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Minangkabau Migration in Aceh During the Colonial Era: The Reconstruction of Aneuk Jamee's Identity

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The study aims to identify the history of Minangkabau migration and reconstruct the identity of Aneuk Jamee on the coast of Aceh during the colonial era. A historical approach was used where the data taken from interviews and document analysis of books, papers, journals, and other relevant writings, due to the limitations of primary sources. The finding showed that ever since the colonial era, there were three major waves of Minangkabau migration to Aceh. The first wave occurred in the 17th century, after Het Painans Tractaat in 1663. The second wave occurred in the 19th century, during or after the Paderi War in Minangkabau in 1921-1937. While the third wave occurred after 1958, Aneuk Jamee tribe emerged in Aceh along with the arrival of the Minangkabau migration to Aceh. It means guests or the children of the immigrant. They lived with the Minangkabau customs and culture they brought from their homeland. But over time there has been a process of cultural assimilation between Aneuk Jamee and the local community. The assimilation process had resulted in Aneuk Jamee to have their new identities. No longer declaring themselves to be Minangkabau people and not even Acehnese, they declared themselves to be Aneuk Jamee with their own language and customs.

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Introduction

1 As part of population mobility, migration is an object that is often discussed by various groups. Migration is the movement of people from one area to another or the movement of people from one place to another, which sometimes crosses national borders or administrative boundaries in order to have a new settlement. Concerning Indonesian characteristics, one of the ethnic groups that have a high tendency for merantau (migration) is Minangkabau. In some literature, it is mentioned that Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups of the Indonesian Malayic people who have high intensities in migration (Bungo & Hussin, 2011; Kato, 2005; Lenz, 2005; Mani, 2013).

Referring to the historical record, the intensity of the migration Minangkabau ethnic had happened long before Indonesia's independence. According to Raffles' calculation which estimates that more than one million inhabitants inhabited Minangkabau highlands in 1818 (Che-Ross, 2003; Reid, 2005). However, Hugo (2015) mentioned that the population of West Sumatra was around 1.7 million. And if the growth was directly proportional to the growing population on a national scale with a growth rate of over 2%, the population of West Sumatra in 2010 should be at least around 7 million people. However, based on the calculations in 2010, the number of residents of West Sumatra is not up to 5 million people or only 4.86 million people. The small number is most likely because of the migration intensity of Minangkabau People.

Merantau (migration) tradition has become the culture of Minangkabau people. Andaya (2000), Bungo and Hussin (2011), Mani (2013), and Tanjung (2019) stated that tradition continuously occurred in large numbers. This can be proven through the results of the 1930 population census, which stated that Minangkabau occupies the fourth largest position of migration intensity, after Bawean, Batak, and Banjar. However, in terms of numbers of nomads, Minangkabau people obey the first position of the three ethnicities and the second after the people of Java. The statistic shows that Bawean is 35.9% or 16.406 out of 45.711 people, Batak is 15.3% or 140.777 of 919.462 people, Banjar is 14.2% or 134.339 out of 944.235 people, Minangkabau is 11.0% or 211.291 of 1.928.32 people, and Bugis is 10.5% or 162.701 out of 1.543.035 people. While for the people Java (including Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese) occupy a lower intensity which is 3.4% or 1.364.896 out of 40.709.319 people (Indies et al., 1931).

The destination areas of Minangkabau migrants are not only the areas in the border of Minangkabau, e.g. Riau, Jambi, and Bengkulu, but also further areas including Aceh, East Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Sulawesi, Brunei, and the Philippines (Tjoa-Bonatz, 2019). At the same time, more waves of migration to Java occurred since the beginning of the 20th century following the development of the world of education and the formation of a colonial



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government administration system, which made Batavia as the centre of government, education, and trading.

