

Sumbang Duo Baleh: Education-Valued Expression for Minangkabau Women

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses issues related to traditional expressions used by the Minangkabau people in educating their women. The expression is *sumbang duo baleh*, which is an expression that are loaded with the values of local content education. The emphasis is on women, because the problem of women with all their dynamics, is always interesting to be discussed by the Minangkabau people. That is because the Minangkabau people place women as (very) special. These virtues can be seen from several things, for example: (1) determination of lineage according to maternal lineage (matriarchy) and (2) heritance that goes straight to women. Because of this very special position, the demands on Minangkabau women are also high. Minangkabau custom gives certain restrictions and demands to Minangkabau women. These restrictions and demands are included in a traditional expression that is loaded with educational values, which is the *sumbang duo baleh*. With this expression, Minangkabau women are educated and instructed so that they are able to live their lives as privileged people.

Keywords: *Sumbang duo baleh, Educational expression, Minangkabau women*

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of science and information technology which is increasingly rapid causing the world increasingly "narrowed". In such conditions, cultural acculturation takes place quickly. The cultural contact and interconnection caused a shift in thought, attitudes, and behavior patterns. What was once considered a taboo, now it has become a hobby. Things that used to be proclaimed have now become habits. Not infrequently these shifts cause problems, which even prolonged.

Shifts and changes as a result of the narrowing of the world, also experienced by Minangkabau women, which is a figure that is so glorified by their customs. At present, there are many Minangkabau women who lack thought, and behave as real Minangkabau women. They are less militant with their minangkabau femininity. It can be observed from the way they talk, dress, get along, ethical, and so forth

Observing various deviant behaviors, Minangkabau people have their own way of preventing it. In this connection, the term "*sumbang*" appears, to be exact *sumbang duo baleh*. Through various aspects contained in the *sumbang duo baleh*, the Minangkabau people educate their women (especially their daughters), so they deserve to be respected and glorified.

In connection with the above, this paper tries to describe *sumbang duo baleh* as an educational nuance for Minangkabau women. The description of the material in this paper is more focused on (1) the nature of Minangkabau women, (2) the nature of *sumbang duo baleh*, (3) the dimensions of *sumbang duo baleh*, and (4)

the educational values found in *sumbang duo baleh*. Hopefully all the material discussed can be part of a trigger for cultural intelligence, as well as cultural wisdom. Above all, it should be useful knowledge, Aamiin.

2. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Women in Minangkabau traditional views

The existence of Indonesian culture cannot be separated from the existence of the reins of culture (the number is around 1,025) in about 500 ethnic groups that inhabit around 17,504 islands. This was conveyed by Sutrina Wibawo during the International Conference on Culture at Aerotel Smile, Makassar 18 September 2017. Minangkabau was one of the ethnic groups that had a strong contribution to the Indonesian nationalism.

Talking about Minangkabau is not so "exciting" if it is not mentioned about the women (*padusi*). That is because one of the unique culture of the Minangkabau is the customary treatment that privileges the women. Not only from a moral standpoint, but also from the material aspect, the Minangkabau *padusi* was so benefited. Minangkabau women are glorified because they will answer *warih sako* and *warih pusako*.

In Minangkabau, if a family does not have a daughter, then the family is considered a family that "killed" offspring. *Mamak* or *datuak* as the leader of the people will be very concerned about this (compare with families from the *Batak* tribe who do not have sons). Families that do not have daughters are considered as families who are unable to give birth to future generations who will answer the inheritance (heirlooms and tribes). In this condition, the descendants will die, the tribes will disappear, and

inheritance will be switched. Everything that has been attempted by the predecessors (*ninik-mamak*) will be in vain and switch to the hands of others. How painful.

From a moral standpoint, the honor and dignity of the Minangkabau women are protected by every member of their people, even by other people. Minangkabau women will not be allowed to be despicable. The pain, joy, humiliation, and shame of a woman will be felt by her people, her people will not let them be reproached and do misconduct. For her people, the honor of women (*bundo kanduang*) is everything and must be defended in any way. This special respect and customary treatment of Minangkabau women is one of the main characteristics of Minangkabau culture. This is rare in other cultures. Even if there is, the dynamics of the award are not the same and members of the population are not large, even endangered. The marital system or maternal lineage (matriarchy or matrilineal) according to Malinowski in Kemal [1] also exists in Africa (Northern Rhodesia), South India (parts of Bengalore), and in the Trobriana Islands (East of Irian Island).

