

Islamic work ethics, local wisdom, and spirit of capitalism: insight from a *perantau* Minangkabau

Mochlasin

Faculty of Islamic Economics and Business, Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Central Java, Indonesia

E-mail: mochlasin@uinsalatiga.ac.id

Budiharjo

Faculty of Theology, Arts and Humanity, Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Central Java, Indonesia

E-mail: budihardjo@uinsalatiga.ac.id

DOI:10.18326/ijims.v14i2.289-318

Abstract

This study aims to uncover the phenomenon of Islamic work ethics among the Minangkabau diaspora in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The research adopts a phenomenological approach, utilizing Weber's theory and the religious dimensions theory proposed by Glock and Stark. To delve into the role of tradition in shaping the spirit of capitalism, Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction is employed. Data collection techniques include literature reviews, field observations, and in-depth interviews with Minangkabau migrants engaged in trading in Yogyakarta. The findings of this research elucidate the phenomenon of the spirit of capitalism among the Minangkabau, which differs from Weber's conclusions about modern industrial societies in the West. The religious traditions of the Minangkabau community are

known to be strong, as reflected in the life philosophy of “*Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*,” meaning customs are based on law, and law is based on the Qur’an. In practice, the spirit of capitalism among the Minangkabau is not only inspired by Islamic teachings on economic doctrines but also rooted in local wisdom in the form of proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) that have become integrated into speech, attitudes, and actions. The combination of religious teachings and local wisdom gives rise to the spirit of capitalism implemented in trading activities. The family network business model of kinship inspired by the values of local wisdom is also an interesting finding regarding the resilience and sustainability of their businesses. This research emphasizes the significant contribution of religious teachings and local values to the spirit of capitalism, a factor that has been overlooked. Practically, it can be useful in advocating for the preservation of local wisdom as a positive source of wealth amid the infiltration of modern culture in the era of digitization.

Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap fenomena *islamic work ethics* para perantau suku minang di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Penelitian ini dilakukan melalui pendekatan fenomenologi dengan menggunakan teori Weber dan teori dimensi agama yang dicetuskan oleh Glock Stark. Untuk mendalami peran tradisi bagi pembentukan *spirit of capitalism* ini digunakan menggunakan teori reproduksi budaya dari Arjun Appadurai. Teknik pengumpulan data meliputi kajian literatur, observasi lapangan, dan wawancara mendalam dengan kepada perantau minang yang menggeluti profesi berdagang di Yogyakarta. Temuan penelitian ini menjelaskan fenomena *spirit of capitalism* di kalangan Minangkabau, yang berbeda dari kesimpulan Weber tentang masyarakat industri modern di Barat. Tradisi keagamaan masyarakat Minangkabau sangat kuat, sebagaimana tercermin dalam filosofi hidup “*Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*,” yang berarti adat berdasarkan hukum, dan hukum berdasarkan Al-Qur’an. Dalam praktiknya, *spirit of capitalism* di kalangan Minangkabau tidak hanya terinspirasi oleh ajaran Islam tentang doktrin ekonomi, tetapi juga berakar pada kearifan lokal berupa *pepatah-petitih* yang telah terintegrasi dalam ucapan, sikap, dan tindakan. Kombinasi ajaran agama dan kearifan lokal ini melahirkan *spirit of capitalism* yang diterapkan dalam aktivitas perdagangan. *Family Network Business Models* yang didasarkan pada nilai-nilai kearifan lokal juga merupakan temuan menarik mengenai resiliensi dan keberlanjutan bisnis mereka. Penelitian ini menekankan kontribusi ajaran agama dan nilai-nilai lokal terhadap *spirit of capitalism*, faktor yang sering diabaikan. Secara praktis, penelitian ini dapat

berguna dalam mendorong pelestarian kearifan lokal sebagai sumber kekayaan dan keragaman di tengah infiltrasi budaya modern di era digitalisasi.

Keywords: *Islamic work ethics; spirit of capitalism; local wisdom; Minang*

Introduction

Discussions about the economy nowadays go beyond merely discussing investments, management processes, production technology, and market expansion. They also delve into moral issues and spiritual strength. Economic activities are not seen merely as material fulfillment based solely on human rationality. The spiritual force embodied in ethics is considered capable of driving an individual's work ethic to enable survival in economic activities¹. The initial study that remains interesting and relevant as an analytical tool on the relationship between religious ethics and economic development was proposed by Max Weber. Discussing Weber's thesis on "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (ESC), which was written in 1904 with the original title "Die protestantische und der Geist des Kapitalismus"², Although controversial, it remains intriguing for academics to this day in the field of sociology. The arguments presented in Weber's writings, traceable since 1904-1905, about the Protestant ethic have transformed his perspective on the spirit of modern capitalism³. Delving into his sociological works, Weber also conducted studies beyond followers of the Protestant religion, as seen in his work "*The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*"⁴, and "*The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*"⁵.

¹Musa Asy'arie, *Etos Kerja Dan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat*, Yogyakarta: LESFI, 1997.

²Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

³Marshall G., *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism: An Essay on Max Weber's Protestant Ethic Thesis*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

⁴Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1951

⁵Milton Singer, "Ethnology: The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and

Weber's thesis asserts that the *geist* or spirit of capitalism, which has been a catalyst for the development of modern industrial culture in the West, is built upon the teachings of the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE). This includes the concept of "calling," which subsequently gives rise to the doctrines of predestination and worldly asceticism. The teachings of "calling" and these two doctrines then shape behaviors characterized by politeness, hard work, frugality, time utilization, money pursuit, and wealth accumulation. The concepts of "calling," predestination, and asceticism can stimulate rational, innovative, and creative thinking as prerequisites for economic progress⁶. Weber has redefined the Protestant ethic, originally portrayed as an antiquated, inefficient, unappealing, and out-of-place understanding in the modern world⁷. For over a century, Weber's thesis has remained a compelling subject of study, although, on the other hand, it continues to be a target of criticism and clarification. Several research efforts have attempted to debunk Weber's thesis, including studies conducted by Shirokanova. The findings of this research concluded that, historically, the lives of Protestant adherents did not enhance the work ethic despite an increase in religiosity within Protestant societies⁸. The results of this research raise the question of whether the universal values of religious ethics, including the Protestant work ethic, can contribute to economic progress⁹. Other researchers who have attempted to question

Buddhism. Max Weber," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 63, no. 1 (February 1961), 143–51.

⁶Aloysius Jondar et al., "Understanding Max Weber ' S Thoughts On Capitalism in Indonesia," *International Journal of Social Science*, vol. 1, no. 6 (2022), 1055–64.