Of the 211.291 Minangkabau people outside West Sumatra mentioned above, 188.246 people were migrated to several areas in Sumatra: 7.206 migrated to Java and Madura, 2.049 to other regions in Indonesia, and 13.790 to the Malay Peninsula. Of the 188.246 Minangkabau people living in Sumatra, 8.532 of them were settled in Aceh. Therefore Aceh is also one of the Minangkabau ethnic overseas (*rantau*) regions. This number does not include Minangkabau migrants who permanently reside in Langsa in East Aceh, in South Aceh, and various places on the west and southwest coast of Aceh which are known as *Aneuk Jamee* of about 350.000 people (Manan, 2016; Naim, 2013b). Manan (2015) mentioned that 20% of the 1.630.983 residents of Aceh in 1961 spoke *Aneuk Jamee* language. Manan (2015) also said that *Aneuk Jamee* language is used in three districts in Aceh; South Aceh Regency or to the western area of Aceh, West Aceh in the west coast area of Aceh, and Singkil in the southern area of Aceh which directly borders with North Sumatra. South Aceh is said to be an area to spread *Aneuk Jamee* languages.

Aneuk Jamee tribe and language are said to be originated from Minangkabau migrants who came to Aceh centuries ago. Now, the *Aneuk Jamee* tribe is spread along the west coast of Aceh. The present *Aneuk Jamee* language is not entirely the same as Minangkabau language because it has been assimilated into the local language. *Aneuk Jamee* language is one of the identities of *Aneuk Jamee* tribe which still survives until now along the west coast of Aceh.

Following the explanation above, this study aims to investigate Minangkabau migration, especially related to *Aneuk Jamee* tribe on the west coast of Aceh. This research explains the identity of *Aneuk Jamee* tribe as the immigrants of Minangkabau people in Aceh. Thus, the study is important to integrate theories of demography and culture where there are no specific studies related to the issues. Such mindset is, of course, a little too naive since it might bring people to be less aware of the demography and culture, that lead to the uprooting of society from its historical and cultural bases to the extend losing their identities. Therefore, the fundamental question raised in this study is to figure out the migration of Minangkabau people to Aceh, especially for *Aneuk Jamee* tribe and to identify the identity the reconstruction of *Aneuk Jamee* in Aceh.

Methods

Research on the existence of Minangkabau people in Aceh (*Aneuk Jamee* tribe) was conducted using a historical approach, which starts from heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography. Heuristic activities in this study were carried out using data exploration. Most use secondary data in the form of books, papers, journals and other relevant writings,



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obtained from the Library in West Sumatra and also in Aceh. This is done considering the Minangkabau migrant history in Aceh (Aneuk Jamee tribe), especially in the early era, can be said to be quite constrained by sources, both handwritten and printed, because these sources, especially primary sources are relatively minimal and very few are can be obtained to this day. In this connection, this study also uses oral sources (oral history), which are sometimes contradictory when confronted with supporting facts. But history is sometimes indeed controversial; history is sometimes a story about something that can only be understood by involving certain elements.

The source of history is something that can directly or indirectly convey something about reality in the past. When viewed from its form, then a historical source can certainly be separated into written sources, oral sources, and sources of objects, physical, or artefacts. In connection with that, the use of oral sources in historical methods is part of historical research methods (heuristics), e.g. folklore, mythology, legend, traditional ceremonies, and including the folk songs. Although these sources still need to be examined scientifically and related to historical facts since these oral sources are often magical, fictitious, and hidden following the objectives of the speechmaker.

In reconstructing the migration of Minangkabau people in Aceh (Aneuk Jamee tribe), the intended oral source was from the narratives of the people interviewed. Oral narratives are passed down from generation to generation in Acehese society. In the perspective of oral tradition, overseas Minangkabau people in Aceh have been told in various folklore stories and spoken orally and passed on from generation to generation. Among the stories that can be found in the oral speech of the local community is the story of the arrival of migrants, illumination and naming of the area by Minangkabau migrants.

