

Minangkabaunese Tradition of Out-Migration (Merantau) in Indonesia: Hamka's Novels on Reality

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Abstract

The study aims at identifying and describing the phenomena of out-migration (*merantau*) conducted by the Minangkabaunese in Hamka's novels *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck* and *Merantau ke Deli* as a reflection of reality. Etymologically, the word *merantau* does not simply mean migration; it is a concept with cultural values and norms and having no equivalent meaning in another language. The research holistically is done by means of descriptive qualitative research method on consideration that the discussions and the analysis are concerned with societal portraits which are to be revealed to improve the thinking horizon of the public about out-migration (*merantau*). The data are taken from the novels supported by the research instrument in the form of interview. The results show that *merantau* has become a cultural heritage for the Minangkabaunese caused by economic, social and cultural factors. The major characters in the novels experience financial difficulties as the space to find decent work is very limited in their hometown. The paradigm that every man has to do out-migration (*merantau*) has become social and cultural factors signifying their matrilineal system and in order to get a bright future they have to be well educated while proper education is not yet available in their place. Therefore, the summing up of the goals of out-migration (*merantau*) is to gain knowledge, experience, social status, prosperity as well as to conduct a cultural mission.

Keywords: cultural mission, tradition, matrilineal paradigm, out-migration

1. Introduction

Out-migration (*merantau*) is a fundamental social or economic phenomenon with various reasons for every person, every household, and over time and across geographic regions, meaning that the reason for a local move will likely differ from the reasons for longer, interstate relocations (Jansen, 1970). Out-migration means leading to a new geographical location (Ghimire and Bhandari, 2020). Contemporary scholars have developed and extensively employed several theoretical and conceptual frameworks to understand about migration (Massey, et al, 1993). The migration debate is almost as old as organized society itself. Immigrants tend to insist on making a new territory for their dwelling place (Power, Garling, and Hardman, 1979).

Out-migration involves a change of residence by a person, family, or household. A long-time interval will end up missing migrants, particularly those who migrate and then either 'return' to their origin region or make a second, 'onward' migration to a different destination (Newbold, 2010). However, the kind of migration in the way 'return' itself becomes a culture. Humans live in groups, from families to communities to entire civilizations and these groups share certain sets of learned ideas as behavior guidance. A person born and raised in urban Japan, for example, learns a set of ideas about personal space, gender roles, appropriate foods for certain occasions and so on that differ from those learned by a person born and raised in, say, rural Australia. The origins of those Japanese and Australian ideas, and even their specific content emerge from an option eating with chopsticks or a knife and fork. The point is that groups of humans share sets of ideas that guide behavior. Such groups are often referred to as different cultures (Smith and Davies, 2012).

So it can be clearly illustrated that the movement of population from one area to another can be considered a very natural event. This is known as migration. Within migration itself there is transmigration as well as urbanization. This is related to basic human needs consisting of clothing, food and shelter. Clothing consists of clothing, food consists of food, and housing consists of shelter. The need for proper and comfortable housing cannot be ignored. When choosing a place to live, there are various factors to consider. If a person is not suitable to settle in an area or there are other motivating factors, then he can move or commonly known as migration. Therefore, migration is a term used for the event of population movement from one place to another for the purpose of settling across political or state boundaries or administrative boundaries, part boundaries of a country (Arango, 2004 and O'Reilly, 2012).

In sociology according to its nature migration is distinguished into two forms, namely:

1. Vertical migration, a change in social status by sight generational position, for example looking at the status of the father's position.
2. Horizontal migration, namely territorial population movement, spatial or geographic.

The movement of people from one country to another is called international migration and the movement of people that occurs within one country, for example between provinces, cities or other administrative units is known as internal migration and this is closely related to the concept of migration of *merantau* by the Minangkabau people.

Migration can be divided into three forms:

1. Recurrent Movement): changes in place that are routine, such as workers, both permanent and seasonal.
2. Non-Recurrent Movement: change of place of residence with the aim of settling down and not returning to the original place.

From the description it can be seen that the migration process occurs because:

1. Pressure, perhaps in the economic, social or psychological fields at the place of origin.
2. Differences in values and norms that are inconsistent with the principles or ideology adopted (FitzGerald and Arar, 2018).

