

Dialectic of Tradition's Strength and Demand for Flexibility: A Study of Minang Families in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

The strong Minang family traditions are facing the demand for flexibility from modern city life, especially when Minang people live outside the Minang land, such as in Yogyakarta. This study aims to reveal how the 'flexible life' is experienced by Minang families. The questions are how family traditional provisions have fared and how Minang families in Yogyakarta accommodate traditional provisions in different social and cultural contexts. This study applies qualitative methods and a phenomenological approach involving 15 informants. The findings show that Minang families in Yogyakarta have seen changes in their marriage traditions, which used to be strictly regulated by Minangkabau custom. By opening a dialectical process in Yogyakarta, they accommodate and adapt to the Javanese traditions and customs in conducting marriages. The impact is that family marriage traditions change. Nonetheless, Minang families in Yogyakarta have not lost their Minang identity. They remain Minang even though they marry a non-Minang.

Tradisi keluarga Minang yang kuat harus berhadapan dengan tuntutan fleksibilitas kehidupan modern kota ketika orang Minang hidup di luar tanah Minang, termasuk di Yogyakarta. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkapkan bagaimana bentuk kehidupan fleksibel yang dialami oleh keluarga Minang tersebut. Permasalahan yang akan dijawab dalam kajian ini adalah bagaimana ketentuan tradisi bagi keluarga Minang dan bagaimana orang Minang di Yogyakarta mengakomodasi ketentuan tradisi keluarga mereka dengan konteks social budaya yang berbeda. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan fenomenologi, serta melibatkan 15 informan, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa keluarga Minang di Yogyakarta mengalami perubahan dalam tradisi pernikahan yang sebelumnya telah diatur kuat oleh adat Minangkabau. Dengan terbukanya proses dialektika di Yogyakarta, mereka melakukan proses akomodasi dengan menyesuaikan diri dengan tradisi dan kebiasaan adat Jawa dalam melangsungkan pernikahan. Dampaknya adalah terjadi perubahan terhadap tradisi pernikahan di dalam keluarga. Sekalipun terjadi perubahan, akan tetapi keluarga Minang di Yogyakarta tidak sampai kehilangan identitas keminangannya. Mereka masih menjadi seorang Minang sekalipun hidup dengan pasangan berbeda kebudayaan.

Keywords: tradition; flexibility; Minang family; Yogyakarta

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Introduction

Modern city life has given rise to a dialectic of tradition's strength and the need for adaptability (Azima et al. 2013). Tradition is powerful because it has been internalized and enculturated so that it is firmly attached to the beliefs of cultural communities. However, when community members have to face new social conditions, they cannot fully uphold tradition and must adjust to the socio-cultural conditions instead. Some examples of adaptation processes are marriage and socio-religious traditions. In other words, cultural adaptation cannot be avoided in the context of socio-cultural diversity (Soekanto 2010).

Studies focusing on dialectical themes have covered various objects and problems. For example, a study of dialectic between Islam and local culture in Java indicates that the dialectical process has formed a distinctive and unique variant of Islam (Muqoyyidin 1970). In cultural studies, a dialectic between local wisdom, i.e., mantras and the provisions of Islamic teachings. A mantra is a part of the culture and a successful literary work by Indonesian society, which must be passed down from generation to generation. The study concludes that local wisdom in the form of mantras can finally be accepted by Islamic tradition (Saddhono, Hartata, and Anis 2016). In the field of theology, a study shows that a dialectic model is needed between the Koran and the reality of human life to deal with technology's increasingly advanced and rapid development (Supriyanto 2019). This is to keep Islamic teachings 'fresh' and acceptable by all levels of society in any context.

Likewise, a dialectic in Minang families in Yogyakarta has resulted in changes in the standard customary rules. For example, Minang clothing traditions are gradually eroded because

they are no longer relevant to current realities. Modernity that began in the early 20th century has resulted in a flexible and cosmopolitan life. Lifestyle and changes in the way of thinking have shifted the basis for traditional patterns, namely, no longer based solely on religion but also in accordance with customs. This is in line with the argument of Robert W. Hefner, stating that a strong influence of modernity is social pluralism (Hefner 2020). The most visible change in Minang families in Yogyakarta is the change in marriage traditions. For example, cross-cultural marriages between the Minang people and the Javanese have resulted in the traditional title demotion for men, which goes beyond the Minang tradition's logic. A customary title in tradition is an inheritance owned by a man, which is passed down by his uncle in accordance with the rules of the matrilineal system.

