-1998, the research and development division of *Kompas* daily newspaper in collaboration with Komunitas Sastra Indonesia, one of the leading literary clubs based in Tangerang, conducted a research and mapping of literary clubs spreading in Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi that operated during the 1990s. From the research, Melani Budianta, one of the research members, reported that there were 50 literary clubs in the mentioned areas, and about 100 clubs in Indonesia (Budianta, 1998).⁸³ The rise of literary clubs in these areas was in the early 1990s, which was the same period as other places in Indonesia including in West Sumatra. This was motivated by the polemic about the marginalisation of literature, and arts in general, in which the support from the government was limited. Literary clubs became an alternative to support literature, in which writers, critics, essayists, publishers, and readers work together to survive the literature. The general illustration of literary clubs' contribution in literature is that,

With their own ways, literary clubs in several places in Jakarta as well as in other provinces have subsidised the life of literature. These clubs published their own journals and poetry anthologies, with the fund they collected, by self-funded, social gathering, as well as finding sponsors, to solve "bottleneck situation" to publish their works in established media. They held literary events such as book launching, discussion, and seminar to discuss their works, without waiting for critics who never come to appreciate new works from emerging writers (Budianta, 1998).⁸⁴

⁸³ The more detailed report from the research was published by Komunitas Sastra Indonesia (Gunadi dan Budianta, eds., 1998). However, the report was specified to the establishment and activities of literary clubs in the mentioned areas.

⁸⁴ *Dengan caranya sendiri, komunitas sastra di berbagai tempat baik di Jakarta maupun di tempat-tempat lainnya telah mensubsidi kehidupan kesusasteraan. Kelompok-kelompok ini menerbitkan jurnal dan antologi puisi sendiri, dengan dana yang mereka kumpulkan baik secara swakarsa, arisan atau mencari sponsor, untuk mengatasi "situasi leher botol" untuk mempublikasikan karya-karya mereka di media massa yang mapan. Mereka menggelar acara bedah buku, diskusi sastra, dan seminar untuk membahas karya-karya yang mereka ciptakan, tanpa perlu menunggu kritikus sastra yang tak kunjung datang untuk mengapresiasi karya-karya pendatang baru.*

Based on the study about the literary clubs conducted by *Kompas* and Komunitas Sastra Indonesia as mentioned above, Budianta states that literary clubs have a function for filling in the gap should have more power and strategies to achieve their goals. One of the challenges faced by literary clubs is that most of the literary clubs depend on the patrons or their founders and when they are left by the patrons or founders the clubs are in unstable condition. This dependency should be replaced by voluntary based tradition in order to make literary clubs have more capability in building these institutions.

The establishment of literary clubs and their roles in West Sumatra share - in many cases - similarities with literary clubs elsewhere in Indonesia.⁸⁵ Literary clubs were established to fill in the lack of support in the literature by empowering the sources from writers and literature aficionados. Commonly, the literary clubs in Indonesia deal with Indonesian literature and its challenges to be improved, so there are common or similar characteristics faced by the literary clubs. However, each literary club has different strategies to deliver the planned programmes. For instances, the cultural or social system surrounding a literary club influences the internal organisation and management and in holding its programmes. The geographical location of a literary club, in urban and rural areas, also differs. The fact that there are only a few literary clubs survives for a long period is one of many possibilities, caused by these external influences. As a team-work based institution, the literary club needs to have a common basis to keep the members. From the mentioned literary clubs in West Sumatra, Intro has its characteristics based on its location, programmes, and members. It is located in a small city and managed by those who have similar interests in arts, and also their ages are quite similar, and keep the club as a family property.

The literary clubs in West Sumatra (or Indonesia in general) have similarities and differences with literary clubs in other countries. The similarities can be based on the function or role of literary clubs as the places for writers and literary aficionados to hold such activities relate to literature. On the other hand, the differences are based on the ways literary clubs are managed and positioned within the general backgrounds of

⁸⁵ For a review about the literary clubs' establishment and their activities, mostly in Jakarta and other cities, see Iwan Gunadi (2012). He also notes that during 1971-2011 there were 15 literary clubs in West Sumatra.

the society. This can also be placed on the ways on how a government or state sees the literary field in its cultural policy.

Scott (1993) provides a similar illustration of early literary club establishment in New York, United States of America. The benefit of establishing literary clubs could actually strengthen to connect it with other targets, by positioning literary clubs as spheres to give literary tone in business, professional, and political work and newspaper writing, build up a wider circle of cultivated readers and spread the messages of literature into young and other potential readers and writers. This potential benefit could only be gained if a literary club is managed professionally, in terms of its managers and programmes. Literary clubs in West Sumatra, in contrary, are initiated to answer and improve the challenges of the literary condition. The economic and social benefits are also generated, but these are not the main goals of the literary clubs.

From many established literary clubs in West Sumatra, as far as I know, none of them are initiated by readers which are specifically directed to study or appreciate literary works. Most of their targets are in the forms of published creative works, literary events, or albums of *musikalisasi puisi* (poetry performed as music). The book club, or a club with the programme in reading and studying literary works, is usually associated with educational institutions, where students join extracurricular associations with relevant activities. The reading activities, additionally, become a part of other clubs' programmes. Forum Lingkar Pena is one example of this type of literary club which has a regular meeting to discuss literary works, especially written by its members. Krikil Tajam's regular discussion could, actually, stimulate the study of literature, and increases the aesthetic quality of writers based on the study, and at the same time provide more possibilities for readers to read selected works.

As shown by literary clubs' activities and motivation to improve the literary field, especially in providing space for emerging writers, as mentioned before, literary clubs in this sense position as an institution to more effectively and formally work with others. Another form of literary club is literary association founded in universities that have different programmes associated with the educational activities. The higher education in West Sumatra, particularly those which have literary studies programmes, have mainly contributed to enliven the literary events, contributing writings to local newspapers, and even providing literary seminar and discussion that keep the literary criticism field transpire. Even

though I do not discuss the literary association placed in universities, which is formally associated as part of educational activities, some clubs exist and contribute to the literary field in West Sumatra.

As has been shown in the literary clubs' activity in the publishing, literary clubs have contributed in the literary publication. Some of the published literary works resulted from literary clubs' programmes, especially those related to the creative writing competitions. Participants of such competitions partly wish to get the opportunity to publish their works as parts of the selected, and aesthetically proven, works that have been evaluated by academicians. The literary festival also becomes a source leading to the publication. For the literary festival, the committees usually announce its planned publication, and participants send their works to be selected and published during the event. Meanwhile, for creative writing workshops, the publication is usually resulted from the workshops and therefore it is published after the events. Therefore, the strategy of this kind of publication is based on their activities in literature. These activities were part of Taraju's main programmes. They accommodated emerging writers' needs to train their writing skills and improve their networks with fellow writers and media. This purpose could build a public for the literature in West Sumatra through the massive events. Another illustration on a permanent literary training is shown by Intro, considering its location and members, which focuses on the creative writing training for young writers. It is also managed by prominent West Sumatran writers who reside in Payakumbuh in which they focus on the creative writing such as Gus tf, Iyut Fitra, and Adri Sandra. Payakumbuh has no higher education institution which has art/literature programme. Some of the alumni of Intro continue their creative writing processes and their studies related to arts and literature in Padang Panjang, Padang, and other provinces.

Literary clubs are also active as publishers. The availability of published literary works in a variety of genres (e.g. prose, poem, and play) becomes a concern of literary clubs. It is more than its meaning in publishing works from its financial matter. Commercial publisher and literary clubs have a different motif and aim in book publishing activity. For literary clubs, publishing activity is mostly planned in the non-regular schedule. Publishing results from other activities such as literary competition, festival, or workshop. The advantage of being incorporated into other programmes is to make easier in collecting the production cost. The

literary clubs' activity to publish literary works started in 1986.⁸⁶ Since the middle of 1980s to the early 2000s, the number of published works produced by literary clubs was greater than those published by commercial publishers. The published works by the literary clubs were printed in limited number of copies, without ISBN number, and distributed free of charge or in low price, amongst fellow writers. The commercial publishers which operated and published literary works since the 1980s were, for examples, Sri Dharma, Penerbit Genta, Citra Budaya Indonesia, and Angkasa. Most of the books published by literary clubs are in the form of a collective anthology. This form accommodates literary works from many writers, from the members of the clubs or from outside. This also reflects the spirit of collective works within literary clubs.

The clubs' practice as publishers is an important sample of their activities within the literary field. However, the fact that clubs are mostly established by writers, in their 20s, indicate the function of literary clubs as places to train, learn, build networks, have contact with other fellow writers, or to have access to potential sources, make some literary clubs difficult to sustain. The reasons behind this are supported by personal interest, such as finding jobs or move to other places. Managing literary clubs is slightly different from other art clubs. Principally, the literary process is personal and private activity whereas performance arts clubs, for example, dance or theatre is in teamwork.

Literary clubs, in many cases, have established networks with the local government. As also shown by Intro, in some occasions the club becomes a partner for the government in implementing cultural events. It performed, for instance, a public performance called *Malam Seribu Takbir* (The Night of Thousand *Takbir*), accompanied by a large-scale music performance, *shalawat* (appreciation for the Prophet Muhammad), and poetry reading (*Haluan*, 12 January 1999). And for local Cultural Week held by The Office of Tourism and Culture, Payakumbuh, Intro has always been

⁸⁶ It was marked when Yayasan Pengembangan Kreatifitas published Sofia Trisni's poetry anthology *Nyanyian Februari*, when Taraju published four anthologies as mentioned before. Previously, an embryo of Taraju called Kelompok Studi Sastra dan Jurnalistik published Rantak 8 (1991). A literary club based in Andalas University, Forum Dialog Penulis, also published *Poetika 15 Penyair* (1994). It was then followed by the publication of *Kuda-kuda Puisi* (1996) by Dangau Seni Rell, a literary club founded by some students from the Department of Indonesian literature, Andalas University who live in a rented house in Lapai, Padang. Dangau Seni A, another literary club founded by Ikhirma also published *Sajak Penyair 15 Ribu*, an anthology of his poems.

invited whether as the performer to fill in the agenda of the events or prepare the programmes as the field committee. This cooperation is actually a way to bring literature, and arts in general, to the government in preparing cultural policy. Literary clubs have also held some programmes related to the religious festivities such as Ramadan programmes with a poetry reading in local radios and TVRI. This proves the close connection between literary clubs and the religion in West Sumatra.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a discussion on the main literary clubs in West Sumatra, in the post-independence era. The discussion has shown how the literary clubs' have functioned in supporting literature in West Sumatra through their activities in the literary field. Their activities have addressed the public by involving people in their events. Thus, literary clubs function in two arenas: literary and social fields. Literature is not positioned only as the textual form, but also, based on literary clubs' activities, as a social activity. Each literary club has different characteristics based on the background of its founders, members, and literary life in the place, programmes and activities, social and cultural atmosphere of society surrounding a club. As shown by the examples presented in this chapter, two major programmes have been of interest for literary clubs in West Sumatra, namely literary publishing, and literary events.

With these functions, literary clubs become a part of literary infrastructure that contributes to the literary and cultural life of a region. As mentioned in the discussion above, literary clubs in West Sumatra have provided literary activities and products enriching the literature in the province. From the activities and published works by literary clubs, the literary field in West Sumatra received important support to its continuity. It can be said that literary clubs bridge the literary field from its basic characters as individual and textual processes into communal and contextual fields. These roles played by the literary clubs are not attached as intense as by other components of the literary infrastructure discussed in this thesis. The literary clubs complement the operation of the literary infrastructure through their specific characters. The literary clubs function as a space for writers, readers, publishers, bookshops, government, and society, in general, to discuss and make arrangement for literary improvement.

Each literary club discussed in this chapter has its own specific programmes, which are influenced by several factors, such as the availability of readings, arts and cultural environment consisting of institutions, support, and educational institutions, publications (newspaper, journal, and magazine, and publishing house). Each period has also different challenges which the literary clubs respond to. During the literary clubs' establishment, there were, and still are, many literary works published by these clubs. The literary clubs' activity in publishing, so at the same act as publishers, was a literary clubs' role in filling the gap for writers in finding a publisher who are disposed to publish their works. These various types of programmes had connected the continuity of literature and reflected the literary clubs' contribution to the literary field, in the province of West Sumatra.

The motivations to run the literary clubs programmes are based on the reality relate to the literary field surrounding the place where the clubs are established. Krikil Tajam was aimed to discuss the works by West Sumatran writers so they could increase their aesthetic quality. While Taraju and Intro focusing on the skills and motivation of emerging West Sumatran writers in their writing processes. Through the literary clubs, people (writers and public in general) widen the function of literature, from the literary activities (creative writing workshop or reading club) to the social activities (where people attend and participate in the events).

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CHAPTER 4

BOOKSHOPS AND BOOK CIRCULATION IN WEST SUMATRA

BOOKSHOPS play important roles in literary production and distribution. They shape the reading public, accommodate published works, promote authors' works, and sponsor literary events in West Sumatra. The roles of the bookstore in circulating the published books (literary works) and its influences in the literary field are outcomes of book trading as the main concern of the bookstore as well as other activities related to the book world. These roles are played differently by each bookstore based on their characteristics – depending on their history of establishment, internal management system, the social and cultural mission for the surrounding society, and the degree of involvement with the literary field. This process of distribution of published literary works involves not only literary related institutions such as writer and publishing house, but also institutions which have different core businesses than literature such as bookshop and book distributor.

In this chapter, I will present my investigation of the bookstores in West Sumatra based on their particular characteristics; the ownership, location, type of company, book distribution, visitors, and also their involvement with local publishers and writers. These considerations lead me to divide the discussion into sub-chapters. These are the local independent bookshops, outsider chain bookshop, local small/minor bookshop, and used bookstore and *taman bacaan* (book lending service).⁸⁷ My dis-

⁸⁷ Book lending (*taman bacaan*) is a place that provides used books and other reading materials, usually comics and magazines. With its characteristics that may differ from other predicates, in this study I use it in its original name rather than to refer it as reading room, reading garden, library, or book lender. People can read the reading materials in or around the places or rent the books for few days or a week. The fee is quite affordable for student's pocket, for example nowadays is about RP 1000,00 (\$ 0.10) per day for one book. If they read the books on site, the price is cheaper.

cussion begins by providing sketches of two major bookshops in West Sumatra: Sari Anggrek and Gramedia. Further, I discuss some small scale, itinerant, and used bookstores as well as *taman bacaan* in a number of places across the province. In the following sections, I analyse the competition among the bookstores and their common challenge in regard to their distribution and market sharing.

For a brief illustration, the dynamic of book circulation and distribution in West Sumatra can be seen from the number of bookshops operate in the province over the periods. During the 1950s, there were approximately 72 bookshops in West Sumatra; Padang (the main city) (22), Bukittinggi (the capital city of the Central Sumatra province) (14), Payakumbuh city (14), Padang Panjang city (9), Batu Sangkar (4), Painan (1), Pariaman (1), Sawahlunto (3), Sicincin (1), Solok (1), Air Bangis (1), and Sungai Dareh (1) (Gunung Agung, 1954). The last seven places are located in peripheral areas and their positions are not in the primary lanes of people's mobility to and from Padang as the province's capital city. In the mentioned list, however, there is no information on the size or type of these bookstores, and whether those bookstores also acted as distributors at the same time. In the later periods, the number of bookstores in West Sumatra decreases.

The significant decrease was experienced by people in the province since the publishing houses and book distributors were allowed to directly distribute textbooks to the schools since the early 1990s. The implementation of the regulation led to the decrease of the number of the bookstores. As mentioned by Azhar Muhammad, the owner of Sari Anggrek, the bookstores decreased in the number, from 28 stores operated during 1980s, there were only four primary bookstores survived in 2001 (*Haluan*, 13-6-2001).⁸⁸ The rise and fall of book trading in West Sumatra influences the circulation of the published literary works. This short illustration calls our attention to look deeper at what has happened with the book trading, book business challenge, book circulation, publishing activities, and reading public in West Sumatra province. The fluctuating number of bookstores as well as its dynamics, I argue, has influenced into some extent with the literary production in West Sumatra.

⁸⁸ "Dari 28 toko buku yang ada sepanjang tahun 80-an, sampai saat ini yang masih bertahan hanya 4 toko buku saja termasuk Pustaka Anggrek."

Sari Anggrek as a Local Pride

As the basis of discussion, I present a biographical sketch of Sari Anggrek, a bookshop based in Padang and owned by a local businessman, Azhar Muhammad (16 June 1936 – 30 September 2012). The official date of its establishment was 13 June 1961. In its early years, Azhar's shop was only a small vendor and located in Pasar Raya Padang, the main traditional market in Padang, as part of a shop together with three other people with different business in a shop provided by his uncle. His father worked as an army officer and his mother was a school teacher. His father died when he was six years old. During his middle school years, Azhar helped his family to get more income and cover daily needs by selling cigarettes in the front of his house. After he finished his middle school, he moved to Jakarta for his senior high school with the support provided by his uncle. After that, when he attended introduction days at the University of Indonesia there was a call from the leader of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (*Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia*, PRRI) to all young and adult men from West Sumatra to return to the province to join the guerrilla army. Azhar, as many people in his age at that time, took part in the rebellion. After the rebellion was over, he decided not to continue his studies, because he was put under city arrest for six months by the military court. During this early month in Padang, he prepared his plan to begin his own business, and from many other choices, opening a bookshop was his main interest.

Maintaining an independent bookshop for a long period is a challenge, as experienced by Sari Anggrek.⁸⁹ In initiating his effort to have his own bookshop, with his limited capital and experience, Azhar sent letters to about 300 publishers requesting cooperation and published books to be displayed in his shop in Padang. As a result, 75 publishers responded to his request, and five of them immediately sent their books to Azhar (*Padang Ekspres*, 13 June 2001, *Supel*, 16-28 October 2001). Initially, Azhar occupied a space of only 2 by 2 meters in the corner of Pasar Raya, the main traditional market, in Padang. He put a name for his space as

⁸⁹ The information on Sari Anggrek is based on interview with Resthi Anggrek Sari, daughter of Azhar Muhammad who is now the general manager of Sari Anggrek Group (Padang, 19 December 2015), Yusrizal KW (Padang, 23 December 2015).

Pustaka Anggrek.⁹⁰ Visitors could also read the books for a short time in Pustaka Anggrek.

From his turnover during the early years, Azhar was able to buy his own shop which he then moved into in Jalan Permindo in 1969. He started to recruit new staff to operate his bookshop. He also then changed the bookshop's name into Multi Anggrek. The bookshop's visitors were mostly students, from elementary school to university, and those whose professions related to books such as journalists and artists. His bookstore functioned as a social sphere where people, especially students from universities around Padang. In some occasions, his shop was also used as the meeting point for visitors to gather. Some of the loyal customers became his friends. Sometimes Azhar bought them to lunch or lent some money to them. Therefore most of his friends called him as "boss", an informal addressing by a certain group of people to call for one of them who has more money or uses to buy something, usually food, for his/her fellows. The bookstore's function as a social space, in particular in the local context, is reflected from this situation. The connection between people (whether customers or not) around the bookstore and the bookshop's manager or owner communicate, informal and non-formal setting in the bookstore, each other as part of community members. A bookstore does not only sell books to the people, but also serves them in the book-related fields. This can lead the involvement of bookstores in society more deeply.

In 1990, Azhar opened a new branch in Bukittinggi. Sari Anggrek Bukittinggi has no significant competitor in book trading, and as a matter of fact, Sari Anggrek supplies books for other local and smaller bookshops, owned by other businessmen, such as to Irama and Al Hijra bookstores situated in the traditional market and nearby bus terminal in Bukittinggi. After surveying the number of a consumer visiting the bookshop, Azhar decided to open a supermarket in his bookshop on 4 April 1983, on the same date when Sari Anggrek move to a new address but remain in Permindo Street (*Haluan*, 30 April 2016). Since 1991, Azhar expanded his business by opening other business lines such as law firm,

⁹⁰ Dinamakan "Pustaka Anggrek", karena awalnya berupa taman bacaan, karena di dalam toko tersebut hanya dipajang beberapa judul majalah dan surat kabar (*Fajar*, 15 June 1997 and 14 July 1997). Azhar was inspired to used the name from his experience during his guerrilla and from reading about the meanings of the flower as easy to grow, beautiful, epiphyte plant and source of enjoyment.