Based on Ravenstein's theory, global migration laws are as follows:

1. Immigrants tend to choose the nearest place as a destination.
2. The most dominant factor that influences a person to migrate is the difficulty of getting a job in the place of origin so that there is a hope of getting a better income.
3. Positive information about more promising destinations; negative information about the destination area reduces the intention of the population to migrate.
5. Lifestyle from assumptions, the influence of urban life on a person.
6. The level of income also results in a high frequency of migration, the higher a person's income, the greater the desire to migrate is.
7. Immigrants tend to choose areas where friends or relatives live in the destination area.
8. Young and unmarried people migrate more than those who are married.
9. People with higher education usually migrate more than those with low education (Tobler, 1995 & Rees, 2020).

In Indonesia, *merantau* is a tradition of the Minangkabau tribe. The Minangkabau tribe inhabits the west coast of Sumatra (Benda-Beckmann, 1979). The most important elements for the West Sumatran people are family and their culture. Minangkabauneses conveniently stay in their core family. Their relationship with the big family members remains close over time, wherever they live (Rahman, 2016). The *merantau* term is attached in Minangkabauneses although the era has changed (Angelia & Hasan, 2017). The concepts and methods of analysis of migrations are self-contained, for one very good reason: the same migration flow can be considered as external or internal aspect according to how the study population is defined. Migration from West Sumatera to North Sumatera is an internal migration for Indonesia, but from West Sumatera, Indonesia, to Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia is external aspect as this is a cross to another state (Caselli, Vallin, & Wunsch, 2005)

The migration itself is based on the proverb, *keratau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun, marantau bujang dahulu, di kampung baguna balloon*. The proverb means if in the village you cannot do much for the people, you should migrate. Minangkabau migration has special characteristics different from that of other ethnic groups. The distinction is based on the kinship system adopted by the Minangkabau community, the matriarchal. The matriarchal system gives women a huge influence on the system of living of the community itself, especially on poverty inherited. To be able to own their property, Minangkabau men have to work on their own, one of which is by migrating.

Merantau has several causal factors such as ecological or locational, economic and demographic factors based on the attractiveness of the destination city, political instability as well as social factors (Naim, 2013). Many novels tell about Minangkabau *merantau* with its various causes and goals as in Hamka's novels. Literary works such as a novel, are written pieces of work containing aesthetic merits and reflections of society produced by authors (Arafah et al., 2021). In addition, Schneider-Mayerson (2020) believes that the general increase in understanding migration has been echoed by artists and cultural creators, including novelists through their works.

As one of famous cultures, the migration of Minangkabau has been carried out in studies by several previous researchers such as Nasir (2021); Bruhn (2018); Iman & Mani (2013). All these studies focus on the *merantau* tradition as a reflection of society. Marlina (2018) and Hidayat, e. al (2021) discuss that *merantau* is exposed in all genres of literary work. In contrast to these studies, this study is supported by in-depth interview technique to identify the phenomenon of *merantau* in Hamka's novels as a reflection of the social reality of the existing community focusing on the causal factors and the goals.

This research is based on Kato (2005), Naim (2013), and Pelly (1994) in analyzing about *merantau*. Sociologically, out-migration has basic elements, namely leaving one's hometown, voluntarily, for a long period or not, to make a living study or seeking experience, usually to return home, and migration is an entrenched social institution (Naim, 2013; Kato, 2005). The tradition is then considered as a cultural feature that continues to be passed down, thought about, preserved, and not lost. Thus, the tradition carries the wisdom of the predecessors and evokes positive sentiments for the successors. Associated with the word *rantau*, *merantau* tradition is meant as a tradition or culture of going to another region, leaving one's hometown, sailing through the river, and so on (Kato, 2005). Minangkabau migrants are generally farmers looking for work outside of agriculture such as traders or tailors. This makes the Minangkabau ethnic

group have special characteristics to be easily recognized in urban areas.

The tradition of *merantau* cannot be separated from the matriarchal system adopted by the people. Kato (2005) reveals that the beginning of the culture of *merantau* is due to the increasing population and the lack of agricultural land. The prosperity of the women due to the customary system adopted is considered the cause of the increase in the population. In line with Kato, Naim (2013) states that the Minangkabau migration is caused by ecological and location factors, economics and demographics, education, urban attractiveness, political unrest, and social factors. The ecological factor is that Minangkabau is a remote area that is very little visited by outsiders so they have to go outside or migrate. Economic and demographic factors are the lack of income to meet family needs due to limited land or the willingness to be able to stand on their own feet before marriage. The educational factor is tied to the development of education with the establishment of various schools for people who can then migrate outside Minangkabau to continue their education. The city's attractiveness factor is also the reason for *merantau* because of the success of immigrants who return to the village from the city from which they have migrated. Political unrest factor is such as the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party and PRRI. Meanwhile, social factors, namely the Minangkabau custom which adheres to a matriarchal kinship system make the position of men weak both as children and as husbands. The first five elements are common but the last element is a distinctive feature that only the Minangkabau people have migrated to.