Minang families have lived in Yogyakarta for a long time. The exact time of their arrival is unknown, but a prediction can be made by comparing the migration activities of the Minang people to other areas on the island of Java. In the census, they were recorded as entering Java at the beginning of the 20th century. The number was around 6,000 (Nijverheid en Handel 1933), consisting of traders, officials, teachers, and students (Naim 2013). As for Yogyakarta, they also came at the beginning of the 20th century, as confirmed by the existence of a 1936 carving found on the wall of an antique shop around Jalan Malioboro. The owner of the shop is a Minang named Datuak Taluak Basa. According to several informants, the shop has changed its name to 'Toko Asia,' which is now the cultural heritage site. With the year carvings on the walls of the building, ethnographically, it can be concluded that the Minang people had settled in

Yogyakarta long before 1936. A Minang person in Yogyakarta named Samawi was one of the early founders of the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (KR) newspaper in Yogyakarta (founded on September 27, 1945), which indicates that Samawi was there before 1945. Another Minang person at that time was Muchtar Talib, a lecturer at Gajah Mada University and Indonesian Islamic University.

The population of Minang people increased in the following times, coinciding with the opening of higher education institutions, namely Indonesian Islamic University and Gajah Mada University, in the 1960s. Data show that many students from the two campuses came from West Sumatra, increasing the population of Minang traders and government employees who came before the 1960s. The exact number of Minang people living in Yogyakarta cannot be estimated. They are spread across the province, many of which are not included in the population documentation. Only the 1930 census reported their number in Yogyakarta, namely 40 people. The following year's censuses did not include population data based on ethnicity. A common assumption is around 11,000 people, although this is not supported by data and cannot be used in scientific terms. Demographically, the population can be divided into three big groups: formal workers, informal workers, and students. It is estimated that informal workers, such as traders and entrepreneurs, dominate the population.

With this background, this research does not include the debate about the history of the Minang people coming to Yogyakarta, the debate about the population from year to year, or how the Minang people's traditional values are produced. However, this research attempts to understand and describe how customary

provisions are in Minang families, what influences these customary values, and how Minang families make accommodative efforts in Yogyakarta, as tradition has become a shared understanding for the Minangkabau people.

This research is qualitative in nature with a phenomenological approach. Fifteen Minang families living in Yogyakarta participated as informants in this study. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews. The questions were developed from the focus of the problem, namely about the strength of the Minang tradition, demands for flexibility, and how the Minang people deal with the changes. The interviews took place in a relaxed and friendly manner to generate robust and comprehensive data. The data were then analyzed using Miles and Huberman's techniques, consisting of data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Endraswara 2006).

Minang Family Tradition

Minang family tradition is unique because it applies a matrilineal social system (Wimra 2020). The lineage is drawn from the mother's side. Women occupy a dominant role in the distribution of inheritance. The consequence of the enactment of the matrilineal system is that men in the Minang family have no power over children or assets in their wife's families. The marriage tradition for the Minang people does not aim to form a new nuclear family because the husband and wife in their respective households are still members of their lineage. In other words, the notion of the nuclear family (which consists of the father, mother, and children as a separate unit) does not exist in the Minangkabau social structure with the matrilineal tradition because it is always under the auspices of the lineage system.

Nevertheless, for the Minang people, the position of the matrilineal system is commensurate with the rules in the Islamic religion (Azra 1990). These two elements are their ethnic identities. The relationship between *adat* and Islam can be seen from the complete symbols of a *nagari* (territory) in Minangkabau, namely the *adat* hall (meeting room) and the mosque. A *nagari* is incomplete if one of the two does not exist. Traditional halls are cultural institutions that function as places to discuss and maintain traditions, while mosques are religious institutions (Afridinata, Samad, and Kosim 2018). The existence of the mosque building next to the *adat* hall is a statement of the harmony between *niniak mamak* (leaders) and *ulama* in Minangkabau. Therefore, customs and religion are inseparable in Minangkabau society.

