

The Meaning And Dimensions of Work: Women Traders Toba-Batak (*Inang-Inang*) in Medan, North Sumatera, Indonesia

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Abstract

The research was conducted in the city of Medan on the meaning and dimensions of women's work Toba-Batak traders (inang-inang). The purpose of this study includes understand: (1) the characteristics of women traders Toba-Batak in Medan, (2) the meaning of work women traders Toba-Batak in Medan, (3) the dimensions of work women traders Toba-Batak in Medan. Theoretically, this study adds the benefits from the study on the meaning and dimensions of work, role and position of women in urban Toba-Batak. It also adds to the study of adaptation strategies, especially overseas migrant's inang-inang Toba-Batak in addressing the changes in the urban situation in Medan. Practically, this study provides a new understanding about the problems of women see Toba-Batak people who work within the context of a patrilineal Toba-Batak. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method by taking the informants in the study. It will be conducted to the city of Medan. This city is a multicultural city and is a typical interaction center for the residents of various ethnic and religious groups. This research is a case study focusing analysis unit areten family and household inang-inang. Location of the study will be concentrated at the center of the Market or Central Market. The technique used for the data collection process, among others, is the study of literature, participation observation and in-depth interviews. This study uses a framework of thinking of the meaning of work and labor dimensions of Wallman, the role of capital Bourdieu, hermeneutic approach in anthropology and life history. Trading activities of Toba-Batak women (inang-inang) is a major contribution in the family, especially his contribution towards the education to their children. In line with the three goals of life (cultural mission) hagabeon (blessed by heredity), hamoroan (wealth) and hasangapon (honor). Education for Toba-Batak people is the only way to achieve "the glory of life." Toba-Batak women traders with trading activities completely to achieve the task of the cultural mission.

Keywords : meaning of work, dimensions of work, women traders Toba-Batak (*inang-inang*), cultural mission.

Introduction

Sexual division of labor that occurs in many societies is a phenomenon that has lasted a long time. At first, the reproductive division of labor between women and men are considered natural. However, in its development cannot be denied that the sexual division of labor has been regarded as a fundamental variable in the analysis of women's subordination (Saptari and Brigitte Holzner, 1997: 23).

In general, women are more often oriented towards the domestic realm than men are always in the public realm. Although, in the progress of women is also expected to be in the public domain due to various reasons. One strong reason is generally because of the economic conditions. Nevertheless, the roles within the public are often considered an extension of the domestic under appreciated role in many societies. The implication is only considered additional women living alone, although, in reality, it is exactly the main livelihood in most cases. Various studies have revealed the existence of a patriarchal culture that believes men are superior and women inferior, so that men as if allowed to dominate and control women. Walby (1990: 20) defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.

Subordinated status of women as a universal phenomenon that occurs in many different cultures. According to Moore (1998: 27), the debate over the origin and universality of understanding cultural subordination of view is closely related to the category of gender roles of women, and men vary according to the circumstances and future developments. These understandings are closely related to the status of women and men in different societies and cultures.

In the era of globalization, with the possibility of opening up education, information and communication are increasingly widespread, making gender relations of men and women, especially Toba-Batak no escape from changes due to adaptation, especially in urban areas. With the new, effect is certainly not spared the gender role conflict. One side is expected to play a role in the humanizing ideal, on the other hand, faced with demands by the economic conditions that force and civilizing change.

In general, the life of patrilineal Toba-Batak is so dominant. It might just fit in communal and agrarian life in the countryside is homogeneous. However, when they migrated into town areas (urban), they need a new mechanism of adaptation to city life filled with challenges. One of the mechanisms of adaptation that the trading activity *inang-inang*.

This research was the first step to try to map out and get an idea of the pattern of trade activity *inang-inang* in Medan as city groups in Medan and understand the meaning and dimensions to their work. By taking the city of Medan as setting the location within the study is expected to obtain the understanding of meaning Toba-Batak work as a mechanism of adaptation to city life.

Thus, the problem of this research revolve about the question of why emerging trade activity's *inang-inang* in Toba-Batak society is patrilineal in Medan? From the analysis of this issue is expected to answer several research questions as follows: (1) How do the characteristics of trading activities of Toba-Batak women (*inang-inang*) in Medan; (2) What is the meaning of women's labor trade activities Toba-Batak (*inang-inang*) in Medan?; (3) How did the labor dimensions of trade activity Batak women Toba (*inang-inang*) in the field?

