



BATAK TOBA MIGRANTS: ADAPTATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE CITY OF PEMATANGSIANTAR

MIGRAN BATAK TOBA: ADAPTASI DAN PERUBAHAN BUDAYA DI KOTA PEMATANGSIANTAR

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Abstract

This research aims to be based on social changes experienced by Batak Toba migrants in Pematangsiantar City. The migrants did not adopt a particular ethnic culture but instead retained the socio-cultural values of batak-toba. However, Batak-Toba migrants did not become dominant in Pematangsiantar City, different in other areas that tended to be dominant. The method used to analyze data on the patterns of adaptation and socio-cultural changes of the Batak Toba people used descriptive qualitative methods. Through this method, it is hoped that it will be able to answer research problems. The population in this study is all Batak Toba migrants who live in Pematangsiantar City. Informants in this study as many as 12 people consisting of traditional Batak Toba figures as many as five people and as a comparison of simalungun indigenous figures one person, Angkola 1 person, Java 1 person, Malay 1 person, Minang 1 person, Karo 1 person, and China 1 person. Data is collected through in-depth interviews combined with library data. Interview results are collected, tabulated, analyzed, verified, and displayed until concluded. The results showed that the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural changes experienced by Batak Toba migrants was influenced by the cultural background of Pematangsiantar City, namely Simalungun culture as the host culture and other cultures that were not dominant. Batak Toba migrants adapt in Pematangsiantar City to the local culture but retain most of its socio-cultural values, even if they become migrants and settle in Pematangsiantar City.

Keywords: Adaptation, Batak Toba, Pattern, Migrants.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan karena didasari ada perubahan sosial yang dialami oleh pendatang Batak Toba di Kota Pematangsiantar. Para pendatang tidak mengadopsi budaya etnis tertentu melainkan mempertahankan nilai-nilai social budaya dari Batak-Toba. Walaupun demikian, pendatang Batak-Toba tidak menjadi dominan di Kota Pematangsiantar, berbeda di daerah lain yang cenderung menjadi dominan. Metode yang digunakan untuk menganalisis data tentang pola adaptasi dan perubahan social budaya orang Batak Toba digunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif. Melalui metode tersebut diharapkan akan mampu menjawab permasalahan penelitian. Populasi dalam penelitian ini adalah seluruh migrant Batak Toba yang bermukim di Kota Pematangsiantar. Informan dalam penelitian ini sebanyak 12 orang yang terdiri dari tokoh adat Batak Toba sebanyak 5 orang dan sebagai pembanding tokoh adat



Simalungun 1 orang, Angkola 1 orang, Jawa 1 orang, Melayu 1 orang, Minang 1 orang, Karo 1 orang, dan China 1 orang. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam yang dipadukan dengan data kepustakaan. Hasil wawancara dikumpulkan, ditabulasi, dianalisis, diverifikasi, didisplay hingga disimpulkan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pola adaptasi dan perubahan social budaya yang dialami migrant Batak Toba dipengaruhi oleh latar budaya Kota Pematangsiantar yaitu budaya Simalungun sebagai budaya tuan rumah, serta budaya lainnya yang tidak bersifat dominan. Migran Batak Toba beradaptasi di Kota Pematangsiantar dengan budaya local tetapi cenderung mempertahankan sebagian besar nilai social budayanya, walaupun mereka menjadi migrant dan menetap di Kota Pematangsiantar.

Kata Kunci : *Adaptasi, Batak Toba, Pola, Migran*

1. INTRODUCTION

A multi-ethnic population inhabits Pematangsiantar City. This ethnic diversity has the consequence that the culture of the community is multicultural. This means that Pematangsiantar city is inhabited by different communities and adapts to each other. This condition has been going on for a long time, from the colonial era until now. Like other cities in Indonesia during the Colonial period, Pematangsiantar City was occupied by residents of various ethnicities, namely Simalungun, Javanese, Batak Toba, Karo, Minang, Malay, and other ethnic groups. Ethnic groups in Pematangsiantar City live in groups based on ethnicity except for colonial government employees. The form of settlement in the city of Pematangsiantar is a characteristic of ethnic grouping, such as the Christian village of the Toba Batak people, the Karo village, the Bantan village of the Javanese and Minang Malay settlement areas, the Timbang Galung village, the Mandailing settlement, the Gurilla, the Simalungun settlement, and the ethnic Chinese in the city center. Settlement patterns that group based on ethnicity greatly affect the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural change for each ethnic group living in Pematangsiantar City. Along with developments in Pematangsiantar City, apart from being a settlement, the settlement pattern of a multicultural community is not concentrated in certain places but spreads according to economic capacity and social status in housing built and managed by developers.