⁷David Hancock, "Revulsion and Awe: Charting the Development of the Moral Economy of Capitalism and Its Hero in the American Imagination, from the Protestant Ethic to Ecstasy of the Entrepreneur," *Journal of Cultural Economy*, Vol. 10, no. 2 (2017), 136–149.

⁸Anna Shirokanova, "A Comparative Study of Work Ethic among Muslims and Protestants: Multilevel Evidence", *Social Compass*, Vol. 62, no. 4 (2015), 615–631.

⁹Anna Shirokanova, "A Comparative Study..."

the contribution of the PWE to the spirit of capitalism include^{10, 11, 12}.

Weber's concept of the spirit of capitalism remains relevant when linked to Islam in Indonesia, as it never loses its relevance in the history of Islam's arrival. The advent of Islam in Indonesia is inseparable from trade and economic activities. Islamic economic activities in the past were triggered by various factors, including anti-colonial movements, religious reforms, and new social strata movements that merged into piety with a capitalist orientation¹³. This is where its relevance aligns with the emergence of Islamic reform in Indonesia, such as the Muhammadiyah Movement, similar to the emergence of Calvinism within the Catholic faith¹⁴. One of the many ethnic groups thriving in Indonesia, known for possessing the spirit of capitalism as conceptualized by Weber, is the Minangkabau ethnic group (Minang). This ethnic group is recognized for firmly upholding religious principles while simultaneously adhering to local cultural values expressed in proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*)¹⁵. It is reflected in the expression "*adat basandi syarak syarak basandi kitabullah*" (ABSSBK), which means customs must be based on the law, and the law must be founded on the Qur'an¹⁶.

In the Minangkabau perspective, Islam is not just a reference for social behavior in community life but is also a fundamental ethnic identity. The

¹⁰Ivan Zabaev and Elena Prutskova, "The Calling and Humility Scale: Extending the Weberian Approach to the Research of the Elective Affinity between Religion and the Economy", *Russian Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (2019), 62-88.

¹¹Qichun He, et al., "Money, Growth, and Welfare in a Schumpeterian Model with the Spirit of Capitalism", *Review of Economic Dynamics*, Vol. 47 (2023), 346-372.

¹²J. C. da Costa Oliveira, "The Protestant Ethics and the re-enchantment of the world in a society of labor: notes from Max Weber", *Filosofia Unisinos*, Vol. 23, no. 2 (2022).

¹³Aisalkyn Botoeva, "Islam and the Spirits of Capitalism: Competing Articulations of the Islamic Economy", *Politics & Society*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (2018), 235-64.

¹⁴Weber, *The Protestant Ethic...*

¹⁵Elvia Rahayu, Amril Amir, and Hamidin, "Petata-Petitih Masyarakat Minangkabau Di Nagari Koto Baru Kecamatan Kubung Kabupaten Solok", *Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (2013), 17-25.

¹⁶Fatahuddin Aziz Siregar, Febri Yulika, Nofialdi, et al., "Merantau in the Ethnic Tradition of Minangkabau: Local Custom without Sharia Basis?", *Samarah*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2022), 115-138.

consequence of this philosophy is that if a community member leaves the Islamic faith; they are considered to have departed from the Minangkabau community, described as being “*dibuang sepanjang adat*,” meaning cast out according to customs¹⁷. From an anthropological perspective, the relationship between Islam and the Minang people is an inseparable unity¹⁸. According to Glock and Stark (1965), within all world religions, there are five universally applicable dimensions. In the consequential dimension of religion, it can be used as a foundation to support Weber’s thesis on the influence of the Protestant ethic on the spirit of capitalism. Thus, the choice of Minang people to become entrepreneurs is closely related to their work ethic. Work ethic is a consistent and enduring pattern of attitudes that influences an individual’s or community’s behaviour. Social ethos is not just an acknowledgement of values but is genuinely believed and consistently practised, thereby creating certain social impacts¹⁹.

In addition to religious factors, in reality, local values also contribute to shaping the business ethos of specific ethnic groups. Previous research studies have also reached similar conclusions, such as research on the influence of Javanese philosophy on the spirit of capitalism among Javanese ethnic traders²⁰. In addition to the cultural factor of the matrilineal kinship system, some proverbs and sayings are continuously taught and practised by the Minangkabau diaspora. The expressions in these proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) provide guidance and advice always to have a religious character, honesty, empathy, responsibility and discipline, fairness, social

¹⁷Taufik Abdullah, “Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau”, *Cornell University Southeast Asia Program*, Vol. 2, no. Indonesia (1966),1-24.

¹⁸Jufri Naldo, “Islam Dan Modal Sosial Orang Minangkabau Di Perantauan”, *Jurnal Penelitian*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (2019), 252-278.

¹⁹M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Intelektual, Intelegensia, Dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa*, Bandung: Mizan, 1993.

²⁰Agus Waluyo, “Understanding the Values of Islamic Economics and Javanese Philosophy Pertaining to the Work Ethic of Muslim Merchants in Salatiga”, *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2022), 393-419.

care, politeness, friendliness, and communicativeness²¹. The Minang people in the diaspora implement these values through the mechanism of cultural reproduction. Cultural reproduction is an active process that asserts its presence in social life, requiring adaptation for groups with different cultural backgrounds²². In this context, cultural reproduction is the affirmation of the original Minang culture in their new residence, namely Yogyakarta. Several theories can explain this phenomenon, such as the habitus theory proposed by Bourdieu²³.

Among the previous research that examined the work ethic of Muslim ethnic groups using Weber's thesis as an analytical tool is the study on the Volga-Ural ethnic group in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which are Russian federal subjects, conducted by Kornoukhova²⁴. The findings of that research indicate the emergence of a new Muslim stratum that aligns religious piety with the spirit of capitalism, which can drive economic activities²⁵. Subsequent research by Jondar on the relevance of Weber's ideas to the spirit of capitalism in Indonesian society²⁶. The subsequent research by Jondar on the relevance of Weber's ideas to the spirit of capitalism in Indonesian society concluded that Max Weber's concept of capitalism inspires Indonesians about the importance of religious factors as a supporter of the work ethic to drive the economy. The distinctive

²¹Alhamuddin Alhamuddin et al., "Character Education Based on Minangkabau Local Wisdom", *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (2022), 185-204.

²²Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.

²³Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, 1st ed. Routledge, 1973, 42.

²⁴Gadilya G. Kornoukhova, "Muslim Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism: The Characteristics of Islamic Entrepreneurship Development in the Russian Empire between the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Social Evolution and History*, Vol. 17, no. 2 (2018), 121-139.

²⁵Gadilya G. Kornoukhova, "Muslim Ethics..."

