Capitalistic Dilemma of Merantau for Minangkabau Men Viewed through Symbolic Interaction and Relational Dialectics

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Abstract

The tradition of migrating in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, requires adult men to leave their hometowns in order to live independently, adapt to new environments and achieve a successful life. However, some adult men choose not to migrate for personal reasons. This research uses the concepts of Social, Cultural, and Symbolic Capital by Pierre Bourdieu, as well as the theories of Symbolic Interactionism and Relational Dialectics by Mead, Blumer, Baxter, and Montgomery to examine this capitalistic dilemma. Using these theories, the author aims to reveal the capitalistic dilemma for adult men, when each of them has reasons to choose between two options, where a certain amount of capital surrounds migrants and non-migrants, as well as the symbolic interaction and relational dialectics that occur between migrants and non-migrants. This research uses a qualitative method entitled Capitalistic Dilemma of the Merantau Tradition for Minangkabau Men Viewed Through Symbolic Interaction and Relational Dialectics. In this research, resource persons such as traditional leaders, migrants, and non-migrants were interviewed to gain in-depth insights. Although the obligation to migrate is a customary law or regulation that has been going on for generations, the results of the study prove that, migrating or not migrating is not a problem, when each individual has reasons that strengthen his choice. The decision to migrate or not is imbued with significant meaning, influenced by social, cultural, economic, and symbolic factors.

Keywords: Capital; Merantau; Minangkabau Men; Symbolic Interactionism; Relational Dialectic.

Abstrak

Tradisi merantau di Minangkabau, Sumatera Barat, mengharuskan pria dewasa meninggalkan kampung halaman mereka untuk hidup mandiri, beradaptasi dengan lingkungan baru, dan mencapai kehidupan yang sukses. Namun, ada beberapa pria dewasa yang memilih untuk tidak merantau karena alasan pribadi. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep Kapital Sosial, Budaya, dan Simbolik oleh Pierre Bourdieu, serta teori Interaksi Simbolik dan Dialektika Relasional oleh Mead, Blumer, Baxter, dan Montgomery untuk mengkaji dilema kapitalistik ini. Dengan menggunakan teori-teori ini, penulis bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan dilema kapitalistik bagi pria dewasa, yang harus memilih antara dua opsi, di mana sejumlah kapital mengelilingi perantau dan non-perantau, serta interaksi simbolik dan dialektika relasional yang terjadi antara keduanya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif yang berjudul "Dilema Kapital dalam Tradisi Merantau bagi Pria Minangkabau Dilihat melalui Interaksi Simbolik dan Dialektika Relasional." Dalam penelitian ini, narasumber seperti pemimpin adat, perantau, dan non-perantau diwawancarai untuk mendapatkan wawasan mendalam. Meskipun kewajiban merantau adalah hukum adat atau regulasi yang telah berlangsung selama berabad-abad, hasil penelitian membuktikan bahwa, merantau atau tidak merantau bukanlah masalah, ketika setiap individu memiliki alasan yang memperkuat pilihannya. Keputusan untuk merantau atau tidak merantau diisi dengan makna yang signifikan, dipengaruhi oleh faktor-faktor sosial, budaya, ekonomi, dan simbolik.

Kata Kunci: Modal; Merantau; Laki-laki Minangkabau; Interaksionisme simbolik; Dialektika Relasional.

PENDAHULUAN

In general, the majority of tribes and ethnicities in Indonesia have a diversity of unique and distinctive cultures or traditions. One tradition that is interesting to observe is the tradition of "merantau". The tradition of migrating has become a philosophy or life guideline for a number of tribes in Indonesia, including the Batak, Minangkabau, Javanese, Madurese, Bugis, and others. However, in this research, the author only focuses on the capitalistic dilemma for migrants and nonmigrants towards the tradition of migrating in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. In the context of this research, the capitalistic dilemma is not related to Karl Marx's capitalism economic system, but a number of capitals initiated by Pierre Bourdieu; social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital.