CV Multi Anggrek, CV Anggretamaz, and CV Anggrek Distributor. The reason of expanding his businesses was that the single bookshop's profit cannot cover the expenses of his company, especially in facing the unfair book trading competition with other bookstores, publishers, and distributors (*Mimbar Minang*, 16 June 2001).⁹¹ The supermarket is placed on the ground floor, whereas books are placed on the first floor. In fact, the supermarket could cover the daily cash flow, mainly for employees' salary. The supermarket supports the profit, especially during the school holidays and examination period when only a few students come to the bookshop.

Following the success of his first bookshop, Azhar expanded by opening new branches in Imam Bonjol Street (known as *Toko Rezeki*), one of the main shopping centres in Padang, and in Veteran Street (Multi Anggrek), the main public transportation line connected Padang to mainland cities and districts of the province and to two neighbouring provinces namely North Sumatra and Riau. Azhar, moreover, claimed that "as a matter of fact, from 1970 until 1995 we monopolised the book trading in Padang and moreover included Riau, Jambi and Padang Sidempuan" (*Supel*, 16-28 October 2001). Later on, however, both shops were closed and he focused on his Sari Anggrek bookshop and the supermarket in Jalan Permindo. Two book-related organizations were provided office spaces in this bookshop, IKAPI (Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia, Indonesian Publishers Association, West Sumatran branch) and GATBI (Gabungan Toko Buku Indonesia, Indonesian Bookshops Association, West Sumatran Branch). Azhar, representing his bookshops, was actively involved in these two book-related associations.

The book supply for Sari Anggrek is provided directly by distributors and publishers. Usually, branch agencies located in local areas distribute books they receive from main offices into several bookshops in their working areas. On the other hand, publishers which do not use agencies to distribute their published books usually send their published books by couriers. Later on, because of the improvement in the transportation

⁹¹ Azhar mengatakan keberadaan swalayan di toko buku adalah untuk mengantisipasi perdagangan buku yang tidak fair waktu itu.

Karenanya sejak tahun 1991, Pustaka Anggrek melakukan diversifikasi usaha dan tidak lagi semata mengurus buku. "Ini tindakan berjaga-jaga, karena bisnis buku kalau masih tetap tak ada aturan yang jelas nantinya akan runyam," kata Azhar beralasan.

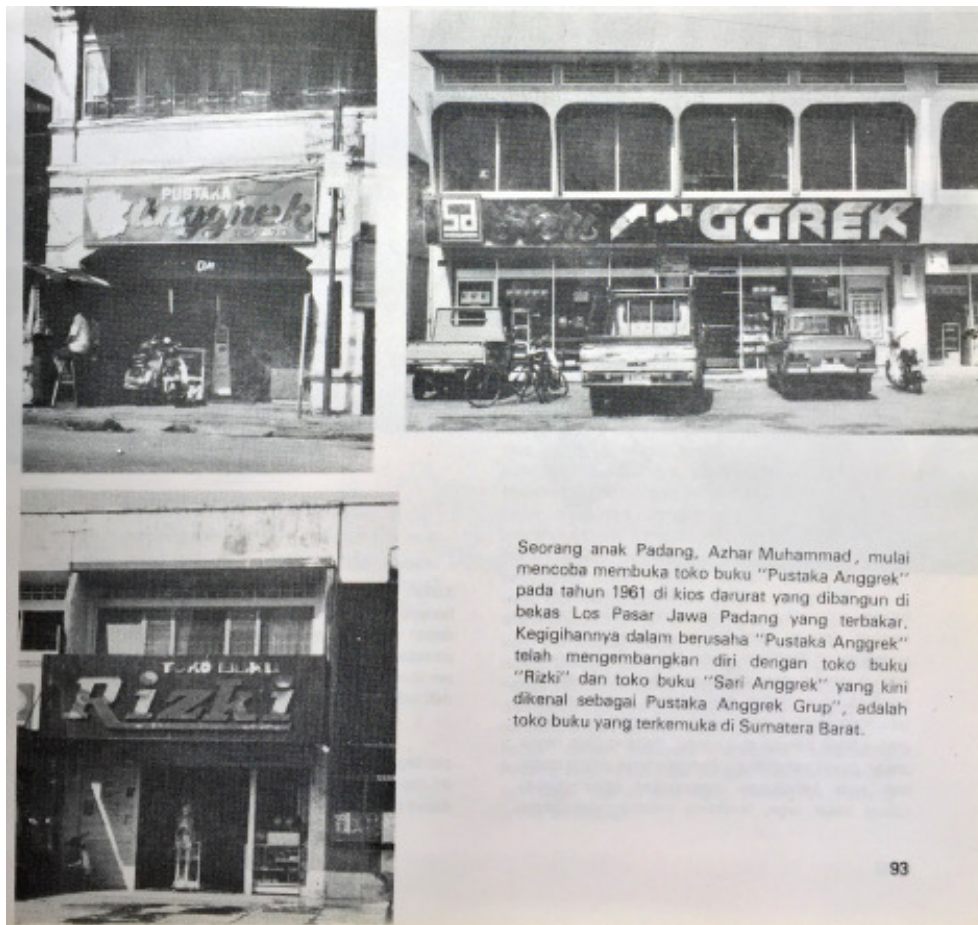


FIGURE 5 Sari Anggrek bookstore and its branches in Padang (source: *Padang Kota Tercinta*, Padang, Genta Singgalang, 1983: 93).

infrastructure, since 1980's Sari Anggrek is able to order books from agencies in neighbouring provinces, Riau and North Sumatra. For Sari Anggrek, this improvement could reduce the transportation cost compared to the previous system that relied on distribution came from agencies in Jakarta and other cities in Java. Additionally, this improvement enables Sari Anggrek to obtain newly published books and best seller books more quickly in order to be displayed in the bookshop.

In cooperation with agencies and publishers in providing books, Sari Anggrek uses advance payment system as well as by consignment system. By using the advance payment system, Sari Anggrek pays the whole price of books in advance and put the books in the store. That is way on the shelves, there are old books still displayed in the store. For an inde-

pendent bookshop like Sari Anggrek, consignment system is safer and avoids risk if the books are not sold. In addition to its shops as businesses to generate the revenue, Sari Anggrek also published some books through its publishing arm namely Anggrek Media. However, Sari Anggrek does not pay much attention to this publishing line and it only operated occasionally during 2002-2005 and only published five books.⁹² The business arms of Sari Anggrek such as the bookshop, supermarket, publishing house, and the grocery store are managed under the management of Sari Anggrek Group as the main company.

For Sari Anggrek, especially from Azhar's view, employees play an important role in maintaining the improvement of the stores. Azhar implemented an open management system, in which all employees have the right to know the company's revenue, problem, and other related matters. From the initial recruitment of employees, there is no specific requirement needed. The only standard is based on the trust and performance, as mentioned by Azhar, "I just look at their face. I want to make sure that they are pleasant people and that they are honest." (*Singgalang*, 16 June 2001).⁹³ For example, those who already have more than three-year working time in the store will be given motorbikes. Male employees who get married will be provided a bonus to help them to buy homes. In some occasions, the employees, about 100 persons in 2012, are provided additional vacation incentive to go to Malaysia, Singapore, or domestic tourism destinations. Every Islamic holiday, they receive a bonus as well (*Singgalang*, 16 June 2012). The basis of Sari Anggrek's establishment is to support local people interest in the field of literacy, especially in connection with local cultural and religious content. It acts not only as a bookstore with the economic reason but also expresses local pride in the book trading and accommodates local thoughts disseminated in the book form. In his own words, the purpose was explicitly said by Azhar, "Try to find a person from Padang. Who becomes a book businessman in Padang? I am successful, and my pride will also become other people's pride (*Haluan*,

⁹² Among its published books are: *Tangan Tuhan di Detik-detik Terakhir* (Suheimi, 2005), *Kamus Umum Bahasa Minangkabau-Indonesia* (Abdul Kadir Usman, 2002), *Dr. H.K. Suheimi, Sp.O.G.K. FER. MBA: Menjawab Seputar Seks dan Kesehatan* (Suheimi dan Suharizal (eds.), 2003), *Nurhama: Lima Puluh Petuah Hidup* (Suheimi, Miko Kamal, dan Suharizal, 2002), *Fatamorgana Kehidupan* (Suheimi, Miko Kamal, dan Suharizal, 2002).

⁹³ "Saya hanya melihat wajahnya, cantik dan tidak berwajah maling".

7 August 1994).” Azhar’s involvement in the field of book trading and publishing associations (GATBI and IKAPI) indicates his effort in promoting local potentials in the field.

Gramedia: A Chain Bookshop from Jakarta

In order to compare Sari Anggrek as an independent and owned by a local businessman to another type of bookshop in West Sumatra, a chain bookshop and a member of national scale is the media company Kompas-Gramedia Group.⁹⁴ Gramedia Padang is one of the 115 network stores owned by Kompas-Gramedia group in Indonesia and one of the 17 Gramedia bookshops in Sumatra. It was established in Padang in 1994, located in Jalan Damar, the main road from the mainland to the Padang’s market and bus terminal. This road remains one of the most crowded transportation lines in the city from northern parts of Padang to the city centre and shopping malls around the city. The bookshop has three floors, in which the first floor is used to sell stationery, sports equipment, toys, and electronic devices. The supermarket on the first floor is managed and rented by another company, as a Gramedia’s business partner. It is Gramedia’s platform that the first floor is functioned as supermarket and the above floors are used for selling the books. The division is similar to Sari Anggrek. Besides its purpose to generate income, the supermarket also attracts visitors to come to the store. However, Gramedia’s supermarket only sells stationary, sports equipment, electronic devices, and toys. It does not sell food or household necessities as Sari Anggrek’s supermarket does. The second floor is to display religious oriented books, magazines, and newspaper, movies, and music compact discs, and textbooks. The third floor is used specifically to display teenage novels, comics, children books, Indonesian translation from foreign novels, canonical literary works, and management office and storage in separated rooms. In total, Gramedia Padang employs 80 staffs who are divided into three shifts every day.

The books supply is provided by the single distributor decided by the central office of Gramedia in Jakarta. This decision took place in 2011 to change the previous distribution system, in which there were many dis-

⁹⁴ The information about Gramedia Padang is based on interview with Anton, senior manager of Gramedia Padang (Padang, 17 December 2015)

tributors supplied the books to the stores. With the previous system, local publishers and writers were able to send their books to be displayed by direct negotiation with the Gramedia Padang manager. Within this new system, Gramedia established a special division or department of merchandise (called MD or Merchandise Division), to act as the single agency to distribute books and other products for their stores. This system in fact successfully cleaned up non-active suppliers and distributors, from about 3,500 agencies to only accept and listed about 100 suppliers and distributors to continue to work under the new system.

This new system forced local publishers to fulfill all of the requirements decided by Gramedia's single distributor such as having a bank account with a minimum certain balance, permanent address, at least 2,000 copies per published book, and the minimum number of titles published each year. These requirements are in fact difficult to be fulfilled by small-scale publishing houses, especially those who have limited capital. The local publishers' limited capital influences their ability to publish more book titles. Additionally, some local publishers are operated by literary clubs or foundations and in some cases, their addresses are changing, depending on their capability to rent or buy a house or office.

The Gramedia's requirement for distributors and publishers which want to sell their books in the store is aimed to select long-term cooperation among them. Gramedia's Padang uses the same system to all its partners and therefore has no special treatment for books written and published by West Sumatran authors and publishers. After a certain number of books received from publishers by the Gramedia's distributor, the books are then distributed to most of the stores. Each Gramedia bookstore receives a number of copies from the supplier, normally 20 copies of each title. A senior manager of Gramedia Padang said that consumer for the 20-30 first delivered books are only bought by those who usually and regularly visit the bookstore to find new literary books, mainly writers who he knows well as Gramedia's loyal customers.

The decision of distributor to send the books to certain Gramedia bookshops is, however, depending on the marketing overview of the potential market. This means that not all of the books are distributed to all Gramedia bookshops (interview with a Gramedia senior manager, 17 December 2015). For instance, Anton gave an illustration; Andrea Hirata's tetralogy novels, A. Fuadi's novel *Negeri 5 Menara*, and Tere Liye's serial novels were sent to the shop between 500-1000 copies in the first delivery.

For the case of Harry Potter novel series, Gramedia the first 100 copies in the original English version sold out. When Gramedia publisher then published the translation, Gramedia Padang could sell more than 3,000 copies. Whereas for reprinted classical novels published by Balai Pustaka, such as Marah Rusli's novel *Siti Nurbaya* and Abdul Muis's novel *Salah Asuhan*, for a comparison, only 10-20 copies were sent in the first phase, and it would be added if there is a request or order from consumers. Generally, Gramedia Padang, as a branch of a giant bookstore, takes an advantage of best seller books as the result of promotion created by the central Gramedia through mass media and in particular in Kompas-Gramedia's publications and presses (newspapers, magazines, and weekly bulletins). Gramedia even published a special magazine dedicated to the book world namely *Mata Baca* for six years (August 2002-December 2008).

In Gramedia, books are categorized into three different types based on the duration of the book's presence in the store. The first is called as a profitable book in which only within two to three months the books are sold out. The second is categorised as a slow-moving book, which within three to four months the books are only sold one or two copies and the rest is still on the shelf. The third is called as desk stock, for books that are still on the shelf for more than six months, and therefore needed to be returned to the publishers. For the last type, based on an agreement with publishers, Gramedia Padang sells the book with discount occasionally. The sale of desk stock books is also aimed to clean up storage and build an image for buyers that the book is cheap. In 2010, Gramedia probed to open its branch in Payakumbuh, by opening a new counter as a promotion mission's base in Ramayana Mall. It was first planned to be there for three years. Unfortunately, it only lasted one year. A similar experience also happened in Bukittinggi when Gramedia tried to open a booth in the Niagara mall. It was expected to be able to survive for at least seven months, but in fact, only within one month it collapsed and had no benefit to cover its daily costs. This collapse was caused by the very few customers who visited the counter.

Since 2015, Gramedia Padang successfully expanded its location, by purchasing land located just in its left side viewed from the front of the store. Now, with 4000 square meters in total, Gramedia Padang plans to build an additional building and expects to become the largest Gramedia shop in Sumatra. Gramedia Padang does not have any plans to open new branches in Padang and more generally in West Sumatra, considering its

experiences before which did not generate profit from the book trading. Even though its earlier plan to open Gramedia bookstore was rejected by many local bookstores, Gramedia has, in many ways, contributed to the book trading and book circulation, especially literary works, in West Sumatra thanks to its own system as part of a chain bookstore. It also provides more books and other reading materials (such as magazines and journals) in faster circulation compared to other bookshops in the province. The variety of reading materials distributed by the bookstores is an essential factor, such as for comparison and reference that stimulate authors, as well as readers in general, in producing their writings and reception of literary works.

Minor Bookshops across West Sumatra

In addition to the major local independent and chain bookshops mentioned in the preceding sections, which have sufficient capitals and assets, such as permanent and self-owned stores, employees, and established management system, there are also smaller bookshops across the province. These minor bookshops, because of their limited capital, usually located within traditional markets. Some of these bookstores, however, have permanent buildings to display their books, but are located nearby traditional markets to approach their consumers. Similar to other stalls in the markets, the books are displayed by the seller on the tables, shelves, or stacked on the side of tables or in boxes. There is also another form of bookselling system namely movable seller who offers and distributes books using motorbike and a modified car. I met with two movable booksellers in Bukittinggi and talked to them in a small street vendor. The common themes of the books in these bookshops are popular novels, teenage and female readings and magazines, comics, Islamic-related readings such as the stories of the Prophet Mohammed, stories about heaven and hell, and the nine *wali* (*wali songo*, nine people who firstly introduced Islam in Nusantara), horoscopes, and textbooks. This small-scale and independent bookstore is also established in several places, mostly in the traditional markets or nearby bus terminals in some cities and districts. These bookshops are located within traditional markets and their opening hours are therefore following the markets' hours, usually, between 9 AM to 6 PM.

For the purpose of this study, I observed the bookstores and conducted interviews with movable distributors in Bukittinggi on 1 Decem-

ber 2015 and visited the bookshops in Solok, and Batu Sangkar on 31 December 2015. In Payakumbuh I visited the bookstores on 5 January 2016. In Solok, a small city located about 60 km from Padang, in total there are at least four bookshops in this city. Two of them are located in permanent buildings in the ex-bus terminal area. The bookshops are owned by a local businessman, Zainal Bakar. The first is named as Putra Pustaka Tanah Air. It is located in a small shop, providing photocopy service, stationery, and reading materials in a limited number of titles, including popular novels, Islamic readings, and school textbooks. The second shop, also named as Pustaka Tanah Air, located in the shopping centre complex, about 50 meters from the first shop. The second store is larger than the previous one, with two floors and provides complete books and stationery. The second floor is specialised as a bookshop. It displays books published by major publishers such as Balai Pustaka, Gramedia group, and Mizan group. Pustaka Tanah Air has actually had another shop across the street, in the middle of the traditional market. But it was accidentally burnt on 5 July 2014 (*Padang Ekspres*, 6-7-2014).

Two other bookshops I visited in Solok are located in the middle of the traditional market. They provide popular readings including best seller novels, teen lit novels, Islamic readings such as Quranic reading lesson, and entertainment such as popular magazine and a puzzle book. The price of the displayed books is possible to be bargained, and if one buys more than one book, the seller would give a special discount, just like other transactions in the traditional market. Consumers of these bookshops are mainly young females or those in schooling ages, and students of higher education institutions. Since the bookshops provide also school textbooks, there are many parents bring their children to these bookshops to find suitable children books.

A similar experience as mentioned above is found in the small hinterland town of Batu Sangkar as well. In terms of the number of bookshops, however, I only found one bookshop located on the first floor of the permanent building market complex, namely Toko Buku Asra. It provides various reading materials, such as classical but pirated literary works, popular novels, female magazines, puzzle, and local newspapers. Other bookshops I found there only sell school textbooks, stationery, and photocopying service. According to the owner, there were previously other bookshops in the market complex, but could not survive because of the market sharing was not fulfill the margin of the cost. Bukittinggi, a city

famous for its tourism sites, however, has slightly different case compare to other cities and districts in West Sumatra. There are more than four bookshops in this former capital city of Middle Sumatra province. There are at least three bookshops in permanent buildings namely Irama bookshop in bus terminal complex, Sari Anggrek in Jenjang Gudang, and Samudra Ilmu in the nearby bus terminal in Bukittinggi. Other bookshops are located in a traditional market in semi-permanent buildings.

In Irama bookshop, besides new popular novels and teenager novels displayed on the shelves, I found hundreds of used books still in boxes and some of them are already on shelves. These books are from libraries (schools and local public libraries) from Padangpanjang. Most probably, these books are taken out from, or sold by persons, these libraries, because the old books were replaced by new titles, as marked by the stamps on the books. Some books are distributed from Sari Anggrek and some other are supplied by local distributors and publishers. Most of Irama's books are second hand and new *kitab kuning* (textbooks used in Islamic based schools (madrasah) and boarding schools or *pesantren*) located around the city and its neighbouring places. These bookshops in Bukittinggi are also known as places to find cheap popular readings. Bukittinggi itself is famous as a trading city in Sumatra Island. It was previously common that popular readings were sold in bus terminals which are now mostly closed. The bus terminal in Bukittinggi is the main terminal for buses with southern direction to Jambi, Palembang, Lampung, Jakarta and other places in Java as well as to Aceh, Medan and Pekanbaru in the north.

A similar picture can be found in the town of Payakumbuh. There are three bookshops in the traditional market, and one in a permanent building next to the main road. The two bookshops located in the middle of the market are Toko Buku Jelita and Gunung Mas. The other shop is Wedolma, located along the main street, Jalan Sudirman in a permanent building. However, the books displayed in the bookshop are placed in the corner, in two shelves attached to the walls. The themes of the books are Islamic teachings, popular novels, and children books. The main products provided in the shops are stationary and other elementary and secondary students equipment placed from the front terrace to the middle of the shop.

Apart from the bookshops, I also found two itinerant book distributors, who could be found in three places. The first two are in Bukittinggi and Padang Panjang, where there are two persons who would see custom-

ers to offer books at certain places. The first is the marketing staff of Kristal Multimedia publishing house, who make available Kristal Multimedia's books and also from other publishers which are mostly photocopied books. The second person is a full-time distributor, focusing on Minangkabau related readings. He distributes copied books mostly in schools, higher education institutions, markets, or in shops where many people gather. Every Tuesday, in the market day in Padang Panjang, he opens a booth in front of restaurant Gumarang, located within the traditional open market. Another person I met who sells books near the popular Pagaruyung Palace in Batu Sangkar. She puts her books in the front of the palace, where she usually sits there to make an offer to visitors to buy the books. The main themes of photocopied books she brings are famous novels written by West Sumatran authors and published by Balai Pustaka, Islamic and Minangkabau related books.