²⁶Jondar et al., "Understanding Max Weber..."

religious character of Indonesian society provides a conducive environment for the spirit of capitalism, as depicted by Weber. The spirit of capitalism is crucial for society to encourage hard work and the need for finances and wealth to support economic growth²⁷. The latest research on the Minang ethnic group conducted by Tarigan and Naldo concluded that the growth of businesses built on Minang heritage automatically encourages new Muslim entrepreneurs to compete with other entrepreneurs²⁸.

Given the background above, this study aims to uncover the phenomenon of the trading tradition of the Minangkabau people in the Special Region of Yogyakarta with two focus questions: RQ1. How do Minang traders understand Islamic economic teachings that can stimulate the emergence of the spirit of capitalism? and RQ2. How do Minang traders understand local wisdom in the form of proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) that can stimulate the emergence of the spirit of capitalism? The novelty in this research lies in the comparative analysis between Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) and Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) practised by their followers. Additionally, there is a new perspective on Weber's thesis, suggesting that local wisdom in the form of proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) can evoke the spirit of capitalism alongside religious value.

Protestant work ethic and spirit of Capitalism

PWE a central theme in Weber's thesis on the spirit of modern capitalism, was derived by Weber from Protestant teachings. Protestantism emerged as a form of reform within the Roman Catholic religion, led by German theology professor Martin Luther (1483-1546). Luther, who was also a composer, priest, and monk, sought to purify the doctrines and worship

²⁷Jondar et al., "Understanding Max Weber..."

²⁸Azhari Akmal Tarigan and Jufri Naldo, "The New Construction of Inheritance in Minangkabau People : Competition and Strategy to Produce Successful Entrepreneurs in Indonesia", *Millati, Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (2022), 19-31.

practices of the Catholic teachings through a process of puritanization²⁹. The Puritan Protestants subsequently led to several sects, namely Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and Baptism, which, according to Weber, consistently developed the PWE³⁰. The substance of the PWE has contributed to the spirit of modern capitalism, which involves hard work and the rational pursuit of economic gains, simultaneously avoiding worldly pleasures and idleness or wasting time³¹. The term 'Spirit of Capitalism' refers not to the current understanding characterized by the rationalization of capitalism based on scientific principles, the development of personal wealth, production for the market, and mass production³². Etzrodt, in his research, concluded that the founding figure of modern economics, Adam Smith (1723-1790), with his spirit of modern capitalism, has connections to the teachings of Neo-Calvinism³³.

Many questions arise about the potential contribution of religious ethics in practical actions, especially in economic activities. Glock and Stark can assist in unravelling these problematic questions with their theory of the five dimensions of religion³⁴. Early instilled religious education can undergo internalization, becoming a motivator for an individual's social actions. The five dimensions of religion introduced by Glock and Stark are ideology (belief), intellectual (knowledge or cognitive), ritual (open behaviour traditionally defined as religious practice), experiential (experiences that can evoke an individual's feelings or emotions), and

²⁹P Ghosh, "Max Weber's Idea of 'Puritanism': A Case Study in the Empirical Construction of the Protestant Ethic", *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (2003), 183-221.

³⁰Weber, *The Protestant Ethic...*

³¹Simone Modrack, *The Protestant Work Ethic Revisited: A Promising Concept or an Outdated Idea?*, Berlin: Social Science Research Center, 2008.

³²Jondar et al., "Understanding Max Weber..."

³³Christian Etzrodt, *Weber's Protestant-Ethic Thesis, the Critics, and Adam Smith*, Max Weber Studies, 2008.

³⁴C. Y. Glock and R Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

consequential³⁵. The consequential dimension is the effect of ideology, intellectual, ritual, and experiential aspects or religious experiences applied in the real world. In this dimension, religion can serve as a source of actions crystallizing in the form of ethics and fostering a work ethic in the social and economic realms.

The study of the contribution of religion to economic actions or work ethic in this research enters the transcendental realm, a transcendental dimension that underlies and grounds the work ethic, developed across material boundaries and seen as a part of one's devotion to God. Although the work ethic is related to various dimensions, religion's contribution is significant compared to other dimensions. In reality, religion can inspire a work ethic, but not at the level of priesthood (priestly religion) but at the prophetic level. Religion, as long as it remains at the priestly level, is conservative, but at the prophetic level, it becomes disruptive and transformative³⁶. However, a conservative religion can be revived if it finds the right momentum, especially during societal transformation. This includes the emergence of a new and progressive work ethic, both at the individual and societal levels.

An important aspect of the PWE is the concept of "calling" or "beruf" in German, as popularized by Weber. It is a religious concept that signifies a task desired by God or at least suggested³⁷. Work as a divine calling means that working is an individual obligation, and the individual should find enjoyment in their professional activities. Someone who feels a calling in their work understands that their job cannot be separated from the responsibility to make the most of the time given by God in their life. A

³⁵Richard R. Clayton and James W. Gladden, "The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: Toward Demythologizing a Sacred Artifact", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (1974), 135-143.

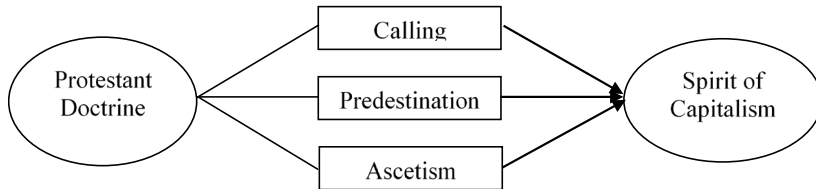
³⁶M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Intelektual, Intelegensia...*

³⁷Weber, *The Protestant Ethic...*

person who works based on the principle of calling is not only oriented towards financial gain or career advancement while working. The goal of working with this principle is to seek the deepest meaning and derive pleasure when performing a job³⁸.

In a more comprehensive sense, the modern spirit of capitalism, according to Weber, is actually constructed from the doctrine of calling, as explained earlier, and then the doctrines of predestination and worldly asceticism³⁹. That can be illustrated in the following figure 1:

Figure 1. Spirit of Capitalism from Protestant Doctrine



From the teaching of “calling” emerges the concept of predestination, a belief that God has predetermined the fate and salvation status of an individual in the afterlife (destiny). This concept teaches that everyone is unaware of their salvation status because only God knows it best. Even the righteous cannot definitively know whether they are among the saved or even the cursed. The uncertainty resulting from this doctrine, in turn, generates psychological anxiety among the congregation. Since people are unaware of their predestined status, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination teaches how to understand or recognize the characteristics of those saved by God in the afterlife. The accumulation of wealth

³⁸Amy Elizabeth Wrzesniewski, *Jobs, Careers, And Callings: Work Orientation And Job Transitions*, United States Code: UMI Company, 1999.