In connection with the glory above, Parpatiah [2] describes the situation as follows:

Di Minangkabau, padusi dituah dimuliakan. Bangso diambiak dari padusi. Nyampang tiado anak padusi, alamaik putuih katurunan, Punah suku datuak tabanam harato bapindah katangan urang. Sabek sawah ladang, hutan jo gurun, rumah gadang, lumbuang bapereang, warihnyo kapadusi.

Although Minangkabau women get special treatment, they cannot do as they please. It is precisely this treatment that makes so many rules and manners that they must fulfill. Minangkabau women must be aware of the privileges given to them so they must act, speak, and think according to their glory. Behavior, language, shame, and manners are indicators that are often used as a reference for the glory.

B. Sumbang Expression and Minangkabau Women

The glory received by Minangkabau women is directly proportional to the demands that must be fulfilled. They must be like "this" or should not be like "that". This or that measurement refers to the prevailing norms. That is, all the thoughts, attitudes, and behavior of Minangkabau women must be in line with customary norms in force, namely Minangkabau tribal customs.

Minangkabau women must always solidify themselves in accordance with the glory given to them. For all to be realized, they must be well educated and instructed. Using traditional expression as an educational tool is one thing that can be done. The intended expression is the oral tradition *sumbang duo baleh*.

The expression of oral tradition (*sumbang duo baleh*) is one of the socio-cultural dimensions that cannot be separated in the life of the Minangkabau people. Inside it is stored a variety of local wisdom that is always in accordance with the context. As a source of local wisdom,

oral tradition (*sumbang duo baleh*) has made a significant contribution to a better life. Therefore, its existence needs to be maintained and inherited.

What is meant by *sumbang* is anything (thoughts, attitudes, or behaviors) that is not appropriate. The level isn't severe yet. the percentage is (maybe) ranges from 30% - 40% or 50% - 60%. This means, something that is not appropriate can not be considered as something wrong, or fatal, even though its existence is quite disheartening. It's uncomfortable to see or hear it. Minangkabau people often call it *jangga*, or *cando*. Usually, this *sumbang* is expressed in terms of which have been directed. That is why *sumbang* is considered as a form of oral tradition of the Minangkabau people.

The focus of *sumbang* is on Minangkabau women and intended to educate them. This is because the contents are advice, reprimands, or warnings about something inappropriate. Things that are considered *sumbang* and must be shunned by Minangkabau women are (1) *duduak*, (2) *tagak*, (3) *jalan*, (4) *kato*, (5) *caliak*, (6) *makan*, (7) *pakai*, (8) *karajo*, (9) *tanyo*, (10) *jawek*, (11) *gaua*, and (12) *kurenahsumbang*. These twelve points are usually expressed with certain advice that is full of meaning. The following will describe the phrases that considered *sumbang* for Minangkabau women [2].

1. **Sumbang Duduak.** *Sumbang Duduak* are the norms that bind Minangkabau women when they sit. The norms are stated by following expression *Duduak sopan bagi padusi iolah basimpuah, bukan baselo co laki-laki, apo lai mancangkuang, batagak lutuik. Nyampang duduak di kurisi, bae manyampiang, rapekan pao arek-arek. Jikok bagonceang, usah mangkangkang abih-abih, manjajokan dicaliak urang.*
2. **Sumbang Tagak.** *Sumbang tagak* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they stand. The norms are stated by following expression *Usah panagak tantang pintu atau janjang turun naiak. Ijan panagak ditapi labuah kalau ndak ado nan dinanti. Sumbang tagak jo laki-laki apo lai bukan muhlim, kunun lai barundiang-rundiang.*
3. **Sumbang Jalan.** *Sumbang jalan* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they walk. The norms are stated by following expression *Bajalan musti bakawan, paliang kurang jo paja ketek. Usah bajalan bagageh-gageh, malasau, mandongkak-dongkak Bajalanlah bak siaganjua lalai, pado pai suruik nan labiah. Alu tataruang pantangnyo patah, samuik tapijak indak nan mati. jikok bajalan jo laki-laki, malangkahlah di balakang. Usah maampang jalan waktu bajalan sasamo gadang.*
4. **Sumbang kato.** *Sumbang kato* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they talk or in an assembly. The norms are stated by following expression *Bakatolah jo lamah lambuik. Duduakan hetong ciek-ciek nak paham*

mukasui knyo. Ijan barundi ang bak murai batu, bak aia sarasah tajun. Jan menyolang kato rang tuo, dangakan dulu sudah-sudah. Jan manyabuik kumuah wakatu makan, manyabuik mati dakek sisakik. Kurang elok, indak tapuji maminta utang di nan rami.