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method by taking the informants in the study. It will be conducted to the city of Medan. This city is a multicultural city and is a typical interaction center for the residents of various ethnic and religious groups. This research is a case study focusing analysis unit is the ten family and household *inang-inang*. Location of the study will be concentrated at the center of the Market or Central Market. The technique used for the data collection process, among others, is the study of literature, participation observation and in-depth interviews. This study uses a framework of thinking of the meaning of work and labor dimensions of Wallman, the role of capital Bourdieu, hermeneutic approach in anthropology and life history.

Toba-Batak in Medan

Toba-Batak in Medan is a multicultural city, is the center of life among the population of varied ethnic and religious groups. Among different immigrants, ethnic groups within the city of Medan, Toba-Batak ethnic group plays an important role in this city. According to statistics of increased urbanization of the Toba-Batak before independence and after independence in Medan (1930: 1.07%; 1980: 14.11% and 2000: 19.21%). This shows that the expansion of the Toba-Batak after independence experienced a significant increase in the city of Medan. Hence their colony pattern is also known as the expansionist colony (Pelly, 1994: 295) with the motto "get the child and the land" (*halalui anak halalui tano*). "Children and the land" for them is a symbol of "dignity, power and wealth" as well as their cultural mission.

As philosophy, Toba-Batak people who say, "***anakkokin do hamoraon di ahu***" which means the child is the most precious treasure. The implication they will make every effort to send their children, although in limited circumstances. This suggests that children have a place of education and a higher value than the value of the other (Napitupulu, 2011: 273).

In the view of the Batak cosmology Natural Overseas (*Bona ni Ranto*) controlled considered an integral part of Nature Hometown (*Bona ni Pasogit*). Therefore, Toba-Batak people do not feel the need to bring his wealth to his hometown (Pelly, 1994: 296). Having secured the land of the Toba-Batak build their own power to recreate the desired social atmosphere like when they are home (Cunningham, 1958:82-97).

Batak culture rooted in the patrilineal kinship system. Patrilineal kinship system can be traced through the male line. Batak kinship system is characterized by the principal *Dalihan Na Tolu* literally means "Three Furnaces". Thus, the social structure of Toba-Batak people, there are three elements that are based on lineage and breeding system. The third element is *dongan tubu* or *dongan sabutuha* is brother of the clan. *Hula-hula* is the source wives, and *anak boru* are receiving wife. These three elements are interrelated and need. The third element is relative and subject to change (Simanjuntak, 2001:121).

There are three values for the major cultural Toba-Batak people who are very well known that the *hagabeon* (blessed by heredity), *hamoroan* (wealth) and *hasangapon* (honor). Cultural values can be regarded as their cultural mission in the act and behave in life (Harahap and Hotman, 1987:135). The purpose of life is the Batak people of today have undergone a shift in meaning in the development of economic, social and political, namely to access to capital, labor, goods such as non-material information, knowledge, education, and networking with elite's Toba-Batak (Simbolon, 1998:3).

Therefore, Batak kinship systems in *Dalihan Na Tolu* patrilineal that men become the main actor in various areas of marital life, law, inheritance, land ownership and residence patterns. Similarly, the concept of actually living there at the hands of men. However, a paradox because of the women Toba-Batak is known as hard workers either as farmers, cultivators and small traders (*parengge-rengge*) in the region of origin as well as informal traders (*inang-inang*) in urban areas in meeting the household life.

Toba-Batak normatively women actually never become the owner of her father or her husband's property. He can only manage (a worker) and enjoy the property while he was in the clan men. Before Toba-Batak, woman married she put in her father's clan, but after she married her husband placed on clan. Thus, it can be said to be the position of women in Toba-Batak kinship is ambiguous or unclear, as though dealing with both her father and her husband's clan, but he was not actually a full member of both the clan. "*She is situated between the hula-hula and Boru. She is associated with both, and an absolute member of Neither*" (Simbolon, 1998: 2; Irianto, 2005:9).

In general, life patrilineal Toba-Batak is so dominant, it might just fit in an agrarian communal life in the countryside is homogeneous. However, when they migrated into urban areas (urban), they need a new mechanism of adaptation to urban life filled with challenges. One of the mechanisms of adaptation that the trading activity *inang-inang*.