These small bookstores have another line of distribution, in most cases I found during my observation, consisting of pirated books, used books from libraries, popular and religious readings. The distribution is directly handled by publishing houses that already have distribution line until the remote areas. Instead of their establishment as a for-profit business, these bookstores have functioned as a medium in bringing reading materials to people who live in urban and rural areas. They have stimulated in the creation of readers of published books, especially literary works. Most of the students, who began to have the ability in reading through the schools or other education institutions, need to have more readings. In this gap, bookstores are fulfilling the demand of readers.

The bookshops whose locations are outside of Padang, the capital city of West Sumatra province, have less capital as seen from their shops or displayed books. Their position is in the middle or around the centres of a crowd such as traditional market or bus station. The books are supplied by major bookstores such as Sari Anggrek or book distributors. From the information presented above, the circulation of books, especially literary works, reaches people in small cities and districts in West Sumatra, through the existence of the bookstores. The bookshops located in peripheral areas play its roles in distributing the books, literary works more specifically, to the people who have a limitation in accessing books in the big or capital cities.

Used Bookstore and *Taman Bacaan*

In addition to the bookstores discussed above, which are commonly recognised in the book trading, in this section, I provide other forms of the books circulators namely the used bookstore and *taman bacaan* (reading room or book lending) in West Sumatra. Used bookstores and *taman bacaan* play significant roles in the circulation of books. These types of book circulation provide much cheaper books compared to the above-mentioned bookstores. In Padang, the well-known used bookstores are in Padang Teater, located on the second floor of Pasar Raya, the main traditional market in Padang, in the same place many traders sell pets, foods, and antiques. The place is also famous for its Pasar Burung (bird market). The used bookstores take the form of small kiosks. Commonly, they display used books (textbooks, manuals, dictionaries, and literary works), comics, and magazines on the tables. The clippings are hung on the walls or lines. Visitors, mostly those students of universities and schools, can find the displayed reading materials or ask the sellers of what they are looking for. In these places, visitors can also find sources that are not available in the bookstores such as clippings of newspapers or magazines' features and news needed for study assignments. The clippings usually collected by the owners of the used bookstores because they also buy and sell used newspapers and magazines.

It is common that the used bookstores and *taman bacaan* act as distributors of newspapers and magazines published by some publishers based in West Sumatra and Jakarta to be circulated around their locations. If the newspapers and magazines are not sold for a certain period, they can sell them for a cheaper price. For the magazines, they return the cover page to the publishers and sell the magazines with a copied page. Some of the features from the used newspapers and magazines are clipped. The price can be negotiated as well. However, since the earthquake in 2009, Padang Teater is rarely visited by people because of the damage and potential further damage to the building. Some comparably used bookstores can be found within some other traditional markets such as in Solok, Bukittinggi, and Payakumbuh as mentioned in the preceding section.

Taman bacaan proliferated across the province, since the 1960s. Some of them are still operating. The decline of the *taman bacaan* and visitors is caused by, among other reasons, the widespread use of smart phone and internet connection that attract people to spend their time

spasi antar paragraf

rather than reading printed books. *Taman bacaan* were usually located around the markets, bus terminals, or schools, where many young people get together. In Padang, the most famous *taman bacaan* is in Taman Melati, the place where some schools are located and some public places such as a museum, cultural centre, and library are in its surrounding. The *taman bacaan* located in the front of Museum Adityawarman in Jalan Diponegoro in Padang was the main place for writers and artists, in general, to access readings and get together, until the 1980s when the government provided Padang Arts Centre as the main place for artists to hold such events. A *taman bacaan* named Amra located in Sumanik, Solok is a popular location for young people to find reading materials. In Padang Panjang, there is *taman bacaan* called Harmonis within the traditional market. There are also *taman bacaan* in Pasar Atas and Pasar Lereng in Bukittinggi. Additionally, in Payakumbuh's traditional market there are some *taman bacaan* on the first and second floor.⁹⁵



FIGURE 6 An activity in a *taman bacaan* located in Padang (photograph by author).

⁹⁵ The information about these *taman bacaan* is provided by Ivan Adilla (personal electronic communication, 24 November 2017) and Heru Joni Putra (27 November 2017).

In these places, people especially secondary and higher schools and universities students read and borrow books. The most common reading materials provided in these places are used comics, prose, and magazines. They can borrow the reading materials for about one week. The peak season of these places is on the weekend when students prepare to fill their leisure time by reading. During the Ramadan, these *taman bacaan* become the most popular places to visit, when people have more time to be filled by such activities. Regularly, the collections of reading materials are rotated from one *taman bacaan* in a city to others. The rotation is intended to provide visitors with new titles. This indicates that the owners have established network with one another. In correlation between the content and the borrowers, the owner usually decides which books are allowed to be borrowed based on their age.

The *taman bacaan* is one of the important sources where many young people find reading materials. It fulfills the need of reading materials for students and people who begin to develop their tastes in literature. The *taman bacaan*, for many people including authors, is the first place which shapes the reading habit and attracts some of them to become authors.

Competition and Challenges in Book Trading in West Sumatra

There are at least two main problems, among other difficulties, faced by local bookstores in West Sumatra, in terms of book trading and market share. The first was stimulated by the coming of the chain bookshop Gramedia in Padang in 1994. The plan to open Gramedia was criticised by local bookstores owners. The second was the new direct selling system of school textbooks distribution, since 1980. In this system, publishing and printing houses were allowed to directly sell the books to schools without distributing them through the bookstores as was previously practiced.

The competition among bookstores in the local area is not only faced by independent and locally owned stores. To some extent, the local bookstores in West Sumatra together feeling threatened by the coming of chain external bookstore, which would take the shared market in the province. This occurred when Gramedia began to expand its business area in Padang. Initially, Gramedia's plan to open its branch in Padang in 1994 was rejected by local bookstores owners. It was feared to threaten local bookstores in Padang and West Sumatra in general. Gramedia, during its early stages of arrival in West Sumatra, was identified as an enemy for local

bookstores, which was called as “big dragon” that would beat other bookstores and publishers, and monopolise the book market. According to Azhar, in his capacity as the chair of GATBI, if Gramedia opened its store in Padang, the local bookstores would collapse shortly.

Gramedia’ presence in Padang will surely destroy the hope of West Sumatra’s bookstores which are still struggling. Gramedia is a great enemy and a killer of small-scale bookstores’ owners in this area, said Azhar, indignantly. If the Gramedia’s reason is based on the social function, that does not make sense. How much are 50 employees who will be accommodated compare to the collapses of hundreds of local people who will experience fatal fates?

If Gramedia hopes to take the best step why it does not assist these (local) bookstores which are experiencing the chaotic condition? For sure with its effort will affect a backwash. The moral of bookshops businessmen have been trampled. The Big Dragon is the nickname of Gramedia given by Azhar, which will beat all the bookstores. Even though the Gramedia foundation has already been rich, so why it treads to Padang to destroy the weak? For that reason, West Sumatran GATBI will not compromise with Gramedia because it is clearly a greedy publisher (*Semangat*, 13 June 1994).

The similar rejection was told by the owner of Angkasa Raya bookstore in Padang. Julius, the owner, said that “we cannot accept the coming of Gramedia bookstore to West Sumatra for whatever reason! We have discussed it with the government, but the government does not pay attention to our voices” (*Singgalang*, 12 June 1994).⁹⁶ However, a different view was stated by Anas Zakaria, the owner of Hizra bookstore in Payakumbuh. He assumed that the coming of Gramedia in Padang would not affect his store because it located about 110 km from Padang. For bookstores located in places other than Padang, perhaps they felt having less effect in losing their customers as the result of the coming of Gramedia.

For the local book distribution, the practice of monopolising the market by the national wide company is felt by local bookstores as a threat

⁹⁶ “Dengan alasan apapun, kami tidak bisa menerima kehadiran toko buku Gramedia di Sumbar! Kami sudah bicarakan dengan pemerintah, namun pemerintah tidak memperdulikan suara kami.”

to their market share. Dating back to the practice of distribution and circulation of works in modern Indonesian literature, Balai Pustaka became one of the main examples. As noted by Teeuw (1972: 8), the Balai Pustaka monopolized the control of public lending, school libraries, and the selection process of manuscripts and publishing. The establishment of Balai Pustaka by the Dutch, as Jedamski explained (1992), was also a strategy to control and censor reading materials that widely spread within society at that time, and at the same time to monopolise the book publishing and market in the Netherland East Indies. Therefore, the arrival of Gramedia, for example, was associated, by local book businessmen, as a monolithic force that could destroy their stores. The power of Gramedia in the lines of bookstore, publishing, and internet provider businesses in Indonesian national wide is shown by Sen and Hill (2000: 21-50). They also illustrate how Gramedia and Yogyakarta's local bookshops compete to attract consumers, the selection of books in the shops, and survive. The Gramedia's predominance is attached to its capital, management, and national wide company in the publishing and book trading.

For most bookstores, the main enemy of their business is the direct distribution of school textbooks from the publishing or printing houses to schools. In Indonesia, including in West Sumatra, this system began in 1980. School textbooks are the primary kind of books, amounting 70% of the total product displayed in bookstores.⁹⁷ When the school textbooks were distributed directly to the schools, the bookstores' revenues were decreased significantly. As noted by Azhar, this system has caused the bankruptcy of most of the bookstores.

The collapse of those bookstores was caused by the fact that twelve printing businessmen, who reside in West Sumatra as well as outside the province, who have branches in Padang, have freely distributed textbooks directly to the schools, starting from the elementary, secondary, and higher schools.

⁹⁷ Padahal buku-buku pelajaran yang dijual toko buku selama ini, itulah yang diandalkan untuk pemasukan yang memadai. Sebab dari seluruh buku yang dijual, 70 persen adalah buku pelajaran, dan 30 persen buku umum. Buku pelajaran 70 persen itu telah dijual langsung oleh pihak percetakan ke sekolah-sekolah. Sehingga banyak toko buku yang tak bisa bertahan hidup dan banting stir kepada usaha lain.

The price was also cheaper than from the bookshops (*Haluan*, 7 August 1994).⁹⁸

This also resulted in the collapse of the distributor. For instance, this was experienced by Usaha Masa, a local book distributor in West Sumatra.

The book distributor Usaha Masa which was well-known since 1953, starting from 1991 has been forced to switch to selling stationeries. The reason is that the distribution of books is not fair anymore, in which the government's intervention is too deep. The books are directly dropped into schools and sold by teachers to students. This causes booksellers, whose market is students, lost their markets (*Singgalang*, 12 June 1994).⁹⁹

The main product that largely generated the income of bookshops was school textbooks. But over time, publishers and distributors were allowed by the government to directly sell textbooks into schools. The publishers and distributors such as Intan Pariwara based in Klaten, and Erlangga based in Solo, both in Central Java province, two major textbook publishers, and distributors, are aggressively expanded their effort to approach schools via school principals, teachers, and school cooperatives to distribute their books. To attract the potential market, the distributors, printing and publishing houses offer many advantages to the school staff such as bonus, discount, field trip, or contribute to building schools' infrastructure. There were some bookshops that collapse as the result of this change of textbook distribution. If previously there were about 300 bookshops became members of GATBI, which was chaired by Azhar Muhammad, there were only seven bookshops existed at the end of his position in the association in 2012.

⁹⁸ Azhar Muhammad, yang juga ketua GATBI (Gabungan Toko Buku Indonesia) cabang Sumatera Barat, [mengatakan bahwa] bergugurannya toko buku tersebut [...] adalah karena pengusaha percetakan yang jumlahnya sekitar 12 buah, baik yang berada di Sumatera Barat, atau luar daerah, yang punya cabang di Padang, telah dengan leluasa memasukkan buku-buku pelajaran langsung ke sekolah-sekolah, mulai SD, SLTP, dan SLTA. Hargapun lebih murah dari toko buku.

⁹⁹ Penyalur buku Usaha Masa yang sudah dikenal sejak tahun 1953, mulai tahun 1991 terpaksa banting stir menjual alat-alat tulis. Sebabnya, peredaran buku tidak sehat lagi karena campur tangan pemerintah untuk peredaran buku terlalu besar. Buku-buku didrop langsung ke sekolah-sekolah dan dijual oleh guru-guru kepada murid. Hal ini membuat penjual buku yang pasarnya murid-murid sekolah itu kehilangan pasar.

The famous publishing and printing houses which distributed their school textbooks in Indonesia were Intan Pariwara (Solo), Tiga Serangkai (Solo), Yudisthira (Jakarta), Aneka Ilmu (Bandung), and Pabelan (Jakarta). With the direct selling from publishing and printing houses to the schools, bookstores in local areas have no more opportunity to generate revenue. Most of them changed to other business lines, such as photo studio, stationery, or even sold the stores because of bankruptcy (*Singgalang*, 12 June 1994, *Semangat*, 13 June 1994, *Haluan*, 14 September 1994, *Haluan*, 8 September 1994, *Haluan*, 7 August 1994). The association of publishing houses (IKAPI, Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia) and the Association of Bookstores (GATBI) had requested the local government, through the Provincial Office of Education and Culture, to reconsider the policy to allow publishing and printing houses to directly sell the books to the schools (*Haluan*, 8 September 1994, *Kompas*, 25 June 2002).

The above-mentioned bookshops across West Sumatra have differences and similarities in terms of book supply, internal management, selection of book themes, and potential consumers, in their provision of reading materials. The supply system used by each bookstore such as Sari Anggrek, Gramedia Padang, and minor bookshops is varied. Sari Anggrek used to use advance payment system as well as a consignment from publishers and distributors/agencies. Within this advance payment system, the books remain in the bookshops until they are out of stock. Whereas, if we go to Sari Anggrek, we might find old books displayed on a shelf. With consignment system, Sari Anggrek displays the books in the bookshop for a certain period and counts the profit only after the books are sold. Under this system, the book circulation is faster. It enables the bookshop to replace its books. However, Sari Anggrek still opens its door to local writers and publishing houses to board out their books in the shop flexibly.

While in Gramedia Padang, the supply is provided by the central office's distribution department. The priority is given to books published by Kompas-Gramedia publishing houses groups such as Grasindo, Kompas, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, and Elex Media Komputindo. The books published by the group are positioned in special ways, such as placing them on front shelves, on the table marked as "best seller". The single distributor used by Gramedia also decides which books are sent to certain bookshops and which titles are not sent to certain bookshops. Through this system, the books about West Sumatra, written by West Sumatran authors, or published by local publishing houses, for example, are not

always displayed in Gramedia Padang, or only limited number of copies is available. The similar case is also experienced by other publishing houses, as well as titles that are hardly found in Gramedia Padang because of its distribution system. In contrary to those two major bookshops, the supply of minor and independent bookshops located in other cities and mostly placed in traditional market is provided by special agencies.

What has happened to the bookshops in West Sumatra, for instance, can be compared with the case explored by Jen Li (2010: 247-262) about the competition of independent bookshops and online shops and network bookshops in Sydney, Australia. Independent bookshops have a special characteristic in accommodating books published by local publishers. Recently, the online system of selling and buying books is used widely, including in West Sumatra. Some writers and publishers prefer to sell their books via online platforms. In general, writers through self-publishing system or publishers who, with limited funds, published books in a limited number of 150-500 copies, sell the books by promoting via social media, direct payment transfer, and send the books via post. This system is more beneficial for writers and small-scale publishers compare to distribution via bookshops in which the cost for distributors and bookshops is up to 40%-60% of the total production cost. The bookshops, however, represent the dynamics of a whole process of literary life, from the writing process, selection of manuscripts, publishing and printing activities, and readers' profile (McElligot, 2013: 135). In the bookstores, published literary works are positioned among other books, compete each other to be bought by customers based on their considerations such as the name of favourite writers, eye-catching covers, reviews of works in media, or as an assignment from their schools.

A result from the bookstore distribution system is the availability of the books for the reader in all places. The main reason for this problem is that the availability of books depends largely on their suppliers or distributors. The competition among distributors, publishers, bookstores, or even non-related institution, affects the circulation of published books which are not spread evenly across Indonesia. Not all of the books distributed by Gramedia can be found in every Gramedia store. Therefore, a published literary work from a less known publishing house is not found by readers easily in the local bookstores. Distributors have specific consideration in looking at the potential market to distribute certain titles.

The role played by the bookshops in promoting and providing reading materials, especially literary works, is still limited in West Sumatra. The limited number of the adequate bookshops, and supported by the fact that their locations are in the capital cities, create more difficulties for readers who reside in places far away from major bookstores. In this situation, even for literary works written by West Sumatran authors, and published by major commercial publishers, such books are not necessarily read and known by West Sumatran people, because only 20 books available in the bookstores compare to about six million people in the province of West Sumatra.

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the bookstores have their own internal system to approach readers, buyers and writers. However, they also compete with each other to establish a secure place in the literary market. One of the main issues associated with Gramedia was that it is owned by giant company or conglomerate which would monopolise the market. They also face the direct distribution of school textbooks from the publishing houses or distributors, without using local bookstores. This direct distribution has caused some bookstores collapsed and decreased their revenue since the textbooks is a product that mostly generates profit.

Bookstores' Involvement in the Local Literature

In addition to the bookstores' goals as for-profit companies, they also act socially as part of their local community. This position is supported by the fact that the bookstores provide not only the product that is consumed by people, but the product's function is to fulfil people's need for knowledge, information, social and cultural values, education and religious teaching, that build the community. This role has been explored deeply by Laura J. Miller (1999 and 2006) by investigating the American bookshops' position within the community, the competition of chain and independent bookstores, and social function of the bookshops for their customers. Therefore, the bookstores take into account on how they serve the community, view the community not only as their consumer, but also as their counterpart in improving book related fields. One of the strategies can be shown from the bookshop's engagement with local society, especially those who have a connection with the book, literature, or literacy activities. The bookstores, with their primary business in the book trading, need to build a relationship with other book-related persons and

activities. In this section, I provide my findings on the bookstores' engagements in the local literary field. I argue that local independent bookstore has a deeper involvement with, as a mission to, the local improvement in the field. The bookshops' involvement could take place in some ways such as opening their stores' spaces to be used as places for people to get together, in which people can make book discussion, book launching, language course, literary reading, and many others.

In the Indonesian context, the bookstores' involvement in promoting literature and literacy, in relation to their primary business in the book trading, is supported by the reader profile that is still low in term of its number and range of the accessed readings. Based on Garcia's study, the reading habit of Indonesians is resulted in by multi-factors, in the book industry circle. Garcia (2006) illustrated the Indonesian readers in correlation with the bookstores, and book world in general, with a gloomy notion.

Sadly, Indonesians are not reading Indonesian books either. Reading culture is low. Libraries are few, their books dusty and mildewed. The 98 percent literacy rate among young Indonesian does not tell the whole story. The overall literacy rate is much lower, 84 percent. And half the population drops out of school between ages of 15 and 19 (BPS 2002: 103). Forty-percent of the titles published in 2004 came from a single publishing conglomerate, Gramedia (Garcia, 2006: 184).

In some occasion, when I was asked by my guests from outside the province who visited me, where they could find readings related to the Minangkabau's *adat* and culture, my first choice was to bring them into Sari Anggrek bookstore. The image of Sari Anggrek as a bookstore that provides readings related to the local themes is supported by its concern to accommodate books published local publishers, written by local authors, and its participation in promoting local literacy events. Additionally, Sari Anggrek attracts consumers who want to find *adat* related readings, religious books, and canonical novels. This image is associated with the consumers who are adult people, students of universities and Islamic institutes, and academics.

The involvement of Sari Anggrek in the local literacy and literary activities can be shown by its more accommodative will to local content books as well as by its engagement with the public. The idea to present the literary award for local writers, the display of Minangkabau related

book in the front stack, the offer to use its room for held discussion, are some of the examples of its service to local community. In the connection to the local content and Azhar's views toward the need of local customers, he said that "since the beginning, there was a need to improve writers and books trading with Islamic and Minangkabau orientation. Therefore, there is a strong demand for participation from writers from Islamic and Minangkabau cultural backgrounds to produce the required books (*Semangat*, 9 September 1994).¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Gramedia Padang has become the first choice for consumers who want to find comics, popular novels, newly published books, bestseller books, new magazines, and translations. In this image, the type of consumer profile who closely refer to as teenagers, students, young professionals, and universities students. Gramedia takes part in some events, for examples by sponsoring the visit of writers and book launching and signing, based on the request and mostly held outside the store. This is as a result of a chain bookstore that could not freely engage in establishing programmes in the local area.