After obtaining the resources needed in this study, then the source criticism is carried out. Source criticism can be divided into two kinds, namely internal criticism relating to the credibility of historical sources and external criticism relating to the authenticity or authenticity of historical sources. Source criticism is made to process and filter the sources that have been collected. Through data verification, the researcher chooses and sorts out data that is relevant to this research and then is used as a data source to support this research, while other less relevant data is not used as a source. Furthermore, interpretation is made to determine the meaning and the relationship between the facts that have been collected. Interpretation needs to be done in the analysis of historical data sources to reduce the element of subjectivity in historical studies. An object of history can be studied objectively if the object has an independent existence outside the human mind to obtain impartial and true knowledge. After that comes the historiography or writing, presentation, or reporting of the results of historical research. The historiography meant here is to write the events of the



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Minangkabau people (Aneuk Jamee tribe) in Aceh chronologically, logically, and systematically by explaining historical facts.

Results

The Migration Waves of Minangkabau People to Aceh

The migration of Minangkabau people to Aceh has been going on for a long time and is continuing. Since colonial rule, there have been at least three waves of Minangkabau migration to Aceh. The first wave of Minangkabau migration to Aceh occurred in the 17th century after the arrival of the Dutch colonial. The arrival of the Minangkabau people in Aceh at this time occurred after the "het Painanns Traktaat" or the Painan Agreement in 1663. This agreement was made by emissaries of the king of the Pagu River and the dignitaries of Inderapura, Tiku, and Padang with "coopman" Jan Van Groenewegen, the VOC representative. The agreement began with secret negotiations on a small island in the Batang Kapas bay in 1662, then formulated and signed at her Casteel Van Batavia.

In this agreement, the Raja Pesisir agreed to no longer recognise the crown of Aceh and ask for protection from the Company and give him the right of monopoly to trade in Inderapura and other places which were subject to his rule, without paying customs, except for offerings to the local authorities as was commonly done before. As a result of the agreement, the commanders and other Acehnese officials who were scattered throughout the west coast of Sumatra Island as representatives of the previous Aceh kingdom returned to Aceh. However, as they have settled in Minangkabau for a long time, some of them have married and descended with Minangkabau women along the coast of Sumatra and have established strong emotional connections with the Minangkabau family, they also moved to Aceh along with the Aceh royal staff. Even not only those who were directly related to Aceh's representative officials but also other groups also migrated to Aceh at that time.

In addition, another source also mentioned that the "het Painanns Traktaat" or the Painan Agreement had triggered the Minangkabau dissatisfaction with the policies of the Dutch colonial government. The Minangkabau people feel that the Netherlands is trying to keep them both indigenous and Minangkabau people in general away from Islamic law because the Netherlands also has a mission to spread Christianity. Therefore, the Minangkabau people, who are almost all Moslems, went to Aceh as they felt pressured by the attitude and mission of the Dutch.

Then, since the 17th century, South Aceh was famous as the centre of Islamic teaching in Sumatra. Moreover, the sultans who ruled in the Kingdom of Aceh provided ample opportunities for the development of knowledge, so that it reached its peak during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda because Sultan Iskandar Muda had a great interest in the field of



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Islamic education. The Sultan built mosques and Islamic boarding schools as places to study religious knowledge. So, there were many Minangkabau people went to study in Aceh since the 17th century. Among them are Sheikh Burhanuddin from Pariaman and several others. They studied Islam with the great Sumatran scholar Sheikh Abdul Rauf Al-Singkil in the village of Singkil Aceh. In addition to Abdul Rauf Al-Singkil Sheikh, there were a number of well-known ulemas in Aceh in that century, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri and Ibrahim ash-Shami.

The second wave of Minangkabau migrations to Aceh occurred at the beginning of the 19th century, especially during and after the Paderi War. The arrival of the Minangkabau migration to Aceh at this time was most likely the result of the Paderi War. Even this period is said to be the peak of the Minangkabau migration out of the Minangkabau land, not only in Sumatra but also across the Straits of Melaka on the Malay Peninsula. The Paderi War, which took place between 1821 and 1837, was a factor in rejecting Minangkabau migrations from outside the region. Accordingly, if a Dutch source said that Langsa was founded by a man named Datuk Dayang from Minangkabau around the second half of the 19th century, it could be that Datuk Dayang was a Minangkabau person who migrated to Aceh during or after the Paderi War.