In principle, the tradition and culture of migrating has been a tradition and culture of the Minangkabau tribe from the past until now, which has never been timeless. The practice of the tradition of migrating - in the midst of globalization or times that continue to develop and change - is still maintained and steady until now carried out by men in Minangkabau. In fact, the tradition of migrating from the Minangkabau tribe through the media of cinema films was filmed in the action genre (action) with the title Merantau which circulated in 2009. Interestingly, this movie, on several movie review sites, has received various praise and appreciation which is quite good by getting many stars, among others, reviews from IMDb and Amazon.

In the definitive context, according to Scott (2013), tradition is a cultural object - a system of meanings or ideas - that is passed on from the past to the next generation. Tradition as meaning, maintained by every member of society and communicated from one generation to another in a chain of meaning that includes collective memories, collective representations, and habits of doing things. While the classic opinion about culture according to E.B. Tylor (1832 - 1971) in Ziuddin Sardar and Borin Van Loon (2007), culture is, the complexity of the whole thing that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, and other abilities and habits acquired by humans as members of society.

However, when it comes to globalization, culture can be interpreted as commensurate with the problematic signs of a society as an interwoven whole occupying an area mapped out as a political zone, typically a country, and inferring the embodiment of individual meaning into the limitations of the socio-political realm. The relationship between globalization and culture is particularly threatening to conceptualizations of culture, not only because of the multiple pressures on locality, but also because it obliterates the idea that culture and place of origin are necessarily parallel (Tomlinson, 2007).

The above statement is in accordance with the tradition and culture of "merantau" in Minangkabau. As mentioned earlier, the tradition of migrating is the obligation of an adult man in Minangkabau to go out of his hometown or migrate in order to live independently and be able to adapt to his new social environment. Meanwhile, there are also adult Minangkabau men who choose (mamilih - Minangkabau term) not to migrate for certain reasons.

According to Hildred Storey Geertz (1967) - American lecturer, researcher, social anthropologist (February 12, 1927 - September 30, 2022) - in Kato (2005), the tradition of migrating in the Minangkabau realm means the process of reciprocal relations between Minang people outside the environment where they come from. Merantau becomes a place of life struggle as a lesson. Merantau is the maturity of individuals (men) in navigating the tested ocean of life. Also, migrating is able to raise the dignity of men in their traditional environment. Wandering has become a necessity for adult men in traditional Minang tribes. Because, when the man migrates, the chances of becoming successful are greater in terms of marriage, position in the tribe, honor, and others.

It is not surprising, then, that in various cities or regions in Indonesia many Minangkabau men are found studying, trading, and becoming employees of offices or institutions, far from their hometown. For example, as a student at a university, trading by opening a Padang restaurant, becoming a teacher or lecturer, as a tailor, bookseller, politician, civil servant, to becoming a city transportation driver, when they have become migrants.

Migrants from the Minang realm are known to be highly adaptable, able to blend in quickly in their new environment. This spirit of community centered on the talent to blend between tribes, ethnicities and races is taught by traditional and cultural leaders. This can be related through pantun: If buyuang pai marantau / Induak cari dunsanak cari / Induak samang cari dulu / If buyuang pai marantau / Looking for parents (elders) looking for relatives / First look for the landlady.

This line of pantun stimulates Minangkabau men when they migrate to look for elders (who are poured), look for relatives, first look for junjungan (landlady). In a sense, as a guarantee or foothold in the new area to be more solid. This teaching is transmitted from generation to generation.

Related to the above phenomenon, the author is interested in researching, studying, and analyzing the dilemmatic problems of tradition and culture of migrating in Minangkabau by using a communication discipline approach, namely, the use of Symbolic Interaction theory initiated by George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer.

The use of Symbolic Interactionism theory is intended - as explained by Mead through a social psychology approach - to reveal that, group behavior precedes individual behavior. The social whole precedes individual thought, both logically and temporally (see Ritzer and Goodman, 2008). In addition, Symbolic Interactionism, its essence is an activity that is characteristic of humans, namely communication or the exchange of symbols that are given meaning (Mulyana, 2004). Specifically, meaning is important for human behavior, self-concept, and relations or relationships between individuals and society (West and Turner, 2008).