Gramedia's advantage as being a chain bookshop lies in its fast circulation in providing popular titles for customers. The company has more resources to regularly update its service from the central office to the branches. To some extent, the bookstores stimulate or influence the readers' choice and preference of readings based on the available books in the stores in a region. With its characteristics in selecting the kinds of readings to be displayed in the bookstore, readers are directed to read the available readings. On the other hand, Sari Anggrek which was established by a local person, operated in the local area, visited mostly by local people, accommodates books published by local writers and publishers, plays a role in supporting local literary life more deeply compare to chain bookstores founded by external companies or other bookstores with a business motif as the main background. A different picture is played by the small and minor bookstores located in peripheral areas. The dependency of distributors is stronger in which these bookstores can only accept the offered readings brought by distributors. The readers, or more precisely customers, have a limited access to request, search, and find needed readings.

¹⁰⁰ Sejak dini perlu diantisipasi dengan mempertajam pengarang dan penjualan buku-buku yang berorientasi Islam dan adat istiadat Minangkabau... Oleh karena itu, sangat diperlukan partisipasi aktif kalangan pengarang Islam dan kebudayaan Minangkabau dalam melahirkan buku-buku yang diperlukan tersebut.

In correlation with two of Sari Anggrek's anniversaries, 1997 and 2009, customers have seen that the bookstores play an important role in providing readings for society. The monthly *Tabloid Fajar* (15 June - 14 July 1997) published short interviews with three loyal customers of Sari Anggrek (the head of the general department of Semen Padang company Mustamir Darwis, the head of West Sumatra *Koperasi Unit Desa* Abdul Kadir Usman, and poet Rusli Marzuki Saria). The main theme of books they bought from Sari Anggrek was Islamic-related readings. Additionally, they proposed that Sari Anggrek should improve its system by putting the books thematically so that visitors could find the books quickly. Saria also stated that he has always been given special discount every time he bought books in the store. A similar opinion came from leading figures (general manager of *Singgalang* Newspaper Basril Djabar, the mayor of Padang City Fauzi Bahar, the governor of West Sumatra Gamawan Fauzi, and senior journalist Hasril Chaniago) in Sari Anggrek's anniversary in 2009 (*Singgalang*, 13 June 2009). The main concern of their opinion was about the function of Sari Anggrek in the fields of education, literacy, business, and religion.

Since its establishment, Sari Anggrek has played a role in supporting local writers, publishers, and readers in the region of West Sumatra. As one of the main bookshops in West Sumatra, Sari Anggrek has become a source for writers to find literature for their works and creative processes. The book distribution in West Sumatra before the 2000s, as well as many other places especially other than those in Java, was limited due to technical and non-technical reasons. The technical reasons included the transportation system that supports the book distribution, the existing need for reading materials in the educational institutions, the promotions, and reviews of published books. The non-technical reasons included the selection of books provided in the stores, the owner or manager's 'taste' or vision of such readings that mostly provided in their stores, and bookstores' engagement within the local society.

Sari Anggrek gives special treatment towards the works with local content written by local writers and mostly published by local publishing houses. A serious concern of Sari Anggrek towards local books, writers, and publishers is by accommodating them in the bookshop. Inside the bookshop, there is a special shelf to display Minangkabau's *adat* related books, both fiction and non-fiction. This shelf is positioned in the front of the cashier. This shelf is the first thing a visitor sees when visiting the

bookshop on the second floor of the building. It was also a form of Azhar's appreciation to those who write and publish reading materials with local content. With this special handling, local publishers have advantages to place their published books on the market. One of Azhar's wishes is that the books with local content and published by local publishing houses are put in the very first shelf.

Sari Anggrek actively supports arts and cultural events in Padang, especially the events prepared by universities students associations. The students are the most potential market for Sari Anggrek. In a more specific programme, to appreciate the local writers, Azhar planned to give an award called "*Sari Anggrek*" *Literary Award*. The plan was prepared in since 2003 with the consultation with the West Sumatran Arts Council and other related individuals and organisations. In 2004 he established a small team consisting of Darman Moenir (novelist), Miko Kamal (lawyer, Azhar's son in law), and Azhar Muhammad himself (Moenir, 2004), with the hope that the award to be presented in 2005. The idea to present a literary award was positively responded by the public. For example, Suhardi (2004) states that the award would economically benefit West Sumatran writers and trigger their aesthetic achievement. He argues that many West Sumatran and Indonesian writers prefer to move or live in other countries such as Malaysia and Australia where the government subsidies are available for writers. So, the Sari Anggrek Literary Award was hoped to fill the lack of prizes provided for West Sumatran local writers. Unfortunately, the plan did not take place because of internal reason.

Almost every year, especially under the leadership of Azhar Muhammad, Sari Anggrek celebrates its anniversary by involving the public to gather with various social activities. In 1994 it organised drawing competition for kindergarten pupils (*Canang*, 18/24 June 1994). It also donated 105 book titles to the newspaper company, *Singgalang* library (*Singgalang*, 9 June 1994) and 100 book titles to the *Semangat* newspaper (*Semangat*, 9 June 1994). Other events held by Sari Anggrek were poetry reading performed by leading figures and writers in 2001 (*Haluan*, 13 June 2001, *Singgalang*, 18 June 2001), distributed *zakat* to orphans and *zakat* institutions every year (*Singgalang*, 11 September 2009), fun run, music concert, and offered a special discount for every book during the month of its anniversary (*Singgalang*, 15 June 2001, *Singgalang*, 4 June 2009). These activities showed Sari Anggrek's relationship with the local stakeholders in the fields of literacy and literature.

The used bookstore and *taman bacaan* have also an important role in stimulating young people to be familiar with the literary works. During their school years, young people begin to find and select reading materials that suitable for their choice and taste. They can read and rent books from these used bookstore and *taman bacaan* with cheap price. These places are also famous as the meeting points for some authors to discuss or chat about their creative processes. During my interviews with some authors such as Darman Moenir, Iyut Fitra, Gus tf Sakai, Heru Joni Putra, and Ivan Adilla, they also recall their experiences in their early stages of reading and writing habits benefiting from these places. The common characteristics found in the bookstores and *taman bacaan* are the temporality and movability of the books or literary works. They act as an agent to transfer the readings from one place/party (person or company) into others. The readings are not permanently placed or storage in a place such as in a library. The literary works, for instance, are always circulated amongst the readers to be read or put as a collection through these stores. The bookstores and *taman bacaan* have limited time to display the readings in their stores.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated how bookstores in West Sumatra play a role as a component of the literary infrastructure, especially in the book circulation in general and literary works more specifically. The discussion shows how the bookstores in West Sumatra reflect the complexity of literary distribution for the readers. From the discussion, we find that the bookstores have variety of ways in providing published books including literary works written by local authors. In a more general context, the literary works published by publishers and written by authors from other places than West Sumatra provided in the bookstores have also added more reading materials for local readers and authors. It also involves the local dynamics of publishing activities, literary field, literacy, and other related fields such as education.

The bookstores in West Sumatra can be divided into four categories based on ownership (local and outsider), location (capital city and district), type of company (independent, chain, or large and small capital), book distribution (distributor, distribution, or supply system), visitor (expected consumer profile), and involvement with local publishers. In other

words, the bookstores are local independent, outsider chain, small scales bookshops (including movable seller), and used bookstore and *taman bacaan*. The division also illustrates the degree of their involvement with local literature, in which the first has more activities with the local literature, the second has less involvement, and the third has no activities related to local literature. In contrast, the fourth category on the *taman bacaan*, even though their business are not run as systematically as established bookstores, but their roles show an important impact in shaping the readers and stimulate emerging writers through the reading materials provided in the places.

The competition amongst bookstores takes place because they have a similar activity in the book trading. The reaction of local bookstores toward the plan of Gramedia's expansion into West Sumatra implies the position and resistance of local bookstores, and business in general, to outsider companies. This resistance is later seen from how these bookstores pay attention to the distribution and circulation of published literary works by local publishers and writers. In terms of the location, major bookshops are located in Padang, the capital city of West Sumatra province, whereas minor commercial bookshops are located in the smaller cities and districts than the capital city of West Sumatra. Used bookstore and *taman bacaan* are commonly located around the crowds such as market and bus terminal, school, and tourist destination.

The analysis also shows that the local independent bookstore has a deeper involvement with the local literary activities compared to Gramedia as the chain bookstore and small-scale bookstores. Established by a local businessman, Sari Anggrek is directed to provide people in West Sumatra and its surroundings with reading materials with local contents. Sari Anggrek is more invested in locally published books, local publishers, and local writers, indicating its advocacy of literature in West Sumatra. □

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNMENT AND NON- GOVERNMENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN LITERATURE

IN THIS chapter, I examine the role of the government, private companies, and individuals (patrons), in the literary field of West Sumatra. These institutions have contributed to the literary field by providing necessary assistance for literary practitioners. Government and patronage involvement includes financial aid, literature-related programmes (for example publication and event), full or part time jobs, and other forms which will be discussed below. The primary aim of this chapter is to investigate how the support takes place and what is the impact in the literary field especially in writing, publishing, and reception of the literary works from the provided support. The motivation behind the support provided by the government and patronage is not only caused by the responsibility to run the programmes but also influenced by personal and communal reasons. The government's support as well as from private organisations, companies and patrons in literature mainly take the forms of fund for literary publication, establishing literary event, writing workshop, prizes, and travel grant to participate in a literary event outside the province. The support can, in many ways, facilitate or help the literary activities and the literary production. The form of support coming from the government and public discussed in this chapter differs from the literary club as presented in Chapter 3. The key difference lies in the fact that literary club's involvement and support come from problems found in the literary field (as established and managed mostly by writers), whereas the government and private companies involvement explored in the current chapter comes as responses of the problems from issues beyond the literary field.

I begin my discussion with a brief look at the regional and national practices regarding the involvement of the government toward literature. This is followed by my investigation on the government agencies working on the arts and culture in West Sumatra. There are some government agencies which have programmes in these fields. For the purpose of this

study, I select representative examples and divide them into centralised government agencies, local or provincial agencies and government funded institutions. Furthermore, I discuss the involvement of the private companies or organisations and individuals, such as Maecenas who contribute, both financially and in-kind, to literature in West Sumatra. In the discussion, I explore how the support for literature is provided and implemented by the government as well as non-government institutions and individuals. I also look at the influences from the provided support such as from the literary publication, events, and programmes held by those institutions and patrons.

Support for Literature in Indonesia's National Context

The involvement of the government in the field of literature, arts and culture more generally, is a manifestation of a state's responsibility to develop and protect the fields of national or public importance. DiMaggio and Useem (1978: 357) in their study on the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts in the United States of America since 1965 state that "the rationale of providing funding for art is based on the understanding that art is a public, or at least a mixed, good that, like highways and education, benefits everyone and is unlikely to be adequately supplied unless partially supported by the state". A similar case of the Australian state's involvement in the arts, in particular for the literary field, is provided by Katherine Bode. According to Bode (2010), the support or funding from the Australian government to literature has helped to increase the number of published literary works. Bode shows that in Australia, "growth in the proportion of literary (or non-genre) novels at the beginning of the 1970s suggests the impact of increased government funding for, and protection of, such writing at this time" (Bode 2010: 39).

The official involvement from the government takes in the form of regulation, which in Indonesian context is stated in the law No 5/2017 on *Pemajuan Kebudayaan* (Advancement of Culture) and the Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 11 of/in the year 2015 on the main duties and responsibilities of its department. Other forms include a budget allocation for art institutions and artists, and audiences of arts as well. In studying Indonesian cultural policy, Tod Jones (2013) shows that the Indonesian national cultural policy, especially dur-

ing the New Order, was run under a direct command from central government, in which it only had a limited budget to promote arts and culture, and established uniform arts and cultural institutions to control artists and their activities. The cultural fields are exposed by the government in the national programmes, among other aims, to control the national stability.

Jennifer Lindsay states that in Southeast Asian countries' cultural policies, the connection between the arts and cultures with the governments in the region is more than just a duty from the government to manage these fields. She provides a comparative discussion of the cultural policy in Southeast Asian countries after their independences. Principally, each government in the region has positioned the culture to be supported by the government from ministerial into local levels, according to its importance from the view of society and state and its relation with other fields. She states that:

Governmental administrative structures for culture and statements of national cultural policy indicate both the social approach to culture and the cultural role of the state. The prominence given to culture in Southeast Asia both socially and in terms of national policy is demonstrated by the fact that all of the countries in the region name culture within a government ministry (or the equivalent of a ministry), and most of them established a government portfolio for culture very soon after independence (Lindsay, 1995: 658).

However, the government's subsidy for culture in Southeast Asian countries is different from western countries. In contrast to the western countries, in which the subsidy from the government to the cultural fields is based on the concept of the culture as containing educative, moral, heritage, aesthetic, and moral value to the society. With this concept, the public money should be used for the public interest in the mentioned cultural forms. Whereas in the Southeast Asian concept, "a government subsidy for the arts functions differently because the socio-political context of the arts is different." The need to support the arts and culture has broader purpose for the nations, "subsidy is for reasons of establishing national identity, protection of moral and religious values, or protection of indigenous cultural heritage (material and expressive)" (Lindsay, 1995: 668).

After Indonesia gained independence, the Ministry of Education and Culture was formed. This institution would be responsible for subsidising literature and the arts. The support is provided in various ways, depending on the coverage field of programmes of each ministry. Even though in local government, provincial and regency levels, there are some offices of those ministries and also local provincial and regencies' unit working in this field. The government has more attention to the traditional arts than to modern arts, particularly on modern literature. Local cultural authorities try to protect or preserve traditional arts. There is a West Sumatran local regulation (*peraturan daerah*) No 6 Year 2014 on the empowering of customary institutions and preservation of Minangkabau cultural values. However, the support in literature is not only in the form of direct subsidy for writers, which is occasionally available for a number of writers but also in the form of other literary activities that help literature keep develop. The government's support is mostly provided in the form of activities, such as a literary festival, competition, workshop or seminar which can be measured based on its target, participants, impact, and budget.

During the New Order, according to an executive summary document prepared by the Directorate-General of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture and submitted to the UNESCO (Unesco, 1973: 12-13), the government's cultural policy was aimed at providing a harmonious cultural life. Its cultural programmes were directed at stimulating creativity in traditional and temporary forms and raising the community's appreciation of art and beauty, and its capacity to enjoy and benefit from it. The programmes were realised in establishing cultural centres, arts educational institutions, and initiating arts and cultural offices at provincial levels. Whereas the literary activities were closely linked with the Language Centre's programmes, especially in the connection to the study and publication of Malay manuscripts and folktales documentation projects (Soebadio, 1985: 53-55). In the later periods, the government improved its cultural programmes through various institutions, in which some of them will be discussed in this study.

The Indonesian government has another national programme based on book publishing. This programme is intended to provide reading materials for students in elementary and middle schools. This programme is usually a part of the programmes in developing educational infrastructure, including building new buildings, classrooms, official houses for principals, rehabilitation of buildings, developing school libraries, and the afore-

mentioned programme on providing reading materials. In 1980, as stated in the presidential instruction No. 6 the Year 1980, the government provided 250.8 billion rupiah (out of 5.24 trillion of the total annual budget for the education sector in 1980). From the overall budget, the government allocated 40,600,000 books to be distributed in schools throughout Indonesia. In 1982 the president of the Republic of Indonesia issued a presidential instruction (*Instruksi Presiden* no. 4, 1982), providing the guideline of the implementation of the grant for elementary schools in 1982/1983 fiscal year. In the instruction, the government provided grant amounting thirty million books for elementary schools throughout Indonesia.

The Office of Education and Culture, since 1988, has a regular programme nationally called *buku pengayaan sekolah* (books for the enrichment of schools).¹⁰¹ Between 1988 and 2000, the selection process started from the provincial to the national level, in which from 2000 onward the selection is nationally centred. In this programme, a panel of selection committee selected the previously published books to be republished and distributed into schools. Within this programme, there were some West Sumatran writers who have been successfully selected, such as Damhoeri and Nurdin Ya'kub. In each book cover of this programme, the publisher had to put a text stating that the book is "the property of the Department of Education and Culture, not for sale" (*Milik Dep. P dan K Tidak Diperdagangkan*). Within this scheme, the selected writers would have more payment for the published copies of their books because the government directly bought the copyright of the works. The office held also an annual writing competition, consisting of fiction and non-fiction genres, to collect qualified reading materials for students. The national programmes provided by the central government, as discussed briefly above, were prepared and implemented by the central government through the relevant ministries. Among other programmes, literature was linked with the book publishing for educational purpose.

In the following sections, I discuss the involvement of the government, government-funded institutions, private companies or organisations, and individuals in West Sumatra in the field of literature. My investigation includes the forms of institutions and individuals' participation in

¹⁰¹ See for example a brief history of the program: <http://litbang.kemdikbud.go.id/index.php/sayembara-penulisan-naskah-buku-pengayaan>, accessed Tuesday, March 15, 2016.

helping the literary activities, the ways support is provided, and the possible impact toward literature which has resulted from their contribution. The discussion on the support for literature is divided into two main sources namely the government and non-government. The first includes the central, provincial/regional, and government-funded institutions. The second comprises private companies, organisations, as well as individuals. The division is made because each of the both mentioned sources has particular characteristics, in which the government involvement represents an official position of the Indonesian state and the second shows the public involvement that differs in terms of the types of contribution, forms of assistances, possible effects resulted from their involvement.

Centralised Institutions in Local Level: BPNB and BBSM

I begin the exploration on the government involvement in the literature by looking at two centralised government agencies whose main programmes are in the fields of literature, art, and culture and their working areas are in West Sumatra. The two centralised agencies are under the Ministry of Education and Culture namely the Office of Cultural Values Preservation (BPNB, Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya) and The Office of Language of West Sumatra (Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat (BBSB). The first one, the BPNB was firstly positioned under the Ministry of National Education and Culture. It was then moved to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture and was recently moved back to the Ministry of National Education, under the direct coordination of the Directorate of Culture. BPNB's areas of activities include West Sumatra, Bengkulu, and South Sumatra. The second office, BBSB, is a branch office of the Language Centre, a body under the Ministry of National Education.¹⁰² BBSB's programmes' area covers the whole area of West Sumatra, in the fields of research, preserva-

¹⁰² The name of this office was changed several times, firstly it was known as Instituut voor Taal en Cultuur Onderzoek as part of University of Indonesia's unit (1947), the government in 1948 established the new office of Balai Bahasa under the office of Culture, Department of Education, Teaching, and Culture, the office then became Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya (merged back to UI's unit), 1952. Starting from 1959 the office was named as Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan. Since 1966 the office's name was changed into Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan and in 1969 the changed into Lembaga Bahasa Nasional. Since 1975 the office was named as Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, and since 2000 became Pusat Bahasa, and recently the name was changed back to Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa.

tion, promotion, and activities in language and literature.

These two offices have published a number of books based on their projects. Most of the published books are in the forms of research result, as part of its main functions as research institutions. BPNB is one of the offices which work in the field of culture. The main programmes of the office are research, advisory and counselling services in culture, and producing publications. The office is coordinated by the department of education and culture, and for some periods it was under the ministry of tourism, culture and creative industry. In 2013, BPNB published a series about cultural maestros of West Sumatra, containing a biography and literary works as appendices of each book (Sudarmoko, 2014). The seven books in the series that were published by BPNB actually published outside its regular programme. Usually, the office publishes books from its staff as the result of its internal research or project. However, in the series, the editors and staff of BPNB act as researchers who wrote the biography of maestros. For example, one of the series (Seno and Erric Syah, 2013) entitled *BHR. Tanjung dan Karyanya* (BHR. Tanjung and his works) consists of two parts. The first part is the biography and creative process of BHR. Tanjung and the second part is appendix comprising of his three plays. In this regards, the publication of the series was a combination of the usual programme and provide new opportunities to publish works from writers who are not affiliated with these offices. Since 2012, this office has also distributed the national programme for empowering arts clubs, by providing block grant for clubs' infrastructure, and *Rumah Budaya Nusantara* programme for arts activities, in which some literary activities including published literary works resulted, and minor rehabilitation of art clubs' infrastructure.

BBSM, as the second example of the centralised institutions working at the local level, has published a number of books based on a research report by its staff members and writing competition held by the office. Similar to BPNB's case, BBSM's publications are a part of their annual programmes. The publication is aimed at disseminating the results of its staff members' research and the result of the office's programmes activities. In most cases, external experts in the field of language and culture are involved as consultants for the research report writing. BBSM has published few works of fiction. Among its literary publication was *Kembang Gean* (Gean Flower) in 2008, a short story anthology of the creative writing competition, targeted for young writers in West Sumatra.