Moreover, Kato (2005) says that *merantau* for the Minangkabau people has the goal of seeking wealth, knowledge, and fame. The purpose of *merantau* that Naim and Kato put forward is the same, namely looking for wealth for a living, education both formal and informal, and seeking experience or fame. In contrast to Naim and Kato, Pelly considers the tradition of *merantau* as a "cultural mission". This cultural mission is seen in how the migrants send remittances to the family in the village to be used to build beautiful and modern houses even though very few people occupy them and also enrich and strengthen the Minangkabau nature; a habit that has been a tradition in fulfilling their cultural mission. In their hometowns, they build houses for their sisters or wives. If it is built on land belonging to her mother's tribe, the house will later become the property of her sister and her nephews. Meanwhile, if it is built on his wife's tribal land, the house will later become the property of his wife and daughters (Pelly, 1994). This is a social reality of *merantau* for the Minangkabau community.

The Minangkabau *merantau* is different from that of other ethnicities because this tradition has been institutionalized in the Minangkabau social system. The unstable position of Minangkabau men both in the wife's family and in the mother's family make Minangkabau men encouraged to migrate before marriage to show that they can stand on their own feet. Migrating itself can be seen as an initiation to maturity and as a social obligation for Minangkabau men to seek wealth, continue knowledge and seek life experiences (Naim, 2013). Minangkabau *merantau* has several goals such as seeking wealth or livelihood, seeking knowledge by continuing education levels, and seeking experience (Kato, 2005; Naim, 2013). These goals are no different from *merantau* of other tribes. The goal of *merantau* Minangkabau that distinguishes it from other tribes is the cultural mission (Pelly, 1994).

2. Method

The study is explanatory and qualitative which is drawn on the descriptive and interpretive paradigm. The narrative text was obtained from the immigrants of West Sumatra in Medan City regarding their perspectives of the causes and goals of *merantau* in Medan. The study focused on identifying and understanding their perspectives on the causes and goals of *merantau* related to the novels *Merantau ke Deli* and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck* (MkD and TKVdW) written by Hamka.

We conducted the data collection from two various sources; the novels written by Hamka and by interviewing 8 Minangkabauese migrants (coding with R1-R8) in Medan city from different backgrounds. We employed the *cuplik* (pick out a small portion) method to select the data from the novels (Sutopo, 2006) and the non-probability random sampling method to select the informants (Cresswell, 2014). We got in touch with the Minangkabau communities in Medan City in collecting the data to meet the data characteristics. We first informed the informants of the purpose of the study and also ensured the confidentiality of the informants' responses. The interviews were conducted at their convenient time and venue, the we took a record and notes to facilitate the review of the insights shared by the migrants. The question topic guide consisted of their personal identity and work, their views about the novels, the reasons, and the goals they migrate to Medan. The topic guides ensured the inclusion of identified essential issues relevant to the novels. We conducted data collection simultaneously while analyzing the data. After 8 interviews, no new themes emerged, and we confirmed that the data saturation had been reached (Fusch and Ness, 2015).

The data taken from interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in Indonesian. The whole data are interpreted using qualitative data analysis (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014) to manage and code the data. The whole data were analyzed in the following steps; first, codes were assigned to phrases and sentences that described the meaning of the transcription segment. Furthermore, the data with similar meanings were assigned under the same code. A new code was given for the different meanings of data. The coding processes were continued until no new code was created from the data. Next, all similar codes were gathered into more conceptual categories. In the end, each category, in this case, was identified based on the causing factors and the goals of Minangkabau *merantau*. Then, the coding data were validated through triangulation method (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014) to provide reliable data by comparing the data sources from novels, informants, and professional peer debriefing.