In the context of Relational Dialectics, migrants and non-migrants are faced with communication tensions due to the desire of each individual to establish relationships. Of course this is also related to a number of capitals (social, cultural, symbolic, and economic), which each individual has.

Referring to the description above, the author sets the title of his research as follows: "The Capitalistic Dilemma of the Merantau Tradition for Minangkabau Men Viewed Through Symbolic Interaction and Relational Dialectics."

This research refers to the tradition of migrating in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, which has its own uniqueness, when the applicable custom for adult men must or must migrate to other regions or across the sea to equip life in order to gain new experiences, knowledge, and dignity. Meanwhile, there are also adult men who do not migrate for certain reasons. For this reason, the research problem is, How is the Capitalistic Dilemma of the Merantau Tradition for Minangkabau Men Viewed Through Symbolic Interactionism and Relational Dialectics. This study aims to reveal the capitalistic dilemma of the tradition of migrating in Minangkabau for Minangkabau men in terms of symbolic interaction and relational dialectics.

The Merantau tradition that applies to adult men in Minangkabau has often experienced a difficult situation, when a Minangkabau man must choose (mamilih) between two choices; migrate or not migrate. As Desnalia (2019) wrote, migrating is actually very closely related to the Minangkabau community. The origin of the word merantau comes from the Minangkabau language and culture, namely rantau. The word rantau originally meant an area positioned outside the core zone of Mingkabau, connotatively the epicenter of civilization.

Historically, Minangkabau civilization has experienced a range of fluctuating periods. The core zone is called Darek (land) or Luhak nan Tigo. The activity of people from the core area to the outer area is called "marantau" or going to the overseas area. Over time, the overseas region became the Minangkabau region. Eventually, the overseas areas became farther and farther, and in modern times, the overseas areas of the Minangkabau people can be said to be all over the world, even though these areas would never be categorized as Minangkabau areas but are still called "overseas".

Many people from various tribes or ethnicities migrate, among which the phenomenal ones are the Minangkabau people. A Minangkabau man when he reaches the age of young adulthood, namely between the ages of 20 years and 30 years, has been encouraged to go

overseas by the Minangkabau culture/customary culture adopted by the tribe since a long time ago, whether when it started cannot be known for certain.

Merantau is a form of population movement that has become a deep-rooted tradition and behavior as a form of culture in the Minangkabau tribe in West Sumatra. As mentioned earlier, merantau comes from the Malay term, Indonesia. Minangkabau is similar in meaning and usage to the root word rantau which means coast along (river).

Although the tradition of migrating seems to be a necessity or obligation for adult men, on the other hand there is a dilemmatic problem. That is, if all adult men go migrating then who will be the teacher to teach elementary, junior high, and high school children in Minangkabau? Or who will go fishing in the Minangkabau sea looking for fish to sell to the market to support their children and wives? Of course, the tradition of migrating that applies in Minangkabau society clashes with other interests that are also a top priority.

TINJAUAN LITERATUR
Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of Capital Social Capital

According to Pierre Bourdieu in Damsar & Indrayani (2019), social capital is the actual and potential resources that individuals have derived from institutionalized and ongoing social networks in the form of mutual recognition and introductions, membership in social groups, which provide members with various forms of collective support.

In more detail, in social capital there are basic concepts, namely,

1. Value

Viewed as ideas about whether an experience is meaningful, worthless, of no value, and inappropriate. These ideas are understood as values. Values, then, relate to shared ideas about what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable (William, 1970).