The third wave of Minangkabau migrations came to Aceh after the 1958 PRRI. The quite large wave of Minangkabau migrations occurred after the 1958 PRRI event. The PRRI incident has destroyed West Sumatra as a core area of the Minangkabau. As a result of these events, many Minangkabau people lost their businesses, homes, even family and relatives. Therefore they went abroad to remove trauma and start a new page of life and could be one of their goals is Aceh.

Continuity of the arrival of the nomads is one of them caused by the attraction of the overseas they heard from the Minangkabau nomad's story when they returned to Ranah Minang. They told family, neighbours and certain people about the merits of migrating to Aceh. The story of those who returned to the village, either directly or indirectly became a motivation for them to want to change their fate to migrate to Aceh, so they went to the overseas. Therefore the arrival of Minangkabau migrants always continues well in small numbers to overseas areas, including Aceh.

Aneuk Jamee Ethnic Identity Reconstruction

The Origin of Existence

The origin of Aneuk Jamee's whereabouts in Aceh originated from the arrival of the Minangkabau migration to Aceh as above. Aneuk Jamee was originally a designation given by the local people of Aceh to the Minangkabau migrations who came to Aceh, which means



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guest children or migrant children. In other words, aneuk jamee is a Minangkabau people who have come to migrate to the coast of Aceh since the colonial era or before. Some of them came to the west coast of Aceh (Pasir Karam), settled thereby opening a pepper plantation. In general they live along the coast such as in Tapaktuan and Meulaboh. In the historical records of West Aceh, the city of Meulaboh was formerly known as Negeri Pasir Karam, which is thought to have existed since the 16th century or during the reign of Sultan Sultan Saidil Mukamil (1588-1604).

Some of the Minangkabau migrations also came to Singkel, which had previously been conquered by the kingdom of Pagaruyung, the Minangkabau whose king was the grandson of Cindua Mato. After the Dutch (VOC) took control of West Sumatra/Padang in 1667, they began to expand their colonies to Singkil, and Singkil was included in the administrative area of the Government of Padang (West Sumatra). So at that time, the Minangkabau people began arriving in Singkil, and the Singkil people called the Minangkabau people with a million trading merchants. The term aneuk commerce is then more popular as Aneuk Jamee (Check). Over time Aneuk Jamee assimilated with the local Aceh community. It is possible that by a Malay family and an Islamic religion, the process of assimilation has no difficulty. So that over time the results of the assimilation made Aneuk Jamee have his own identity. Although they realise that historically they came from Minangkabau, they no longer declared themselves to be Minangkabau, and neither were Acehese, they claimed to be Aneuk Jamee in their own language and customs.

Settlement

Aneuk Jamee people inhabit the southern coast of Aceh and a small portion on the west coast. Aneuk Jamee's residence is not concentrated in only one area, because they live in groups in several sub-districts in South Aceh, namely Susoh, Manggeng, Labuhan Haji, Samadua, and Tapaktuan. Aneuk Jamee residents also live in Johan Pahlawan Subdistrict, Kaway XVI, and Kuala Subdistrict in West Aceh. Most of the Aneuk Jamee people reside in the small coves which are a series of other bays that lie along the southern coast of Aceh above the lowlands which are flanked by the Bukit Barisan mountains range. The sub-district, which is the residence of Aneuk Jamee is separated from each other by sub-districts that are inhabited by other ethnic groups, such as the Acehese, Kluet and other ethnic groups in South Aceh. The South Aceh area is the biggest concentration for the Aneuk Jamee ethnic group. They are concentrated along the road and the coast of South Aceh. Residents who are on the edge of the beach generally livelihood as fishermen, both fishermen trawl or boat or canoe. Meanwhile, residents residing along the main road they worked on rice fields or gardening. The Aneuk Jamee settlement pattern is clustered and compact. The marka settlement was not only formed from the lowlands but also consisted of swamps, rivers or furrows, rice fields and mountains as seen in Tapaktuan District. Their villages are in the plain area flanked by