5. **Sumbang Caliak.** *Sumbang caliak* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they see. The norms are stated by following expression *Kurang taratik urang padusi, pamana pancaliak jauh, pamadok arah balakang, pamatuik diri surang. Nyampang pai ka rumah urang, pajinak inceh mato, jan malanja sapanjang rumah. Usah pancaliak jam, wakatu ado tamu. Ijan panantang mato rang jantan, aliahan pandangan ka nan lain, manakua caliak ka bawah.*
6. **Sumbang Makan.** *Sumbang makan* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they eat. The norms are stated by following expression *Usah makan sambia tagak, kunyah kenyoh sapanjang jalan. Nyampang makan jo tangan, ganggam nasi jo ujuang jari, bao ka ateh lambek-lambek, usah mangango gadang-gadang. Nyampang makan jo sendok, agak-agak malah dahulu, nak jan balago sendok jo gigi. Ingekingek dalam batambuh, kana-kana manyudahi.*
7. **Sumbang Pakai.** *Sumbang pakai* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they wear something. The norms are stated by following expression *Jan babaju sampik jo jarang, buliah ndak nampak rasio tubuah, apo lai tasimbah ateh bawah nan ka tontonan rang laki-laki. Satantang mode jo potongan, sasuaikan jo bantuak tubuah, sarasikan jo rono kulik, sarato mukasuik ka di tuju, buliah nak sajuak dipandang mato.*
8. **Sumbang Karajo.** *Sumbang karajo* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they work on something. The norms are stated by following expression *Kakok karajo rang padusi iolah nan ringan jo nan alui, sarato indak rumik-rumik. Cando padusi mambajak sawah, manabang, jo mamanjek. Jikok ka kantua, nan rancak iyo jadi guru.*
9. **Sumbang Tanyo.** *Sumbang tanyo* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they ask something. The norms are stated by following expression *Barundi ang sasudah makan, batanyo salapeh arak. Sangeklah cando, tanyo tibo ikua di ateh. kasa Usah batanyo di indak mambali. Nyampang tasasek karantau urang ijan batanyo bakandak-kandak. Buruak muncuang dijawek urang, cilako juo kasudahannyo. Simak dulu dalam-dalam, baru tanyo jaleh-jaleh.*
10. **Sumbang Jawek.** *Sumbang jawek* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they answer a question. The norms are stated by following expression *Jaweklah tanyo elok-elok, usah mangandang mamburansang. Jan asa tanyo bajawek, kunun kok lai bakulilik.*

11. **Sumbang Bagaua.** *Sumbang bagaua* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they socialize. The norms are stated by following expression *Usah bagaua jo laki-laki kalau awak surang padusi. Jan bagaua jo paja ketek, main kalereang jo sepak tekong, kunun kok lai semba lakon. Paliharo lidah dalam bagaua, ikhlas-iklas dalam manolong, nak sanang kawan ka awak.*
12. **Sumbang Kurenah.** *Sumbang kurenah* are the norms that binds Minangkabau women when they do something inappropriate. The norms are stated by following expression *Indaklah elok babisiak sadang basamo. Usah manutuik hiduang di nan rami, urang jatuah awak tagalak, galak gadang nan bakarikiakan. Bueklah garah nan sakadarnyo, buliah ndak tasingguang urang mandanga. Jikok mambali durian, usah kuliknyo ka laman urang. Paliharo diri dari talunjuak luruih kalingkiang bakaik, nan bak musang babulu ayam*

C. Educational values on Expressions about *Sumbang*

The twelve *Sumbang* expressions above, all of them contain educational values. If summarized, the educational values that can be drawn from these expressions are as follows:

1. Instill awareness to all Minangkabau women that in this life there are things that are inappropriate. Even though it was only at the distorted stage, it must be avoided. This awareness also functions as an anticipation, so that every behavior of the Minangkabau woman's life is always acceptable (*katuju dek urang*). All of that is in the context of carrying out the customary glory given to them.
2. Instill values of appreciation or mutual respect. The Minangkabau women must be able to respect themselves with all the glory pinned to them. However, the Minangkabau women must be good at being grateful and appreciating the existence of her body (*aurat*). The *Aurat* must be maintained, because it can bring blemish. In this regard, *sumbangpakai* has led to being an honorable woman. The Minangkabau women design the Kuruang clothes as a perfect outfit to appreciate their body. The same award must also be given to the people around them, for example close relatives. Therefore, Minangkabau women must be good at asking and answering questions, being kind to others, and being able to adjust to the conditions around them. If the Minangkabau women does not have this mutual respect, then they will be left out in their social life and became material for people's rumor.
3. Instill values of protection or mutual protection. Minangkabau women must be able to protect themselves from things that can bring humiliation. Protection can be in the form of paying attention to how to dress, how to get along, how to talk, and how to behave. Protecting *aurat* is the main thing, because it can be seen

and bring up male bad intentions. Speech and behavior must also be considered, because it can make other people offended. This will be even worse if the offended person takes revenge that can be harmful. This skill of self-protection is a manifestation of the attitude of *ingek sabalun kanai, pinteh sabaln hanyuik*. Or cautious and anticipatory attitude.

4. Instill shame values. Shame must be the "clothes" of every Minangkabau woman. they must be ashamed if every act and thought is not in accordance with customs, out of line and inappropriate. Therefore, Minangkabau women must be able to put things in their place. Everything must be treated fairly, *bak pinang pulang ka tampak, cando siriah baliak ka gagang*. If this very natural order is violated, there will be a *jangga*, the result is shame. This shame and disgrace will not only be felt by him, but also by his people. In order not to be embarrassed, the cause of the shame must be avoided.
5. Instill ethics in how to get along or socialize. *Sasakik, sasanang, saiyo sakato* are one of the Minangkabau philosophies in socializing. They have to be *saciok bak ayam, sadancıang bak basi* in every way. In order to be realized, a good friendship must be owned by Minangkabau women. Speech and *Kurenah* are things that must be considered. Listen to what your friends say, then give feed back wisely and gently. Be smart at choosing friends, because friends can lead us to things that are useful or harmful.
6. Instill values of respect. Respect is a highly commendable trait. This trait must be possessed by Minangkabau women in every dynamic of their lives. Respecting others means respecting yourself. That respect must always be cultivated. It can be nurtured by minimizing things that are inappropriate, both less appropriate to oneself, or to others, especially to parents. *Kato nan ampek (kato mandaki, kato manurun, kator mandata, and kato malereang)* is a form of language behavior that has the meaning of mutual respect.
7. Instilling the values of language ethics. Minangkabau women must have courtesy in speaking. this courtesy is one of the "great clothes" of Minangkabau women (*budi baiak baso katuju*). In order to be realized, all of the *sumbang* must be avoided, especially *sumbang bicara* and *sumbang kurenah*.

By not eliminating other examples, if you look more closely, the seven examples above are pursed at one point, that is courtesy. Courtesy is the main "clothing" of the Minangkabau people. It is implemented in four forms of rules, namely: gentility, language, shame, and polite. This virtuous behavior will make someone *berkahlakul-karimah*. Minangkabau rhyme very well expressed it with

*Nan kuriak lundi
Nan merah sago
Nan baiak budi
Nan indah baso*

by having the values stated above it is hoped that Minangkabau women can maintain their privileges as heirs to a unique matrilineal culture, namely Minangkabau culture.

D. Educate so as not to be *Sumbang*

Sumbang is something that is inappropriate and needs to be avoided, it does not need to be disputed. There are so many lessons that can be drawn from things that are *jangga* or *cando* and need not to be questioned. Perhaps what needs to be considered is how is the Minangkabau culture educating its women so as not to act *Sumbang*

So far, in general, the education process according to Minangkabau custom is to learn from the nature "*alam takambang jadi guru*". Many wise words of Minangkabau provide information that nature is very meaningful as a medium for learning. From nature and with nature the Minangkabau people learn, exercise, feel, and intent, so that the points of knowledge and values are obtained as provisions for their lives.