In the study Cunningham (1958: 82-97) on the migration of people to East Sumatra Batak Toba-Batak Toba stated many Indonesian businessmen who produce aggressive and has a high entrepreneurial spirit. The entrepreneurial nature was also owned by the Toba-Batak women (*inang-inang*) who run its trading activities. Studies conducted Marbun (2002:1) also strengthens the evidence that Toba-Batak women entrepreneurship property's primarily gold trader - a diamond in Jakarta. Inang-inang Toba-Batak is known as a hard-working women, tough and "mighty." In their native region known as the farmers and cultivators are diligently working to cultivate the fields and farms. Not surprising when you see them working while carrying a child is still a toddler on his back. In addition they are also known as small traders or at the locality known as *parengge-rengge*.

Reflection on the role *parengge-rengge* or before *inang-inang* well as farmers and cultivators and then as informal traders corroborate evidence that Toba-Batak women from the first has a big share in the fulfillment of the economic livelihood of the family. Lives in urban areas is a life filled with challenges due to population density, ethnic and religious diversity as well as the job specification or expertise (division of labor) (Wirth, 1938: 1-24), which causes them to have to change adaptation strategies in order to endure and survive. For migrants who have family like Toba-Batak migrants who only have the expertise and skills in terms of farming and trade (*parengge-rengge*) would have to develop a strategy for dealing with a difficult life in the urban economy.

In circumstances like these mothers, Toba-Batak is known as the *inang-inang* took the initiative in trade activities in order to meet their household needs. *Inang-inang* Toba-Batak activities aims to maintain the continuity of life (survival) and supplement the family income must also socio-cultural meaning. As stated Sairin (2002: 324), Indonesian society in general still has a cultural value orientation that works not only for the sake of earning a living but also to the interests of improved social status.

The Meaning of Work Trade Activities Inang-inang in Medan

Existing traders in the central market can be categorized into three major parts, namely: (1) Agencies that supply all the needs through the market, (2) Sub-agent spending money quotes from the retail merchant *inang-inang* that shop for wares and (3) the Retail Merchants *inang-inang* that sell retail. This study will focus for the study of *inang-inang* of existing retail selling around the central market.

As stated Wallman (1979: 1-4), the meaning to the work can be analyzed based upon four criteria. **First**, the physical transformation. In the case of *inang-inang* in general they are from North Tapanuli Toba Samosir. Based on research by the means of transport they use from their homes are motor vehicles (rail) and public transport.

There is also the use of personal vehicles such as motorcycles (trains) are generally delivered of their children both women and men.

Second, social transactions. In the case of *inang-inang* generally they are also housewives who some still tied to the domestic role. As they perform their roles, trading activity is different than the usual role at home, their role shifted to the public role.

In general, this *inang-inang* is faced with the dual role and of course, the double burden or overload. Unlike the case with their husbands (men). However, in some cases the family of the *inang-inang's* husband was instrumental in roles such as a domestic and household chores-role in housework and care of children in childhood. Role played *inang-inang* as traders insist they have properties that tend masculine, tough and resilient away from the womanly qualities of motherhood. Surely, it does not mean they do not have female traits and motherhood. When they return to their homes of course these properties because they are a housewife who has a husband and children.

In cooking tasks, preparing breakfast, dinner for the family, based on this study, mostly they are not fully active role in completing the work. The collected data also noted that domestic work was comprehensively done by family member's *inang-inang* like children who have been quite large and a husband who as well contributed substantial in completing these tasks.

Another important task of socializing children, including parenting. At the time, *inang-inang* work, generally parenting their children turn to their husbands, or their children who are old enough. Husband turned out to be contributing to the care of children when they are at work, especially when the kids were little. Childcare rarely assisted by other family members such as brothers, sisters, in-laws, parents are both women and men. Children are often cared about her husband at their brother or sister and have been quite large. The average family of merchants no longer reflect the more extensive family profile switch to nuclear families.