3. Results

3.1 Hamka's Novels: Merantau as the Cultural Background of His Literary Works

The 1920s and 1930s were the scenes of the creation and development of modern Indonesian literature. Novels and old literary works were used to express criticism as well as longing and nostalgia for everything they left behind in their hometown. The themes raised in these novels are similar, namely the incompatibility of ancient customs with modern demands by telling stories about merantau, marriages arranged by custom, marriages that are forced on young people by tradition, conflicting thoughts between generations, the space between customs and their ideals and desires. Teeuw in Naim (2013) reveals that the literary themes mentioned above can be understood because the authors themselves are young people, educated in western schools where they have been exposed, through reality or the books they have read, to modern society in which individuals gain more freedom about the choice of a life partner. They can only react critically to these realities and forced marriages, both what they experience themselves and what they see through the lives of those in their immediate environment. The 1920s and 1930s were a general illustration that literary dialogue had been absorbed by the contradictions of adat and Islam and Western influences, as well as between the old and the young.

Merantau is an adventure for experience and geographic reasons (Graves, 2007; Naim, 2013). The novel Merantau to Deli (MkD) and Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck (TKVdW) written by Hamka are cultural literary works telling about Minangkabau culture. The characters in the novels portray their engagement with the matriarchal system adopted by the community. This is considered as social factors that become one of the causes of merantau. The Minangkabau men left their hometowns for a long time and of their own accord for seeking wealth, education experience, and cultural mission. Overseas areas as the destination are no longer for division of village but a city such as Medan, Jakarta, Surabaya, and Banyuwangi. This is clearly illustrated by the characters in these novels such as Leman, Toke Abdullah, and Bagindo Kayo in the novel MkD who migrated to Tanah Deli, Medan, Muluk, Aziz, and Khadijah's husband in the novel TKVdW who migrated to Jakarta, Surabaya, and Banyuwangi. The writer portrays that big cities become an urban attractiveness for merantau.

Suara Deli yang demikianlah yang gemuruh kedengaran ke mana-mana ke sekeliling pulau Sumatera. Itulah yang membawa kaki orang Tapanuli dan orang Minangkabau datang ke Deli sejak tanah Deli terbuka.... (It was Deli's roar that sounded everywhere around the island of Sumatra. That is what brought the feet of the Tapanuli and Minangkabau people to come to Deli since the land of Deli was opened....) (Hamka, MkD, 2017: 5)

Dengan kemauan yang tetap, dia bersama Muluk meninggalkan kota Jakarta yang di kota itu dia telah mendapat modal paling besar, yaitu leter "Z" yang kelak akan dipergunakan mencoba nasib di kota Surabaya itu. (With a firm will, he and Muluk left the city of Jakarta where he had obtained the largest capital, namely letter "Z" which would later be used to try his luck in the city of Surabaya. (Hamka, TKVdW, 2015: 176)

The world view of the Minangkabau people depicted in the two novels assumes that by merantau, self-awareness to maintain self-identity in a social context to maintain sustainable customs and socio-cultural values is still carried out. The results of the identification of the novels show that merantau aims to find wealth, education, experience, and fame which is shown through the characters. The aims themselves portray the reason or the cause why they migrate. The most prominent goal of Minangkabau merantau is looking for wealth. Leman, Bagindo Kayo, and Toke Abdullah in the novel MkD and Aziz, Khadijah's husband, and Muluk in the novel TKVdW clearly illustrate this goal. It means that the economic factor becomes the cause. They seek money by trading. Continuing education did not become dominant because the level of education at the time the novel was made was still low and difficult for ordinary people. This goal is only shown by the writer of Khadijah's husband. He goes to Jakarta to study trade subjects.

Sudah dua bulan tunangannya itu ada di Jakarta, menambah ilmunya dalam perkara dagang, ... (It has been two months Khadijah's fiance in Jakarta to study about trading, ... (Hamka, TKVdW, 2015: 101)

Every character has a basic goal, namely to seek experience. The purpose of seeking fame is not one of the author's depictions in the two novels. The success obtained will eventually lead to fame for the migrants. In addition, the MkD but not the TKVdW describes the purpose of cultural missions shown by the main character.