In life, there are various values that are built, developed, and owned socially and personally. Some of the values are as follows:

a. Personal value. Values that individuals refer to. Some people, for example, consider family to be their most important value, and structure their lives around it. Therefore, they spend more time with their family. Conversely, there are others who value success more and focus their activities around it. Consequently, they spend less time with their family to achieve their goals.

b. Moral value. Values that help determine what is morally right or wrong, for example in relation to freedom, justice, equality and well-being. These moral standards can be used to evaluate social institutions or people's behavior in relation to the public interest.

c. Material values. Values by which people survive and are associated with the basic needs of human life, such as clothing, food, shelter and environmental protection. Material values may conflict with spiritual values, for example, in order to survive, everyone must farm and trade. But not all activities are a source of life, for example prostitution, corruption and gambling.

d. Spiritual value. Something that is non-material, spiritual. Values that form the foundation of human life, for example, religion. Values become the standard for determining strategies in doing something.

2. Norm

Shared rules that guide one's behavior. Sullivan and Thompson (1984) divide norms into three types; folksways, mores, and laws. Habits are ways that are common, natural, and repeatedly done by a group of people towards something. Such is the tradition of migrating that applies in Minangkabau for adult men. The habit of migrating has become a behavioral and legal system that has been agreed upon and applies in the Minangkabau realm. Although there are some men who choose not to migrate.

Cultural Capital

Regarding the concept of cultural capital intended by Bourdieu, in Damsar and Indrayani (2019), M.J. Lee (2006) tries to interpret and explain, cultural capital as the possession of certain cultural competencies, or a set of cultural knowledge that provides a specially differentiated form of cultural consumption and a complicated classification of cultural and symbolic goods. It can be concluded that cultural capital is the possession of cultural competence or knowledge that guides cultural value tastes and certain patterns of consumption, which are institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications.

Symbolic Capital

According to Bourdieu (1977), symbolic capital is a form of physical economic capital that has undergone transformation, and hence, has been disguised, producing its effects precisely insofar as it hides the fact that it appears in "material" forms of capital that are, in effect, the sources of its effects as well (Damsar and Indrayani, 2019).

Referring to the above understanding, Harker, et al (2005) understand prestige, status, and authority as symbolic capital. Meanwhile, according to Jenkins (2013) and Ritzer and Goodman (2008), symbolic capital is manifested in prestige, status, authority, and social honor.

Economic Capital

Economic capital is one of the abilities for actors (migrants and non-migrants) to form a number of other capitals. Some of the main characteristics contained in economic capital (Fashri, 2014), namely; (1) capital that is collected and accumulated through investment, (2) capital can be transferred to others through inheritance, (3) capital can provide benefits according to the opportunities that the owner has to operate its placement. Economic capital includes the means of production (land, machinery, labor), material (income, earnings, and assets) and money that can be easily utilized for any purpose and transferred from one generation to the next.

Symbolic Interactionism of George Herbet Mead and Herbert Blumer

In essence, the theory of Symbolic Interactionism is a theory that came after the theory of Social Action - as the umbrella of symbolic interaction theory (see Mulayana, 2004) - from Max Weber (European School). Symbolic Interactionism theory in this study features only two thoughts from sociologists; George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer. It can also be noted that before Mead and Blumer, there were the names of John Dewey and Charles Horton Cooley, who opposed the radical Behaviorism theory pioneered by Watson.

Based on the Indonesian Thesaurus lexicon (Endarmoko, 2007), the word interaction is synonymous with the word relationship or correlation. According to KBBI, interaction is the act of doing things to each other, relating, influencing, interrelationship. Meanwhile, symbolic has the meaning of symbolizing something. Symbolic comes from the Latin Symbolic (us) and Greek symbolicos (Effendy, 2007). The assumption is that the essence of the theory of Symbolic Interactionism is that an activity is characteristic and distinctive of humans, namely, communication or exchange of symbols that are given meaning (Mulayana, 2004).

Furthermore, based on the thoughts of George Herbert Mead, there are three basic ideas of Symbolic Interaction (see West & Turner, 2008, Mulayana, 2004), namely:
 a. Mind. The ability to use symbols that have similar social meanings. Each individual needs to explore the mind through interaction or connecting with others.
 b. Self. The capacity to reflect each individual's self from the perspective or opinions of others. In principle, Symbolic Interactionism is a part of sociological theory that states about the self and the external world.
 c. Society. an order of social interaction that is created, developed, and constructed by each individual in society, and each individual engages in behavior that is actively and willingly chosen, which will lead humans to take a role in society.

