

Partial Reality in Local Modern Indonesia: Interethnic Marriage Preferences among Young Minangkabau Migrants in Yogyakarta

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Received: 28-06-2024; Accepted: 07-09-2024; Published: 11-12-2024

Abstract: The preference for same-ethnic marriage in Minangkabau society is an ideal marriage pattern to preserve customs and traditions in the customary marriage system. This preference changes when juxtaposed with the tradition of migration by the Minangkabau society, which influences other preferences (interethnic) in the customary marriage system. This research explores interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta, an area with cross-cultural characteristics. This research hypothesises that migration influences interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. This research utilises a quantitative-explanative method, and data were collected through a Likert scale questionnaire and literature on Minangkabau marriage culture and traditions. The research involved 100 single Minangkabau migrants aged 19-24 in Yogyakarta as respondents April 20, 2024, to May 6, 2024. Simple linear regression analysis and social reality construction were used as data analysis techniques. The results showed a significant influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta, with a regression coefficient of 0.307 and a significance level of 0.002 ($p < 0.050$). This finding indicates that an increase in the migration variable correlates with an increase in interethnic marriage preference (dependent variable). In terms of social reality, this finding shows the emergence of a partial reality in customary marriage preferences resulting from secondary socialisation internalised by young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta.

Keywords: Interethnic Marriage; Migration; Minangkabau Culture; Yogyakarta

Abstrak: Preferensi perkawinan sesama etnis di kalangan masyarakat Minangkabau merupakan pola perkawinan ideal dalam sistem perkawinan adat dengan tujuan untuk melestarikan adat dan tradisi. Preferensi ini mengalami perubahan ketika disandingkan dengan tradisi merantau yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Minangkabau, yang mempengaruhi preferensi lain (antar etnis) dalam sistem perkawinan adat. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi preferensi perkawinan antar etnis di kalangan perantau muda Minangkabau di Yogyakarta, yang mana merupakan daerah dengan karakteristik lintas budaya. Hipotesis dari penelitian ini menyatakan bahwa terdapat pengaruh dari merantau terhadap preferensi perkawinan antar etnis di kalangan perantau muda Minangkabau di Yogyakarta. Dengan menggunakan metode kuantitatif-eksplanatif, data dikumpulkan melalui kuesioner skala Likert dan literatur tentang budaya dan tradisi perkawinan Minangkabau. Penelitian ini melibatkan 100 perantau Minangkabau lajang berusia 19-24 tahun di Yogyakarta sebagai responden dari 20 April 2024 sampai 6 Mei 2024. Analisis regresi linier sederhana dan konstruksi realitas sosial digunakan sebagai teknik analisis data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya pengaruh yang signifikan dari merantau terhadap preferensi perkawinan antar etnis di kalangan perantau muda Minangkabau di Yogyakarta, dengan koefisien regresi sebesar 0,307 dan tingkat signifikansi sebesar 0,002 ($p < 0,050$). Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa peningkatan dalam variabel merantau berkorelasi dengan peningkatan preferensi perkawinan antar etnis (variabel dependen). Secara realitas sosial, temuan ini

menunjukkan munculnya realitas parsial dalam preferensi perkawinan adat yang merupakan hasil dari sosialisasi sekunder yang diinternalisasikan oleh perantau muda Minangkabau di Yogyakarta.

Kata Kunci: Budaya minangkabau; Merantau; Perkawinan Antar Etnis; Yogyakarta.