"... Engkau akan kembali hidup di rantau, jauh dari pelupuk mata mereka. Mereka hanya pandai meluncurkan engkau ke dalam lembah kesusahan. Kalau ada hartamu kirimkan pulang, belikan sawah, lekatkan ke rumah, semuanya untuk mereka, (You will be back in rantau, far from their sights. They are only good at launching you into the abyss of trouble. If you have wealth, send it home, buy a rice field, attach it to the house, everything is for them (Hamka, MkD, 2017: 63)

The cultural mission goal as Pelly (1994) states is shown by the main character, Leman in Hamka's MkD. He sends money earned to his village in Minangkabau to build a house and buy land. This cultural mission view is also shown by the writer of the novel by explaining that many of the immigrants send their money to their homeland to build a house, take back the pawned land, and buy land. However, the other Minangkabau characters in the novel do not portray the mission.

3.2 *Minangkabau Merantau in Reality: Past and Present*

3.2.1 The Causing Factors

The tradition of merantau has developed since time immemorial. This is marked by the Minangkabau rhyme *Karatau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun, marantau bujang dahulu, dikampuang baguna balun*. This message means that bachelors must go out because they are useless in the village. They wander to cities in Indonesia and also abroad like Malaysia and Australia. The first group arrived in Sydney in the 1960s under the Colombo study plan but most returned to Indonesia. During the 1970s young Indonesian men came to Australia in search of adventure and educational opportunities (Maher, 1994: 60). Naim (2013) states that merantau is an important characteristic of the Minangkabau community. Even in 1970, a seminar on Minangkabau history and culture was held in Batusangkar with the conclusion that an in-depth study of merantau which was more systematic needed to be held to find the causes and effects of these social phenomena.

Merantau has practical implications for the socio-economic development of the Minangkabau region. The influence of the merantau tradition on the economic and social conditions of the West Sumatra area until now seems to have grown bigger. This is because those who migrate are young people who have greater economic potential and job potential (Naim, 2013). Abit in Beritaminang.com (2020) argues that the tradition for the Minangkabau people is a life struggle to change fate, whether in the form of seeking knowledge, preaching, or seeking sustenance (money). The Minangkabau men migrate because life in their village was very difficult. Economists view migration as a result of the impact of wage rate differentials. The theory suggests that people move in response to wage differences; that is, they move from areas of low income to areas of high income. Methodologically, this theory implies a constant shift from a rural to an urban population (Fligstein, 1981).

According to all the informants of this study, merantau is a form of tradition that has existed since ancient times until now as a form of local wisdom that has been institutionalized in society influenced by the westernized system adopted. They state that merantau is caused by economic and social factors experienced by the community. The increasingly narrow land makes young people have to wander in search of a living. This is along with the other informants.

R1 states that merantau is an obligation because as a man, the Minangkabau youth will have to fulfill their household needs. He argues that merantau itself has a relationship with social factors, namely the matrilineal system adopted by the community. The relationship is related to the economic factors owned. Today along with the times, the reason for seeking knowledge is also an important factor that causes someone to migrate. He adds that in principle merantau nowadays is no different from that in the past. The only difference lies in the era. Meanwhile, R2 illustrates that a chicken cannot continue to peck in the same place while there are no more worms there. He also adds that merantau makes Minangkabau youth have self-respect as a man. He will not support his future wife and children if he does not go wandering and only depends on heirlooms.

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and children if he does not go wandering and only depends on heirlooms.

R1: *Sama-sama didasarkan kebutuhan hidup yang tidak semata-mata ekonomi namun juga bisa dalam hal pendidikan untuk mencari ilmu. Adat istiadat turut menjadi penyebab. Medan menjadi daya tarik setelah Jakarta.* (It is not only about the necessity on economic but also on education. Custom as the social factor is one of the causes. Medan city becomes an attractive city beside Jakarta for migrating).

Apart from economic and social factors, the attractiveness of the city is also one of the reasons for Minangkabau people migrate. R2 said that the attractiveness of Medan city makes Minangkabaunese men migrate to Medan. These attractions include the distance that is not too far and Medan's openness to various ethnicities. Jakarta city is also a city attraction for immigrants. R1 explained that he was interested in Jakarta. The success of the Minangkabau immigrants in Jakarta has made the Indonesian capital an attraction for him.

R2. ... *Faktor pendidikan menjadi daya dorong utama saat ini. Medan menjadi daya tarik karena jarak yang tidak terlalu jauh dan juga terbuka untuk semua etnis.* (Education factor motivate the youth nowadays. Medan city is an attractive city for its distance and multicultural ethics.)