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hills and mountains. Their villages partly lie along the highway that connects Banda Aceh with the sub-districts in South Aceh. The path in the village called Jurong, connecting one house to another house or one part of the village with other parts. In each village, a manasah and a surau were found. The function of manasah is as a place of worship for men, for example, as a place of prayer in congregation, a place to study the Koran and the centre of community activities. Means of worship for women are called surau. At the same time, the mosque is a means of worshipping members of the community from several villages, both built by community self-help and government funds. The name *manasah* is derived from the Acehnese language meunasah which is a means of worship as well as a place to spend the night of male teenagers in the past, while the term *surau* comes from Minangkabau.

Leadership

There are some traditional leadership elements in an Aneuk Jamee community village, which is a combination of elements originating from Minangkabau and Aceh. The elements consist of Kecik, Tuangku Imam Masjid, Tuangku Imam Manasah, Tuangku Imam Surau, and youth leaders. Kecik is the village head who is the leader of the village administration. Tuangku Imam Masjid is the official who leads the religious ceremony. Tuangku Imam Manasah is the official who leads religious ceremonies (except Friday prayers) while Tuangku Imam Dayah is the official who leads religious ceremonies for women at dayah. The youth chairperson is an official who handles youth elements, such as sports, security and mobilisation of personnel. The elements of formal leadership that differ somewhat under the present camat consist of mukim, kecik, jurong chairman and tuha peut, which are the same as traditional leadership structures in Acehnese culture.

During the Aceh Sultanate, Aneuk Jamee in Susoh was once led by a Datu who was administratively under the authority of Datuak Rawo. In Samadua also lived four united lives. These four datuk control the three residential areas, namely Kasiak Putih, Suang and Laweh Beach. The four progenitors are Datuk Kasik Putih, Datuk Suang, Datuk Pantai Laweh, and the Sawaang datuk, each of whom governs his own territory and is subject to the Sultan of Aceh.

Language

The language used by the Aneuk Jamee community is called the Jamee language. The vocabulary of the Jamee language is more dominant in the Minangkabau language than the Acehnese language. The language spoken by each resident in each district has a different dialect. The difference in dialect is caused by geographical factors and the influence of other languages found in the area. The Acehnese who live close to the Aneuk Jamee area generally understand and can communicate in Jamee. For Acehnese people in South Aceh the Jamee



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language is easily understood because the Minangkabau vocabulary is mixed with Aceh to resemble Indonesian (still a Malay family). However, for Aneuk Jamee themselves, they do not understand or can not use Acehnese language. So there is a tendency when the Acehnese speak with Aneuk Jamee they use the Jamee language, but if Aneuk Jamee reprimands the Acehnese they more often speak Indonesian. This is influenced partly by Aneuk Jamee's reluctance factor if in speaking Acehnese many vocabulary errors, for the Acehnese themselves they like, mixing Aneuk Jamee's language with Indonesian if they don not know the right vocabulary.

Kinship System

Aneuk Jamee people use uxori-local or uxurilocality systems. In social anthropology, the uxori-local system is a social system where married couples live with or near the wife's parents. This means that the daughter of a mother remains in (or near) the mother's house, thus forming a large clan family, usually consisting of three or four generations living in the same place. In the uxori-local Aneuk Jamee community, the *batih's* family is called the household of *Tanggo*, which is headed by a father in everyday social life. Occasionally there are also households that are headed by the mother or the eldest son, in the case of divorce or the father dies. The uxori-local kinship system in the Aneuk Jamee community is where newlyweds stay or live in the homes of relatives or the parents of their wives. The newlywed couple becomes a member of the household-in-law (parents of the wife). This situation continued until the *Paasing Pariuk* (separating the kitchen) ceremony was held. When a passing *pariuk* ceremony has been held, a new house will also appear where the woman (wife) is the head of the household. The passing *pariuk* ceremony is uncertain, which usually takes place after the couple has a child.