Other short stories anthologies were *Jemari Laurin* (Laurin's Fingers) in 2007 and *Hutan Pinus* (Pine Forest) in 2011.

Its significant contribution in the field of literature in West Sumatra is a series in literary criticism, as the results of research programmes. Annually, the office publishes research reports conducted by its staff members based on their completed research activities. Most of the published books by BBSM is about West Sumatran literature. This actually helps to improve the literary discourses in West Sumatra, particularly in the field of critical essays. However, the office has limited programmes in providing more space to other critics or writers in the province because it only publishes books written by internal staff as part of their main function and part of the office's budget plan. The role of BBSM in supporting literary life, as shown by its publication, is essentially relevant to the need of literary life in West Sumatra, if the programmes, and especially the publication, are adapted with the need outside the office.

In addition to the recent development of literary event in the province, since the early 2000s, in the field of the literary event, Balai Bahasa Padang regularly holds creative writing workshops, targeting specifically students from middle and high schools in West Sumatra.¹⁰³ In running the workshop, the office cooperates with the offices of education in districts or cities where the programme takes place. In this cooperation, teachers on the subject of Indonesian language and literature are involved as observers. The budget of the workshop is fully funded by the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture. Based on the selection of candidates for the workshop, Balai Bahasa then selects a number of students to participate in the workshops. Balai Bahasa also invites a number of tutors or instructors from the selected writers in West Sumatra. Balai Bahasa Padang provides the schedule and curriculum of the work-

¹⁰³ BBSM was inaugurated by the governor of West Sumatra on 6 September 2000. The decision of the establishment was based on the decision letter on the establishment of Balai Bahasa in six provinces, issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, No. 226/O/1999 dated on September 23, 1999. The office was one of twenty two branch offices of language centre, located in Cupak Tengah, Padang. Their main functions are to research, preserve, and develop Indonesian and local language and literary aspects in the province of West Sumatra. The programmes of the office are usually in the forms of counselling on language and literature, writing workshop and competition, research, publication of research report, journal, selection of *Duta Bahasa* (language ambassador) to promote the office's programmes, and seminar or discussion in the fields of language and literature.

shop to the tutors, as the office acts as the organiser, and does not fully involve in the content of the workshop. The targeted participants of the workshops are students from high schools (SMU, *Sekolah Menengah Umum*) in the province. This logic behind the choice of targeted participants is based on the fact that the Balai Bahasa Padang's position is under the Ministry of Education and Culture, which has a close relationship with other institutions under the ministry. The definition of its main task in developing and preserving the Indonesian language and literature is mainly focused on the young generation, who will use and develop the language and literature.

The first workshop took place in SMU Sore (Evening High School)) Padangpanjang on 21-26 October 2000 with 25 participants. In the following year, the workshop was held in the office in Padang, 16 – 21 July 2001. The number of participants in this workshop was 25 students, coming from 25 schools in Padang city. Still, in the same year, another workshop was also initiated, but this was targeted for the students from vocational schools in Padang, 3-8 September 2001. The fourth workshop was held in Sanggar Belajar Sawahlunto on 15-20 April 2002. The workshop was attended by twenty-five students of nine schools in the city. The following workshop was held in the same year but in a different place, which was in Painan city, 15-20 July 2002, in which forty students joined the workshop.

BBSM managed the creative writing workshop for students from middle schools (SMP, *Sekolah Menengah Pertama*) in Padang, in its office on 19-24 May 2003. There were forty students coming from 12 state and private middle schools who attended the workshop. Another similar workshop for SMP's students was held in the same year by Balai Bahasa Padang. This workshop was held in SMP Negeri 1 Harau, 50 Kota Regency, and attended by 25 students from nine SMP in the 50 Kota Regency, 4-9 August 2003 (Asmarini et al, 2004, 13-26). Some participants of those workshops have published their works, mostly poems, in local newspapers and won several poetry reading competitions in Padang and other cities in West Sumatra (Asmarini, 2004: 56-59). The workshops provide writing skills training, poetry reading, and poetry musical (*musikalisasi puisi*). The musical poetry is also regularly contested at provincial and national level by Balai Bahasa and Language Centre in Jakarta.

The two institutions employ staff who have arts and cultural backgrounds, some of whom graduated from the department of Indonesian, English and Arabic languages and literature. BBSM, more specifically,

filled by staffs in the fields of languages and literature in accordance with the office's main working areas. Therefore, research on these fields is actually potential, referring to the staffs' backgrounds working for BBSB and BPNB. As one of their main duties, the research and improvement in arts and culture should result in more works that can be accessed by the public as widely as possible. Researchers at these two institutions engage in similar fields of arts and culture in West Sumatra. But, they work separately, in terms of collaboration projects, share funding on the programmes, or coordination in the working areas.¹⁰⁴ This lack of coordination and collaboration, including with the local government, affect the general cultural activities in West Sumatra.

One of many other contributions in the field of literature given by these institutions is in publishing literary work and literary criticism. As mentioned above, there are a number of books published by these institutions, written by their staff as well as writers from outside the offices. The literary publication by these two offices has nonetheless been enhancing the variety of literary production in West Sumatra. However, the problem of government institutions in publishing literary works, and readings in general, is the limitation of the print run of 300 copies per title. The published books are mostly distributed to other government institutions, school libraries, reliable contacts who have relationships with the institutions, among the staff members, or deposited in the offices. Therefore, the published books are circulated in a very limited circle, and the published books are not available in bookstores. The publication by BPNB, alternatively, shows its effort to bridge writers who are not affiliated with the office to be accommodated in the office's publishing activities. However, BPNB's publication in the cultural maestro series is noteworthy. It has helped the literary manuscripts became publicly accessible through this type of publication. In addition, the series has demonstrated the opportunity of collaboration between external and internal writers in term of government's regular programme, which was previously difficult to be accessed by non-government employees. In the following section, I will look at the local government agencies which have also programmes in the fields of art and culture. The local government has a different picture on

¹⁰⁴ Interviews with Nurmatias, the head of BPNB in Padang, and with Agus Sri Danardana, the head of BBSM in Padang, 4 October 2016.

how the programmes are prepared and implemented compare to the centralised government agencies.

Local Government Support: Provincial Agencies

At the provincial level, the policy and programmes in the field of arts and culture vary, depended on the budget, arts and cultural position in the policy, the involvement of artists and cultural workers to promote arts and culture. Overall, the policy and implementation of the programmes were similar in each province in Indonesia. Initially, the ministry established its provincial offices to delegate the prepared programmes at the local level. A local office of the arts and culture (*Perwakilan Djawatan Kebudayaan Propinsi Sumatera Tengah*) in Central Sumatra was first initiated in November 1951, based on the Minister of Education and Culture decision letter no. 30311/Kab dated on 6 November 1951, and had its office in Bukittinggi, with 4 staff members in total (Thaib and Dasiba (eds.), 1956: 72). In the first year, the sole focus of the office was completing the office's equipment and coordinating network with existing arts communities in the region. The opening of the cultural office in the early 1950s was achieved through the national structure of the government, in which the Ministry of Education (later on this ministry covered higher education, and also culture) was established since 1946 under Sjahrir's leadership as the prime minister. It was interrupted by the captive of the ministers during the coming of NICA (*Netherlandsch Indie Civiele Administratie* or alliance forces) in 1945-1947 and the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (1948-1949). Therefore, the cultural fields became a focus of the Indonesian government since 1950s by establishing cultural institutions such as library, schools, and universities.

Up until 1955, the programmes of the office were in the forms of subsidy for arts events, institutions and clubs, empowering arts and culture in the region, conducting research, establishing a network between arts communities and artists within the province, preserve cultural heritage, and built infrastructure for arts performances. In the subsidy programme, the office donated its funding for Indonesian Young Painters exhibition (1952) who visited Central Sumatra in Gedung Nasional Bukittinggi. In the same year, the office supported Ruang Pendidikan Kebudayaan (Cultural Education Centre) in Padang Panjang and *Seniman Muda Indonesia* (SEMI, Indonesian Young Artists) in Bukittinggi (Thaib

and Dasiba (eds.) 1956: 73). There was no specific programme for the literature during the early establishment of the office.

In 1954, the special programme on language and literature was launched consisting of five main programmes such as talk show in the Radio of Republic of Indonesia (RRI, Radio Republik Indonesia) Bukittinggi once a week, collecting manuscripts to be sent to, and published by, the Language Centre in Jakarta (resulted in the transliteration of manuscripts of traditional folktales *Rancak Dilabuah*, *beautiful in appearance* and *Syair Sunur*, *verses of Sunur*). Other conducted programmes were visitations to districts and cities to promote the programme and attending the fourth official conference of national arts and cultural offices in Medan and Prapat on April 1954 and Indonesian language congress in Medan in November 1954, a seminar for teachers from higher schools, and added more collection of the local library in that year (Thaib and Dasiba, 1956: 73-74). The subsidised spending for arts and culture in 1954 was distributed to Indonesian Young Artists (SEMI, Seniman Muda Indonesia, an arts community-based in Bukittinggi), the congress of custom leaders, ST/STP student association, *Ruang Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Padangpanjang* (an arts centre building located in Padang Panjang), *Hari Angkatan Perang* (memorial day) in Padang and arts activities for post office labour association (Thaib and Dasiba, 1956: 78). In 1954, each district and city in Central Sumatera received a budget for arts and cultural fields, the sum of RP 12.000.00 for each district and RP 24.000.00 for each city annually. However, in 1955, the budget allocation for the office was decreased by fifty percent compared to the previous year budget, resulting in the reduction of all of its programmes and subsidies. The subsidy for each district and city remained available in a limited amount between RP 4000.00 to RP 8000.00 (Thaib and Dasiba, 1956: 79-80).

During the New Order era, the subsidies and support for arts and literature were mostly distributed centrally through the government or government-funded institutions such as West Sumatra Arts Council, National Coordinating Bodies for Arts (BKSNI, *Badan Koordinasi Seni Nasional Indonesia*) and arts complex (Taman Budaya) (Jones, 2013: 113-202) that were established in many provinces in Indonesia. The literary programmes from the late 1970s were provided by the Cultural Park. In West Sumatra, the cultural park was founded in 1978, by taking over the facilities of Pusat Kesenian Padang (Padang Arts Centre) as its location. The Padang Arts Centre was established in 1975, led by Mursal Esten, a critic, and academic of Padang State University. Previously, the Padang

Arts Centre was the site for the Padang Fair, an annual fair to show the achievements of the development of Padang and other parts of West Sumatra. However, the main programmes of the cultural parks, as designed by the Directorate of Arts, have only a few activities in the field of literature. The main concern of literary programmes was on the documentation and transliteration of traditional stories.

The first head of West Sumatra Cultural Park was Mursal Esten. The position was an extension of his previous position as the head of Padang Arts Centre. He headed the Cultural Park until 1989. Since he was known as a literary critic, Esten paid particular attention to the literary programmes. Many writers used to use the Padang Arts Centre (PKP, Pusat Kesenian Padang) and the then Taman Budaya as a place for discussion and literary performances. Literary programmes of the Cultural Park included seminar, workshop, poetry reading, and festival. On 19 October 2000, Taman Budaya held a creative writing workshop exclusively for students and teachers. However, some critics viewed that this workshop was not well prepared, and it was only to spend the left budget of the institution. Based on this view, some tutors of the planned workshop of the short story and playwriting withdrawn from the scheduled workshop. The resignation of some tutors was based on the non-standardised recruitment of participants, low honorarium for tutors, and other personal reasons (*Singgalang*, 19 October 2000).

West Sumatran Office of Tourism and Culture¹⁰⁵ is the governmental institution which is responsible for the programmes in the fields of tourism, arts, and culture at the provincial level. In West Sumatra, the office manages some arts and cultural institutions, such as museum Adityawarman and cultural park. These two implementing units (UPTD, *Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah*) administer the programmes in the certain field. One of the office's main functions is in the field of culture, by implementing the cultural events as well as providing cultural programmes such as the publication of cultural sources. The publication includes the folktales publishing, especially directed to students. The office published *Riwayat Negeri Batu* in 2011. In the following year, 2012, the office published *Pitunang Parupuik Hanyuik*, an anthology of traditional stories,

¹⁰⁵ Previously, part of the ministry, the culture and its units from directorate to the district level, was included in the Ministry of Education.

rewritten by Fitra Aidina et. al. As seen from the contents, the traditional stories were published and intended to show the cultural values of the society. In implementing these two publications, the office established small teams consisting of writers who then rewriting the selected folktales and printed the books. A similar programme, supported by the provincial government and the Office of Culture and Tourism conducted in 2000 by Yayasan Citra Budaya Indonesia. The foundation held rewriting competition on West Sumatra old stories. The result of the competition was then published by the foundation (Jasmi and Indrawati, 2000: vi).

The West Sumatran government since its early establishment, as explained above, had launched various programmes in the fields of arts and culture, including literature. The local government prepared and distributed its programmes through its implementing units (UPTD), which had specific duties based on their functions. The programmes were usually repetitions or duplications of previous financial years. The arts and culture programmes were executed by The Office of Education and Culture, in which in some periods part of The Office of Tourism and Culture. The unit which directly runs the programme is the Cultural Park (Taman Budaya). The local government has no regular or permanent policies and programmes that can maintain its support in the literature. Because of the lack of policies and regular support for the literature, it resulted in less consideration to launch and implement further programmes based on the previous achievement such as the number of published works, recognition gained from literary competition or festival, or holding a regular reputable literary festival. Each of those government institutions which worked on the literature paid little attention to how maximised their endeavour to support the literature.

Local Government Funded Institutions: PPIM and DKSB

Apart from the offices or institutions as government's structural organs, West Sumatran government has established two arts and cultural organisations. The two institutions were Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau (established in 2001, PPIM, Centre for the Study of Islam and Minangkabau) and Dewan Kesenian Sumatera Barat (established in 1993, DKSB, West Sumatra Arts Council). The PPIM and DKSB were established by the provincial government and therefore received operational and programmes' budget from the government. Notwithstanding their financial support from the government, these two institutions

were managed by a board of executive committee members elected independently amongst artists in the province. In order to assist the administrative matters, the government placed four members of staff in PPIM secretariat. Whereas in DKSB, there was no any civil servant placed in the organisation officially. However, there were some officials whose profession are artists and academic staff in both organisations, who assisted the administrative matters. These organisations functioned as the advisory bodies to give recommendation and suggestions for the governor in the fields of arts and cultures. The discussion below is a brief overview of these two government-funded organisations.

The PPIM was established by the governor of West Sumatra in 2001 as a research centre for all scholars of education, religion, culture, and all other fields in West Sumatra.¹⁰⁶ Its main programmes were publication and research on all aspect of Islam and Minangkabau in the region. In the first establishment, the government and the DPRD allocated about RP 1.5 billion to execute its programmes. The first chair of the PPIM was Masóed Abidin and backed up by the secretary Nadjmuddin (Andalas University), Azmi (Padang State University) and Hawari Siddik (former secretary of the province) as treasurers. The establishment of the PPIM was aimed at creating a think tank unit consisting of representatives from Islamic and cultural organisations, scholars from higher educations, researchers, journalists and writers who have an interest in the field religion, tradition, and culture.

During its establishment, the PPIM had published 32 titles of books and a series of the newsletter. Most of the published books are under the theme of Islam and Minangkabau culture. The publication included old/traditional literary works.¹⁰⁷ The establishment of the PPIM, however, ended in 2004, as the result of the question about its programmes posed by the DPRD. The main reason of the DPRD's objection toward the existence of PPIM was because the centre had received an amount of financial

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Yose Rizal, former daily staff of PPIM, conducted in Padang, 3 August 2014

¹⁰⁷ Some of these works were in the forms of transliteration from Malay scripts by Anas Nafis. Among its literary publication which were translated and edited by Anas Nafis: *Hikayat Si Manjau Ari*, *Kaba Mamak Si Hetong*, *Kaba Si Ali Amat*, *Hikayat Nahkoda Muda*, *Kaba Sabai Nan Aluih*, *Carito Rancak di Labuah*, and *Si Palalok*. *Carito Nik Reno* was written by Puti Reno Raudha Thaib, a family member of Pagaruyung kingdom, who is also a writer.

grant exciding the rate of the usual budget for similar organisations.

The DKSB was established in 1993, as one of the several arts councils founded in Indonesia. This was the result of president's instruction on December 1992, to establish arts councils throughout Indonesia. The instruction was then followed by the instruction of Minister of Domestic Affairs No. 5A/1992, giving the detail position and roles of arts councils, as the partner of government in the field of culture, and that government should fund the arts councils (Said, 1997: 3). Based on the regulation, therefore, in implementing its programmes, the DKSB was funded by the government, by proposing a programme and budget proposal each year. The DKSB, however, lasted only for the 2007-2011 period. Since 2011, the DKSB has become inactive because there was no elected chair and its committee members to manage the institution. This failure was first caused by the internal barrier that the council was unable to prepare their final report consisting of the programme and financial evaluation, as the basis to prepare an open forum. Without the final report, the provincial government rejected to provide a fund to hold an open forum. Furthermore, as the open forum does not take place, the DKSB has no power.

Some parties have tried to initiate a discussion to solve the problem about the existence of the DKSB, by initiating a meeting among artists in West Sumatra, leading to the establishment of a small committee to consult with the governor to find ways to save the council. Unfortunately, these efforts resulted in no expected solution to save the council. According to the report in *Singgalang* (11 November 2014) and Shofwan Karim, (2014), and information from Darman Moenir, that there were two meetings between the governor Irwan Prayitno and some artists to discuss the expanded function of the Taman Budaya and to establish Dewan Kebudayaan Sumatra Barat instead to re-establish Dewan Kesenian Sumatra Barat. The council was designed to be the partner of provincial government in providing policy advice in the arts and cultures. The DKSB's major activities were arts workshop, seminar, festival, building arts and cultural database, publication and advocating the government in the arts and cultural issues. In the field of literary publication, DKSB had published 10 books. The DKSB had also shown how an arts institution worked in developing arts, by involving arts workers to arrange and execute the programmes. The creative writing workshops were important events in West Sumatra. Two institutions that have the concern of workshop in their regular programme were the DKSB and BBSM.

In appointing its members of the committee, at the end of each period, the DKSB held an open forum (*musyawarah besar seniman* or artists summit) by inviting all artists in the province to attend the event to dismiss the previous DKSB's members and to select new members. The open forum was the largest meeting of West Sumatran artists from the various fields of arts with the only purpose to select the chair of West Sumatran Arts Council. At its initiation, the position of chair, daily staff, and the members of committees were for terms of five years in the first two periods (1993-2000, in fact, there was a two years vacuum period of the DKSB between 1995-1997) and then revised into four years in the following periods since 2000. In this case, on 30-31 October 2000, the meeting of West Sumatran artists and cultural workers were held to elect the head of the DKSB for the period of 2000-2004. In the forum, Edy Utama, a photographer, secretary of Genta Budaya Foundation, and cultural activist in West Sumatra, was then elected as the chair of the DKSB (*Singgalang*, 31 October 2000, *Mimbar Minang*, 31 October 2000, *Republika*, 1 November 2000).

The first chair of the DKSB was AA Navis (1993-1995, 1997-2000). The second chair of the council was Edy Utama (2000-2004), before he resigned from his position in 2003. The chair was then replaced by Ivan Adilla (a critic and lecturer at Universitas Andalas) (2003-2007) and in the later period chaired by Harris Effendi Thahar (a writer and lecturer at Padang State University) (2007-2010). The DKSB, as it was originally aimed, has successfully executed its roles in providing advice and programmes in arts and culture. There was no clear separation between its function as an advisory body and executive body, including from its structural organisation or committees division. The budget allocation for the DKSB decreased every year and at certain point stable in the low sum of funding. In recent condition (2007-2011 board member period), the DKSB does not function as the result of internal conflicts and the willingness of governments to overcome the situation.

During its establishment, the DKSB has held arts and literary festivals, consisting of various genres, traditional and contemporary artworks. The literary festivals were arranged as a part of a larger programme of arts festivals, only a few and mostly limited events for literature specifically. This strategy of accumulating various arts genres into major festivals was based on the effectiveness of spending the available fund. For example within *Pekan Budaya-Festival Minangkabau* (Minangkabau cultural fair and fes-

tival) a literary festival was established on 20-21 December 2004. The festival was called *Temu Sastra* (literary meeting) with the theme of *Spirit Minangkabau dalam Karya Sastra Indonesia Masa Kini* (Minangkabau spirit in the contemporary Indonesian literary works) (Alwi, 2005).