The arrival of the Toba Batak people as migrants to the city of Pematangsiantar enriched the pre-existing culture of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a belief that states that other ethnic or cultural groups can coexist peacefully, which is marked by a willingness to respect other cultures (Sparingga, 2003). Multicultural includes three values, namely: a). affirmation of one's culture, b). respect, desire to understand and learn about other people's cultures other than their own, and c). judgments and feelings of pleasure with cultural differences (Husin, 2003). The Toba Batak people migrated to the city of Pematangsiantar starting in 1903, establishing the Toba Batak association organization in the Christian village area. Toba Batak migrants' main purpose is to achieve a cultural mission. The cultural mission of the Toba Batak people consists of a) having a lot of land and property (*hamoraon*), b) having power (*harajaon*), c) having many children (*hagabeon*), and d) achieving honor (*hasangapon*). Bangun (1978) stated that the purpose of the Toba Batak people migrating was to achieve a cultural mission, live and work in cities, and avoid poverty. To achieve this cultural mission, the Toba Batak people work hard in the formal and non-formal sectors, adapting to the local culture and retaining some



of their functional socio-cultural values in their lives. The Toba Batak people view the concept of territory in the context of migration as *Ndang Marimbar Tano Hamatean* (no different from the land of death) and *Pungka Ma Hutam* (establish your village in another area). The cultural core associated with the Toba Batak migration pattern is that the overseas realm (*Bonaniranto*) is seen as an integral part and, at the same time, an extension of the area of origin (*Bonani-pasogit*) (Siahaan, 1987; Pelly, 1994).

The adaptation pattern of the Toba Batak people, according to the philosophy of *sidapotsolup do naro* requires that every entry must comply with natural laws, meaning that immigrants must adapt to the environment in which they are located. This philosophy teaches that all Toba Batak people must adapt to the way of life in the region. This view affects the adaptation pattern of Toba Batak migrants which tend to be adaptive, permanent and expansionistic. *Sidapotsolup do naro's* philosophy ordered that the Toba Batak people's adaptation pattern is like a firm fish in its stance; it is not contaminated to become salty even though it lives in seawater. The meaning of this expression in the context of adaptation teaches the Toba Batak people that adapting to a new environment does not mean losing and surrendering to circumstances. Still, they must continue to live without assimilating into the new environment (Marluga, 2016).

The Toba Batak people have their peculiarities, known as hardworking, enterprising, agile, tenacious, rude, rebellious, and have a distinctive philosophy of life (Aritonang, 2000). This makes the Toba Batak people tend to be dominant in overseas areas. Interestingly, in Pematangsiantar City, this did not happen. The Toba Batak people did not adopt a certain ethnic culture. Still, they maintained the socio-cultural values of the Batak-Toba, and they did not become dominant even though they influenced the pragmatism of city life. Therefore, this study seeks to describe the social changes experienced by Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City who did not adopt a certain ethnic culture but maintained the socio-cultural values of Batak-Toba. However, Batak-Toba migrants do not become dominant in Pematangsiantar City, in contrast to other areas which tend to be dominant. In addition, analyzing the patterns of adaptation and socio-cultural changes experienced by Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City with no dominant cultural background and Simalungun's culture as the host is interesting to analyze holistically and comprehensively in the form of field research activities.

2. METHODS

Research on patterns of adaptation and social change in the lives of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City uses qualitative methods. A qualitative method is research that seeks to examine a certain cultural group based on the observations and presence of researchers directly in the field (Creswell, 2014). The use of qualitative methods is based on the goal to be achieved, namely, understanding the patterns of adaptation and socio-cultural changes in the lives of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar city. The population in this study was all Toba Batak migrants living in Pematangsiantar City. From this population, 12 informants were selected in

this study consisting of 5 Toba Batak traditional leaders and one person for comparison with Simalungun traditional leaders, one person in Angkola, 1 Javanese, 1 Malay, 1 Minang, 1 Karo, and China 1 person. Data collected through in-depth interviews, observation participation, and library sources were tabulated, analyzed, verified, and displayed to formulate conclusions. After conducting interviews, researchers analyzed data, from data collection to concluding. Data analysis was carried out by data collection activities, data reduction, data presentation, and concluding (data verification) (Miles and Huberman, 1992). According to Miles & Huberman (1992: 16), the analysis consists of three streams of activities that occur simultaneously, namely: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification. The three lines in more detail are as follows: 1) Data Reduction, 2) Data Presentation, 3) Draw Conclusions. Schematically, the data analysis process using Miles and Huberman's interactive data analysis model can be seen in the following figure:

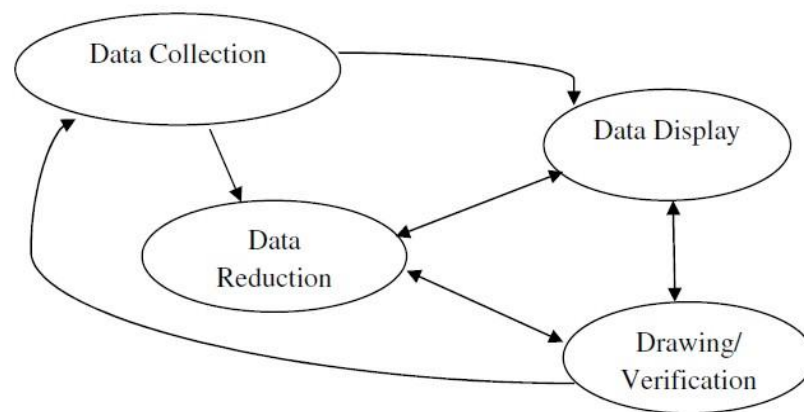


Figure 1. Interactive Data Analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1992)

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pematangsiantar City Population Based on Ethnicity

Initially, Pematangsiantar City consisted of 6 sub-districts, but now after the division, Pematangsiantar City has become eight sub-districts. The original inhabitants of Pematangsiantar City were the Simalungun tribe. Still, due to migrants from various regions and the opening of plantations in East Sumatra during the Dutch colonial era, the population became multi-ethnic. The largest population in Pematangsiantar City is the Toba Batak tribe, with 12,8303 people, followed by the Javanese, as many as 55,841, Simalungun, and 29,922 Mandailing Natal as many as 14,185, and other ethnic groups. Based on the ethnic polarization found in Pematangsiantar City, it can be seen that the Simalungun ethnic group, as the host ethnic group, is no longer dominant. Still, the Toba Batak tribe is the most dominant. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Pematangsiantar City, each ethnic group maintains its customs and culture. There is no single socio-cultural value that becomes a standard behavior reference. This affects the adaptation pattern of each ethnic group and socio-cultural changes.



The ethnic groups in Pematangsiantar City, although experiencing changes in their socio-cultural values, do not adapt themselves to the socio-cultural values of other ethnic groups.

The phenomenon of adaptation and socio-cultural change found in the people of Pematangsiantar City is that each ethnic group maintains its customs, language, arts, culinary arts, and other cultural event objects. The occurrence of socio-cultural changes in Pematangsiantar City tends to adopt the development of modernization as in other cities in Indonesia. Therefore, it is not surprising to observe that communication in Pematangsiantar City is not like in Bandung, which is dominant in Sundanese language and Sundanese culture. However, in Pematangsiantar City, every ethnic group in communication still uses their mother tongue and uses the customs of each ethnic group.

Migration Process of Toba Batak People to Pematangsiantar City

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Pematangsiantar and Simalungun cities entered a new historical episode. Dutch colonialism and Zending entered this area to spread their mission (Kozok, 2000; Suprayitno, 2017). Dutch colonialism aimed to protect its economic interests, such as securing plantation areas in the East Sumatra region, so efforts were made to appease Batak areas previously considered independent. On the other hand, with the rapid expansion of plantations in East Sumatra and extending to the Simalungun area and around Pematangsiantar, many people migrated to this area with various motives.

The ethnic groups who migrated to this area consisted of Europeans, Chinese, Keling, Toba Batak, MandailingBataks, and others. Europeans, Chinese, Keling, are more oriented to plantation economic motives and live in plantation areas, so they don't get along with the local population. Meanwhile, the Toba Batak people who have become Christians with the motivation to open rice fields, who received support from the colonial government to support the food of the people of East Sumatra, and the Zending RMG with the excuse of being friends to spread Christianity to the SimalungunBatak people(Bruner, 1961; Bemmelen, 2017).

In 1823 the Siantar and Simalungun areas began to receive the attention of the West, namely John Anderson from England (Anderson, 1971). Intensified attention to this area by the Dutch colonial since 1865 and the expansion of its power outside the island of Java, in this case to the East Sumatra region, with an economic motive to examine the possibility of plantation expansion (Tideman, 1962). Even though the Dutch colonials had controlled the archipelago, their attention to the Batak area only began in the second half of the 19th century. This was due to several reasons, namely: (1) the colonials did not yet have a political interest to control this area, (2) the Batak area was located in remote areas so that it is difficult to access them, and (3) There is a perception of the nature of local cannibalism that discourages and delays investigations into the Batak area(Andaya, 2002;Sihombing, 2004; Causey, 2007).