Even though the couple has formed their own house, it does not mean that they have left their parents-in-law's house (parents' wife), because this is very dependent on their economic life. If you already have the ability, then he builds a house on the land given by in-laws. The given land is in the form of heirlooms (inheritance according to Islamic legal rules), or *sako* property (i.e. land inherited specifically for women). But not infrequently, they will still live in the house because the wife is the only daughter.

Aneuk Jamee community also knows the term *ninik mamak*. *Ninik mamak* is a unit of support for the mother of the mother who is one degree above. In the life cycle ceremony *mamak ninik* plays an important role, and approval is always required. Ignoring the *ninik mamak's* status can exclude someone from the flow of kinship. Even lately, there is a tendency to recruit or attract *wali* (brother's father) into the circle of *ninik mamak*. Wider kinship in the Aneuk Jamee community is *dusanak* (family). *Dusanak* is a member of a relative who has



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blood or ancestral relationship. In everyday social life, especially at the life cycle ceremony, they will be notified or invited to attend.

Aneuk Jamee community knows a family speech system in inter-personal relationships. In the family speech system there are several kinship terms that indicate a person in a family relationship, based on differences in gender, age, and status in the family. The family's speech system does not only concern one's relationship with one's own relatives, but also relationships with relatives of his wife or husband. The first form of the family speech system is in the designation or call of someone who is equal upward or two degrees both up and down. Brother's names of brothers, uning and upo for older sisters, umak for mothers, fathers or fathers for fathers, maktuwo for fathers and fathers, makteh or maklok and pacut or mituo for younger sisters and fathers for men and fathers. Next call children for their children, we wear for nieces (children of siblings) and grandchildren for grandchildren.

The second form of the family speech system is in relations with relatives of the wife or husband. Someone calls the master of his parents-in-law, both men and women if he does not greet each other, but when he greets one another, he will call umak to the mother-in-law and father or father to the male in-laws. Instead, the parents-in-law will call their son-in-law to their husband or wife when they are not facing to call his name directly when facing each other. Mention of a brother in law (brother's husband or wife) if not facing each other. Someone will mention makyen to someone else who is in love with the same family if not facing each other. The parents of the bridegroom will mention the matter to the bride's parents.

Aneuk Jamee's livelihoods are generally basawah (rice field), *bakabun* (gardening), and *baladang* (farming), or fishing for those who live on the beach. Among them, some carry out commercial activities (*baniago*), but there are also those who sell goods from village to village, which is called grazers. In economic terms, fathers are considered to be more responsible while mothers' responsibilities are more related to household matters such as caring for children, preparing food and keeping the house clean. But in farming, all family members participate according to their abilities and skills.

Social Strata

Formerly in the Aneuk Jamee community, there were three levels of social strata, which differed a little from the Acehnese society. Still, these levels showed the same function in the regions of the Aceh kingdom. The first level is the datuk group and its relatives. This datuk group rules the sovereign territory, which consists of several villages. The datuk group preserves endogamy customs and looks for a mate in their own layer environment. Their aristocracy is a combination of the aristocracy in Acehnese culture, Teuku-datuk. The second



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level is the commander group who has the power under the grandfather. Another intermediate level is the group of scholars consisting of my parents, the priest and the cadre. The last level as the lower layer is ordinary people. In addition, there are also sayyid groups (descendants of the Quresy tribe).

At present, the level of social coating has begun to be shifted. People who are respected are now rich, educated and power holders. The grandfather group no longer adheres to the principle of endogamy anymore, and so do Sayyid, they have started to exogamy, although there are a few that remain endogamous.

Discussion

Identity is something that exists and is attached to a person or group, a sign that distinguishes it from others (Bartel, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Stryker & Burke, 2000). In that connection, every person or community has their own identity. So wherever they are, people will be able to distinguish them from others through an inherent identity in themselves. When talking about the identity of an ethnic group is the same as talking about who the ethnicity is. It is inseparable from the characteristics that shape the identity itself both from the influence of history, geography, ways of life and traditions or culture (Nash, 2000; Williams & McIntyre, 2001). Therefore, if an ethnic or community migrates to a new place, they will always carry culture as their identity. This is also the case with Minangkabau people who migrate to Aceh.