The inactivity of those two government-funded institutions shows that a form of arts and cultural institution, directed and filled by those who work in the fields of arts, faces many difficulties. Even though the governor was asked by artists in the province several times to take the necessary action to save and reactivate the institutions, there was no forthcoming solution. The request to solve the inactivity of the DKSB and PPIM was then forwarded back to artists and cultural activists, exposed in local newspapers and meetings between the governor, the head of the Office of Education, Office of Tourism and Culture and representatives of artists. The similar case of inactivity of arts councils also occurred in other cities in West Sumatra and in other provinces in Indonesia.

The PPIM and DKSB's board members composition and their programmes actually have shown a proportional form in organising the arts and cultures, because both organisations were managed by artists and the provincial government provide sufficient budget for the requested programmes. In this form of collaboration, the government could delegate their support through these types of organisations which comprising people who have arts and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, these organisations have been also supported by the artists and scholars because they could express their views to the government via legitimate and formal organisations. The fact that these organisations have finally ceased their operation indicated that there is no long term plan or policy to manage the arts and cultural fields in the province prepared by the government. It was actually more effective to delegate the government duties through arts and cultural organisations such as the DKSB and PPIM. Secondly, artists, scholars, *adat* leaders, and those who work in the field of arts and cultures had no bargaining position to request the government to support the arts and cultural programmes.

Support from Non-governmental Institutions and Patrons

Aside from the governmental support, some private companies, organisations, and individuals have taken part in sponsoring the literary publishing and activities. Private organisations or companies have acted as sponsors for numerous literary activities. On the other hand, individu-

als acted as Maecenas who helps writers based on individual voluntary reasons. Private contributions, unlike government support as mentioned in the previous sections, arise voluntarily. This initiative can be perceived as a public act in endowing the literature. It shows the scope of the public involvement in supporting literature. Additionally, it shows that the literature is owned by the public as seen from their engagement in the various ways as will be presented further in this section. In some cases, writers who needed aid to publish their works attending literary events outside the province or held literary events could have support from the high-rank people in the governmental organisations. The source was commonly taken from budget allocation provided to those who headed governmental offices to be used at any time and for any people based on their own consideration. This fund was called a tactical fund (*dana taktis*).¹⁰⁸

One example of the initiatives was the incentive programme provided by the West Sumatran governor for book publication. The programme was launched by Gamawan Fauzi, the governor of West Sumatra 2005-2009.¹⁰⁹ The initiative of this programme was first proposed by some journalists and writers, namely Yurnaldi, Khairul Jasmi, and Edy Utama to the governor Gamawan Fauzi on an occasion when he attended the book launching of Kamardi Rais' book *Mesin Ketik Tua*, 11 March 2006. The idea was first in the forms of providing a grant for book writing and publishing and scholarship for writers in West Sumatra. The governor then accepted the proposed initiative, an incentive for writers, followed by establishing a small team to prepare a system of selection of the programme.¹¹⁰

The programme was intended to provide an incentive for writers who had completed a manuscript and ready to be published. The sum of the grant was five million rupiah per manuscript or person based on the recommendation of the reviewers on the quality of the submitted manu-

¹⁰⁸ The detail of tactical fund spending did not need to be accounted officially in the financial report. So, the spending of the fund is decided autonomously by a leader him/herself. It is common that the tactical fund is distributed to those who has a close relationship, both individual and organisation. This includes some writers who had received individual support from the governor.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Yurnaldi, 3-8-2014 and Asril Koto, 13-5-2014, conducted in Padang.

¹¹⁰ In some extent, it is difficult to separate a person in his/her position as a government head as "the government", or as an individual during a period of a leadership. Gamawan Fauzi, for example, acted as the governor during the implementation of the mentioned initiative, but his willingness to accommodate such initiative did not take place in other periods of provincial leadership. For this reason, I discuss the role of Gamawan Fauzi and his contribution to the fields of arts and cultures in this section.

script. In the first stage, the expected number of manuscripts to be supported was 40 titles annually for a three-year period. The procedure of applying for the grant was simple. A writer prepared a completed manuscript in the form of literary works such as short story compilation, a poetry anthology, novel, play or other genres of writings. The manuscript then sent to the office of the governor and then addressed to the established selection team consisting of Edy Utama, Hasril Chaniago, and Mestika Zed. After reviewing the proposed manuscript, the small team then made a report to the governor whether to approve or reject the grant for the proposed manuscript. The successfully proposed manuscript writer was later notified by a letter of decision (SK, *Surat Keputusan*) which was forwarded to the financial section of the office to manage the administrative and financial matters. The successful writers were expected to find appropriate publishers for their manuscripts. According to Asril Koto, the number of proposals submitted to the programme exceeded 40 proposals. It was the responsibility of the writers themselves to find appropriate publishers for their manuscripts. When the Gamawan Fauzi's position as the governor ended, the grant was no longer available or continued by the succeeding governors. The changes of the policy in the government offices had also influenced the access from the public, including writers, to get information and programme of the government. In the new system, the activities should be prepared and listed in the regional government budget.

The publication of Wisran Hadi's poetry anthology titled *Sebuah Sajak buat Sesuatu yang Kan Datang* (1975), for example, was supported by the Mayor of Padang city. In the acknowledgment, Wisran wrote: "*Penerbitan ini dibantu oleh **Walikota Madya Padang** atas mana kami mengucapkan terima kasih* (This publication was supported by the Major of Padang City for which we would like to thank him)."¹¹¹ Another publication of literary works, an anthology of poetry *Hawa 29 Penyair* (published by Studio Sangkaduo, 1996), was also supported by, among other individuals and institutions, the provincial government of West Sumatra (Hadi, 1975: 7). Some well-known writers, mostly those who have significant positions in terms of political and cultural fields, such as Navis, Wisran Hadi, and Mursal Esten, had a close relationship with governmental lead-

¹¹¹ Emphasis in original

ers. They used, on many occasions, their position to request support for their purposes or to help other writers who need financial assistance for their literary activities.¹¹²

Except for the tactical fund, it is also commonly happened that a leader, such as a governor, has to help those who request support, especially those who politically and culturally have bargaining position with a leader. Based on the report of Independent Auditor from Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Republic of Indonesia, branch office Medan, for the 2004 fiscal year, for instance, the West Sumatra governor provided funding for former Kompas' journalist cum author Yurnaldi to cover his nonfiction books publication cost entitled *Jurnalistik Siap Pakai, Kiat Praktis Jurnalistik* (A Manual for Journalism: Practical Tips, Ready for Use) and *Memahami Potensi Kabupaten dan Kota di Sumbar* (Understanding the Potential of Districts and Cities in West Sumatra) novelist Darman Moenir for writing cost for his three novels, funding for a literary community Komunitas Penggiat Sastra Padang (KPSP) for its activity of *Malam Syukuran*, funding for the organising committee (chaired by Basril Djabar) of book launching *Masih Ada Harapan* (There is Still Hope) written by Saafroedin Bahar, a retired general and former member of National Commission on Human Right originated from West Sumatra, in TVRI Padang on 18 October 2004. The amounts of these distributed grants were around RP 5-10 million (USD 500-1000). However, the last mentioned items of the grants actually became an unaccountable spending of the government and should be corrected in the final financial report or returned to the state's fund. This meant that the financial support from the governor was administratively incorrect.

Rustam Anwar, a businessman who owned several Textile Company and hotel was an important figure in West Sumatra. According to the statements from leading figures in the field of arts and culture in West Sumatra compiled in the booklet to commemorate him, Rustam Anwar had frequently supported the arts, educational, and cultural activities in West Sumatra. Some of his contributions were by offering some writers to publish their literary works in his publishing house, NV Nusantara. Additionally, the publishing house had a branch in Jakarta, where HB Jassin, a prolific critic, worked as an editor for Nusantara. The writers who pub-

¹¹² Interview with Gus tf Sakai, 16 August 2014 conducted in Payakumbuh.

lished their works in Nusantara publishing house included Alex Leo, Ilwan Kasiri, Bastari Asnin, Bokor Hutasuhut, NH Dini, AA Navis, Nasyah Jamin, Suwardi Idris, Nurdin Ya'kub, and Motinggo Busye. Anwar also contributed to two universities, namely Universitas Andalas and Institute of Pedagogy and Education in the 1970s when both universities needed support to widen their location and improve their educational facilities. Additionally, Anwar helped to pay Indonesian music conservatory (ASKI) staff salaries for few months in the 1960s. He used to support some groups and individual artists who were invited to perform their works outside West Sumatra. He was one of the founders, and regularly he funded, the monthly discussion called *Saluang Balega* (Flute Discussion) in which leading intellectuals shared their thoughts in the forum.

Within a programme initiated by the Indonesian publishers association (IKAPI) (August 1998-2006), which was supported by an international NGO the Ford Foundation, called *Buku Bermutu Program Pustaka Yayasan Adikarya IKAPI dan Ford Foundation* (Quality Book Programme of Adikarya IKAPI or Indonesian publishers association and Ford Foundation), and numerous Indonesian publishing houses have received a grant to publish high quality and recommended books. This programme was launched to help the publishers in Indonesia to publish selected books. From 1998 to 2006, many publishers had financial problems in covering production costs as a result of the global financial crisis. The programme covered eighty percent of the production cost of selected books. Since May 2002, this programme was expanded to reach local publishers by initiating a programme called *Pustaka Regional*, which covered three provinces; Riau, Kalimantan Barat and Sulawesi Selatan (*Kompas*, 10 August 2002). Within West Sumatra, the only book published under this programme was Wisran Hadi's novel, *Orang-orang Blanti*, published by Citra Budaya Indonesia (2000).

In addition to its regular support in providing columns for literary works and cultural reviews, newspapers play an important role in supporting literary activities and publication. *Singgalang* newspaper initiated a prize called *Singgalang Award* for writers who published their works in the newspaper and for other outstanding persons who contribute significantly in the field of arts and culture in West Sumatra. There are a number of West Sumatran writers who worked for this newspaper as well as regular contributors for certain columns. AA Navis was named as a member of its board of trustees. Wisran Hadi, Jousfik Helmi, and

Gus tf, are among other writers who have been working with *Singgalang* for some years. The recent editor in chief of the newspaper is also a writer and journalist Khairul Jasmi, former *Republika*'s local correspondent for West Sumatra area.

In August 1985, *Singgalang* provided a weekly supplement called *Koran Masuk Sekolah* (KMS, The Newspaper Goes to School), a special supplement of *Singgalang* for students. This kind of publication, promoting literature and writing skills to schools, was then acknowledged by Harmoko, the Minister of Information (1983-1997), as the first newspaper for school and became a pilot project to be adopted in other provinces in Indonesia. This supplement was managed by Luzi Diamanda and the supported by some writers such as Gus tf, and other emerging writers. A number of emerging writers sent their works such as prose, poems, feature, or news and reviews on this series. Whereas the editors, consisting of established writers wrote reviews as well as tips for practical writing skills. As part of the effort in providing reading materials, *Singgalang* has also a subsidiary, Penerbit Genta, which publishes books, in particular, literary works. Since its establishment in 1966, the publisher has published more than 10 books. Another newspaper in West Sumatra, *Haluan*, has arts and cultural columns as well. The column was edited by Rusli Marzuki Saria, a well-known poet, and essayist. He regularly asked other writers, most who have been in their established writing profession, to help him in selecting qualified works and write reviews for the selected writings. Among other writers who participated in *Haluan* were Gus tf, Nasrul Azwar, Iyut Fitra and Yusrizal KW.

Another Padang based newspaper and a member of a national news network agency Jawa Pos News Network (JPNN) based in Surabaya, *Padang Ekspres*, has been sponsoring numerous literary events in West Sumatra, such as Temu Penyair Lima Kota (Meeting of Poets from Five Cities, 2007), literary festivals held by DKSB, literary seminars, and individual support for those who participated in literary events took place outside the province. In addition to the support from the printed media company, the electronic media, for example, National Radio Broadcaster (RRI, Radio Republik Indonesia) in Bukittinggi and Padang from 1950s to 1990s had several programmes on the literary readings and reviews, hosted by A.A. Navis (in Bukittinggi) and Rusli Marzuki Saria (in Padang). This weekly programme was aimed at promoting literature within society. The programme was aired live to attract responses from audiences.

Each week, the host of the literature programme invited guest writers to discuss their works and perform a reading of selected works. Another advantage of the professionals in the journalistic field, some of the journalists-cum-authors have a close relationship with leaders of the government offices, private companies, and organisations. This close connection with high ranking officials could be used to help some writers who need assistance to those who potentially have available support in their offices. This close connection between the journalists and writers has maintained the cooperation among them as reflected in the mentioned examples.

Conclusion

Lindsay (1995) has stated that the cultural subsidy and policy in Southeast Asian are based on the view that art and culture are used by the government to attract people's concern that the state is a presence to manage public needs. However, based on the cases in West Sumatra, in a local context the art and culture are supported with less clear agendas on handling the necessary support, such as cultural policy, facilities, and finance. The above discussion has explored various supports for literature in West Sumatra provided by the government institutions, private companies or organisations as well as individuals. The government's support takes place in various types such as the regulation for cultural programmes, financial allocation for arts and cultural organisations, subsidy for publishing activities, and cost for attending or organising literary events. This fact supports Lindsay's argument that the governments in Southeast Asian countries, more particularly Indonesia, consider arts (literature) as part of important fields that should be managed by the state.

The establishment of the BBSM represents the presence of the government to manage the language and literary fields in West Sumatra. Its programmes are focused on its own preparation, in which most of them based on the Department of Education and Culture's mission through its agencies at all levels. It can be seen from the literary workshops for secondary schools students, literary (writing and poetry musical) competitions for students, and promoting the use of standard Indonesian language for teachers, which dominate its annual programmes. While the literary programmes for the writers, readers, or literary communities in general, such as literary awards, discussions, publication, are less established.

Another centralised government agency, the BPNB, works on a wider field of culture both in terms of the working and field areas. The BPNB is

under the same ministry as BBSM, but it is placed under the Directorate General of Culture. It covers three provinces namely West Sumatra, Bengkulu, and South Sumatra. Literature is actually not a part of its duties. However, BPNB has involved in some literature related programmes. Two main examples included the publication of maestro series which included some works of West Sumatran poets and writers, and grant distribution (Rumah Budaya Nusantara and Bantuan Fasilitas Komunitas Budaya) that has helped several literary activities (publication, seminar, competition) held by more than 150 cultural communities and also to equip literary communities with some practical instrument and rehabilitation of infrastructure.

From the West Sumatran government agencies, some contribution has been implemented by establishing and providing a fund to writers, arts organisations, and literary activities. The publication incentive provided by Governor Gamawan Fauzi was an example of the government contribution. There was also personal contribution provided by the government leaders to certain writers to help their literary needs. From the various institutions working on the arts and culture in West Sumatra, the PPIM and DKSB's programmes and management members showed an ideal organisation to handling the agendas. The composition of management members came from the various genres of cultural backgrounds. The government's position to support financially, prepare and evaluate the programmes was essentially important to ensure the government-funded organisations' continuity. On the other hand, the support from the private organisation, company, and the individual has fulfilled the writers' gap to hold their personal and communal literary activities.

Most of the support provided by private companies and patrons was based on their close relationship or working with certain writers. In the type of non-governmental involvement in literature, there are many private companies and organisations which are financially sponsoring the literary activities. The companies which usually help literary activities are those whose business is related to writing such as newspapers, bookstores, as well as local government owned companies. Additionally, government leaders act as patrons as part of their position as public figures. They did not only provide financial assistance but also connect writers to publishers, financial sources, and network with writers or association outside the province.

The involvement of the government, private companies and institutions, as well as patrons in literature shows how literature is a part of

public interest. This correlates with my argument on the literary clubs' involvement in literature, which was presented in Chapter 3. The literary community can be partnered with the government to implement literary programmes, and more importantly becomes a medium for writers to help themselves in implementing their programmes. This chapter gave another perspective (from the government and public views) on the ways literature is developed and supported. □

CONCLUSION

THE EXISTENCE of literature in West Sumatra is supported by many institutions: the government, publishing houses, bookstores and literary communities, as well as private company and organization and individual patrons. The discussion in the preceding chapters has revealed how these elements of literary infrastructure function in the literary field in West Sumatra province. The thesis has demonstrated how each element of literary infrastructure contributes to the continuity and proliferation of literature. The literary infrastructure contributes to shape various forms such as the forming of readers through the republication of folktales activities, the literary activities by literary community to promote literature into wider public, the circulation of published books through the bookstores, and the support provided by the government, private organisation, and individuals to subsidy the publication of literary works and other literary activities.

The aim of the study was to explore the literary infrastructure in West Sumatra, by explaining the literary infrastructure components' roles, functions, influences, and how the literary life benefited from the literary infrastructure's operation. In this section, I will first review the key findings of each chapter and relate each other in a wider context of the literary infrastructure in West Sumatra. Secondly, I will formulate the essential findings from the whole discussion presented in this study, namely the *improvement* and *temporality*. These two terms become the basic as well as the operational characters of each literary infrastructure components, in the literary field in West Sumatra.

My study began with two case studies on the activities of publishing houses during the colonial period and after Indonesian independence period. The first study, Chapter 1, was focused on the literary publication called *Roman Pergaoelan* series, which operated during the colonial period by Penjajaran Ilmoe. The second study looked at the republication of folktales or traditional stories and the possible influence of the reader, writer, and Indonesian literature in general. The publisher was run by a group of people who actively engaged in social, intellectual, political and religious fields. The published literary works were written by authors

coming not only from within West Sumatra, but also those from other places such as Surakarta, Makassar, and Medan. The distribution was spread widely through the perantau networks across Indonesia and neighbouring countries in Singapore and Malaysia. The themes of the works published in Roman Pergaoelan included social change, politics, religion, detective stories and education. It also held writing competitions as a means to attract more works to be published. The establishment of Penjiaran Ilmoe and its Roman Pergaoelan series became an important step in West Sumatran literary history as it provided numerous literary works for local readers in addition to the reading materials published and distributed by Balai Pustaka, authoritative publishers founded by the Dutch government in the East Indies. It has also shown that the publishing house played important roles in the production and distribution of the published literary works.

The study was followed in Chapter 2 by an investigation on the folktales republication activity of a publishing house in Bukittinggi, Kristal Multimedia. The activity was started since the early 1960s by a family-owned printing and publishing company, with the focus to provide reading materials related to the Minangkabau's cultures, especially in the fields of folktales, history, and customary laws. Most of the stories are written by the company owner, Syamsuddin St. Rajo Endah, which are then reprinted by the present company by the son of the author of the stories. The republication activity, in which most of the stories are still in the form of oral performances and occasionally performed at ceremonies, has helped the transformation of the literature in passing through mediums such as benefiting from printing technology. The republication of folktales has influenced the shaping of reader profile, publishing activities, writers' adaptation of their works, and literary movement, especially among young people or students.

Although the written form does not simply replace the oral form, it supports the stories to reach a broader public. These kinds of readings are also introduced to young generations through the educational institutions. With the republication of folktales, the readers of these stories are familiar with the content of the readings and prepared themselves to further their interest in reading other literary works. However, the lack of new titles written by more recent authors is one of the challenges faced by the publishing houses in West Sumatra. Although the publishing house concentrates the publications on the traditional folktales, for example, stated

by Kristal Multimedia as its mission to provide Minangkabau's cultural related readings, it only received few titles to be published. Even though the potential readers who will buy and read published literary works are available in the market, the local publishing houses still limited their activities. Compared to the colonial and the early Indonesian independence years, the publishing houses in West Sumatra since the 1970s had less number of the literary works published locally.

These first two chapters confirmed the importance of the position of the publishing house. Its operation involves numerous parties, including writers, editorial staff, distributors, readers, as well as investors, other publishing houses, and religious and *adat* rulers. With these reasons, the publishing house is a component that plays important roles in the literary infrastructure.

The literary communities of West Sumatra have bridged private institutions, government agencies, individuals, writers, and public, to work together through the established literary activities, which I have explained in Chapter 3. The literary communities are mostly formed by writers or those coming from the actors of literature through the literary communities, which deeply involved in the literary activities such as literary publication, competition, or workshop. The initiatives in establishing literary clubs as an instrument to improve the literature coming from within the literature, such as those who are writers, readers, and critics, and therefore have more power and sustainability compared to those coming from the government. In the frame of the literary infrastructure, the literary community has partly contributes to empowering the writers as well as readers, and public in more widely context, by providing literature-related programmes.