The Simalungun Batak area, which is part of the East Sumatra region, was also the target of the expansion of foreign plantation areas which began around 1863 (Jan Breman, 1997). The SimalungunBawah area which includes the kingdoms of Siantar, Java Land, and Panei is fertile and is suitable for plantations. However, along with the expansion of plantations in the Simalungun area and around Pematangsiantar, it brings a new problem, namely the difficulty of



manual labor in pioneering wilderness forests to become plantations. The Simalungun people were less interested in being such workers for the colonials because they had large fields and were few. The plantations brought in Javanese, Chinese, Keling and Toba Batak workers to overcome this. These immigrant ethnic groups, such as the Javanese, Chinese, Kelings, formed their respective communities in the plantation area.

The wave of Batak Toba Christians from North Tapanuli to the Pematangsiantar area has increased every year. This cannot be separated from the attraction made by the colonial side in offering several head positions for those who succeeded in bringing several families to move to Simalungun and around Pematangsiantar (Liddle, 1976). Toba Batak migrants during the colonial period were not all working in rice fields. Some of them worked as administrative staff in plantations, hospitals, teachers, and colonial government offices. They are true people who have tasted Western education due to the work of the zendeling who are very active in establishing village schools. The development of the number of educated workers from the schools opened by zendeling was felt by the Dutch colonial government and plantation entrepreneurs who needed workers to fill various administrative jobs.

The Simalungun ethnicity, as the original inhabitants of the Simalungun and Pematangsiantar areas, was greatly harmed by the growth of plantations and the opening of new rice fields. As a result, the land area is getting narrower, while the livelihood pattern is still farming in the fields. Because they are less able to assimilate to the culture of the immigrant group, many of them are sent to the highland areas, namely the Upper Simalungun area. Despite the attraction made by the colonial side, they offered several positions of the head for those who succeeded in bringing several families to move to Simalungun and around Pematangsiantar (Liddle, 1976).

Toba Batak migrants during the colonial period were not all working in rice fields. Some of them worked as administrative staff in plantations, hospitals, teachers, and colonial government offices. They are people who have tasted Western education due to the work of the zendeling who were very active in establishing village schools. The development of the number of educated workers from the schools opened by zendeling was felt by the Dutch colonial government and plantation entrepreneurs who needed workers to fill various administrative jobs.

These immigrant groups each have their cultural traditions, forms of social organization, and language as the basis for ethnic differences. Thanks to their language, bilateral kinship system, and Hindu-Buddhist culture, the Javanese are certainly more prominent. Meanwhile, the Batak people recognize the patrilineal kinship system and various almost similar traditions and customs (customs). Very infrequent contact and almost similar habits (customs). Very infrequent contact over hundreds of years has resulted in dialects, customs, and other differences (Napitu, 2010).

City Life Patterns in Pematangsiantar

In a comprehensive analysis of patterns of adaptation, integration and forms of identity change in the lives of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City, subculture theory (Fisher) and multicultural theory (Will Kymlicka and Crowder) are used. Sub-culture theory synthesizes



determinism theory or urban anomie theory (Louis Wirth) with compositional theory (Oscar Louis). The combination of the use of the above theory and supported by other theories is expected to be able to analyze and understand the forms of adaptation, integration and identity change in the life of a multi-ethnic and multicultural society in Pematangsiantar city.

Four types are widely used to understand the characteristics of urban residents, namely demographic, institutional, cultural, and behavioral. (1) The demographic definition essentially includes the size and density of the population. A community is referred to more or less as urban depending on the number of inhabitants; therefore a city is a place with a relatively large number of inhabitants. (2) The institutional definition specifies the term city for a community with certain special institutions (institutions). For example, to be a city, a community must have specific economic institutions, such as a commercial market. (3) The definition of culture requires that a community have certain cultural characteristics, such as a group of educated people. (4) The definition of behavior requires the existence of a certain style of behavior that members of the community characteristically show. For example, interpersonal style of social interaction so that the community deserves to be called a city (Fischer, 1979).

Referring to the city's criteria above, in essence, Pematangsiantar as a city includes all of the above definitions. Pematangsiantar City, apart from having a relatively high population density has special institutions, has a specific culture and its residents have an interpersonal lifestyle. Such a city's lifestyle greatly affects all its citizens to adapt to each other, maintain, and maintain integration and experience changes in identity. These three things greatly affect the pattern of life of the ethnic minority with the ethnic majority in the city.