Bringing tradition and culture to the migration of an ethnic group is very important because it is a culture that can unite them in their new area (Andaya, 2000; Bartel, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007). With these core cultural values, they have a way of life so they can carry on life in a new area. This also applies to Minangkabau ethnic mobility to the Aceh region. When they moved from their original area in Minangkabau to their new area in Aceh, they brought their culture with them and tried as much as possible to apply the culture in their new place. Although not all aspects of the culture, they can apply because of the situation of life in a new place that is not possible. However, as migrants, the Minangkabau people wisely respond to the Minangkabau traditional philosophy, which forms the basis of their customs and culture (Barendregt, 2002; Bungo & Hussin, 2011). The Minangkabau traditional philosophy has taught Minangkabau migrants to adapt to the customs and culture of the area so that there is no conflict with the local community that is the destination of Minangkabau migrants. *Dimano bumi dipijak, disitu langik dijunjung* (Where the earth is trampled on, it is held upright) is interpreted wisely by Minangkabau migrants, so they respect the local culture without losing their own culture. That is the concept of identity in the Minangkabau diaspora.



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Minangkabau Diaspora does not only mean the spread of Minangkabau migrants in various regions, but more than that is how Minangkabau migrants wherever their chains have their identity and identity that distinguishes them from others. So that in the Minang song poetry is described how a Minangkabau person has a clear identity even though they are in a dominant heterogeneity ...*bagaikan ikan nan di lautan, lingkungan asin, dagiangnyo manih juo...* (...like a fish in the ocean, in the salty environment, the meat is still sweet...). This Minangkabau poem contains the concept of identity, which becomes the identity of identity Minangkabau people, including the Minangrantau community.

It cannot be denied that when the Minangkabau migration has brought about a new settlement, little or many migrants will face the constraints of the local community. If there are no obstacles, the migrants still need to establish good relations with the community and the local government. In connection with that, at the beginning of the arrival of Minangkabau migrants in Aceh and before applying their own customs, they sent envoys to come to the Aceh government to ask permission to implement the Minangkabau internal customary government system. After obtaining permission from the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam, then the Minangkabau people or the Aneuk Jamee tribe freely implement their own cultural system. Even the Aceh royal government not only gave permission but also sent its representatives at each of the Minangkabau nomad settlers' locations.

Here, at the beginning of the Minangkabau community called Aneuk Jamee, they could live with the customs and traditions of the Minangkabau culture that became their identity in Aceh. But gradually over time, the application of Minangkabau culture has mixed with the culture of the local community. So that today in Aceh culture, there are elements which are the result of the influence of the Minangkabau culture. The cultural element in question is referring to the cultural elements which include elements of language, knowledge systems, social organisations, equipment and technology systems, livelihood systems, religious systems and arts (Daskon & Binns, 2010).

Along with the acculturation of the two cultures, Aneuk Jamee culture was formed which later became the identity of the Aneuk Jamee tribe itself in Aceh. Therefore the Aneuk Jamee culture is actually not exactly as similar as Minangkabau culture, their original culture, nor is it the same as Acehnese culture. Aneuk Jamee people foster their own culture, which then becomes their own identity. Although in general some admit, such as Daktuk Laksama, one of the descendants of Minangkabau migrants in Tapak Tuan said that the Minangkabau people in Tapak Tuan still use the Minangkabau adat system. That statement is only a reflection of him who does not want to lose his ethnic self. Still, in reality, the Aneuk Jamee community in Aceh already has their own culture, which is fostered over time, whether intentionally or not.



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Even so, even though the Aneuk Jamee culture has become a character and identity of the Aneuk Jamee tribe itself, it cannot be denied that the Minangkaba culture is the basis of the Aneuk Jamee culture. On the basis of wanting to preserve its own culture, without ignoring the local culture, Aneuk Jamee's culture was awakened. So in terms of language, the Aneuk Jamee language is still considered one of the dialects of the Minangkabau language which has been mixed with local languages.