According to informants, it can be identified that in the past and present time the main causal factors of *merantau* are the economic factor, namely the necessities of life that young people will live when they are married, and social factor, namely the matrilineal kinship system adopted by the community. However, the reason for improving knowledge has become one of the dominant factors for the community today.

3.2.2 The Goals

The migration factor is believed to influence the society's economic structure in urban and rural areas (Noviarti et al, 2013). The economic depression that occurred until 1935 and was also followed by world tensions that resulted in World War II, at least the economic impetus directly affected the migration movement. Non-economic factors also began to play an important role in migration. The establishment of schools and the new ideas that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s were the reasons for the development of non-economic factors for migration (Naim, 2013). In the late 1920s and 1930s, many graduates of schools in Minangkabau, as well as graduates of MULO, Raja School, Normal School, HIS, and others, had become migrants.

The immigrants who mainly graduated from public schools went to Java to continue their studies or to find work in various government offices and the private sector. The results of interviews conducted by Naim (2013) with two medical students at that time showed that 8% of all graduates were Minangkabau. Except for the relatively small number of traders in Betawi, Bandung, Surabaya, and Palembang at that time, the majority of Minangkabau immigrants in Java before the war were students and office workers. It was these students who later became many national leaders after the war. The island of Java, especially Betawi, is the center of attraction for intellectuals to migrate because almost all political and cultural activities are centered.

The geographical distribution of Minangkabau people living outside West Sumatra based on the 1930 census conducted by Volkstelling showed that about 99,000 immigrants were based in Sumatra. About 51 percent of the migrants outside West Sumatra are in East Sumatra. This region became a favorite place for immigrants due to its rapid economic development and high job opportunities during the 1920s. In those years, large plantations such as tobacco and rubber were opened in addition to oil palm, pepper, coffee, and tea plantations. Many offers as employees or coolies are provided. A large number of employees and coolies on this plantation encouraged educated Minangkabau immigrants to trade. In the 1930s, the island of Java had not yet become an important migration destination for Minangkabau men (Kato, 2005).

The 1930 population census in Naim (2013) stated that 6,500 Minangkabau people were living in Java. In 1942 the number increased but did not exceed 10,000. In West Sumatra itself, all the leaders of the struggle came out of the forest and moved to Jakarta after the recognition of the Republic of Indonesia and the return of the capital to Jakarta. The move was followed by local leaders who had understood that the opportunities in the capital would be better. Many go to Jakarta to find work and trade. But not a few are also students to continue their education at various universities such as in Yogyakarta. The population census stated that of the total Minangkabau people in Java, more than half came from Padang, 15 percent came from the main religions, Agam Tua and Maninjau, and about 8 percent came from Batipuh Ten Koto.

The tendency to migrate to other cities on the island of Sumatra such as Medan, Pekanbaru, Jambi, and Palembang again occurred after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The increasing interest in *merantau* is also motivated by the operation of bus routes to various cities, especially Medan and Pekanbaru. The arrival of the Minangkabau people to Medan was not to become laborers on the plantations but to trade. They very much avoided becoming contract workers like the Javanese who came to the plantations in Medan. Many of the Minangkabau nomads peddled their wares from one plantation to another or settled in the city to trade. They came and rented houses. Unlike people from other tribes, they did not buy a house there but just rent it and then after a few years they move to another place (Pelly, 1994)

Naim (2013) explains that the Minangkabau occupation of East Sumatra is not much different from that before the war. A large number are still retailing at street vendors although quite a number of them have managed to open their shops. A small number of them have become wholesalers, especially textiles, glassware, kitchen utensils, and daily necessities. It was revealed that more than 60 percent of all traders in Pasar Pusat (Center Market) were Minangkabau people.

Informants of this research state the main goal of *merantau* is to seek money or to find livelihoods. This goal is no different from ancient times to the present. R1 states that the Minangkabau people migrate primarily to look for money as a means of livelihood. This is inseparable from the identity of a man who will later support his own family. To fulfill the purpose of finding these treasures, the immigrants work as traders. He adds that seeking knowledge is also one of his goals of *merantau*. However, this is not too much because it is also caused by the underlying economic factor. R1 himself migrated to seek knowledge because he was accepted at one of the public universities in Medan.