In addition to applying the matrilineal system in the family, this system also provides guidance for marriages for the Minang people. This has been a tradition from generation to generation. There are at least three ideal forms of marriage for the Minang people (Fithri and Ulfah 2022). The first is a marriage between a *mamak's* (uncle) daughter and his sister's son (*pulang ka bako*), or vice versa. The second is a 'change of mat' marriage, which is a marriage between a widow or widower and the former wife's or husband's siblings. The main purpose of this marriage is that the father or mother of the children from the previous marriage will not come from other clans and will remain from the same clan. The third is cross-marriage, where two pairs of bride and groom will marry; for example, the marriage between a man and a woman and the man's brother and the woman's sister. Of these three models of marriage, the first model is still widely practiced by the Minang people, while the second and third models are rare. The first model is popular in

Minang culture as reflected in the customary saying:

"Anak mamak nan rancak (The beautiful uncle's son)

Kamanakan nan manih (The sweet niece)

Ikek lah ikek ka duonyo (Tie it in a tie)

Pulang kabako lah namonyo (Go home)

Pulang ka bako ondeh seronyo (Returning to my relatives is so good)

Bapitih ndak adoh dihidangkan juo (Do not have assets served too)

Kok talak disabuik (When divorce is dropped)

Putuihlah banang putuih kulindan (Break the thread and family)" (Latief 2009)

The saying above has a deep philosophical meaning for the Minang people related to family relation and family life. The saying in the form of traditional advice above consists of eight lines where all lines have meaning, and some lines are related to other lines. An informant who is a community leader in Minangkabau explained the meaning of the advice above as follows:

The first to the third row is a unit. The fourth to sixth lines are another unit, and the seventh and eighth line are a different unit, but also the conclusion of the whole traditional advice.

The first to third lines are descriptions of the potential goodness of Minangkabau youth and women. That Minangkabau youth and girls are not only physically beautiful and handsome children, but they are also mentally, spiritually and socially good children. Therefore, they must be tied up. The meaning of tied here is for them to be put together. They should not be proposed and married by someone else. Minang people should marry Minang people themselves.

This is the explanation of customary traditions have bequeathed every Minang person. The Minangkabau custom encourages

marriage with a fellow Minang because this will preserve customary values. Thus, for a Minang, seeking a life partner from other than Minang descendants is not justified. A stricter adherence to the custom is to encourage marriage with a partner from a close family (cousins). This tradition cannot be ignored by the Minang people. That is the reasons in Minang society context endogenous marriage become ideal marriage. Endogenous marriage is a marriage between group members (Monger 2013). Every person idealized the marriage to the fellow of Minangkabau ethnic.

The informant explained the line of four to six as follows:

Minangkabau youth are encouraged to go to other region than Minang home land (merantau), for seeking knowledge, finding jobs, and making a living outside the region. Young people are encouraged to seek experience as widely as possible, and in places as far away as possible. However, when it was time to start a family, they were advised to return to Minang land and marry Minang girls.

In addition, the saying above also emphasizes that every Minang family always maintains a harmonious marriage relationship. This advice is expressed in the line of seven to eight, as an informant said:

The seventh and eighth lines are traditional teachings oriented towards harmony. In this context is family harmony. Minang people uphold family unity, and avoid conflict and division. With this teaching, the Minang people advise all that if you have a family, don't get divorced, because divorce will definitely break up family ties.

This shows that the Minangkabau, with their traditional values, are very much against divorce because it not only results in breaking the relationship between husband and wife but

also breaks the extended family kinship relations (Siregar et al. 2022). Therefore, the social order in families is well-regulated in the Minangkabau tradition. This is underline by one informant, who is an elderly

Aside from recommended marriages, there are also prohibited marriages. The Minang tradition also regulates the community not to practice incestuous marriages (marriages between siblings, marriages to mother and father, children from the same mother and father, in-laws and son-in-law, children of the wife, stepmother or stepfather, wife's or husband's brother, and father's brother's son (Keesing 1981). Other prohibited marriages are those between the same clan, marriages to someone of a different culture, marriages to someone of different religion, and marriages strictly prohibited under Islamic law. These regulations show that the tradition in Minangkabau custom has standard provisions for the community to perform marriages. However, in reality, the traditions of Minang families have become entrenched as they change due to the dialectic with modernity and the demands for flexibility (Putiah 2007).