In a household living only children, husbands and wives. General pattern of their families as the families who live in the urban core is reflected on the family. Income derived from selling *inang-inang* is entirely in an effort to cover the family and their household, including the children's education. In this, study generally revealed that *inang-inang* was as the main breadwinner. Instead of their husbands as breadwinner is additional. Those children who have a lot of work that contribute towards the family and household with their parents. Relationships with parents and other relatives outside the village maintained. It is shown that at least there are the customs, they will return home at least once a year to bring a bit of their hard-earned money. Other household tasks such as cleaning the house and yard is generally done by their children who are older, both women and men. They keep doing domestic jobs, but it is only just helping out.

Other jobs such as washing and brushing clothes is no longer done by their own. The participation of children who have a large and very helpful husband in completion of this work. Description of any of the various components of the household chores, it can be concluded that most of the *inang-inang* no longer fully engaged in their domestic tasks. As it gets in this study before the start of activity after the trade and home selling, the times they spent on preparing and selling merchandise on the market.

Third, economical activity. The activities by *inang-inang* included in the fulfillment of the economical activities outside the family and household. Family life *inang-inang* generally supported by commercial activities undertaken *inang-inang* in the market. Economic activity on the case of *inang-inang* in this field is that its take up a lot of time and energy drink. This is reflected in the average flow time of 8-12 hours per day are included on the purchase and transport of commodities trading center as the place of purchase marketing. A series of tasks in business activities such as purchase of raw materials, lifting, pack and selling on the market are generally done by the *inang-inang*. Even if there are in some cases husbands or children only help it.

Fourth, personal identity. In the case of *inang-inang* in Medan, their identity is carried by small traders with a pretty pleasant income to provide a good education for their children. The rate welfare is quite enough, engaged in the informal sector, which is widely uncertain. It does not require specific skills, and the capital varied. Job as a trader is widely carried out by the Toba-Batak women who have married from the lower economic strata. Their husbands generally work in the informal sector as well or even at all does not work. Their work is generally a lot of strenuous work and requires a lot of time.

On the one hand, they are difficult to remove or abandon their current efforts for reasons elaborated in order to maintain continuity of life (survival) and employment problems because they are hard to get another job. On the other hand, their work seems to be promising for the education to their children. It can be seen from the success of their children who have received education up to graduate and have worked in places considerable prestige in the city of Medan.

The Dimensions of Work Trade Activities Inang-inang in Medan

As stated Wallman (1979: 4-22) there are ten important dimensions in the work. **First**, energy. With the tremendous outpouring of approximately 8-12 hours spent, *inang-inang* can conclude their work to drain a lot of energy, but the income they earn is not really worth the energy expended. **Second**, incentives. In addition to an activity that aims to maintain the continuity of life (survival) and also of course support their families socially meaningful. With the workings *inang-inang* social activities primarily as the Toba-Batak can still walk the walk as well. Especially as their Toba-Batak person is a pretty strong community tie's custom. In some cases, it revealed many traditional activities were taken over by their husbands. Of the ten cases reviewed, in general; they belong to the States Help Rescue (STM) in the environment and *punguan* clan, either they or their husbands. There are even some cases of their *inang-inang* as well as *punguan* clan their parents and in-laws, respectively.

Third, the resources. In the case studied *inang-inang* generally they are migrants from outside the city (migrants), junior or high school education and there is even a scholar. Most of them graduated from junior high school. Their mission arrival in the field in general in order to obtain a better livelihood. In addition, because the intention to join the family or at the urging of friends and people be covered the origin. Departing from what is expressed by Bourdieu in the (Field, 2011: 23-24) on capital turns someone in these case women traders (*inang-inang*) intrade activities in order to work and run their business properly using its equity. *Inang-inang* in business has certainly the financial capital (economics), cultural capital and social capital. Financial capital (economics) that belongs *inang-inang* in this study is quite varied from Rp 500.00 up to 4 million of the profits they earn each day between Rp. 100.000 - Rp. 250.000. - Cultural capital that belongs to *inang-inang* in this study is that the source of capital values Toba-Batak culture. As the Toba-Batak people, they have tremendous work ethics that belong especially women Toba-Batak. Of Toba-Batak women historically known as tough working women both as farmers and fields, as well as small trader's (*parengge-rengge*) as this *inang-inang*. Cultural values as their purpose in life is *hagabeon* (blessed by heredity), *hamoraon* (wealth) and *hasangapan* (honor), no other can be achieved with hard work is relentless.