In understanding the characteristics of life in urban areas, there are 3 (three) complimentary theories. Fischer (1980) states as follows: 1) The theory of determination (Wirth), (Urban anomie theory), states that urban life increases social and personality disorders compared to those found in rural areas. 2) The theory of composition (Louis), rejecting such an impact on urban life, explains that differences in the behavior of urban and rural residents are based on the diverse composition of the population. 3) The theory of sub-culture (Fisher), takes the basic orientation of the compositional flow and holds that city life influences people's lives with certain impacts similar to the view of the flow of determinism which sees signs of disorganization in social life.

The sub-cultural approach holds that urbanism freely affects the social life of urban communities but does not destroy social groups. This approach also states that there are 2 (two) ways of living in a city that produce what Park calls a "mosaic" of small worlds that touch each other but do not exclude each other, namely; (1) A large urban community will be able to attract immigrants from a wider area with different cultural backgrounds, which is a contribution to the formation of a diverse social world apparatus. (2) The large size of the urban population will be able to produce structural differentiation as emphasized by a deterministic approach that encourages the birth of special institutions, and specialization of work with certain social interest groups (Park, 1969).

Like the compositional view that city life does not cause psychological collapse, anomie, interpersonal alienation, but city dwellers are at least like villagers integrated into the living



social world. Likewise, the deterministic view, the subcultural approach also assumes that the urban environment has an influence on social groups as well as on individuals, but there are differences between rural and urban people in the fields of economy, ethnicity, or lifestyle. Concentration of population in urban areas does not mean the loss of ethnic identity but will give birth to a small group that can strengthen the group ties of each particular sub-culture (Fischer, 1980). Urbanization does not completely weaken kinship ties, does not cause social disorganization, changes in religious beliefs and alienation from the community.

In urban areas migrants place themselves in their own cultural minority, and wherever possible they recreate the moral and cultural atmosphere following their area of origin (Dwyer, 1981). A similar view is also expressed by Chekki (in Lauer, 1993) about the existence of cultural life of each particular ethnic group in urban areas, both small and large families still maintain close relations with some blood relatives, by frequent visits to relatives, help and also includes choosing a partner. Marry. Therefore, the extended family system does not always conflict with urban life and mobility does not necessarily weaken all group ties and traditional family systems (Goldscheider, 1985). Referring to this view, Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City must choose an adaptation pattern following city life. The intention is that they can survive during life and the increasingly strong inter-ethnic contestation.

The Adaptation of the Toba Batak People in Pematangsiantar City

All ethnic communities moving to new areas must adapt. The adaptation process is influenced by new environmental conditions and the presence or absence of a dominant culture. For example, in the city of Bandung, it is found that the Sundanese ethnicity is dominant. Migrants adapt to the dominant Sundanese culture. Bruner (1974) states; Dominant culture is a culture of a certain ethnic group, the rules of which are mostly used as guidelines for living in a wider environment or society consisting of one or more ethnic groups, with the criteria (1) demographic criteria, the population of members of the ethnic group is at most many in the community, (2) the culture is a local culture whose rules are standardized as a guide for relating and interacting in public places and, (3) is a place of power, meaning that people from that ethnic group have priority to occupy the most important positions in society.

In the context of the Pematangsiantar city life of Toba Batak migrants, adaptation does not only mean adjustment and modification but also developing new social institutions such as associations based on ethnicity as a buffer against the demands of the city life. There are two types of adaptation, namely active adaptation and passive adaptation. Active adaptation means that the Toba Batak people undergo reciprocal adjustments, while passive adaptation is an adaptation that occurs only by one party who is required to adapt to a certain party.

Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar city are active with other ethnic groups because there is no dominant ethnic group and they do not adapt reciprocally with other ethnic groups. Toba Batak migrants are not completely assimilated into the multi-ethnic culture, but still maintain the socio-cultural values they have from their area of origin because the structure of the Toba Batak community in the city and in the village is a unified social system and customary management (Bruner, 1961; Dwyer, 2007). 1981). Factors that strengthen the close relationship



of Batak migrants who live in urban areas with Batak people who live in their areas of origin are further. Bruner, 1961; Dwyer, (1981) that the cultural roots of the Toba Batak people who live in cities are found in rural communities. Almost all Toba Bataks who live in cities have more meaningful clan associations with their relatives than with their non-Batak neighbors.