³⁹Weber, *The Protestant Ethic...*

and profitable investments made by an individual to advance God's Community is a tangible form that they are among the chosen ones already ordained. The development of this doctrine manifests as the belief that a person's wealth in the world is evidence of their salvation in the afterlife. The implication is that the righteous must work harder to generate profit and wealth to ensure they are part of the saved. Working hard to acquire wealth becomes a work ethic and a reflection of the PWE that contributes to driving the spirit of capitalism.

The doctrine following predestination in Protestant teachings, according to Weber, is worldly asceticism. Protestant asceticism teaches the necessity of using wealth for the glory of God, not just for worldly pleasures alone. Consequently, an ascetic must resist spontaneous enjoyment of possessions, including limiting ownership and consumption of luxury goods⁴⁰. Hard work coupled with the rejection of luxury and worldly pleasures is one of the factors that led to the development of an attitude toward life that Weber referred to as the spirit of capitalism⁴¹. In a more constructive sense, it can be concluded that working as a religious calling is an effort to seek salvation as a servant of God on earth and an endeavour to be chosen through hard work by utilizing wealth for the glory of God⁴².

The contribution of Islamic work ethic to the spirit of Capitalism

IWE is the Islamic teachings' orientation towards ethical practices in everyday life within the working world. IWE originates from the teachings of Islam derived from the Quran and Sunnah (Hadiths)⁴³. The principles of Islam can be applied universally and are relevant to life. Values, beliefs,

⁴⁰Weber, *The Protestant Ethic...*

⁴¹Zabaev and Prutskova, "The Calling..."

⁴²M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Intelektual, Intelegensia...*

⁴³Alqhaiwi, Zaid Oqla, Tamer Koburtay, and Jawad Syed, "The Interplay Between Islamic Work Ethic, Unethical Pro Behaviors, and Moral Identity Internalization: The Moderating Role of Religiosity," *Journal of Business Ethics* (2023). 1-16.

and perceptions in Islam significantly influence individuals' behaviours. The Minangkabau community is known for being devout Muslims with good religious knowledge and strong convictions. This is influenced by the religious education experienced by almost all Muslims in Padang at the "surau" (mosque) in the villages where they live. The "surau" education is a primary door for the Minang community to understand their sacred book, the Quran, which serves as the foundation for life in this world⁴⁴.

All the respondents interviewed acknowledged having received religious education at 'surau' during their childhood. Anthropologically, with Glock and Stark's dimension of religion theory, the economic behaviour and ethos of the Minang community are likely influenced by the doctrines of Islam they adhere to. Discussing the work ethic is closely related to various dimensions of human life, including individual, social, cosmic, environmental, and transcendental dimensions⁴⁵. Like Muslims in general, some successful Minang business people interviewed, whether residing in Yogyakarta or still in Padang, clearly state that work is part of worship⁴⁶. In Islam, worship is the ultimate goal for which humans were created on this earth (Quran, Adh-Dhariyat: 60). Therefore, for Minang Muslims, work essentially fulfills a sacred duty, similar to the concept of calling in the PWE. Numerous verses in the Quran discuss the command to work and its virtues, such as Al-Tawbah: 105, Al-Ankabut: 17, Al-Jumu'ah: 10, Al-Qasas: 26-27, and Az-Zumar: 39.

According to Jufriзал, by working, humans acquire wealth through dignified means (*halal*), allowing them to actualize other righteous deeds. With the wealth obtained from their business, individuals can assist those in need, such as people experiencing poverty, orphans, and those facing

⁴⁴Misnal Munir and Moses Glorino Rumambo Pandin, "The Local Genius Values of Minangkabau Society", *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, Vol. 165, no. Iccsr (2018), 302-306.

⁴⁵Musa Asy'arie, *Etos Kerja Dan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat*, Yogyakarta: LESFI, 1997.

⁴⁶Interview with Mr Rudi Yanuar and photocopy business people on May 6 2022.

different tribulations⁴⁷. As devout Muslim followers, these Minang ethnic Muslims are undoubtedly very familiar with Quranic verses that encourage sharing with others, such as Al-Ma'un: 1-7, Al-Maidah: 2, Al-Isra': 26-27, and Al-Fajr: 17-18. Generally, Minang Muslims adhere to reformist Muhammadiyah Islam⁴⁸. So, the doctrine of Al-Ma'un, which teaches to assist the less fortunate (*dhu'afa'*), is deeply ingrained in the thoughts and actions. Poverty for Minang diaspora businesspeople should be avoided, the most dignified way being grounded in the holy scriptures and the example set by the Prophet, nothing else but hard work.

The Predestination doctrine in the Protestant Work Ethic teaches that humans do not know their true fate in the afterlife. In Islamic teachings, a similar concept is known as *qadha'* and *qadar*, although with slightly different explanations⁴⁹. Belief in *qadha'* and *qadar* is one of the pillars of faith for a Muslim. *Qadha'* refers to Allah's plan, determination, and knowledge about the destiny of His creatures, while *qadar* is the determination based on human efforts. This concept provides understanding for a Muslim to strive for the best, as they do not know their fate for certain, and the results are entrusted to God. This understanding encourages Muslim traders to be diligent and strong, as they believe that God will provide the best after their efforts (*qadha'*), and if they face failure, it is because God has a better plan (*qadar*). The concept of predetermination in Islamic teachings provides an understanding of hope that can motivate positive actions⁵⁰. According to Jufriyal, wealth or sustenance is arranged by Allah SWT, and

⁴⁷Interview with Mr. Jufriyal, Chairman of the Yogyakarta Minangkabau Big Family Association (IKKBMY) and culinary business actor on August 8 2022, September 21 2022.

⁴⁸Syadah Khusniawati et al., "Kaum Padri Dalam Pembaharuan Islam Dan Muhammadiyah Di Minangkabau", *Jurnal Studi Islam dan Kemuhmadiyahahan (JASIKA)*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (2021), 29-38.

⁴⁹Rahman, Syed Mohammad Hilmi Syed Abdul, et al., "The Basic Model of Islamic Psychospiritual Treatment Based on Understanding and Appreciating the Concept of Destiny (Al-Taqdir)", *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, Vol. 22, no. 65 (2023), 185-197.

⁵⁰Rahman, Syed Mohammad Hilmi Syed Abdul, et al., "The Basic Model...

humans have to seek it wherever they are. This belief has become an ethos that drives the Minangkabau people to migrate in an effort to improve their economic quality⁵¹. Allah in the Qur'an has also ensured that every creature is guaranteed its sustenance, as mentioned in QS. Al-Hud:6. Prophet Muhammad also affirmed that every person will certainly be given a livelihood as long as they make an effort, just like any other living creature [HR Tirmidhi, no. 2344; Ahmad (I/30); Ibn Majah, no. 4164]. For Minangkabau traders in the diaspora, the earth as Allah's place to seek a livelihood in this world is vast. Several verses in the Qur'an have inspired the ethos of Minang diaspora traders, including Surah At-Taubah [9]:105 and Surah Al-Insyiqaq [84]:6. Working as a calling for Minang diaspora traders then transforms into a sacred duty to improve economic quality for oneself, family, and neighbours through labour⁵².