For example, a study on the Minang people in Nagari Sako Utara, Pasia Talang, West Sumatra, found that the people allow one-clan marriages, contrary to the provisions regulated by the Minang tradition (Khairai and Fitriani 2019). The study concluded that this occurred due to the non-optimal role of traditional leaders in guiding the younger generation. Another study also found a similarly eroded tradition. The weakening role of uncles (as regulator figures) and modernity affected the Minang people's marriage practices, which have gone astray from the Minangkabau principles (Atika 2017). Furthermore, a study by Asmaniar

(2018) revealed that Minang people marry in accordance with the provisions of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (the legal regulations of the Republic of Indonesia). However, they began to leave the Minangkabau traditions. Asmaniar further explained that there are two forms of marriage for Minang people: ideal and abstinence marriages. The ideal marriage occurs between close relatives such as the children of nephews. While abstinence marriages are prohibited, such as marriages with children from the same mother and father. However, abstinence marriages began to occur in Minang communities due to the influence of time.

Thus, with the existence of one-clan marriage, as well as other Minang marriage models as previously described, Minang people are required to accept this phenomenon. Considering those cross-cultural marriages also occur in Minang communities, as is the focus of this research, the next question is whether there are also cross-religion marriages. A previous study by Ashadi (2020) in Padang City and Padang Pariaman Regency shows that there is. Cross-religion marriages occurred between the Minang people (Muslims) and the Nias people (Christians). However, the current study limits the discussions on cross-cultural and cross-traditional marriages in Yogyakarta, not discussing further the life of the Minang families across these religions.

Accommodative Efforts by the Minang Families in Yogyakarta

The dialectic between tradition's strength and the reality of the Minang people's lives in Yogyakarta has brought about a new custom in organizing marriages. This new emerging custom is inseparable from the influence of

modernization, which resulted in social change in every aspect of life (Bruinessen 2022). Modernization also influenced the lives of the Minang people. It brings a spirit of progress or a condition of continuous improvement, but at the same time, it creates gaps in society, especially related to the tradition in urban communities (Hasan 2022). Tradition is generally a system of knowledge or a symbolic system used by humans as a guide to actions and behavior (Giddens 1990). Therefore, changes in a group of people's traditions can be seen in the way they act and behave. Tradition changes can occur drastically or slowly (Dori, Yulika, and Satria 2022). However, because of the flexible nature of tradition, it can also accommodate changes as long as these changes do not threaten its existence.

"In the early 1970s, when I arrived in Yogyakarta, I still longed for my girlfriend in West Sumatra. But that feeling disappeared when I started to adapt to Javanese society. I started to find peace in a relationship with a Javanese woman. Even though I realized that I had violated traditions, I still wanted to marry a Javanese woman. What I would do had been done by my Minang brothers here anyway. There were a few reasons. First, it was impossible for me to marry a Minang woman in West Sumatra because I would definitely be told to come back and settle in West Sumatra. Second, by marrying a Javanese woman, I could do business in Yogyakarta without being restricted by matrilineal kinship rules, which stipulated that the results of my business were only for my wife. Third, even though I violated traditions by marrying a Javanese woman, in Islamic teachings, there is no prohibition."

In its development, it turned out that modernization has also weakened the function of the extended family, resulting in the strengthening of the nuclear family. The role of *mamak* (uncle) in Minang family life, both in

West Sumatra and Yogyakarta, started to become symbolic or non-functional. *Mamak* is no longer involved in problem-solving with his sister's family and nephews. The weakening of an uncle's function is compounded by his wife's involvement, which limits his interaction with his siblings. An uncle's household economic difficulties also have contributed to the separation of the Minangnese nuclear family from the extended family. In Yogyakarta, a nuclear family became a separate unit with their own housing.

The relationship between father and son is decisive in various matters, including marriage (Marestiana, Imron, and Basri 2013). However, in its development, Minang families started to adjust to the generally accepted marriage traditions in Yogyakarta.

"There was no customary title given when I married off my child in Yogyakarta. Traditionally, in a village, the procession of passing down the adat title is obligatory, and even it is a customary decree. However, maybe because we live in Yogyakarta, so we did it with the traditions that were practiced here."