Referring to Mead's three concepts above, we can summarize the basis of Symbolic Interaction theory as follows:

1. The importance of meaning for human behavior
2. The importance of self-concept
3. The relationship between the individual and society.

Basically, Symbolic Interaction theory is closely related to the communication process. Initially, meaning is meaningless until it is interpretatively constructed by individuals through interaction to create conventionalized meaning. This is synchronized with Herbert Blumer's assumptions (West & Turner, 2008), namely: humans act towards others based on the meaning conveyed by others, meaning is created through interaction, meaning is modified through the interpretative process. Individuals develop self-concepts through interactions with others.

Self-concept is a motive for behavior. Individuals and groups are influenced by cultural and social processes. Social structure is the productivity of social interaction.

It continues with Herbert Blumer's thoughts which emphasize the three main principles of Symbolic Interactionism, namely, meaning, language, and thought. According to Blumer, humans are conscious and reflective actors, in uniting known objects through the process of self-indication; a communication process that takes place when individuals know something, assess, give meaning, and decide to act based on that meaning.

The process of self-indication occurs within the social context, as individuals try to anticipate the actions of others, and adapt to their actions as they interpret their own. That is, human action is loaded with interpretation and understanding. In detail, Blumer emphasized the priority of reciprocal relationships to structure by stating, social processes in group life create and break down rules, not human rules from the results of each society; the followers of symbolic interaction emphasize, create and break down group life. Individuals act in line to sustain norms or rules of behavior.

Leslie Baxter and Barbara Montgomery's Theory of Relational Dialectics

This relational dialectical theory has two types, namely internal dialectical and external dialectical. These types are based on the position of an individual in communication. The internal dialectical refers to communication within a community, while the external dialectical refers to communication between individuals within a community accompanied by tensions that occur in other groups or parties.

In summary, the theory of rational dialectics discusses changes in a relationship that is built over a long period of time, which must finally face some tensions or conflicts related to the different desires of each individual.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative research method approach. By definition, qualitative research methods according to Creswell (2009), Qualitative methods rely on text and image data, have unique steps in data analysis, and draw on diverse designs. In the free sense, qualitative research methods rely on text or image data that have unique stages of data analysis, and draw conclusions based on different designs. Descriptive research also presents a description of a situation or social setting in detail and specifically. Referring to this statement, the author also focuses on understanding the dilemma in the tradition and culture of migrating in Minangkabau as a symbolic interaction through information from the Minangkabau customary chief, migrants, and non-migrants as the main data source or key informant.

The author obtained data sources through sources or informants who were interviewed in accordance with the research problem, dilemmas in the tradition and culture of migrating adult

men or youth in Minangkabau. The research location was conducted in Padang, West Sumatra. In this case, the actors are migrants, non-migrants and customary heads as data sources.

Table 1
Source Person

No.	Name	Age	Job
1	Datuak Tasril Sabih	58	Head of Kerapatan Adat Nagari Kayutanam Minangkabau
2	Tegar Ariyanto Saputra	38	Elementary Teacher (PNS)
3	Amril	64	Farmer
4	Al Hilal Isra	22	College Student
5	Mochtar Hafiz	29	Civil Servant

Source: Author 2023

In this study, the authors utilized two data sources, namely, primary and secondary data sources. According to Sugiyono (2008), primary data is a data source that directly provides data to data collectors. The author obtained primary data sources through interviews with migrants, non-migrants, and traditional leaders. The reason the author interviewed migrants, non-migrants, and customary leaders as primary data sources was so that the author could get direct information about the reasons why migrants, non-migrants, and customary leaders apply the tradition of migrating in Minangkabau.