1. Introduction

The Minangkabau ethnic group is administratively located in West Sumatra Province and culturally centred in the Minangkabau region (Tanner, 1969). Tsuyoshi Kato's research documents that this ethnicity comprises 56 sub-ethnicities (tribes) that adhere to a matrilineal kinship system (Kato, 1982). In genealogical studies, kinship relationships are organised through the mother's lineage (matrilineal filiation) (Salliyanti et al., 2021). This kinship pattern impacts various social and individual conditions in Minangkabau, which is simultaneously evident in customary marriage practices (Ramanta & Samsuri, 2020). In the Minangkabau tradition, each tribe practices an exogamous marriage pattern, with intertribal marriage within the Minangkabau ethnicity considered the ideal marriage pattern. However, this ideal contrasts with the habitus of individuals who frequently migrate outside the Minangkabau region. This migration pattern creates marriage practices between Minangkabau individuals and those from other ethnicities, indicating a departure from traditional norms (Hadler, 2008). One significant factor contributing to interethnic marriages is the Minangkabau penchant for migration, which characterises their social behaviour (Warman et al., 2023). This migration-driven interaction leads to marriage practices that reflect the evolving social landscape of the Minangkabau society (Naim, 2013).

Migration has become an integral part of Minangkabau culture, involving the entire society, including the youth, in pursuing education and new experiences in destination areas (Nasution et al., 2023). The activities of migrating youth often lead to self-criticism (autocriticism) of their culture (Jerita et al., 2019). This phenomenon arises from their openness to new perspectives in addressing traditional matters and customary norms from their origin (Aziz et al., 2020). According to Mochtar Naim, the openness of Minangkabau individuals stems from the simultaneous manifestation of cultural and social values during the migration process (Naim, 2013). Consequently, a more open (dynamic) and modern mindset emerges (Heider, 2011; Naim, 2013), which includes a more accepting view of interethnic marriage within the customary marriage system. The concept of interethnic marriage is thus influenced by the new perspectives acquired during migration (Naim, 2013). These new perspectives are often introduced by migrants from regions that facilitate cross-cultural knowledge and experiences within their societal structure, such as the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Moeis et al., 2022; Naim, 2013; Sukardi et al., 2019).

Previous research on marriage among the Minangkabau can be categorised into two typologies that explain how customary marriage in Minangkabau allows for same-ethnic and interethnic marriages. First, same-ethnic marriages aim to preserve and maintain the benefits of the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau society (Halimatussa'diyah et al., 2024; Warman et al., 2023). The principle behind this type of marriage is known as tribal exogamous marriage, which involves the participation of two extended families (communalism) of the prospective couple, led by the *mamak* (maternal uncle) (Arifin, 2021; Pangulu et al., 2022). Tribal exogamous marriages in Minangkabau persist and form an ideal marriage model based on local traditions (Abadi, 2021), which generally exclude ethnic exogamy and tribal endogamy (Al et al., 2023; Destuliadi, 2022; Febria et al., 2022; Ronanda et al., 2023; Sopyan & Suryani, 2020). It can be concluded that tribal exogamy is the ideal traditional marriage, which is organised with a series of traditional ceremonies and traditions.

Several other research have also discussed interethnic marriage among the Minangkabau society, which migrates outside their cultural region (*rantau*). The main factor that enables Minangkabau society to marry individuals of other ethnicities is their mobility beyond their cultural territory (Hanif et al., 2023). Nofiardi's research explains that interethnic marriages occur by adopting a blend of customs from both families of the prospective couple, referred to as 'Adat Rantau' in Pasaman Regency (Nofiardi, 2020). Another researcher explained that individuals of different ethnicities can only combine

customary marriage ceremonies if the bride-to-be is of Minangkabau ethnicity. Conversely, if the bride-to-be comes from another ethnicity, the community encourages her to undergo a 'malakok' (attached) tradition (adopting another ethnicity into the Minangkabau ethnicity) (Dewi et al., 2019; Firdaus, 2019). Thus, interethnic marriages become a practice of marrying outside the cultural region, which mainly involves Minangkabau women marrying individuals from other ethnicities. This practice allows the matrilineal kinship system to survive and be implemented. However, these interethnic couples face challenges, especially in using language as a communication system (De Franc & Suherman, 2022; Farsalena, 2022).