The statement above is interesting because there is no reduction in customary titles in a marriage. This shows that Minang families in Yogyakarta have started moving toward a new tradition and abandoning the old one. The main purpose of giving customary titles to Minang men is to mark that they are married and have a family and to distinguish their position from unmarried youths. It is a differentiator in mentioning names. A person is usually called by the birth name that has been given by their parents. If a man is married, then he will be given a title passed down by custom. Furthermore, giving a traditional title indicates that a man is an adult with the consequence that

when he participates in the customary density, his opinions and words can be heard by traditional leaders. Finally, if a man is married and has a traditional title, he will be included in major events in the Minang tradition (Ratna et al. 2021). This established custom is lost when a Minang family married in Yogyakarta. One informant underlined this cultural accommodation by saying:

"Maybe the customary title is very important when we live in Minangkabau and that title can be an added value in social life. Until now my last name still has a customary title. However, none of his wives and relatives understood the title. Therefore, when my son married a Javanese woman, I didn't really think about my son's title, nor did his uncle in Minangkabau offer him a title either. Because in context, my child no longer follows the matrilineal lineage because his mother is a Javanese. From an early age, he was raised and educated in Javanese culture. Even if he considers my Minangkabau background, this is nothing but general family biographical knowledge and is for his own pride".

Indirectly, Minang communities in Yogyakarta have also adopted marriage politics, i.e., setting their own rules for reference. What they use in marriage is a rule from the agreement between two relatives who will enter into a marriage (Zainal 2009), not the traditional rules. These changes also prove that tradition in any society is neither rigid nor resistant to other traditions. Even though the Minang people think their traditions are the same as before and cannot be influenced by any elements, their social practices always move in a dynamic direction. This dialectical process by the Minang people existed long before modernism showed its global influence. An example is the conflict between the *Tuo* and the *Mudo* at the beginning of the 20th century in

West Sumatra (Ashadi, Tanggok, and Jamhari 2019).

Furthermore, changes in the Minang marriage traditions have also been influenced by their migration traditions in Yogyakarta. Initially, they migrated to seek livelihood to improve their lives. They did so by upholding the noble values of their culture. However, in reality, this part of the tradition shifts due to the clash with the host cultures, eventually leading to acculturation (Suhaimar and Dewi 2018). In Yogyakarta, although there are no cases of marriages prohibited by Islam, there are many marriages of the same clan and intercultural marriages. There were many marriages between a Minang and Javanese descent. In fact, all of the informants have done this. As a consequence, the inheritance of customary titles is lost because there is no event to visit the *induk bako* (the father of the extended family), which was previously upheld strongly in Minang tradition.

The strategy they take to maintain social relations even though they have violated the ideal marriage provisions is to stay in the community path. They play an active role in traditional events by Minang figures in Yogyakarta and try to convince the traditional community members that what they are doing and experiencing is not a fatal mistake that could result in the loss of their identity. One of the informants said:

“My wife is native Javanese. I am now an adviser to the Minang community in Yogyakarta. Every time there is a gathering, I bring my wife. My wife tries to appreciate Minang traditions by wearing Minang clothing and trying to speak Minang, even though her Minang language is not good. On the other hand, I can speak Javanese actively. When I gather with my wife's family, I speak

Javanese. “I feel that there is nothing strange about this life. Even though I married and lived with a Javanese woman. During Eid al-Fitr, I repeatedly invited my wife to visit my hometown. In West Sumatra, my wife was well received by my extended family. I conclude that the power of religion is higher than the power of custom. Maybe on the one hand I have violated Minangkabau customary provisions by not marrying a Minang woman, but on the other hand I have not violated any religious rules. Even in the early days of our marriage, the opposition from my family and relatives was very strong. However, my dialectical process continued which resulted in the emergence of flexibility and ended with my wife being accepted graciously.

The next strategy is to unify the perceptions of religious beliefs. For the Minang people, customary and religious values are a unity that cannot be separated. In such a situation, the flexibility of customary provisions in marriage can be in favor of religious rules. Essentially, the Minang tradition follows what is determined by religion (Natsir and Hufad 2019). In other words, *adat* (custom) and religion are inseparable for the Minang people. Islam is not just an adhered belief but has become a social order that governs their way of life. As such, if the customary rules in marriage provisions happen to conflict with religious rules, then the consensus and agreement of the leaders and the traditional community will side with Islam (Mawangir 2015).