Thus it can be said that the Minangkabau language continues to be used and is assimilated into the Acehese language, so it becomes a Jamee language. Not much change just a few consonants and vowels and a little dialect that changes. In terms of language, it is estimated that it is still a dialect of the Minangkabau language. However, due to the influence of a long cultural assimilation process, most of the Aneuk Jamee tribe, especially those inhabiting areas dominated by other Acehese tribes, for example in the area of West Aceh Regency, the Aneuk Jamee language is only spoken among the elderly only.

When compared to the Minangrantau community in Semenajung Tanah Tanah Melayu, there is a slight difference in the way they build their identity. Minangrantau people in Negeri Sembilang Tanah Melayu, they make the name of their area of origin as the name of their tribe. If they came from Tanah Datar, they named their tribe the Tanah Datar tribe, if they came from Mungka, then they named their tribe as the Mungka tribe, and so on. So, there are 9 of the 12 initial tribes in Negeri Sembilan Malaya, the name of the tribe as the name of the regions in Minangkabau, as the area of origin of the tribe. They named the place of origin as a tribal name for their identity. By getting to know them when they mentioned the name of their tribe, their identity can be ascertained, that they are descendants of the Minangkabau from the region according to their tribe.

While in Rantau Aceh, the Minangrantau community is only known by the identity of the Aneuk Jamee tribe. Regardless of which region and whatever tribe they come from in Minangkabau, they do not perpetuate it as their identity, but they perpetuate the title given by the local people of Aceh to them, namely Aneuk Jamee. Based on information from Datuk Laksmans, they did it to strengthen the bond of the brotherhood of fellow nomads, because if they still accentuated the names of their respective ethnic origins, they would create distance and boundaries between their fellow Minangrantau. This is also the case with their relations with the indigenous population of Aceh itself. Therefore they only use the name of the tribe that has been given by the Acehese people to them, as an official tribe that is recognised the same as other Acehese tribes, in order to ensure that there are no gaps and conflicts between fellow Acehese people. In connection with this, the Minangrantau descendants in Aceh no longer know their original tribe anymore. However, they still refer to themselves as Aneuk Jamee who is descendants of Minangkabau, except Minangkabau who only arrived after



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independence in 1945, they still know from the village or village where they came from and still know his tribe.

Conclusions

The history of the Aneuk Jamee tribe in Aceh is in line with the history of the Minangkabau migration to Aceh, because the term or word Aneuk Jamee is a term or word used by the Acehnese people against Minangkabau migrations who came to Aceh at that time. Furthermore, the term Aneuk Jamee became identical and attached to the Minangkabau migration there, so that later it became the Minangrantau tribe in Aceh, the Aneuk Jamee tribe. The Aneuk Jamee tribe is not concentrated in only one area but is spread in the southern and western coast of Aceh. They mostly live in groups in several sub-districts in South Aceh District, namely Susoh, Manggeng, Labuhan Haji, Samadua, and Tapaktuan. The South Aceh area is the biggest concentration for the Aneuk Jamee. Whereas in West Aceh District, the Aneuk Jamee community settled in Johan Pahlawan, Kaway XVI, and Kuala Subdistricts. Some also live in Singkil.

In the early days, Aneuk Jamee lived with the Minangkabau customs and culture as the customs and culture of his native country. But gradually over time the Aneuk Jamee community had assimilated into the local Aceh community. It is possible that by a Malay family and an Islamic religion, the process of assimilation has no difficulty. So that over time, the results of the assimilation process made Aneuk Jamee have his own identity. So the Aneuk Jamee culture is no longer the same as the Minangkabau culture as their original culture and is not the same as the Acehnese culture, but it is Aneuk Jamee culture. In line with that, although some of them still realise that historically they came from Minangkabau or Minangkabau descendants, but they no longer declared themselves to be Minangkabau and not as Acehnese, they claimed their identity as Aneuk Jamee who lived with language, customs and Aneuk Jamee's culture.



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