An arts community called Young Indonesian Artists (SEMI, Seniman Muda Indonesia) which was established in 1947 in Bukittinggi had numerous activities including theatre, fine art, and literature. The publication of a bulletin titled SEMI was an example of its literary activity during the early years of Indonesian independence. This bulletin shows SEMI's mission to establish a strong foundation for literature in West Sumatra, or Central Sumatra at that time. The establishment of Krikil Tajam in the early of 1970s had a specific focus on discussing West Sumatran writers' works. It was aimed at improving the aesthetic quality especially for its members who were limited to those who have successfully published their works in major newspapers or magazines. There was a will to posi-

tion the West Sumatran writers at the same level as their counterparts from other places in Indonesia.

The following literary community I discussed was Yayasan Taraju, a literary club established in 1992. Its main activities were creative writing competitions and publications from emerging writers. The years of its existence was also in the rise of a movement in Indonesian literature called *revitalisasi sastra pedalaman* (revitalisation of hinterland literature), which tried to connect the literary communities in Indonesia to fight against the collusion and nepotism from major publications and literary institutions which mainly based in Jakarta. Whilst Komunitas Seni Intro, a literary community located in Payakumbuh, which was established in 1994 and still continues to function, has programmes to provide creative writing course/training for young people, theatre, and musical poetry performances (*musikalisasi puisi*), public library, and poetry reading competition. This literary club is managed by writers in Payakumbuh and supported by those who have art background who live in the same city.

I have shown that literary clubs can maintain their function with support from other sources of support, for examples from the government, government's owned company, and private companies. SEMI and Intro have a close relationship with the government to run their literary programmes. On the other hand, Krikil Tajam and Taraju tried to explore their capabilities and sources in their activities. Actually, other literary infrastructures can benefit and cooperate with literary clubs as the representation of the literary public. The government can create a partnership to socialise and disseminate their programmes in the field of literature. The publishing houses, as mentioned earlier, can accommodate the result of literary works to be published and promote their books in literary events conducted by literary clubs. In West Sumatra, the literary clubs' activities in the literature include literary events such as poetry reading competition, creative writing workshop, and literary discussion, establishing a library, and publishing activities. The literary clubs have also juxtaposed the literature with people. They become bridges that connect literature with various kinds of activities. The literary clubs also act as an association to gather writers' voices. The members of literary clubs are not only those whose professions as writers, but also those who want to become writers, such as secondary and higher education students, artists from different genres, and literary aficionados in general. Considering

their important position and function, the literary club is always present over periods, with various literary programmes and activities.

The circulation of published literary works by publishers, as the result of creative processes and other literary activities such as writing workshop or competition, is handled by bookstores. The role played by a bookstore in literary work distribution and also literacy-related activities is significant. My focus of study in Chapter 4 primarily laid on the exploration of a bookshop in West Sumatra to see the circulation of published literary works, reader, and the involvement of bookshop in the literacy and literary fields. Based on their business scales, I grouped them into four categories namely local independent bookshop (Sari Anggrek), external chain bookshop (represented by Gramedia), minor bookshop (small bookshop in districts and cities), and itinerant sellers (individual book traders using, private cars and motorbikes).

All of these bookshops provide literary works in various genres, published by national and local publishing houses. However, each bookstore has different priorities and preferences. Sari Anggrek is established by Azhar Muhammad in the early 1960s and aimed to provide reading materials and sources for local people primarily in the fields of Minangkabau's culture, and Islamic teaching. Sari Anggrek accommodates local writers and publishers to sell their books in the store. The owner designated the front shelves for Minangkabau related books, as a symbol to promote local books to the visitors. Gramedia, in contrast to Sari Anggrek, uses its own distribution system that is decided by the central office in Jakarta. With this system, the main books displayed in the store are those published by Gramedia and its group members. Other publishers' books have to fulfil the requirement (i.e. minimum copies of printed books, the number of published titles, and administrative matters) if they want to include their books in the Gramedia chain bookstores. In its Padang bookstore, Gramedia since its first establishment gave space for local writers and publishers to sell their books under an agreement with the manager. However, from 2012 the system was no longer used.

While both major bookstores are located in Padang, the capital city of the West Sumatra province, there are many minor bookshops in smaller towns and districts in West Sumatra. Some of the bookshops of this type are located in the traditional markets and other in permanent buildings nearby traditional markets or bus terminals where people come to shopping and traveling. Besides new books in these bookshops, there are also

used books and pirated books which are sold at cheaper prices. This also implies the profile of readers or consumers of the bookshops in correlation to the book trading geographically, whose consumers choose to buy the pirated books distributed by illegal distributors to avoid the regular line of distributions. The movable booksellers and *taman bacaan* complement the book circulation in West Sumatra. By using a modified car a bookseller in Bukittinggi and Padangpanjang comes to places where people gather such as in the areas of sports competitions, festivals, and street vendors. Another person uses a motorbike to offer books to schools and governmental offices. The *taman bacaan* also played an important role in providing reading materials, mainly popular novels, and comics, to young people. But nowadays most of the book lending collapse because most of the young people turn into the cafeteria and play game stations to spend their leisure time. The bookstores can be used as an indication to understand what kind of literary works is of interest to readers, how many readers and potential readers are available in the place, what literary and book-related events can be offered, and what the strategy is needed to strengthen the growth of the market. The government can also make a necessary policy, such as tax reduction, a regulation that supports the bookstores, literacy campaign, and support for local publishing activities.

In some cases, the literary activities (i.e. competition, workshop, publication, and seminar) are supported by the government through various offices (*dinas*) in provincial and city or town levels. In Chapter 5, I categorised three governmental institutions whose functions are in the fields of art and culture in the province of West Sumatra. The government's institutions working on the arts and cultures are clearly parts of the literary infrastructure, as they are established by the state to provide services through their programmes. The first are centralised government institutions represented by the Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat and Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya. These two institutions are under the direct coordination of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The institutions' programmes are prepared regionally, but are then decided by its ministry in terms of the accepted programmes and financial support. The second category is that of provincial bodies which are represented by the Office of Culture and Tourism, the Office of Education and Culture, and its implementing bodies such as the Cultural Centre (Taman Budaya). These institutions work under the provincial coordination. Their programmes are based on the provincial needs and depend mostly on the provincial budget

to hold arts and cultural agendas. The third is the government-funded institution as shown by the West Sumatran Arts Council (DKSB) and the Centre for Islam and Minangkabau (PPIM). These organisations were established by artists and those who work in the field of culture, with the financial and policy support provided by the provincial government. Additionally, I included the support for literature provided by patrons and private companies and institutions.

The activity of the publishing house is shaped by various elements of literary infrastructure, in particular from the writers, bookstores or distributors and the government. The request for more manuscripts from the publishing house to writers should be responded by writers or literary communities. When the need of literary works is fulfilled, then the publishing house or distributor may distribute the published works to readers or bookstores. In the case of Kristal Multimedia which publishes mainly on the local themes, the role of the government, in particular, the Office of Education could support the publication by distributing the readings into schools or subsidises the price. The cooperation between the publishing houses with the other literary infrastructure such as the government which is also supporting literature can be in many ways. There are many publications conducted and produced by the government offices but in only limited number of copies. The government offices can actually work together with the private publishers to publish their books in more copies and result in strengthening the publishing activities in West Sumatra.

Similarly, the sustainability of publishing houses in West Sumatra depends on the production of manuscripts by local writers as well as from those outside the province. The experience of Kristal Multimedia in inviting local writers to publish their works, especially with local content, but resulting no significant number of manuscripts it receives, shows that it is still less of prestige for writers to publish in local publishers. This fact is supported by the coverage of the published works by major publishers located mostly in Java. The publication of literary communities can also be directed to support the local publishing houses growth. The elaboration on the operation of literary publishing also responded to my research question on the changing, especially in correlation to the decline of the number of publishing houses and literary works published by local publishers. The improvement of other places' literary life and the more attractive benefits from publishers in other places, for example, lead the West Sumatran writers to publish their works in other cities or regions.

The government-funded institutions such as PPIM and DKSB reflected the collaboration between the government and writers, and artists from other genres, in preparing and establishing literary programmes. This form of collaboration between the government and artists with essential job distribution is one of the best practices in literary or art and cultural institution management. Unfortunately, two institutions in this category stopped operating, caused by internal difficulties as shown by the West Sumatran Arts Council (ceased since 2009) and the government and legislative's decision such as what has been experienced by The Centre for Islam and Minangkabau (closed in 2007). As a result, arts and culture, of which literature is a part, have unstable positions under the government policy. In concern to this form of literary institution, there is a need to maintain the existence of institutions such as PPIM and DKSB by the issuance of legal standing by the government and legislative as the basis to a longer cultural policy in the province.

In the implementation, each institution discussed in this thesis has taken different portions and roles in correlation to their contribution to literature in West Sumatra. Meanwhile, there are also similarities in some parts in which they work in the same ways, such as the form of budget contribution provided by the government, businessmen, or individuals. Another example is on the literary events that have been held by various institutions such as the government agencies, literary communities, or private companies. The difference is caused by, among other reasons, the degree of their involvement or familiarity with literature or writers. The literary communities in West Sumatra, for instance, have more deeply involved in the literary field compare to the government and bookstores. This is because literary clubs are mostly initiated by those who have a literary background. In contrast, the government and bookstores are managed by those who have less concern into literary life even though they work, or part of their works is, in the field of literature. While other institutions' managers or leaders have less interaction or familiarity with the literature. On the other hand, literary communities have a limitation in terms of the fund to hold literary activities. In between, the arts and cultural institutions that were funded by the government and managed independently by artists and writers ideally combine the needs of literary programmes and also sufficient fund to make the programmes come into existence.

The centralised government institutions placed in provincial or inter-

provincial levels work differently from the local government's institutions. As their programmes are also decided by, and derived from, the national programmes, they often have less coordination with the related local government's offices. Therefore, most of the programmes are overlapping. While the local government, in provincial or district/city levels, have also implemented their programmes in the field of arts and cultures. I found limited general platform prepared and used by the government as tools and guidance in implementing the arts and cultural programmes by the local government. The main guidance used as the basis of the programmes is laid on the *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* (customary is based on the religion and religion is based on the Koran). This means that all programmes are directed to the achievement in improving public cultural activities based on the *adat* (custom) and *syarak* (Islam).

The publishing houses have connected the literary works from the hand of writers to readers, or from the manuscript into printed and published works. Publishing activities are not only conducted by commercial and well-established publishers but also by literary communities as well as government and a part of programmes of literary events. The institutions which work in the literature related field, such as the government, including the government-funded organisations working in the arts and cultural fields, private organisations, and literary community take parts in the literary development. The establishment of the central and local government agencies, the allocation of the budget by the central and local government and House of Representative for the arts and cultural programmes, the construction of arts facilities, are some examples of the government roles in literature, and cultures in more general fields.

On the other hand, the government also has lack direction in doing its mission. The cease of the West Sumatra Arts Council and the Centre for Islam and Minangkabau which were parts of the government's funded bodies, unfair selection to choose delegation members to attend such festival or literary events, collusion in funding personal cost for certain authors based on personal approaches, or unknown criteria to fund or not to fund such literary events, are examples of the common practices of the government. The literary club empowers the potentials and resources for the literary field from the writers, government, and the public. It fills the gap of the lack support for literature, especially by the limited funding from the government. While the bookstore plays a role in providing the published literary works for the reader, and other literacy and literary

activities. All these components of literary infrastructure constitute the literary life in West Sumatra according to their functions and activities in the literary field. Each component is also interconnected with each other, even though has an essentially different portion of roles, in supporting literature.

In implementing the function in supporting literature, each institution actually connects and complements each other to the similar goals; to improve literature in the area. But, as this study suggested, there are some problems and weaknesses of each component caused by a different characteristic of each component. The continuation of the mentioned literary infrastructures is directed, or hoped, by writers, literary aficionados, government and related parties, to improve and develop the literary field. The improvement and development are commonly used by the government to measure and justify its planned programmes in all fields including culture. However, the grand design of the development programmes can be changed or terminated somewhere in the middle of the implementation. As a result, the temporality and discontinuation of the planned programmes present into being. Based on the study in this thesis, the improvement and temporality become two characteristics of the operation of literary infrastructures in West Sumatra.

The nature of improvement and development is used as the basis for such fields in Indonesia. The term is also spread in the governmental policy and programmes as well as society's initiatives. The improvement can be represented by the budget spending, the quantity of the projects, diversity, and expansion of the programmes. In term of the literary field, the improvement is indicated by the literary achievement (competition, award, prize, publication), the growth of literary communities or organisation, and literary events (seminar, workshop, poetry reading, creative writing competition). The improvement is associated with the comparison of the previous achievement to the following ones.

A key term called *improvement* has appeared throughout this thesis. I found that an urge towards improvement has led the literary activities and writers in West Sumatra to a certain purpose. The concept of improvement can be found in concrete things, such as the published works, the number of literary clubs and their programmes, the rise of the writers, the number of literary events, publishing houses, or readers. It can also be recognized as the achievement of aesthetic quality shown by the

prizes received by West Sumatran writers, the successes in publishing writers' works in prestigious newspapers, magazines, or publishers; or invitation to attend famous literary festivals. The improvement is commonly associated with the *development*. Most of the literary activities are directed to bring literary awareness into a better condition or position in the future. There is always opposition between the older and younger generation which also represents the opposition between the past and the present/future not only in the field of literature, but also in another form of arts and culture. The word development is not only meant as a betterment from the previous periods to the current time, in term of facilities, achievement, a number of new writers, programmes, and activities.

However, the literary development which is underlying the literary infrastructure operation has to deal with another characteristic grounding the infrastructure namely the *temporality*. The establishment of publishing house was only limited to a certain period as shown by Penjiaran Ilmoe or continued by different owners as reflected by Kristal Multimedia. The discontinuity of publishing house then affected change of literary production or publication, including the genre of published work as preferred by the publishers. Many literary communities are short lived. The main reason is that the managers or members of literary communities have to find their personal professions, moving to other places (*merantau*), and for their daily personal needs. There were new literary communities established with different goals, programmes, and strategies to achieve the goals, than previous communities. The number of bookstores decreased as well from time to time. The new means of book trading by using social media and online platform now become more popular. The book display and movement from one *taman bacaan* to another also make the books (literary works) temporarily available in one place and next in other places. The support (policy, programmes, and fund) from the government institutions, private organisations, and patrons, is available irregularly. The temporality is one of the characters of most components discussed in this thesis. It shows a unique character of the literary milieu in West Sumatra, and most probably in Indonesia and Southeast Asia in a wider context.

Each part of the literary infrastructure works independently based on its function but, at the same time, also collectively filling in the gaps in the literary field, and is involved in assisting the continuation of literature in West Sumatra and more widely in the context of modern Indonesian literature. □

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SUMMARY

Literary Infrastructure in West Sumatra, Indonesia

THIS study is about the literary infrastructure in West Sumatra, Indonesia. The components of this infrastructure are: (1) publishing houses, (2) literary clubs, (3) bookstores, used bookstores, and lending libraries (*taman bacaan*), and (4) support provided by government and non-government institutions and individuals. I chose these components to be examined in this study based on their contributions to the literary field in the province, as well as the actual impact of their contributions.

The first two chapters discuss publishing houses in West Sumatra. Chapter 1 explores a publishing house's activities in publishing a literary series during the colonial period in Fort de Kock (now known as Bukittinggi), West Sumatra. The publishing house was Penjiaran Ilmoe (1932-1941) which produced the series called *Roman Pergaoelan*. The publication was well-managed by establishing an editorial board, marketing, distribution, and network among publishers and writers in the province as well as other provinces in Sumatra, Java, and Sulawesi.

Chapter 2 describes the republishing activities of Minangkabau folktales in written form by Kristal Multimedia, a publishing house focusing on themes related to Minangkabau *adat* and culture. This publishing house is the successor of its two earlier family publishing houses with the same interest in Minangkabau local culture. The discussion in this chapter shows that the publishing house is still operating in producing traditional literary works in time of modern Indonesian literature, with a case example in West Sumatra. The publishing activities of oral folktales into written literary works, however, influence the stories' length and structure due to the limited space in printed form. In addition to the narrative issues, the changing medium from oral to printed form also influences the audience profile that is already familiar with the stories in oral form as well as readers in written forms. Traditional stories, including in local languages, are still published by local publishers, read by

students and readers who are interested in customary themes, and explored by writers in modern literature. .

Chapter 3 provides an investigation into literary clubs in West Sumatra. Literary clubs are connecting spaces where writers, readers, and other related literary aficionados to support and enhancing the literary field. There are a number of literary clubs established by the writers and literary activists (newspapers editors) in West Sumatra, especially in the post-Independence era. In this chapter, I investigate four literary clubs namely *Seniman Muda Indonesia* (1947-1955), *Krikil Tajam* (1971-1973, and 1983), *Taraju* (1990-1994), and *Komunitas Seni Intro* (1994-the present). During their establishment, these literary clubs have been participating in publishing literary works, holding writing and poetry reading competition, providing writing workshops, literary festival, and book discussion in West Sumatra. The literary clubs provide the opportunity for public to interact not only in the writing related activities but also in finding means to promote literature in wider ways. Even though literary clubs have played a role in promoting literature, they also face challenges to survive longer. The main difficulties they face are financial resource, management, patronage and strengthening their membership.

Chapter 4 studies bookstores, used bookstores, and *taman bacaan* or lending libraries as media of distribution and circulation of published works. In addition to their prime business in book trading, bookstores and *taman bacaan* have played roles in providing reading materials needed by writers and readers. In this chapter I compare two major bookshops, *Sari Anggrek* which is a local owned bookstore and *Gramedia* as a national chain bookstore. I investigate the management system used in running their business, the competition among them, as well as the common challenges faced by bookshops in the book trade and distribution in the province. I also look at their concern in accommodating published books by local publishers in the stores and their involvement in local literature such as the appreciation (prize and discount) for local writers and readers or by providing book discussions. The major bookshops investigated in this chapter are well established in the capital city. While small vendors and *taman bacaan* are located in the towns and districts' capital city, mostly nearby schools, traditional markets, and bus terminals. These small book vendors and *taman bacaan* have the same function as major bookshops in providing readings for readers living outside the capital city, especially for young readers and students.

Chapter 5 provides a study on institutions that support literature in West Sumatra namely the national and local government, government funded institutions, and private companies working in the literary fields. In this chapter I describe the programmes of the Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat (the Office of Language of West Sumatra) and the Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya (the Office of Cultural Values Preservation) as the national bodies working on the languages, literature, and cultures in provincial levels. The Office of Language has specific duties in the fields of language and literature, consisting of academic activities (research and publication), workshop (creative writing), and literary competition (poetry reading and storytelling). It also publishes literary works as the result of its programmes. For an effectiveness reason in organising the activities, the targeted participants of the office's literary programmes are mainly students of secondary and senior high schools because they are under the same Ministry of Education and Culture. The Office of Cultural Values Preservation has actually a limited number of programmes related to literature. It has published a series of selected literary works written by West Sumatran authors, who were categorized as "maestro." The "maestro" was meant as writers who dedicated their life to the literature shown with important works to the field. The Office provided financial and material aids for arts community including literary clubs.

Another institution that contributes to the literary field in West Sumatra is the local government. It includes the provincial, town, and district governmental offices. The local government provides public funds to subsidy public activities proposed by people and organisations. West Sumatran writers and literary clubs are able to get access to the funds to partially support their works to get publish, to hold literary events, or to cover their travel cost to attend literary events elsewhere. Organizationally, the West Sumatra government has the Office of Cultures that manages the arts and cultural programmes (formerly under the Office of Tourism and Cultures as well as the office of Education and Cultures). In the cultural related programmes, an implementing unit called the *taman budaya* (the cultural centre) works on the arts and cultural fields. It has facilitates literature programmes such as the publishing literary works, establishing literary events (poetry readings, literary festivals, literary discussions) as well as facilitating writers to attend literary festivals outside the province. The local government also established and funded two major organisations namely the West Sumatra Arts Council (1993-2011) and the Centre for Islam and Minangkabau (2001-

2004). In these two organisations, literature has been a part of their concerns with various agendas such as literary publications, festivals, workshops, discussions, and award. In addition, the financial and networking support for writers comes from individuals and companies.