The trigger for the spirit of capitalism in PWE, aside from predestination as emphasized by Weber, is asceticism, known in IWE as the concept of *zuhd*⁵³. The concept of asceticism in Islam is almost similar to what is taught in PWE, with the key difference being that Islamic asceticism emphasizes the importance of balancing worldly life with the afterlife. Many verses in the Qur'an stress this balance, as seen in Surah Al-Baqarah: 201 and Surah Al-Qashash: 77. The concept of balance is related to verses describing human nature's love for women, thrones, vehicles, and wealth (Surah Ali Imran: 14). However, on the other hand, humans are prohibited from boasting about their wealth, and the use of all wealth acquired during their worldly life will be questioned (Surah At-Takatsur:

⁵¹Zusmelia et al., "The Meaning of Creative Economy in the Minangkabau Community in the West Sumatra Tourism Destination Area, Indonesia", *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites*, Vol. 33, no. 4 (2021), 1551-1556.

⁵²Interview with Mr. Jufriyal, Chairman of the Yogyakarta Minangkabau Big Family Association (IKKBMY) and culinary business actor on August 8 2022, September 21 2022.

⁵³Roza Sadikova Ismailovna, "Concept Zuhd (Asceticism) in Islam", *International Journal of Health Sciences*, Vol. 6 (2022): 10377-10382.

1-8). This concept of asceticism impacts the attitude of Minang diaspora traders, encouraging them to invest diligently in profitable ventures and avoid wasteful behaviour. Hard work, frugality, time management, and the pursuit of money and wealth can ultimately foster rational, innovative, and creative thinking, prerequisites for economic progress.⁵⁴

Here is a comparison table of doctrines in PWE and IWE that can foster the emergence of the capitalist spirit among Minang diaspora traders:

Table 1. Comparison of Doctrines in PWE and IWE:

No	PWE	IWE	Understanding Minang Business Actors
1.	Calling	Worship	This doctrine teaches that working is solely for seeking Allah’s pleasure, thereby instilling high motivation, known as divine motivation.
2.	Predestination	<i>Qadha’</i> and <i>Qadar</i>	This teaching encourages Muslim traders to be diligent and persistent, as they believe that God will provide the best results after their efforts (<i>qadha’</i>), and if they experience failure, it is because God has a better plan (<i>qadar</i>).
3.	Worldly Asceticism	Zuhd	This doctrine teaches balance between worldly life and the afterlife, encouraging individuals to work hard while avoiding excess and extravagance to achieve goodness in both this world and the hereafter.

⁵⁴Jondar et al., “Understanding Max Weber...”

Contribution of local wisdom to the spirit of Capitalism

Local wisdom is an orientation, perception, pattern, framework of life, and lifestyle. Minangkabau local wisdom is seen as a universal value resulting from a long journey of civilization. This civilization journey will guide the everyday practices of the indigenous community. Local wisdom will provide a social order that supports the sustainability of the ethnic group⁵⁵. The existence of local wisdom is sustained because Minangkabau culture possesses universal values⁵⁶; in Minangkabau society, three pillars build and maintain the integrity of culture and customs. These three pillars are religious scholars (*alim ulama*), intellectuals (*cerdik pandai*), and clan leaders (*ninik mamak*), collectively known as the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan. They complement each other and work together on an equal footing. In the democratic and egalitarian Minangkabau society, all community affairs are deliberated through consensus among these three elements⁵⁷. Proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) are an example of a universal reflection of Minang culture and philosophy that is often recited during traditional ceremonies⁵⁸, and then become an oral teaching medium by parents to their children within the family⁵⁹. The forms of local wisdom values that are still believed are integrated into proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*), which then become the local culture of Minangkabau. These values are then reproduced by the Minangkabau diaspora, including those in Yogyakarta, and become a source of their work ethic⁶⁰.

⁵⁵S Iska et al., "The Construction of an Islamic Capitalism through Pagang Gadai amongst the Minangkabau People", *Cogent Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (2023).

⁵⁶Jufri Naldo, "Islam Dan Modal Sosial..."

⁵⁷L. C. Westenenk, *Mededeelingen Van Het Bureau Voor De Bestuurszaken Der Buitenbezittingen Afl. Xvii: De Minangkabausche Nagari*, Amsterdam: N.V. Boekhandel Visser & Co, 1918.

⁵⁸Misnal Munir and Moses Glorino Rumambo Pandin, "The Local Genius..."

⁵⁹Interview with Mr. Mufti, a clothing business owner at the Bringhardjo traditional market, Yogyakarta on April 5 2023.

⁶⁰Imam Zulkhifli Mustafid et al., "Nilai Kearifan Lokal Dan Etos Kerja Diaspora Minangkabau Di Kota Semarang," *Solidarity: Journal of Education, Society and Culture* 8, no.

From various literature sources and interviews with Minangkabau business actors in Yogyakarta, several local cultures are still upheld and serve as the source of their ethics and behaviours, thus shaping their business ethos and fostering the spirit of capitalism. The culture of the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system, which places power in women and inheritance rights solely in the female line, has encouraged young men (*bujang*) to live independently⁶¹. This independent culture then shapes the mindset and attitude that transform into a migratory culture in the pursuit of a better life. In addition to this culture, there are proverbs and sayings relevant to the spirit of capitalism, which will be presented in the following table:

Table 2. Values of Minangkabau Local Wisdom

No	Proverb (Pepatah-Petitih)	Meaning	Abbreviation
1.	<i>Karatau madang dahulu, babuah babungo alun, marantau bujang dahulu, di rumah paguno balun</i>	Better go wandering because at home you are not useful	KMDBBA
2.	<i>Dimana bumi dipijak, disitu langik dijunjuang</i>	When in a new environment, one must respect it	DBDDLD
3.	<i>Anak dipangku kemenakan dijinjing.</i>	Men of the tribe have an obligation to provide for children up to nieces and nephews	ADKD

1 (2019): 557-71.

⁶¹Mustafid et al.