To obtain the necessary information, the author conducted unstructured interviews. An unstructured interview is a free interview in which the researcher does not use an interview guide that is arranged systematically and completely to collect data. The interview guide used is only in the form of the main points to be asked (Sugiyono, 2008).

To complete the data collection, the author uses secondary source data in the form of documents that include references, policies, biographies, and writings from the internet regarding the tradition of migrating in Minangkabau.

The data analysis method used in this research is qualitative data analysis. According to Sugiyono (2008), data analysis is the process of systematically searching and compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes, and documentation, by organizing and classifying data into categories, breaking it down into units, synthesizing, organizing into patterns, sorting and selecting what is important and what will be studied, and providing conclusions so that they are easily understood by oneself and others.

In qualitative research, data is obtained from various sources using various data collection techniques (triangulation), and is carried out continuously. Data is analyzed based on the results of interview transcripts or interviews. The transcript is a series of interviews that the author conducts continuously. In addition, the author also analyzes data in the form of documents or other text data sources.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital are also inherent in the average Minangkabau community, especially for men, as provisions in carrying out the tradition of migrating and those who do not go overseas. For Minang men, social capital is the ability to fight and adapt in a new social environment. Supported by cultural capital, both migrants and non-migrants have the ability to speak the language of their origin and typical dialects, as well as special skills and education. Meanwhile, symbolic capital, for migrants, increases social prestige and honor.

Even the economic capital collected or accumulated from the results of business in the village and when migrating becomes an investment. This capital can take the form of a trading business - given that Minangkabau migrants are very good at trading - as well as a house and a number of valuable items (cars, gold and land). It is no wonder that many Minangkabau migrants have succeeded in the overseas realm.

Both migrants and non-migrants have good interaction skills, when all social and cultural values and norms instilled from a young age have been embedded in their attitudes and behavior, when they interact within the scope of the community and the symbolic majority. In this context, the symbolic means using the language of origin, dialects, customs, and others.

Of course, in interaction with the outside world, conflicts or relational dialectics are common and natural. The traditional background, culture and customs of each individual from various tribes, religions and ethnicities are not the same, when interactions and interactions occur. Both in the context of the community and society. competent interviewees' accounts of those who migrate and those who do not migrate.

The explanation of the tradition of migrating in the sub-title section above, of course, needs to be complemented by an explanation from one of the traditional leaders in Minangkabau, who the author considers as a key informant regarding the tradition of migrating. He is Datuak Tasril Sabih, 58 years old - the head of the customary density of Nagari Kayutanam Minangkabau - residing in 2X 11 Kayutanam. According to Datuak Tasril, merantau has two meanings, there are two meanings, one meaning, according to the language accent and two according to the term, one according to the accent is the movement from one place to another, two according to the term of moving from one place or from a country of origin or from the blood sphere to another place with the closest distance between provinces and the time For migrants, social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital become absolutely necessary as provisions for interacting and establishing relationships, compared to those who choose not to migrate because the necessary capital is not very absolute, when they interact and become relationships because they tend to have the same background. This can be seen in the specified is at least one year or two years.

The tradition of migrating, which has been deeply rooted in the Minang realm, is certainly processed not only through customary norms. But also religious norms. In this case Datuk Tasril revealed, "In my opinion, the view of migrating according to religion is a necessity and a natural face, if we look at our prophet, the Prophet Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina, and especially if according to religion, the proof is in Surah Ar Ra'd verse eleven, Allah will not change the fate of a people unless they themselves want to change it, so the necessity to migrate."

The question arises. Is the tradition of migrating for adult men actually a necessity? Still according to Datuk Tasril, "Indeed, it is a necessity for every adult man in Minangkabau to migrate. Because if in Minangkabau the term material contract because all high heirloom property is not inherited by men but inherited by women, meaning that all high heirloom property that has been inherited by all high women means that men do not have, but even though they do not have it, they can only supervise and own it. Automatically men in Minangkabau must look for a more decent livelihood and the only way is to migrate."