In addition to retaining most of the socio-cultural values, Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar experience cultural changes due to socio-cultural contacts with other cultures in the urban environment (Simatupang, 1994). For example, Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar try to learn Javanese, and behave more subtly like Simalungunese. However, they still maintain their loyalty to most of the cultural values that are still functional in maintaining the integration and ethnic identity of the Toba Batak (Pelly, 1994).

Although there is a tendency that every migrant in urban areas still uses most of their socio-cultural values, it is possible to accept renewal and adapt to the local culture. However, if the tendency to defend oneself is ignored, it will result in disintegration, anomie, and loss of ethnic identity. Meanwhile, without being willing to accept renewal, the cultural system will be left behind. For this reason, the Toba Batak cultural system based on Dalihan Na Tolu is not only required to carry out an adaptive function. It is also required to carry out a pattern maintenance function in maintaining and developing itself as much as possible in a balanced state (Siahaan, 1987; Armawi, 2008; Simatupang, 2017).

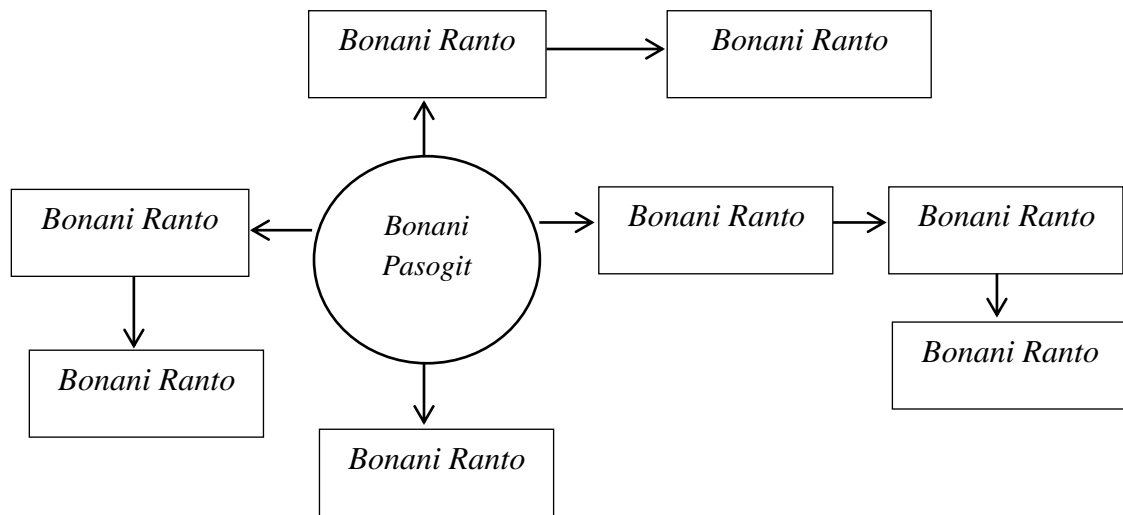
Although Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City adapt and experience changes in their cultural system, they are still bound to most of their traditional values. Many Batak Toba people who have moved to the city still maintain their traditional system intact within their group; (1) They are united together through a feeling of group solidarity as an ethnic minority, (2) They maintain close relations with their relatives in the area of origin, (3) They do not have a suitable model of change as an alternative to replacing their cultural system, so that they continue to view that adat and the kinship system are useful as order among them, (4) By maintaining their cultural system, the urban Batak people maintain their understanding of their personal and cultural identity (Pederson, 1975).

Toba Batak Migration Pattern

The driving factors for the Toba Batak people to migrate to various regions in Indonesia, including to the city of Pematangsiantar are (1) the natural environment is relatively infertile: (2) limited educational facilities and infrastructure in the area of origin: (3) limited employment opportunities and the existence of hope in the area of origin. Destination areas obtain a better livelihood and welfare (Sihombing, 1986). A similar view is expressed by (Pelly, 1994) that in terms of culture, things that encourage an ethnicity to carry out migration include (1) the desire and cultural values possessed by an ethnic group that encourages it to move: (2) the influence of other people: (3) increase life experience: (4) low level of social integration: and (5) there is a cultural mission that each ethnic group must achieve. The cultural core that drives the Toba Batak people to migrate comes from their cosmological view: wherever they are, they are ready to settle down and die. They are not bound by cultural values that require them to return to their area of origin (Siahaan, 1987).

The cultural mission inherited by the Toba Batak tribe from its traditional cultural values greatly influences its migration pattern, which is permanent and expansionist. Toba Batak migrants build houses and buy land in overseas areas because owning a house and land is a prestige because the cultural mission of "Hamoraon" has been achieved (Valentina & Martani, 2018; Dalimunthe & Lubis, 2019; Desiani, 2022). They assume that houses and land owned in overseas areas are integral to their hometown (Pelly, 1994).