4.	<i>Dek caba mako mularaik, dek himaik makonyo kayo</i>	Because of extravagance, one becomes poor; because of thriftiness, one becomes rich	DCMM,DHMK
5.	<i>Dek ameh makonyo kameh dek padi mako manjadi.</i>	Because of gold, everything is accomplished; because of rice, everything becomes plentiful	DAMKDPMM
6.	<i>Katiko ado ditahan, lah tak ado baru dimakan</i>	When there is something saved, eat it only when there is nothing left	KAD,LTABD
7.	<i>Bakulamaik sabalun abih, ingek- ingek sabalun kanai</i>	Save before it's gone, remember before it's lost	BSHISK
8.	<i>Sakali lancuang ka ujian, saumua hiduik urang indak picayo</i>	Once dishonest, a person will not be trusted for a lifetime	SLK,SHUIP

One of the Minang proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) teaches the culture of migration and trade by leaving one's birthplace to engage in trading activities as part of life's journey⁶². These values stem from the synergy between innate values and religious values⁶³. The proverb (*pepatah-petitih*) 'KMDBBA,' which means 'better go wandering because you're not useful

⁶²F A Siregar, F Yulika, I Harahap, et al., "Merantau in the Ethnic Tradition of Minangkabau: Local Custom without Sharia Basis?", *Samarah*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2022), 115-138.

⁶³Isnarmi Moeis et al., "Intercultura A Global Treasure of Minangkabau Ethnic in Indonesia", *Cogent Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2116841>.

in the village,' encourages Minang men to migrate⁶⁴. One of the goals of migrating is to engage in trade, making the market an integral space in life as it becomes a requirement for the existence of a 'nagari' (village). Migration is a socio-cultural mechanism for self-recognition and social acknowledgement within the village as a useful person⁶⁵. One way to be useful is to become an entrepreneur, and the market is the friendliest place to achieve that⁶⁶. It is also evident in the existence of the largest traditional market in Yogyakarta, Beringharjo. This migration culture has values that support the spirit of capitalism, namely: the concept of life change, seizing opportunities, being ready to face obstacles, culturally based social interaction, independence and success, and building social success⁶⁷. The matrilineal culture as a kinship system where the formation of lineage is culturally regulated according to the female line, according to Mufti, also encourages Minang men to migrate⁶⁸.

Based on the interview with one of the Minang business practitioners, Jufrizal, the success of Minang businesspeople lies in their openness in conducting business. They are not hesitant to engage in business with people of different ethnicities or even religions⁶⁹. They try to differentiate between the area of religious worship and business transactions. This openness is what allows the Minang community to thrive in various regions across Indonesia

⁶⁴A.B.Dt. M. Indo, *Kato Pusako: Papatah, Patitih, Mamang, Pantun, Ajaran, Dan Filsafat Minangkabau*, Jakarta: PT Rora Karya, 1999.

⁶⁵Interview with Mr. Mufti, a clothing business owner at the Bringhardjo traditional market, Yogyakarta on April 5 2023.

⁶⁶Damsar and Indrayani, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Minangkabau Atas Pasar", *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (2016), 29–38.

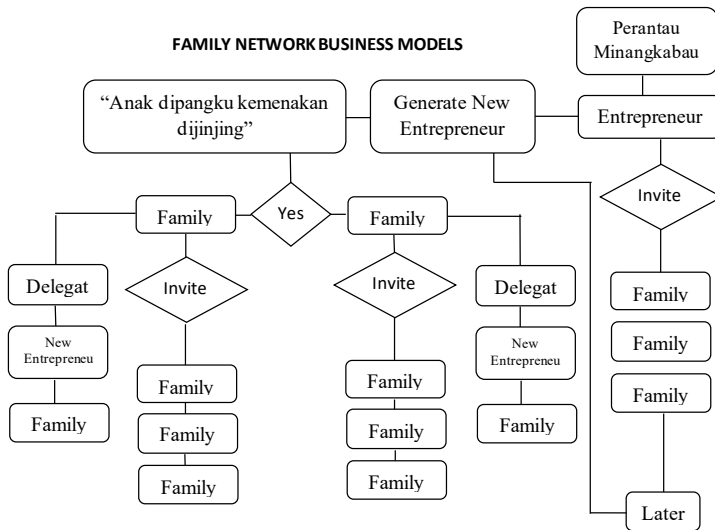
⁶⁷Ismira et al., "Analysis of the Similarities in Life Concepts between Migration Culture of Minangkabau Ethnic & Life Course Theory in Achieving Success", *Journal of Positive School*, Vol. 6, no. 4 (2022), 11303–11314.

⁶⁸Interview with Mr. Mufti, a clothing businessman at the Bringhardjo traditional market, Yogyakarta, on July 6 2023.

⁶⁹Interview with Mr. Jufriyal, Chairman of the Yogyakarta Minangkabau Big Family Association (IKKBMY) and culinary business actor on August 8 2022, September 21 2022.

and even abroad. The facts prove that they inhabit many major cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, Pekanbaru, Medan, Batam, Palembang, Bandar Lampung, including Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, abroad, the Minangkabau people have long migrated to countries like Singapore and Japan, as well as the cities of Sydney and Melbourne in Australia. This is supported by the Minang Family Association’s existence in those areas⁷⁰. In addition to religious doctrines that do not teach discrimination based on religion and race, this openness is also influenced by Minang culture, which firmly upholds the philosophy expressed in the DBDDLD proverb (*pepatah-petitih*)⁷¹. The philosophy is that Minang people are always ready to do good wherever they live. However, when it comes to sustaining their businesses, Minang people have strong solidarity and networks to withstand competition from external traders.

Figure 2. Family Network Business Models’s Perantau Minangkabau



⁷⁰Harian Singgalang, Warga Minang Sidney Peduli Syiar Islam. <http://hariansinggalang.co.id/warga-minang-sidney-peduli-syiar-islam/>. 18 January 2012.

⁷¹A.B.Dt. M. Indo, Kato Pusako...

The business pattern adopted by the Minang people in Yogyakarta and generally in various places is through kinship networks. Successful Minang traders in the diaspora will bring their relatives to help. These relatives include children, siblings, younger siblings, and nephews. Minang men have almost the same responsibility towards their children and nephews⁷². This pattern is based on the philosophy of the Minang people, which states ADKD, meaning that Minang men have to support their children and nephews. This philosophy teaches that Minang men have to prosper their children and nephews⁷³. After being deemed capable of being independent, usually, these relatives open their businesses that are similar or different.

The character of thriftiness and non-extravagance is an ethos that can lead to success in business, including for Minang business practitioners. From observations of Minang traders in Yogyakarta, they are very frugal and cautious in how they spend their wealth. However, they always remember the injunctions for zakat, infaq, and sadaqah as outlined in the Qur'an and Sunnah⁷⁴. Several proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) constitute local wisdom and serve as the philosophy of actions, such as DCOMM, DHMK (Because extravagant leads to poverty, because thrifty leads to wealth), DAMKDPMM (Because of gold, it becomes complete; because of rice, it thrives), KAD, LTABD (When you have something good, it is better to hold onto it; if it has gone, then you consume it), and BSHISK (Be prepared before danger strikes)⁷⁵.