Although migrating has been known for a long time by the Minangkabau people, when exactly the tradition of migrating was applied in Minangkabau is not well recorded. It is only based on historical phenomena that indicate the legacy of ancestors who lived on the move. This means that nomadic activities have become a nagari tradition that has been applied in the village.

However, migrants - usually those who have attended SMK (Vocational High School) and SMA (Senior High School) - who want to migrate are equipped by their parents with advice, recitation of the Quran, manners and ethics in the village and in the overseas land. In the overseas land, those who succeed realize the need to help relatives and relatives in their hometown, and as much as possible are also expected to develop their hometown.

If you look closely, there are differences between Minangkabau migrants and migrants from other tribes, ethnicities or regions. For example, from China. Those who migrate usually do not return to their hometown or place of origin. They stay in the new place forever. It is different with migrants from Minangkabau. They will certainly return to their hometown. Especially during Lebaran, of course they will return to their hometown every year. for a long time by the Minangkabau people, when exactly the tradition of migrating was applied in Minangkabau is not well recorded. It is only based on historical phenomena that indicate the legacy of ancestors who lived on the move. This means that nomadic activities have become a nagari tradition that has been applied in the village. Even so, there is a concern felt by Datuk Tasril, when they migrate, namely that migrants have left the Minangkabau tradition due to cultural assimilation so that ancestral culture, customs, heritage, and others are slowly abandoned and then follow the new culture that applies in the overseas land. If so, said Datuk Tasril, "Who will inherit the ancestral heritage if the young migrants have left the traditions and culture of the ancestral heritage."

The tradition of migrating seems to be a must for Minangkabau men. As stated by Nofra Junaidi (44 years old), a Bumbu Merchant, who has been living in Jakarta, said, "If the tradition of Rantau, if Minang children almost the majority do. As a young person, I am a wanderer, the term is gambling, from a child from high school graduation it is gambling to migrate to change lives. Because the name life in the village, yes sometimes mediocre. If we want to gain experience, we will migrate. But if we stay in the village, we won't know the life outside."

Similarly, Mochtar Hafiz (29 years old), a civil servant at the State Civil Service Agency (Badan Kepegawaian Negara), located in Cipayung, East Jakarta, explained, "The tradition of migrating is a habit for Minang people, the youth in Minangkabau has become a tradition to migrate. The question arises. Why did I choose to migrate? Because it is a process to find identity, yes, identity as a Minangkabau youth must migrate. That's the reason. And I didn't work right away. I had to study first in Surabaya. After I felt that I was capable, I went to Jakarta."

As mentioned earlier, migrating is inherent for adult men in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Although there are also some adult men who have chosen not to migrate. Of course there are certain reasons why they do not choose to migrate. As conveyed by Tegar Ariyanto Saputra, more familiarly called Uda Tegar (38 years old) - an elementary school teacher (PNS) in the field of sports who teaches or trains soccer, swimming, and several other branches -

located at Jondul Rawang Complex, Padang, gave an explanation, "Yes, like this. It goes back to the basic family. For me in my family, it's better for us to gather together here. I have five siblings, all of whom are in this city. Because my Papa Mama taught me that it's better for us to be together here whatever it is. We can definitely find sustenance like that. And it's better to gather with relatives here."

Uda Tegar's statement is quite reasonable, as he chose not to migrate. For Uda Tegar, the comfort of being with family in his hometown is the main reason. Then does choosing not to migrate have any consequences? "There are none in my family. We are not obliged to migrate."

Although Uda Tegar admits, many people in his village have succeeded and earned a better living. But for Uda Tegar, being near relatives feels more comfortable. That is the choice. Given that the teaching profession is also needed in the village or in his hometown, like his father who also works as a lecturer.

So what is the reason for those who work as farmers? Of course, it is impossible to leave farming to migrate. One farmer named Amril, who has been working as a farmer for 40 years, explained, "If you say I don't migrate, I used to migrate too. But about twenty-five years ago, I thought because life in the mantau itself for me personally there was no progress, and also maybe because my behavior was all kinds of wasteful and not frugal. So I thought, I already have children. I started to think that it would be better for me to return home to Minang land again. And I became a farmer because I had peace of mind." If you don't migrate, is there a reason or dispensation? "If you say the reason or special dispensation, there is none. Whether there is no dispensation.