Social capital that belongs to *inang-inang* in the case for this study can be seen from the network or social relationships that are created in order to support the trading activities of the *inang-inang*. Social relations are created that not directly determine the success *inang-inang* in business such as family relationships, friendships and camaraderie among fellow *inang-inang*, adjacency relationships. Relationships derived from clan *punguan* husband and *inang-inang*. The essence of sosial capital is the network of communal relationships or relationships- and the core of the network as stated Fukuyama (2000:153) as the confidence (trust). In the present, study revealed that trading activities were run in by *inang-inang* base on a good relationship with the buyer or its customers or suppliers of agency relationship are all rely on confidence. Without the trust would not have been spawned by the trade of good. Likewise, *inang-inang* which works leave their younger children with their husbands, the older children and with the neighbors also because the trust.

Fourth, the value. In the case of *inang-inang*, even though they earn incentives generally can meet the main needs in order to survival and education of children. Nevertheless, their presence plays a major role and is highly prized for their own survival and for each member in their family. So also with the education for their children. Of the ten, cases reviewed the results of their hard work as small traders contribute fairly prominent for their children's education. Generally, the reason they work hard not to be prosperous in terms of material (property) but rather how that their children get the best education. As philosophy, Toba-Batak people who say, "***anakkokin do hamoraon di ahu***" which means the child is the most precious treasure. Children are referred to in the philosophy actually refers to boys only. However, in this study, it was found that children who meant a shift, not only referring to the boys but also including girls. The study also reveals that philosophy is not just a series of words into a mere figure of speech but has deep meaning for them and embodied in various aspects of the behavior throughout their lives. The meaning in the symbol is the children most precious treasure, which means the most valuable treasure is the children who has a good education.

With a good, education certainly hopes to change their luck for the better. So the children who is considered as the most precious treasure in truth is not in terms of material possession's nature. For them, there is no means to have abundant wealth that their children are not in school. They are willing to make a great effort to work because they have a mission to educate their children. Therefore, this study also reveals how the hard work done by *inang-inang* brought a great contribution to the education to their children. Of some undefined cases, they do business in order to get a place of education is the most important in the family such as trying to keep their children school fees can be paid on time and not in arrears. Bitter life experiences teach them to pay more attention to the education to their children. Usually they try to avoid capital through loan sharks lending services to their trading capital. However, when it hit the children's school fees are not paid, they inevitably seek to borrow money lender services in the market.

The principle of their lives as they believed the Toba-Batak education is the only way to "the glory of life." They think their children should have a best education than their parents, so that their lives would certainly be better than their parents. As an example of the father Sgl stating as follows:

.... "I remember once my father a message. Father only go to elementary school, I put you to the high school. Therefore, my granddaughter or grandson should be higher than high school. If you make my granddaughter and grandson just graduated from high school means you're more trouble than me. Because I am from primary school can make you graduated from high school. You must send your children graduate from the university. Hence the school money issues I always remind mothers. Whatever the story's tuition must be paid immediately"

Of the ten, cases reviewed generally their children to school and college (undergraduate). In fact, none of the cases studied had children who had an outstanding achievement because since the second semester of high school in grade one has received a scholarship from the school until graduation. He also gets one Test Capabilities champion North Sumatran organized by a leading tutoring in Medan. He then accepted an invitation to a passing lane in the prestigious University in Indonesia majoring in mining with a full scholarship. Education turned out to play an important role within their families in order actually achieve the goals or mission of their cultural life *hagabeon* (blessed by heredity), *hamaraon* (wealth) and *hasangapan* (honor). The only way to achieve the strategic mission is none other cultures through education. With their education is being developed and prosperous.

The mission is supported by cultural values, especially Christian faith, so between cultural values and religion belonged together and synergistically. Therefore, since the entry of Christianity, they become a better Toba-Batak person and educated to achieve their cultural mission.

As Beneria (2001: 27) study, this study reveals the participation of women (*inang-inang*) in informal activities, exhibits a contradictory concerning women's work. Although difficult to eliminate gender discrimination and the existence of barriers to the advancement of women (especially in the Toba-Batak). However, the advancement of women has been seen at several places, such as open educational opportunities for girls and boys participation domestic sector is not an obstacle.