The doctrine of IWE emphasizes hard work, cooperation, honesty, trust, and avoidance of unethical behaviour⁷⁶. As in devout Muslims, the ethos

⁷²Interview with Mr Rudi Yanuar and photocopy business people on September 29 2022.

⁷³Interview with Mr Rudi Yanuar and photocopy business people on September 29 2022.

⁷⁴Interview with Mr. Mufti, a clothing business owner at the Bringhardjo traditional market, Yogyakarta on April 5 2023.

⁷⁵Indo, *Kato Pusako...*

⁷⁶Alqhaiwi, Koburtay, and Syed, "The Interplay..."

of honesty practised by Minang traders is influenced by the teachings of Islamic economics, which strongly emphasizes ethical conduct in business. As mentioned above, engaging in trade is considered a dignified way to earn Allah's sustenance, and it should be pursued in accordance with Islamic economic principles. One respondent mentioned that the Minang business ethos can be equated with the Chinese ethnic group. The difference lies in the ethics that underpin every endeavour or business, particularly the issue of honesty⁷⁷. Minang business practitioners also hold a proverb that encourages honesty, namely SLK,SHUIP. This local wisdom imparts a philosophical lesson that if someone engages in deceit in business, others may never trust them for a lifetime.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The modern spirit of capitalism that has driven economic development to the present day, according to Weber, is built upon PWE through the concept of calling, followed by the doctrines of predestination and worldly asceticism. In the context of IWE, working, according to Minangkabau diaspora traders in Yogyakarta, is considered an act of worship. In Islam, worship is the primary purpose of human creation on Earth. From the perspective of Minangkabau Muslims, work is essentially fulfilling a sacred duty akin to the concept of calling in PWE. According to Minangkabau traders, wealth, or sustenance, is predetermined by Allah SWT, and it is humanity's task to seek it wherever they are. This belief has become an ethos that drives the Minangkabau people to migrate. The doctrine of predestination in PWE is synonymous with the doctrine of *qadha'* and *qadar* in IWE. This teaching encourages Minangkabau Muslim traders to be diligent and persistent, as they believe that God will provide the best

⁷⁷Alhamuddin et al., "Character Education...

⁷⁸Mustafid et al., "Nilai Kearifan Lokal...

outcomes after their efforts (*qadha'*). If they face failure, they understand that God has a better plan (*qadar*). The concept of asceticism in PWE, equivalent to *zuhd* in IWE, impacts a dedicated approach to investment and avoiding extravagant behaviour. Hard work, frugal living, efficient time management, and seeking money and wealth can foster rational, innovative, and creative thinking as prerequisites for economic.

In addition to the contribution of religious teachings, the spirit of capitalism among Minangkabau traders is driven by local culture in the form of proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) that serve as a source of ethics, thus shaping business ethos. Among the proverbs (*pepatah-petitih*) that can inspire the spirit of capitalism are "*karatau madang dahulu babuah babungo alun, marantau bujang dahulu di rumah paguno balun, sakali lancuang ka ujian saumua hiduik urang indak picayo,*" where the land one steps on is upheld, and the sky is respected; carrying oneself through life without complaining; and when facing challenges, one's entire life is not neglected. This proverb (*pepatah-petitih*) encourages business behaviour, such as independence, honesty, openness, courage, and a strong work ethic. There is a proverb (*pepatah-petitih*) that significantly influences the family network business model, emphasizing kinship. Successful Minangkabau traders abroad bring their relatives to assist them.

This research provides a new perspective on Weber's thesis, suggesting that religious concepts and doctrines do not solely influence the emergence of the spirit of capitalism. In the case of Minangkabau traders who migrate to Yogyakarta, it turns out that they are also influenced by local wisdom. Local values toward the spirit of capitalism have often been overlooked, especially in Weber's thesis. In practical terms, this research can be useful in promoting the preservation of local wisdom as a source of positive wealth amid the infiltration of modern culture in the era of digitization. For future researchers, it is recommended to comparatively analyze the

emergence of the spirit of capitalism among Minangkabau traders, migrant Javanese, and Madurese ethnic groups.

Bibliography

- Abdullah, Taufik, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau", *Cornell University Southeast Asia Program*, Vol. 2, no. Indonesia (1966): 1–24.
- Alhamuddin, Alhamuddin, Oki Dermawan, Helmi Azis, and Revan Dwi Erlangga. "Character Education Based on Minangkabau Local Wisdom." *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2022): 185–204. <https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.006.02.03>.
- Alqhaiwi, Zaid Oqla, Tamer Koburtay, and Jawad Syed, "The Interplay Between Islamic Work Ethic, Unethical Pro Behaviors, and Moral Identity Internalization: The Moderating Role of Religiosity", *Journal of Business Ethics* (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-023-05527-5>
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Asy'arie, Musa. *Etos Kerja Dan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat*. Yogyakarta: LESFI, 1997.
- Botoeva, Aisalkyn, "Islam and the Spirits of Capitalism: Competing Articulations of the Islamic Economy", *Politics & Society*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (2018): 235–64.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", In *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, 1st ed., 42. Routledge, 1973.
- Costa Oliveira, J C da, "The Protestant Ethics and the re-enchantment of the world in a society of labor: notes from Max Weber", *Filosofia Unisinos* 23, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.4013/fsu.2022.232.03>.
- Damsar, and Indrayani, "Konstruksi Sosial Budaya Minangkabau Atas Pasar",

- Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (2016): 29–38.
- Etzrodt, Christian. *Weber's Protestant-Ethic Thesis, the Critics, and Adam Smith*. Max Weber Studies, 2008.
- Ghosh, P., “Max Weber’s Idea of ‘Puritanism’: A Case Study in the Empirical Construction of the Protestant Ethic”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (2003): 183–221. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-6599\(03\)00002-0](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-6599(03)00002-0).
- Gladden, Richard R. Clayton and James W., “The Five Dimensions of Religiosity: Toward Demythologizing a Sacred Artifact”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (1974): 135–43.
- Glock, C. Y., and R Stark. *Religion and Society in Tension*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.
- Hancock, David, “Revulsion and Awe: Charting the Development of the Moral Economy of Capitalism and Its Hero in the American Imagination, from the Protestant Ethic to Ecstasy of the Entrepreneur”, *Journal of Cultural Economy*, Vol. 10, no. 2 (2017): 136–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2016.1211547>.
- Harian Singgalang, Warga Minang Sidney Peduli Syiar Islam. <http://hariansinggalang.co.id/warga-minang-sidney-peduli-syiar-islam/>. 18 January 2012.
- He, Qichun, Yulei Luo, Jun Nie, and Heng-fu Zou, “Money, Growth, and Welfare in a Schumpeterian Model with the Spirit of Capitalism”, *Review of Economic Dynamics*, Vol. 47 (2023): 346–72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.red.2022.03.001>.
- Indo, A.B.Dt. M. *Kato Pusako: Papatah, Patitih, Mamang, Pantun, Ajaran, Dan Filsafat Minangkabau*. Jakarta: PT Rora Karya, 1999.
- Iska, S, H Jubba, E Epicandra, and M Yusuf, “The Construction of an Islamic Capitalism through Pagang Gadai amongst the Minangkabau People”, *Cogent Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/>

10.1080/23311886.2022.2154547.