Such a view influenced his attitude not to return to his hometown and not be afraid to go abroad. They try to maintain most of their socio-cultural values in the overseas area. They do not feel it is important to return to their home area because, according to them, the overseas land is an extension of their hometown. The migration pattern of the Toba Batak people, which is permanent and expansionistic, can be seen in the following figure:



Source: Pelly (1994)

Figure 2. Toba Batak Migrant Migration Pattern

Note:

-  : Migration direction of Toba Batak migrants
-  : Ancestral land (*BonaniPosogit*)
-  : AlamRantau (*BonaniRanto*)

This migration pattern shows that the Toba Batak people move to other areas outside the Toba region. After that, they can move back to other areas without attempting to return to their original area.

Socio-Cultural Changes and Identity of Toba Batak Migrants in Pematangsiantar City

The Toba Batak tribe is part of the Indonesian nation which essentially has an identity that functions as a marker for others. They have a specific character, nature, and character and value



system of culture. The identity of the Toba Batak, until now known to people, is the name, ethnicity and clan. The clans found in the Toba Batak community are clans indicating family identity from the patrilineal lineage (Harahap, 1987).

One of the identities that most specifically distinguish the Toba Batak people from other ethnic groups is the clan. Marga is the name of a group of descendants from people who are related, blood, descended according to your father's lineage (Ihromi, 1994; Simanjuntak & Oktavia, 2021; Pudjiati et al., 2021). The concept of clan as the main identity of the Toba Batak people and the times and modernity cannot be maintained rigidly.

Nowadays, modern society is increasingly faced with community groups that demand recognition of the identity of each ethnic group, even though the nature of ethnic and national identity has changed, as a result of globalization (Kymlicka, 2003). Responding to the global condition of Toba Batak migrants adopting a change in identity from the old identity to a new identity, the Toba Batak identity has changed to a multi-identity. Nevertheless, they still have a Batak identity, an Indonesian identity, and a global identity to adapt to the conditions, place, space, and time (Simatupang, 1994).

According to the type of identity he plays with whom he associates, identity demands loyalty to the rules, habits, social order, norms, values, and ethics. Batak identity is highly dependent on an understanding of Batak cultural values, consisting of: (1) Traditional Batak identity: they still live in Bona Pasogit, have not been influenced by outside culture, still carry out the original and homogeneous culture, (2) have an Indonesian Batak identity located living outside Bona Pasogit, attachment to ethnic cultural values is getting looser, lives in groups and has a lot of interaction with other ethnicities, (3) Global Batak identity: resides not only in Indonesia but also abroad, the language of instruction is Indonesian and English local people, rarely use the Batak language, inter-ethnic marriages, anomalies in cultural values, modernity, interpersonal, pluralism and high mobility (Simatupang, 1994).

Although the Batak people experience a change in identity following globalization, they do not dissolve in these conditions. Our ancestors carried out Batak culture as a reflection of identity because that is how it was created. But do not because of progress (modernity) some Batak people become Dutch and Americans who do not understand the value of Batak culture at all. If you are Batak, stay wherever you are, because that is our identity (Batak Toba) (Simanjuntak, 2005). These identity characteristics are also found in Toba Batak migrants who reflect specific characteristics and distinguish them from other ethnic groups. At the current development, these characteristics can no longer be maintained along with the development of modernity values. The identity of the Toba Batak has changed due to interaction with other ethnicities and multi-identity is characterized by the increasing number of inter-ethnic marriages, cultural anomalies and very high mobility.

Existence of Toba Batak Cultural Values in Migrant Life in Pematangsiantar City

The cultural mission of the migrants influences the intercultural relations of the migrants and the dominant host culture. The cultural mission can influence the choice of work and place of residence, the establishment of community organizations in the context of the city. Adaptation



strategies are not only determined by the willingness or reluctance of the community (hosts) to accept migrants and allow them to enjoy resources and participate in government (Pelly, 1994; Napitu, 2021). Things that strengthen the integration and identity of Toba Batak migrants are the clan system, *dalihannatolu* kinship, networks, clan associations and associations based on village similarities (*parsahutaon*). Associations of clans of the Toba Batak people in Jakarta, Bandung and Medan and including in Pematangsiantar City, their existence depends on the place, cultural context and form of association (Siahaan, 1979; Brunner, 1974; Napitu, 2021). The factors that determine the occurrence of identity changes in the lives of Toba Batak migrants are ethnicity, network and religion factors. This is in line with what Hasselgran stated through his research results that the Toba Batak identity is ethno, cultural and religious (Nainggolan, 2012).