Migrating for Minangkabau people certainly has its own meaning, compared to other tribes who also recognize the tradition of migrating. Whether it is seen from a cultural or economic aspect. For this reason, Datuk Tasril explained, "The cultural meaning of migrating for Minang people is very different from other people. For example, like Java or Sunda. Javanese and Sundanese people if they are successful, they will bring the name of their village. For example, in Dharmasraya there is Wonogiri Street, there is Wonogiri Village in Lampung, there is Bali Village, while in Pasaman there is Bojo Rahayu. But that is not the case with Minang people. First, if Minang people migrate where the village is inhabited, the custom is used. Where the ground is, there the sky is. So no matter how successful a Minang person is when he migrates, he will not bring his village with him. As I mentioned earlier. Secondly, if a Minang person migrates, at least he goes inside. That is, where he migrates, he is one with the place where he migrates. He will not mention Minang. So that's how Minang people migrate, it's very different. Because Minang people when they migrate are not only looking for knowledge, but also looking for silatuhrahmi, looking for good migrations or not, relationships. So in short, Minang people when they migrate are not just looking for the economy."

To complete the understanding of the tradition of migrating among the Minangkabau people, next try to listen to the explanation of Al Hilal Isra (22 years old), who is usually called Hilal and is a student who does not migrate, with an address in Balingka, West Sumatra, explaining, "In my opinion, merantau is an activity carried out by someone who leaves his hometown which is none other than to try his luck or change the fate of his family's economic life."

Then why do adult men have to do the tradition of migrating, is the tradition of migrating an obligation? "In my opinion, the tradition of migrating is not an obligation, but a process that a person does to change his life for the better. So, if for example, he doesn't migrate because conditions are more favorable in his hometown," Hilal explains wisely.

Junaidi, who works as a spice trader, had a different experience. He has been migrating since he dropped out of high school in the second grade. He was 16 years old at the time. In 1999, he and four of his friends finally decided to migrate. The reason was that he wanted to change his life for the better. "Alhamdulillah, we finally made it," he admitted.

In terms of symbolic interaction theory, migrants bring values and life principles that are held firmly by the migrants. Those who migrate communicate or exchange symbols that have certain meanings. They exchange symbols and interact with the community where they set foot in the overseas land. For example, they still use the language of origin, hold customs and traditions that apply in the Minang realm. This is also certainly done by non-migrants. They still maintain the rich traditions and culture of their ancestors so that the exchange of symbols and interactions among migrants when they return home remain steady and sustainable and take place harmoniously in accordance with their self-concept.

In being in a relationship with another party, at least there is often conflict, which is natural and commonplace, considering that adapting needs a process. Likewise, in establishing relationships, it allows the emergence of dialectics that cannot be avoided. However, the values and norms held as social, cultural and symbolic capital are able to equip migrants in facing the heterogeneous realities of life. For example, migrants can exercise self-control and mutual respect when they are in the overseas realm. Therefore, a number of capitals are absolutely owned by migrants when they interact and relate.

CONCLUSIONS

In Minangkabau society, especially for adult men, the tradition of migrating and not migrating has a distinctive meaning. Social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital are attached to this society, influencing the choice between migrating or not. For Minang men, social capital includes the ability to adapt to a new environment, supported by cultural and symbolic capital. Economic capital is also accumulated from the results of business both in the village and while migrating. Social interactions and cultural influences instilled since childhood influence attitudes and behavior, including in the symbolic context of using the language and customs of the region of origin. However, interaction with the outside world can create conflict or relational dialectics due to differences in background traditions, culture and customs.

Further research involving a wider and more representative range of respondents, including different age groups and backgrounds, is recommended. This study can more deeply understand the dynamics of the merantau tradition in Minangkabau and its implications for society and policy.

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