Ismailovna, Roza Sadikova, "Concept Zuhd (Asceticism) in Islam", *International Journal of Health Sciences*, Vol. 6 (2022): 10377-82. <https://doi.org/10.53730/ijhs.v6ns3.9435>.

Ismira, Mamat Supriatna, Warlan Sukandar, and Jendriadi, "Analysis of the Similarities in Life Concepts between Migration Culture of Minangkabau Ethnic & Life Course Theory in Achieving Success", *Journal of Positive School*, Vol. 6, no. 4 (2022): 11303-14.

Jondar, Aloysius, Donna Sampaleng, "Understanding Max Weber ' S Thoughts On Capitalism in Indonesia", *International Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 1, no. 6 (2022): 1055-64.

Khusniawati, Syadah, Wahid Fathoni, Safril Muhammad, and Muhammad Iqbal Ma'ruf, "Kaum Padri Dalam Pembaharuan Islam dan Muhammmadiyah Di Minangkabau", *Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Kemuhammadiyah (JASIKA)*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (2021): 29-38. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jasika.v1i1.3>.

Kornoukhova, Gadilya G., "Muslim Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism: The Characteristics of Islamic Entrepreneurship Development in the Russian Empire between the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Social Evolution and History*, Vol. 17, no. 2 (2018): 121-39. <https://doi.org/10.30884/seh/2018.02.08>.

L. C. Westenenk. *Mededeelingen Van Het Bureau Voor De Bestuurszaken Der Buitenbezittingen Afl. Xvii: De Minangkabausche Nagari*. Belanda: N.V. Boekhandel Visser & Co, 1918.

Marshall G. *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism: An Essay on Max Weber's Protes- Tant Ethic Thesis*. New Yorkx: New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Modrack, Simone. *The Protestant Work Ethic Revisited: A Promising Concept or an Outdated Idea?* Berlin: Social Science Research Center, 2008.

- Moeis, Isnarmi, Rika Febriani, Ika Sandra, and Mustaqim Pabbajah, "Intercultural Values in Local Wisdom: A Global Treasure of Minangkabau Ethnic in Indonesia", *Cogent Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2116841>.
- Munir, Misnal, and Moses Glorino Rumambo Pandin, "The Local Genius Values of Minangkabau Society", *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, Vol. 165, no. Iccsr (2018): 302–6. <https://doi.org/10.2991/iccsr-18.2018.67>.
- Mustafid, Imam Zulkhifli, Kuncoro Bayu Prasetyo, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, and Universitas Negeri Semarang, "Nilai Kearifan Lokal Dan Etos Kerja Diaspora Minangkabau Di Kota Semarang", *Solidarity: Journal of Education, Society and Culture*, Vol. 8, no. 1 (2019): 557–71.
- Naldo, Jufri, "Islam Dan Modal Sosial Orang Minangkabau Di Perantauan", *Jurnal Penelitian*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (2019): 252–78.
- Rahardjo, M Dawam. *Intelektual, Intelegensia, dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa*. Bandung: Mizan, 1993.
- Rahayu, Elvia, Amril Amir, and Hamidin, "Petata-Petitih Masyarakat Minangkabau Di Nagari Koto Baru Kecamatan Kubung Kabupaten Solok", *Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (2013): 17–25.
- Rahman, Syed Mohammad Hilmi Syed Abdul, et al., "The Basic Model of Islamic Psychospiritual Treatment Based on Understanding and Appreciating the Concept of Destiny (Al-Taqdir)", *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, Vol. 22, no. 65 (2023): 185–97.
- Shirokanova, Anna, "A Comparative Study of Work Ethic among Muslims and Protestants: Multilevel Evidence", *Social Compass*, Vol. 62, no. 4 (2015): 615–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768615601980>.
- Singer, Milton, "Ethnology: The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism . Max Weber", *American Anthropologist*, Vol.

63, no. 1 (1961): 143–51.

Siregar, F A, F Yulika, I Harahap, B Ridwan, and I Syahputra, “Merantau in the Ethnic Tradition of Minangkabau: Local Custom without Sharia Basis?”, *Samarah*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2022): 115–38. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i1.9954>.

Siregar, Fatahuddin Aziz, Febri Yulika, Nofialdi, Ikhwanuddin Harahap, Benny Ridwan, and Iswandi Syahputra, “Merantau in the Ethnic Tradition of Minangkabau: Local Custom without Sharia Basis?”, *Samarah*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2022): 115–38. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i1.9954>.

Tarigan, Azhari Akmal, and Jufri Naldo, “The New Construction of Inheritance in Minangkabau People : Competition and Strategy to Produce Successful Entrepreneurs in Indonesia”, *Millatī, Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 7, no. 2 (2022): 19–31.

Waluyo, Agus, “Understanding the Values of Islamic Economics and Javanese Philosophy Pertaining to the Work Ethic of Muslim Merchants in Salatiga”, *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 2 (2022): 393–419. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i2.393-419>.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

Weber, Max. *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, Trans. III. Glencoe: Free Press, 1951.

Wrzesniewski, Amy Elizabeth. *Jobs, Careers, And Callings: Work Orientation And Job Transitions*. United States Code: UMI Company, 1999.

Zabaev, Ivan, and Elena Prutskova, “The Calling and Humility Scale: Extending the Weberian Approach to the Research of the Elective Affinity between Religion and the Economy”, *Russian Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (2019): 62–88. <https://doi.org/10.17323/1728-192x-2019-2-62-88>.

Zusmelia, Irwan, Yossi E. Putri, Nilmadesri Rosya, and Felia Siska, “The Meaning of Creative Economy in the Minangkabu Community in the West Sumatra Tourism Destination Area, Indonesia”, *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites*, Vol. 33, no. 4 (2021): 1551–56. <https://doi.org/10.30892/gtg.334spl16-607>.