Papanek, Hanna and Laurel Schwede (1988:73) view that the gender difference is a key factor in the allocation process at all levels of social organization in all of society. Processes that occur within the family and the household in case *inang-inang* reflect negotiation and bargaining among its members. This study found that if the mother as the main breadwinner had access, and bargaining power is high and dominant within the family as well as autonomous decision-makers in the family. Girls and boys have equal access and opportunity in education. Similarly, in the case of domestic roles, both boys and girls are expected to carry out domestic roles even though they come from the patriarchal family.

Haggis (2000: 108) stated that the concentration of the re-establishment of femininity involves changing the meaning of work in relation to the 'house' and the women, is associated with a religious idiom and framework of behavior. In the case of *inang-inang* found, there are some contradictions concerning the meaning of work in conjunction with the 'home' and women. The one hand, women Toba-Batak Christian reconstructed as a wife and mother with status and domestic roles and while the other side is reconstructed as a worker in the family breadwinner.

As stated by Singley and Kathryn Hynes (2005:376), this study also revealed women workers (*inang-inang*) over use and re-create flexibility in work arrangements than their husbands. Reason for the care of children who are still young to be an important factor why they set back their working hours.

The study also reveals as stated Moon (2003:840), it can be concluded: (1) child care done in the case of *inang-inang* networks are based on the role of the nuclear family is the mother, father, children, namely greater brother or sister; (2) parenting privatization isolated and no longer having to rely on extended families, (3) child care can be done after the host is not working full-time. I occurred over time in the work setting.

Fifth, time. How much an actual time spent for someone to work. Revealed *inang-inang* generally buy their personal commodity trading in about 1-2 hours. For the task of buying raw materials is done by their individual. Once the merchandise bought from market centers typically purchase raw materials directly brought to the market in which they trade. In general, they are not engaged on the task of transporting commodities trading to retail outlets. They usually have subscriptions paddle rickshaw or pedical to transport commodity's merchandise machine. In organizing and preparing merchandise before being brought to the market and after arriving at the location of trade also requires a time not so long about 1-2 hours. Other tasks are quiet time-consuming and tiring courses to sell at markets. With simple equipment that is supported by the umbrella tent, a large table made of iron or wood in the open sun and rain overwritten each day. Some cases only organize merchandise below with tarps that simple. Of this, study proves themselves generally they do this work every day, with varying flow time of about 8-12 hours. A series of activities is conducted in marathon since midnight (12 o'clock) until the evening at 20.00 at night. The average woman's traders got home at 21:00 at night. There are also some of them only work a half day and one more day. Commodity trade transactions between buyers and seller's Central area is starting to bustle at 3 am and ends at 20.00 pm. It turns out only a fraction of those who have problems in completing household work outside the home do. This is caused by several reasons: (1) because the field they pursue employment can be terminated at any time (2) because the family members, especially the children who helped take care of the household (husband and children), (3) work with the family can be transferred to another person (washerman), (4) because the *inang-inang* wisdom in dividing time between public duties and delegating tasks to the children of domestic large enough or husbands.

The average flow times for the trade activities of 8-12 hours per day are included buying commodities trading and transporting from the center as the place of purchase marketing. Even more alarming when viewed in terms of energy flow is difficult to measure quantitatively because the work is too energy consuming. This study reveals as stated Shimray (2004: 1698) that women (*inang-inang*) have a huge range of responsibilities, from domestic work to commercial activity with such a large workload. Gender differences between men (husbands) and women (*inang-inang*) shows that the responsibility of men to household activities has declined while women's work is expanding.

Of this, study revealed that Toba-Batak patrilineal society assumed that loyalty to the mother's role in conflict as stated Clark (1999:717) that women in marriage and not expected to work full-time income. Toba-Batak society in general expresses motherly devotion to work tirelessly in meeting the financial needs through their children, not in a way to stay home with their children. Using the life histories of the field assessment method and the mothers of women traders (*inang-inang*) Toba-Batak apparently has had a long history as a small trader (*parengge-rengge*) who had worked on average since 1978. Actually trade in the market is not a job that fits with the childcare. However, the trading activity in the market considered them as an ideal work to do to generate regular income, and most likely they do.

The study also reveals that the concept of living that is in the hands ideally husband (father) in the case of *inang-inang* in fact runs by mother (*inang*). Such concepts as expressed by Clark of the fathers were "motherhood" (motherly fathers), women "like men" (manly women), who are both gender tricks shows how the distribution of income and capital explain the gender action and the role of family relationships. Toba-Batak society has adjusted the historical changes in gender expectations about work, parenting, marriage by negotiation and renegotiation of the family relationship satisfaction.