R1. *Mencari harta, pendidikan dan pengalaman-pengalaman baru. Karena sifatnya lelaki wajib memenuhi kebutuhan keluarga. Perantau juga mengirimkan uang hasil di rantau ke kampung.* (Seeking wealth, education and new experiences, as it is natural for a man to fulfill the needs of his family. They also send their money to their homeland)

According to R2 and relevant to the rest of the 7 informants, the purpose of seeking wealth is done by trading overseas. In fact, in the past, there was a characteristic of each village in terms of the business carried out such as tailors from one particular village overseas. He also added that *merantau* was a form of developing his identity as a Minangkabau man. He will not able to support his family if he does not have his income. Before the entry of Islam, it was said that the position of a husband in the Minangkabau tribe was weak because his wife and children were financed from the inheritance they owned. After Islam entered, the position of men became stronger because they had to be able to support themselves and guide their wives and children. The goal of seeking knowledge today has also become the goal of many Minangkabau people to migrate.

R2. *Seorang laki-laki harus mampu sebagai kepala rumah tangga dan mamak yang mampu mengayomi keluarga. Misi budaya dengan mengirimkan hasil dari rantau ke kampung halaman juga dilakukan.* (A man must be a good chief of his future household and also a good *mamak*. Cultural mission is by delivering the money to the homeland.)

Based on the elaboration above, the Minangkabau people migrate to seek money and seek knowledge. Seeking money is the main goal and is earned by trading. According to the informants, *merantau* also has a goal for its cultural mission. They said that the immigrants generally sent the money they got to their hometowns to build a house, buy rice fields, or do other things. The cultural mission was carried out to build dignity in the village.

R6. *Tujuan pemenuhan ekonomi, mencari ilmu pengetahuan, mencari pengalaman. Misi budaya berlaku untuk membangun rumah dan menebus sawah yang dulu digadaikan mamak.* (The goals are economic necessity, seeking knowledge and experience. Cultural mission exists when money is sent to homeland to build a house and to take back the pawned lands.)

Nowadays, the cultural mission has shifted. The delivery to the village is mainly carried out for social actions such as the buildings of mosques, *surau*, *madrasahs*, and others as a form of concern for their hometown. The cultural mission initiated by Pelly is no longer dominant because the wives of the immigrants are no longer in the village but have also settled overseas. Sending money to parents in the village is also only to help fulfill their daily lives. People's intense activities have considerably changed the natural environment due to their intimate relationship with science and technology which can mainly be felt and seen in the era of the industrial revolution (Arafah, et al., 2021)

The result of the analysis shows the causes of the *merantau* tradition are economic, educational, city attractiveness, and social factors contained in the two novels reflecting the social reality at the time the novels were written. The goals of the *merantau* are to seek money, to seek knowledge, and experience in the two novels and these are the author's world view as a reflection of the social reality of the *merantau* when the novel was written.

Tabel 1. Causes and goal of Minangkabau tribe *merantau*: past and present

Category	Hamka's Novels		reality	
	MkD	TKVdW	past	present
1. the causes				
a. economics	√	√	√	√
b. education	-	√	√	√
c. city attractiveness	√	√	√	√
d. politics	-	-	√	-
e. social factors	√	√	√	-
2. the goals				
a. to seek money	√	√	√	√
b. to continue education	-	√	√	√
c. to seek experience	√	√	√	√
d. cultural mission	√	-	√	√

4. Conclusion

Migrating for Minangkabau is theoretically a form of tradition that has existed since ancient times until now as a form of local wisdom that has been institutionalized in society. It has various causing factors and goals as the background. The main causing factors for

the Minangkabau people to migrate are economic factors, social factors, educational factors and city attractiveness factors. The main purpose of migration is to seek wealth or livelihood, seek knowledge and also seek experience and cultural missions. To achieve the goal of seeking wealth or livelihood, the people generally trade in the new town. Theoretically, every effort a person makes will result in experience or fame. The concept of cultural mission is still carried out by the Minangkabau until now but occurs in accordance with the material and moral conditions of the nomads.

Furthermore, the causes, goals and types of migration of the Minangkabau community in the novels TKVdW and MkD are seen in the form of social reality by describing how the conditions of the migrating tradition were at the time the novel was made. The tradition of migrating the Minangkabau community in Hamka's novels is a reflection of the society described by the author in his work. The facts of humanity, the collective subject and the author's worldview are clearly illustrated through the fictional characters in the two novels. The author's world view which is the world view of the Minangkabau community considers migrating as a tradition that is strongly recommended for young people to develop themselves to improve their lives in the future.

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