Based on the explanation of the data above, it can be concluded that the accommodative efforts made by Minang people overseas, especially in Yogyakarta are by: 1) Reducing gaps or differences between traditions. 2) Building agreements between families. 3) Reducing conflict. 4) Maintaining *silaturahmi* (keeping good relation between persons and

groups). 5) Strengthening the concept of religion that supports a harmonious life. 6) Keep respecting Minang tradition.

The accommodative efforts made by Minang people overseas, especially in Yogyakarta can be seen at Table 1.

Observing the efforts made by the Minang people who live in Yogyakarta, it appears that their efforts in negotiating between tradition and the demands of life outside the area are very strategic. This is because they do not only consider personal relationships, but also community, inter-ethnic relations, and respect for traditional values. These are the strategic efforts that can bring up a dialectic between tradition and the realities of life experienced by Minang people who are outside their homeland.

The above efforts are perceived as appropriate ways for Minang people living in Yogyakarta. This is because they do not continue the tradition of social structure in the family like in their hometown in West Sumatra. They do not create a large family where *mamak* (uncle) becomes the head of the family. In Yogyakarta, a husband is the head of the family (Haviz 2017).

This is because they have settled down. The main cause is employment, family presence, and so on, which makes it impossible for them to return to their place of origin (West Sumatra). Under such circumstances, they have made Yogyakarta their 'birthplace,' especially the next generations who were born and raised in Yogyakarta. The landscape of life for the Minang people in Yogyakarta is not the landscape for the life of the Minang people in Minang land. But the uniqueness of the Minang tradition still appears in their lives (Gunawan et al. 2019).

The support from the profession and the job is becoming stronger because these jobs and professions can guide them in adjusting to the hosts' traditions. In Yogyakarta, Minang people have different professions and fill important positions in the government. The case of Yogyakarta is almost the same as what happened in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia. Initially, this area was a kingdom founded by the Minang people before the 19th century. Despite being part of Malay traditions, in reality, the Minang people's power is strong in Negeri Sembilan (Hermayulis, Hernadewita, and Hardian 2016).

Table 1
Map of negotiation between the traditions and demands of life

Negotiation	Kinds of Effort	Domain
	Reducing gaps or differences between traditions	Value/community/personal
	Building agreements between families	Community
	Reducing conflict	Value/community/personal
	Maintaining silaturahmi	Personal/group
	Strengthening the concept of religion that supports a harmonious life	Value/community/personal
	Keep respecting Minang tradition	Value/community/personal

Source: Primary data

Some other areas, such as Tapanuli and Aceh (the west coast of Sumatra), are also examples of the achievement of the Minang colony's goal, namely by adapting to the host's traditions (Hadler 2010). In this case, those who migrate strive to make the destination area part of the new Minang area yet blend with the host tradition. With various strategies and accommodative efforts to blend with the Javanese culture in Yogyakarta, the Minang communities can avoid conflicts between traditions. The meeting between the dialectic of tradition's strength and the demands for flexibility in Yogyakarta, Minang families have given birth to positive acculturation and created harmony between the traditions of Minang and Java without eliminating their original values.

Conclusion

The migration of the Minang people to Yogyakarta has indirectly changed the order of the Minang tradition. The ideal marriage practices in their tradition of matrilineal kinship system have changed. The custom which obliges Minang men to marry Minang women did not occur in Yogyakarta. What happened was marriages between the Minang people and the Javanese people instead. The dialectic of the tradition's strength and the reality of modern life in Yogyakarta intersect to find an agreement that brings new habits and traditions to the Minang families. They build a harmonious family life without harming and threatening each other's traditional identity. They also maintain social relations despite violating the ideal marriage provisions. They do so by actively participating in community activities, playing an active role in traditional events by Minang figures in Yogyakarta, and trying to convince the traditional community members

that what they are doing and experiencing is not a fatal mistake that uproots them from their identity.

However, it should be noted that this study does not represent the conditions experienced by Minang people who marry people of different cultures in general. The context of space, time, subject, and perspective makes this research limited in summarizing the complex dynamics of the life of Minang people marrying people from different cultures. Therefore, more comprehensive research is needed in the future, with a broader area, other perspectives, and more informants involved. As such, the complex dynamics of the life of Minangkabau people who are married to partners of different cultures can be understood better.[]

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