Sixth, place (Place). *Inang-inang* hold merchandise in the street or road intersection and in doorways as well as by utilizing umbrella tent, long tables of wood or metal or even organize merchandise under-tarp tarps only simple repose. **Seventh**, person. Generally, *inang-inang* was educated junior high, high school and one case even graduate. They also do not have the ability or special skills in terms of education to carry out their work. However, they generally have the will and tremendous spirit. The study also reveals that, as stated by Nyanzi (2005: 13) that trade provides access to the money market, independent decision makers, mobility, assertiveness and social interaction for women.

Trading in the market produce labels "masculine" for women who are characterized independent and unruly and not subordinate. However, getting money was not changed expectations for the behavior of men ideal wife.

This study reveals in some cases as stated Hare-Mustin (1988: 36) about traditional Chinese's society and the U.S. industry. The phenomenon of working mothers with the double burden who suffer overload. Double burden or suffer overload carried by the *inang-inang* can be seen from the presence of gender differences in terms of their responsibility (*inang*) and men (husbands).

Eighth, technology. In the case of *inang-inang* with the public transportation vehicles and motorcycle's vehicles (trains) can facilitate them to get quickly to where their trading activities. The equipment they use when trading is very simple once classified as umbrella tents to protect them from heat and rain, and a long table made of iron or would place to organize their merchandise.

Ninth, identity and alienation. In the case of merchant *inang-inang* identity, they are carried by small traders, earning enough so that they can send their children to school, a considerable level of well-being, engaged in the informal sector, which is generally uncertain. The characteristics of trading activity *inang-inang* as stated by Breman (1994: 6) can be summarized as follows: (1) uncomplicated management, (2) does not require a business license, (3) base capital, (4) labor intensive, (5) base productivity levels, (6) the level of formal education is usually low, (7) the use of ordinary technology, (7) most workers are family and business ownership by families; (9) easily in and out of business, and (10) the lack of government support and recognition.

Inang-inang of commercial activities that can be categorized as the activities in the informal sector have the characteristics as stated by Breman (1994: 7) as follows: (a) no entry requirements. This activity gives you the freedom to trade anyone to get in and out without any such requirement in the formal sector, (b) working time. Giving freedom to the future so that more flexible working in the operations, (c) Age. This sector relatively not gives age restrictions. That is, there is no term productive or non-productive age, (d) Qualification. This sector does not require special education to get through it. With any education, any person may enter this trade activity but supported by a strong will.

Tenth, domain, environment, systems. In the case of these merchant mistress respective domains and they have a distinctive environment which organizes their wares in the market halls or in doorways and by utilizing a simple tent umbrella. There being too many women traders rely on their strong willpower and networks or social relations such as friendship and kinship.

Conclusion

The emergence of women's activities Toba-Batak traders as economic activity in order to provide income and jobs for them in order to survive in life. Characteristics of the various profitable activities of women traders in this field can be included in the informal sector. Toba-Batak women trader is shown to play an important role in the fulfillment of basic needs (main provider) is not just an extra income in their family life.

Economic activity of women trader's Toba-Batak in Medan is an activity that much time and energy to the income that allows them to send their children to have the good education. So the reason for the child's education is an important part of their lives as three goals (*hagabeon, hamoraon and hasangapon*) in order to achieve "the glory of life." Toba-Batak women traders with merchandise activities to realize its mission the task of the culture.

Outpouring of time they take an average of 8-12 hours per day is included buying and transporting commodities from the trade center as the place of purchase marketing. Given the time allocation for time-consuming operation's role family members, especially her husband and children are big enough to be very significant for the continuity of their household.

Based on the meaning of work proposed four Wallman can be analyzed cases of women vegetable vendors experienced a physical transformation, social transaction, economic activity and establish personal identity. Of the ten dimensions to the work proposed by Wallman applies also in the case of women vegetable vendors regarding the energy, incentives, resources, values, time, place, person, technology, identity - alienation and domains, the environment and the prevailing system, all of which forming characteristics and work patterns of women traders Toba-Batak (*inang-inang*).

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