When it is associated with the existence of the Toba Batak identity based on the clan and kinship *dalihannatolu*, the above opinion currently cannot be maintained following the ideal. The Toba Batak's identity has undergone changes marked by indications that the second generation of migrants is experiencing an identity crisis. The results of Nainggolan's research (2012) categorize that the Toba Batak identity is divided into 3 (three) types, namely: 1) Types of total change Changes in the identity of Toba Batak migrants are experienced when they migrate to the Malay area of the east coast of North Sumatra. Migrants fully adopt the Malay culture which is very dominant and adheres to Islam and they do not understand the core of Batak culture (*Batak Pardembanan*). 2) Types of limited change Changes in the identity of Toba Batak migrants in this type depend on the dominant local culture. For example, the Toba Batak people in Pematangsiantar with a dominant Sundanese culture, have an identity that is similar to "Sundanese", and speak more subtly even though they prefer to speak strongly and frankly. 3) Type of non-dominant cultural change The Toba Batak migrant type adapts to a heterogeneous environment with various types of ethnic groups where there is no one dominant culture. As a result, they adjust to the social order of city life and try to strengthen their identity. This pattern occurs in the cities of Jakarta and Medan.

The life of the Toba Batak people in urban areas and including in Pematangsiantar City is characterized by cultural symptoms that are interpersonal, anomie, high mobility, orientation to money and wealth. On the other hand, it is marked by a life that emphasizes the importance of love, friendship, living together, close relationships, mutual help, solidarity, family integrity and kinship. The view above has meaning, although ethnic living in urban areas does not always destroy local wisdom and kinship which are very important in life. It is recognized that in city life.

Pematangsiantar City is one of the multicultural cities where Toba Batak migrants live, whose residents are multi-ethnic, requiring all migrants to adapt and adjust to the city's culture. Based on the results of research Bruner (1974). The Toba Batak people still maintain the customs of their ancestors, but they also try to adapt to Simalungunese culture and other ethnic cultures. The Toba Batak people have developed associations (associations) based on ethnicity and clan which aim to intensify customs. The association was formed based on the cultural values of the Toba Batak which are adapted to today's needs.



Currently, there are indications of weakening integration and identity among Toba Batak migrants. To overcome this socio-cultural phenomenon, optimization is needed, the function of clan associations, associations because of the similarity of residence and networks between Toba Batak migrants following the pragmatism of Pematangsiantar city life. Therefore, Toba Batak migrants on the one hand are required to adapt to the local culture in order to create integration and harmonization of life. Meanwhile, on the other hand, Toba Batak migrants are obliged to maintain their social and cultural identity to not lose their identity as Toba Batak people in the midst of a multi-ethnic and ethnic community Pematangsiantar city.

4. CONCLUSION

The adaptation pattern of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City is generally not influenced by the host's ethnic culture, namely Simalungun culture and other ethnic cultures. Still, it tends to be influenced by the pragmatism of city life because in Pematangsiantar City there is no dominant culture. As a result of not finding a dominant culture in Pematangsiantar City, migrants, including Batak Toba migrants, have an adaptation pattern of imitating the culture of cities. Such as Medan, Bandung, and other cities in Indonesia are marked by the concentration of settlements based on ethnicity, such as Kampung Toba (Kampung Christian), Banten village, Karo village, and so on. The social changes experienced by Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City do not adopt certain ethnic cultures. Therefore, in everyday life, they maintain most of their socio-cultural values inherited from their area of origin in the practice of daily life, as well as all ethnic groups in Pematangsiantar City. Pluralism and multiculturalism of social communities living in Pematangsiantar City are like small mosaics in city life, even though they touch each other, which means that in Pematangsiantar City, all pluralist ethnic cultures are maintained. There has never been a conflict between tribes, races, ethnicities, and religions. Based on the research results, the authors suggest the following point: 1) In realizing harmonization, integration, tolerance, and cooperation between pluralist communities in the city of pematangsiantar, all different communities should not seek differences among their fellow people but rather should seek tribal equality, socio-cultural values, and customs inherited hereditary from their ancestors. 2) The pattern of adaptation of the migrant community and the socio-cultural changes it experiences should not cause horizontal conflicts between different communities. Be a unifying tool for each ethnic group and strengthen the identity of all ethnic groups living in pematangsiantar city, including Batak Toba migrants.

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