Scholars on Indonesian literature have noted the important place of West Sumatran literature in Indonesia, for instance as shown by the number of writers who have published their works and the editors who have worked in major publishers. I have described how the literary infrastructure operates in West Sumatra, Indonesia. This study has revealed the local literary dynamics in West Sumatra through its main components, which drive and support the literary journey in the field. With its exploration of the West Sumatran literary field, this study shows how many parties –the main actors being publishers, clubs, bookshops, government institutions, and of course writers- support the literary field.□

SAMENVATTING

Literaire infrastructuur in West-Sumatra, Indonesië

DIT proefschrift gaat over de literaire infrastructuur in West-Sumatra, Indonesië. De componenten van deze infrastructuur zijn: (1) uitgeverijen, (2) literatuurclubs, (3) boekwinkels, tweedehands boekenwinkels, uitleenbibliotheken (*taman bacaan*), en (4) steun verleend door de overheid en niet-gouvernementele organisaties en individuen. Ik kies ervoor om de componenten die worden onderzocht in deze studie te baseren op hun bijdragen tot het literaire veld in de provincie en ook op de impact daarvan.

De eerste twee hoofdstukken beschrijven uitgeverijen in West-Sumatra. In hoofdstuk 1 worden de activiteiten van een uitgeverij met betrekking tot het publiceren van een literaire reeks tijdens de koloniale periode in Fort de Kock (tegenwoordig Bukittinggi), West-Sumatra onderzocht. Deze uitgeverij heette Penjiaran Ilmoe (1932-1941) en produceerde de reeks getiteld Roman Pergaoelan. Deze publicatie was goed uitgevoerd onder meer dankzij het oprichten van een redactieraad, de marketing, distributie en het netwerk van uitgeverijen en schrijvers in de provincie en tevens in andere provincies op Sumatra, Java en Sulawesi.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de herpublicatie van volksverhalen uit Minangkabau in geschreven vorm van Kristal Multimedia, een uitgeverij die zich focust op thema's gerelateerd aan de *adat* van Minangkabau en cultuur. Deze uitgeverij is de opvolger van twee eerdere familie-uitgeverijen die dezelfde belangstelling hadden voor de lokale cultuur van Minangkabau. De discussie in dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat de uitgeverij nog steeds actief is en traditionele literaire werken produceert in de huidige tijd, met als voorbeeld West-Sumatra. Het uitgeven van orale volksverhalen in geschreven vorm heeft echter wel invloed op de lengte en de structuur van het verhaal als gevolg van de beperkte ruimte bij de geschreven variant. Behalve gevolgen op het narratieve vlak heeft de verandering van het medium van orale naar geschreven vorm ook effect op het publiek dat al bekend is met de verhalen in mondelingen vorm of

met de lezers van de geschreven variant. Traditionele verhalen, inclusief die in lokale talen, worden nog steeds gepubliceerd door lokale uitgevers, gelezen door studenten en lezers die geïnteresseerd zijn in de verschillende thema's en worden verder onderzocht door schrijvers van moderne literatuur.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft inzicht in de literatuurclubs in West-Sumatra. Literatuurclubs zijn plaatsen voor contactvorming waar schrijvers, lezers en andere literaire aficionado's het literaire veld steunen en verbeteren. Er is een aantal literatuurclubs opgericht door schrijvers en literaire activisten (krantenredacteuren) in West-Sumatra, in het bijzonder in de postkoloniale periode. In dit hoofdstuk behandel ik vier literatuurclubs, namelijk Seniman Muda Indonesia (1947-1955), Krikil Tajam (1971-1973 en 1983), Taraju (1990-1994) en Komunitas Seni Intro (1994-heden). Tijdens hun actieve periode hebben deze clubs deelgenomen aan het uitgeven van literaire werken, het organiseren van schrijf- en leeswedstrijden van poëzie, het organiseren van schrijfworkshops, literaire festivals en boekdiscussies in West-Sumatra. De literatuurclubs geven niet alleen de mogelijkheid voor interactie onder het publiek met betrekking tot het schrijven zelf, maar dienen ook om literatuur op andere manieren te promoten. Hoewel literatuurclubs een rol hebben gespeeld in het promoten van literatuur ondervinden zij ook moeilijkheden om te blijven bestaan op de lange termijn. De belangrijkste problemen waar zij mee te maken hebben zijn financiële middelen, management, patronage en het op peil houden van het ledenaantal.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt boekhandels, tweedehands boekenwinkels en *taman bacaan* of uitleenbibliotheken als media voor de distributie en circulatie van gedrukte werken. Naast de belangrijkste taak van boekhandels en *taman bacaan*, namelijk in de handel van boeken, hebben zij ook een rol gespeeld in het beschikbaar maken van leesmateriaal dat nodig is voor schrijvers en lezers. In dit hoofdstuk vergelijk ik twee grote boekhandels. Sari Anggrek is een lokale boekhandel en Gramedia is een grote nationale keten. Ik behandel aan de hand van het management hoe het bedrijf beheerd wordt, de concurrentie en de gezamenlijke problemen waarmee boekwinkels te maken hebben op het gebied van de handel en distributie in de provincie. Ik kijk ook naar de problematiek die zij ondervinden bij het onderbrengen van gedrukte werken van lokale uitgevers in de winkels en hun betrokkenheid bij de lokale literatuur in

de vorm van blijken van waardering (in de vorm van prijzen en kortingen) voor lokale schrijvers en lezers en het organiseren van boekdiscussies. De grote boekhandels onderzocht in dit hoofdstuk zijn goed vertegenwoordigd in de hoofdstad. Kleinere winkels en *taman bacaan* zijn meer te vinden in dorpen en kleinere steden, vaak dichtbij scholen, traditionele markten en bushaltes. Deze kleine boekwinkels en *taman bacaan* spelen dezelfde rol als de grotere boekhandels bij het beschikbaar maken van leesmateriaal voor lezers buiten de hoofdstad, met name voor jongere lezers en studenten.

Hoofdstuk 5 gaat over de instituties die literatuur ondersteunen in West-Sumatra, met name de nationale en de lokale overheid, door de overheid gefinancierde instellingen en particuliere bedrijven die werkzaam zijn in het literaire veld. In dit hoofdstuk beschrijf ik de programma's van de Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat (Bureau voor Taal in West-Sumatra) en de Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya (Bureau voor het Behoud van Culturele Waarden) als nationale organisaties met betrekking tot taal, literatuur en cultuur in de provincies. Het Bureau voor Taal heeft specifieke taken op het vlak van taal en literatuur, bestaande uit academische activiteiten (onderzoek en publicatie), workshops (creatief schrijven) en literaire wedstrijden (poëzie lezen en verhalen vertellen). Ook publiceert het literaire werken die voortkomen uit deze programma's. Om de effectiviteit van de activiteiten te waarborgen, bestaat de doelgroep van deze programma's voornamelijk uit middelbare scholieren, omdat zij onder hetzelfde Ministerie van Onderwijs en Cultuur vallen. Het Bureau voor het Behoud van Culturele Waarden heeft echter maar een klein aantal programma's gerelateerd aan literatuur. Het Bureau heeft een reeks van geselecteerde literaire werken geschreven door West-Sumatraanse auteurs uitgegeven, die zijn gecategoriseerd als "maestro's". Als "maestro" worden schrijvers aangeduid die hun leven hebben gewijd aan de literatuur en belangrijke literaire werken hebben geproduceerd. Dit Bureau verschaft financiële en materiële hulp voor deze gemeenschap van de kunsten, inclusief literatuurclubs.

Een andere instantie die bijdraagt aan het literaire veld in West-Sumatra is de lokale overheid. Dit omvat tevens de provinciale, dorps- en districtskantoren. De lokale overheid geeft publieke fondsen als subsidie voor publieke evenementen die worden voorgedragen door individuen en organisaties. West-Sumatraanse schrijvers en literatuurclubs kunnen toegang te krijgen tot deze fondsen om publicatie van hun werken

gedeeltelijk vergoed te krijgen, om literaire evenementen te organiseren of om reiskosten voor het bijwonen van literaire evenementen elders te vergoeden. Organisatorisch gezien heeft de West-Sumatraanse overheid het Bureau voor Cultuur dat kunstzinnige en culturele programma's beheerd (formeel onder het Bureau van Toerisme en Cultuur en het Bureau voor Onderwijs en Cultuur). Voor de cultureel gerelateerde programma's is een uitvoerende eenheid werkzaam, genaamd *taman budaya* (het cultureel centrum), op het gebied van kunst en cultuur. Dit heeft literaire programma's gefaciliteerd zoals het publiceren van literaire werken, het opzetten van literaire evenementen (het voordragen van poëzie, literatuurfestivals en literatueurdiscussies) en tevens schrijvers gefaciliteerd om literaire evenementen bij te wonen buiten de eigen provincie. De lokale overheid heeft ook twee grote organisaties opgericht en gesponsord, namelijk de West-Sumatraanse Kunstraad (1993-2011) en het Centrum voor Islam en Minangkabau (2001-2004). In deze twee organisaties is literatuur een belangrijk onderdeel van de agenda en onderwerpen zoals literaire publicaties, festivals, workshops, discussies en onderscheidingen worden besproken. Bovendien is de financiële steun en het netwerk voor schrijvers afkomstig van individuen en bedrijven.

Onderzoekers van Indonesische literatuur hebben de belangrijke plaats van West-Sumatraanse literatuur in Indonesië opgemerkt. Een voorbeeld hiervan is het aantal schrijvers dat hun werken gepubliceerd heeft en de redacteurs die voor belangrijke uitgeverijen hebben gewerkt. Ik heb beschreven hoe de literaire infrastructuur werkt in West-Sumatra, Indonesië. Deze studie heeft de lokale literaire dynamiek in West-Sumatra onthuld aan de hand van de belangrijkste componenten, welke de literaire ontwikkelingen binnen het veld ondersteunen. Met het onderzoek van het West-Sumatraanse literaire veld heeft deze studie aangetoond hoe de belangrijkste spelers – uitgeverijen, clubs, boekhandelaren, overheidsinstellingen en natuurlijk de schrijvers – het literaire veld dragen.

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RINGKASAN

Infrastruktur Sastra di Sumatera Barat, Indonesia

KAJIAN ini mengenai infrastruktur sastra di Sumatera Barat, Indonesia. Komponen dari infrastruktur ini adalah: (1) penerbit, (2) komunitas sastra, (3) toko buku, toko buku bekas, dan taman bacaan, dan (4) dukungan yang disediakan oleh lembaga pemerintah dan non-pemerintah dan pribadi-pribadi. Saya memilih komponen ini untuk diuji dalam kajian ini berdasarkan pada sumbangan mereka pada medan sastra di Provinsi Sumatera Barat, dan juga pada dampak nyata dari sumbangan tersebut.

Dua bab pertama mendiskusikan penerbit di Sumatera Barat. Bab 1 mengupas aktivitas penerbit dalam menerbitkan serial sastra selama masa penjajahan di Fort de Kock (sekarang Bukittinggi), Sumatera Barat. Penerbit tersebut adalah Penjiaran Ilmoe (1932-1941) yang menghasilkan serial bertajuk Roman Pergaoelan. Penerbitan tersebut dikelola dengan baik dengan membentuk dewan redaksi, pemasaran, distribusi, dan jaringan di antara penerbit dan penulis di provinsi ini dan juga di provinsi lain seperti di Sumatera, Jawa, dan Sulawesi.

Bab 2 mendeskripsikan aktivitas penerbitan ulang cerita rakyat Minangkabau dalam bentuk tertulis oleh Kristal Multimedia, sebuah penerbit yang memiliki fokus pada tema-tema terkait adat dan budaya Minangkabau. Penerbit ini merupakan penerus dari dua penerbit berbasis keluarga yang memiliki kertertarikan yang sama pada budaya Minangkabau. Diskusi pada bab ini memperlihatkan bahwa penerbit masih beroperasi dalam menghasilkan karya sastra tradisional pada masa kesusasteraan modern Indonesia, dengan contoh kasus di Sumatera Barat. Kegiatan penerbitan cerita rakyat berbentuk lisan, bagaimanapun juga, memengaruhi alur dan struktur cerita karena keterbatasan ruang dalam bentuk cetakan. Sebagai tambahan yang terkait dengan perihal penceritaan, perubahan medium dari lisan ke bentuk cetakan juga mempengaruhi profil khalayak yang sudah akrab dengan cerita dalam bentuk lisan dan pembaca dalam bentuk tertulis. Cerita tradisional,

termasuk dalam bahasa daerah, masih diterbitkan oleh penerbit lokal, dibaca oleh pelajar dan pembaca yang tertarik dengan tema-tema adat, dan diolah oleh penulis dalam sastra modern.

Bab 3 menyediakan penyelidikan pada komunitas sastra di Sumatera Barat. Komunitas sastra merupakan ruang penghubung di mana penulis, pembaca, dan pencinta sastra mendukung dan memperkuat medan sastra. Terdapat sejumlah komunitas sastra yang didirikan oleh penulis dan aktivis sastra (editor surat kabar) di Sumatera Barat, khususnya pada masa setelah kemerdekaan Indonesia. Pada bab ini, saya menyelidiki empat komunitas sastra bernama Seniman Muda Indonesia (1947-1955), Krikil Tajam (1971-1973, dan 1983), Taraju (1990-1994), dan Komunitas Seni Intro (1994-sekarang). Selama keberadaan mereka, komunitas sastra ini telah ikut serta dalam penerbitan karya sastra, menyelenggarakan lomba penulisan dan pembacaan puisi, menyediakan latihan kepenulisan, festival sastra, dan diskusi buku di Sumatera Barat. Komunitas sastra menyediakan kesempatan pada khalayak untuk berinteraksi tidak hanya dalam kegiatan terkait kepenulisan, namun juga dalam mencari cara untuk mengenalkan sastra dengan cara yang lebih luas. Meskipun komunitas sastra telah memainkan peran dalam mempromosikan sastra, mereka juga menghadapi tantangan untuk bertahan lebih lama. Kesulitan utama yang mereka hadapi adalah sumber pendanaan, pengelolaan, patronase, dan memperkuat keanggotaan.

Bab 4 mengkaji toko buku, toko buku bekas, dan taman bacaan sebagai media distribusi dan sirkulasi karya sastra yang diterbitkan. Sebagai tambahan dari usaha utama mereka dalam penjualan buku, toko buku dan taman bacaan memainkan peran dalam menyediakan bahan bacaan yang diperlukan oleh penulis dan pembaca. Pada bab ini saya membandingkan dua toko buku utama, Sari Anggrek yang merupakan toko buku yang dimiliki oleh pengusaha lokal dan Gramedia sebagai sebuah jaringan buku nasional. Saya menyelidiki sistem pengelolaan yang digunakan dalam menjalankan usaha mereka, persaingan di antara mereka, dan juga tantangan bersama yang dihadapi oleh tokoh buku dalam penjualan dan distribusi buku di Provinsi Sumatera Barat. Saya juga melihat pada perhatian mereka dalam mewadahi buku-buku yang diterbitkan oleh penerbit lokal dan keterlibatan mereka dalam sastra di tingkat lokal seperti dalam penyediaan apresiasi (hadiah dan rabat) bagi penulis dan pembaca lokal atau dengan menyediakan diskusi buku. Toko

buku besar yang dikaji dalam bab ini dijalankan dengan baik ibu kota provinsi. Sementara toko kecil dan taman bacaan berlokasi di ibu kota kabupaten dan kotamadya, kebanyakan di dekat sekolah, pasar tradisional, dan terminal bus. Toko buku kecil dan taman bacaan memiliki fungsi yang sama seperti halnya toko buku besar dalam menyediakan bahan bacaan bagi pembaca yang tinggal di luar ibu kota provinsi, khususnya bagi pembaca muda dan pelajar.

Bab 5 menyediakan sebuah kajian tentang lembaga-lembaga yang mendukung kesusasteraan di Sumatera Barat yaitu pemerintah nasional dan lokal, lembaga yang didanai oleh pemerintah, dan perusahaan swasta yang bekerja dalam medan sastra. Dalam bab ini saya menjelaskan program-program Balai Bahasa Sumatera Barat dan Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya sebagai lembaga pemerintah nasional yang bekerja lapangan bahasa, sastra, dan budaya dalam tingkat provinsi. Balai Bahasa memiliki tugas khusus dalam bidang bahasa dan sastra, yang terdiri dari kegiatan akademik (penelitian dan penerbitan), pelatihan (penulisan kreatif), dan perlombaan sastra (pembacaan puisi dan mendongeng). Balai Bahasa juga menerbitkan karya sastra sebagai hasil dari kegiatannya. Untuk alasan efektivitas dalam mengatur kegiatannya, sasaran utama peserta dari kegiatan sastra adalah para pelajar sekolah menengah dan atas karena berada dalam kementerian yang sama yaitu Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya sebenarnya memiliki program yang terbatas terkait dengan kesusasteraan. Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya telah menerbitkan serial karya-karya sastra terpilih yang ditulis oleh pengarang Sumatera Barat, yang dikategorikan sebagai “maestro.” “Maestro” dimaknai sebagai penulis yang mendedikasikan hidup mereka pada kesusasteraan yang diperlihatkan dengan karya-karya penting di bidang ini. Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya menyediakan bantuan keuangan dan peralatan bagi komunitas seni termasuk komunitas sastra.

Lembaga lain yang memberikan sumbangan pada medan sastra di Sumatera Barat adalah pemerintah daerah. Termasuk di dalamnya adalah pemerintah provinsi, kota, dan kabupaten. Pemerintah daerah menyediakan dana publik untuk menyubsidi kegiatan-kegiatan umum yang diajukan oleh masyarakat dan organisasi kemasyarakatan. Para penulis dan komunitas sastra di Sumatera Barat dapat memperoleh dana tersebut yang sebagiannya untuk mendukung karya-karya mereka

diterbitkan, untuk mengadakan kegiatan sastra, atau menutupi biaya perjalanan untuk menghadiri kegiatan sastra di tempat lain. Secara organisasi, pemerintah daerah Sumatera Barat memiliki dinas kebudayaan yang mengelola program seni dan budaya (sebelumnya berada di bawah Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan dan juga Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan). Dalam program yang terkait dengan kebudayaan, sebuah unit pelaksana teknis yang bernama taman budaya bekerja dalam bidang seni dan budaya. Taman budaya telah memfasilitasi program sastra seperti penerbitan karya sastra, mengadakan kegiatan sastra (pembacaan puisi, festival sastra, diskusi sastra) dan memfasilitasi para penulis untuk menghadiri festival sastra di luar provinsi Sumatera Barat. Pemerintah daerah juga mendirikan dan membiayai dua organisasi utama, yaitu Dewan Kesenian Sumatera Barat (1993-2011) dan Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau (2001-2004). Pada dua organisasi ini, kesusasteraan menjadi bagian dari perhatian mereka dengan sejumlah agenda kegiatan seperti penerbitan, festival, pelatihan, diskusi, dan penghargaan sastra. Sebagai tambahan, dukungan keuangan dan jaringan kepada para penulis juga datang dari pribadi-pribadi dan perusahaan-perusahaan.

Para ahli sastra Indonesia telah mencatat tempat penting kesusasteraan Sumatera Barat di Indonesia, misalnya ditunjukkan oleh jumlah penulis yang menerbitkan karya mereka dan para editor yang bekerja di penerbit-penerbit utama. Saya telah menjelaskan bagaimana infrastruktur sastra bekerja di Sumatera Barat, Indonesia. Kajian ini telah mengungkap dinamika lokal kesusasteraan di Sumatera Barat melalui komponen-komponen utamanya, yang mendorong dan mendukung perjalanan sastra di lapangan. Dengan penjelajahan medan sastra Sumatera Barat tersebut, kajian ini menunjukkan bagaimana pihak-pihak –pelaku utama seperti penerbit, komunitas, toko buku, lembaga pemerintah, dan tentu saja para penulis, mendukung medan sastra tersebut. □

CURRICULUM VITAE

SUDARMOKO was born in Yogyakarta, 17 June 1975. He completed his primary school at Sekolah Dasar Budi Setia in 1988 and junior high school at Madrasah Tsanawiyah Koto Baru in 1991, both in Pasaman, West Sumatra. He finished his senior high school at Madrasah Aliyah Negeri II Yogyakarta in 1994. His bachelor degree in Indonesian literature was obtained from Andalas University (2001) and masters degree from the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Leiden University (2005). During 2008-2011, he was a visiting lecturer at the Department of Malay-Indonesia Interpretation and Translation, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Yongin campus, South Korea. Since 2006, he is a lecturer at the Department of Indonesian Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Andalas University, Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia. He has published several books and articles on the history of Indonesian literature, oral literature, cultural policy, and publishing studies. In 2013 he began his doctoral research at the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies, with a scholarship from the Directorate of Higher Education, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, in cooperation with Leiden University. □