The education process can be done in the form of exemplary, deliberation, advice, and others. Exemplary is anything that is worth emulating. Exemplary can be in the form of actions, thoughts, knowledge, attitudes, emotional maturity, ways of socializing, skills, and others. Actually anyone can be emulated. However, the emphasis is on community leaders, for example: *ninik mamak, alim ulama, cadiak pandai, and bundo kanduang*. These people are customary choices. Therefore, they must be able to be an example in various ways. If not, then the statement "*tungkek mambao rabah, paga makan tanaman*" will stick to them. So far this exemplary is an effective way of implementing the education process. *Caliak contoh ka nan sudah, caliak tuah ka nan manang*. This statement is an attitude that *ndak lapuak dek hujan, ndak lakang dek paneh*. By showing this exemplary, it is hoped that the Minangkabau women will be able to enrich themselves with various sciences and religion, so that they will not have difficulties facing their lives

Deliberation or exchange of ideas can also be used as a way of carrying out the education process. This deliberation is carried out to find something that is considered true, because truth is something of high value and can be used anywhere and anytime. The truth that is essential in the Minangkabau traditional view is the truth that comes from Allah. In customary practice, this is stated by *kamanakan barajo ka mamak, mamak barajo ka pangulu, pangulu barajo ka nan bana, bana nan tagak sandirinyo*. In deliberation process *sumbang tanyo* dan *sumbang jawek* must be avoided, including *sumbang kurenah*. Justified *basilang kayu di tungku disitu mako api ka iduik*, in deliberation. However, the disagreement remained in the corridor of *kapalo paneh di hati dingin, buah raso baik mandaki, buah pareso baik manurun*. All the disagreements in deliberation are still intended to seek

the truth. Deliberation is an educational process that is able to sharpen intelligence, emotions, spiritual, and fighting spirit.

Advice is also seen as an educational process, because it is capable of transferring various values. This kind of education process is often experienced by Minangkabau women. Usually, the advice is given by elders, for example *mamak*, *mande*, father, mother, teacher, brother, headman, religious teacher, *bundo kanduang*, and others. But even younger people can give advice. What's important is that the contents of the advice not those who advise. But there is a tendency that advice is given by the elders. The educational process in the form of advice, places women who are advised as receiving advice messages. Through this advice process everything is conveyed so that the Minangkabau woman in every dynamic of her life does not run away from the traditional rail.

Bagarah, *bagurau-gurau* can also be used as an educational process for Minangkabau women. In such conditions they hone one other's thoughts, mock one another, and exchange experiences in order to mature themselves towards mature Minangkabau women. Usually the location that is often used as the arena of Bagurau is the edge of a bathing place or *asurauto* read the *Qur'an*, or the yard when the full moon night, or when the nights of *bainai*. For religious matters, the educational process is often carried out in the form of mangaji in *surau*.

Another very important thing is when is the right time for the educational process to be carried out. The Minangkabau tradition answers that with *kok nan mambantuak batuang iyo lah dari rabuang*, This expression is in line with *ketek ta aja-aja, gadang ta bao-bao, tuo tarubah tido, dan mati jadi parangai*. The two great adigiums inform that the education for Minangkabau women lasts from cradle to the grave (*dari ayunan hingga liang lahat*). People nowadays call it life long education.

3. CONCLUSION

Sumbang, or *jangga*, or *cando* as described above, is a small part of behavior that Minangkabau women should avoid. Therefore, such behavior can degrade the mind and language or *indak batarik*. If this courtesies are not possessed by a Minangkabau woman, her glory as a Minangkabau woman will fall. She will be a despicable woman, a woman who will bring shame to her people and relatives.

So that the humiliation does not descend on the Minangkabau woman, they must have various values in their lives. This means they must be knowledgeable, religious and civilized. These three things can be considered pillars that can place Minangkabau women in an honorable position, which in turn will make the qualified younger generation of Minangkabau.

To produce qualified Minangkabau women, education must be given to them. Education that is often given to Minangkabau women is to learn from nature, the process can be in the form of observe, exemplary, advice, reading *Qur'an*, and so on.

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