The two typologies mentioned above involve qualitative research on same-ethnic and interethnic customary marriages. Each typology specifies the characteristics of the interviewees, who are married couples. This research focuses specifically on interethnic marriage typology. Quantitative methods were employed to distinguish this research from previous research. This approach satisfies distinct criteria that directly contribute to research on customary marriage. However, this research presents preferences for interethnic marriages among single respondents to offer a rational and unbiased perspective on customary marriages. This research aims to describe the influence of migration (independent variable) on the interethnic marriage preferences (dependent variable) of young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta.

This research employs a quantitative-explanative method, as described by Imam Machali, aiming to identify the relationships and influences among the variables used. The explanative aspect of this research presents the data descriptively (Machali, 2021). Therefore, several stages are carried out, starting with the classification of data types, sample collection techniques, and data analysis techniques. The primary data in this research consists of questionnaires that use statements as items, with responses measured on a Likert scale (Anderson et al., 2022). Secondary data supporting this research include specialised literature on customary marriage rites and culture in Minangkabau and literature on social sciences. This research's sampling technique uses the Lemeshow formula, which determines a minimum sample size of 100 respondents from an unknown population at one research location (Levy & Lemeshow, 2008):

Table 1. Lemeshow Formula

$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot 1-\alpha/2 \cdot P(1-P)}{d^2}$	$100 = \frac{0.5 (1-0.5) (1.96)^2}{0.1^2}$
n: Number of Samples	
Z: Standardised Value	
α : Constant Value	
P: Maximum of Estimation	
d: Sampling Error	

The 100 respondents are young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta selected based on the following criteria: age 19 to 24,¹ Originating from the Minangkabau cultural region (West Sumatra), currently pursuing a college degree in Yogyakarta and unmarried (single). The questionnaire was distributed from April 20, 2024, to May 6, 2024. The sample consisted of 50 men and 50 women.

Young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta, aged 19-24, undergo a critical transition from adolescence to adulthood, during which they begin to formulate long-term life plans, including views on marriage. Erik Erikson identifies this age range as a crucial stage of psychosocial development in the human lifespan, significantly influencing future life decisions, particularly regarding marriage (Erikson, 1977). This period coincides with the transition of young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta from completing higher education to entering their first career experiences. Additionally, the Minangkabau community in Yogyakarta is influenced by cultural factors of origin, such as

¹ According to census results from Indonesia's Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), marriage rates were statistically higher in the 19-24 age range in 2022 (Ramadani et al., 2022, hal. 332–333).

matrilineal inheritance and the role of *adat* (customary law) in family formation, which further shape their life planning (Naldo et al., 2023). Therefore, focusing on this age group is particularly relevant, as they are well-positioned to offer independent perspectives on life planning, including future family formation.

For data analysis, both pre-hypothesis tests and hypothesis tests were conducted. Pre-hypothesis tests include validity, reliability, normality, and linearity assessments. Hypothesis testing uses simple linear regression analysis to analyse ordinal data using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 25.

The research findings from the quantitative tests will be interpreted using social reality construction theory. This theory explains that the constructively developed customary marriage system has changed, as the data findings indicate. These changes reflect dialectical dynamics in three moments (Berger, 2011b; Berger & Luckmann, 1966): externalisation, which collects respondent’s experiences and knowledge; objectivation, which embodies knowledge and experience into a broader context; and internalisation, which implicitly and explicitly socialises ideas into the previous reality construction by respondents representing a group.

The questionnaire distribution conducted in this research involves two variables: the independent variable and the dependent variable (see figure 1). The respondents’ responses to the questionnaire will address the research hypotheses:

- H₀: There is no influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta
- H_a: There is an influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta

The following is the questionnaire grid used in this research:

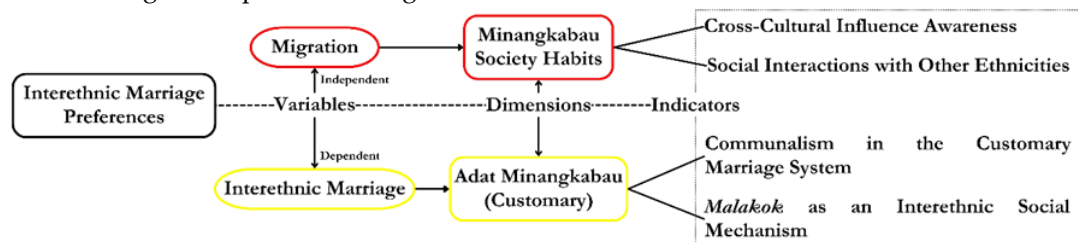


Figure 1. Questionnaire Grid: Interethnic Marriage Preferences among Young Minangkabau Migrants in Yogyakarta

Data Source: Literature on Minangkabau culture and tradition

The questionnaire conceptualised both variables based on dimensions and indicators, resulting in six statement items for each variable. The dimensions and indicators were derived from a literature review on Minangkabau traditions and customs, which formed the basis for preparing the questionnaire on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. Two seminal works, *Matriliny and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia* by Tsuyoshi Kato (1982) and *Merantau: Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau* by Mochtar Naim (2013), have profoundly influenced contemporary paradigms of migration and marriage. These works are the primary references for defining the dimensions and indicators in recent qualitative research on Minangkabau customs. This study bridges the gap between traditional norms and the evolving marriage preferences caused by migration, setting the stage for understanding how migration reconfigures these cultural practices.

2. Migration Habitus of Minangkabau Society

The idea of same-ethnic marriage among the Minangkabau people contrasts sharply with their tradition of migration, a hallmark of this ethnic group (Kato, 1982). Minangkabau society believes that migration can enhance one’s social status (Naim, 2013). One way to improve this status is by acquiring

knowledge and experience in new areas, which can be applied back in the homeland (Nasution et al., 2023). Mochtar Naim explains that migration begins before marriage for men and women in Minangkabau society (Naim, 2013). Initially, the primary purpose of migration was to gain insights into overcoming future problems and conflicts. However, migration also can shift one's mindset to a more modern perspective, which tends to overlook cultural values in social interactions (Elfira, 2023). It creates a dilemma for young Minangkabau migrants, who face conflicts between modern values and traditional expectations. Consequently, the migration process can lead to uncertainty in choosing a partner for marriage (Anwar, 1997; Naim, 2013) despite societal expectations that migrants idealise the same-ethnic marriage system (Naim, 2013).

Migration is also undertaken to improve the homeland's economic conditions and social structures (Naim, 2013). However, maintaining cultural heritage to preserve Minangkabau traditions and customs presents another challenge. With the desire to migrate, Minangkabau people bear considerable responsibilities related to conditions abroad and marriage. The expansion of migratory destinations has resulted in the Minangkabau community being dispersed across various metropolitan cities and regions outside West Sumatra (Kato, 1982). Nonetheless, same-ethnic marriage remains the ideal choice. Some diaspora uncles, or '*mamak*', still consider ethnic origin a criterion when selecting a partner for their niece or nephew (Pangulu et al., 2022). This dynamic often becomes a topic of discussion among extended families living abroad. Thus, the paradigms of migration and marriage play crucial roles in determining marital ties in Minangkabau society (Nofiaridi, 2020).

The habitus of migration impacts the traditional concept of marriage in Minangkabau. Kato mentioned that marriages between migrants and individuals from other ethnic groups emphasise inter-subjective rather than communal interactions between extended families (Kato, 1982). However, the habitus of migration is oriented towards the psychology of migrants, where the focal point of change lies within Minangkabau society (Heider, 2011). Migrants essentially see the habitus of migration as an arena to demonstrate their commitment to participating in the transformative movement within Minangkabau society (Ernawati et al., 2021). Migrants introduce new approaches that provide fresh ideas for action when making changes to existing social constructs. These new ideas stem from the experiences and knowledge migrants gain in building awareness and interethnic social relations, which contribute to systems like the customary marriage system (Kato, 1982).

3. Interethnic Marriage in the Customary Marriage System: A Minangkabau *Adat* Perspective

In Minangkabau, marriage is an integral part of customs initiated by two extended families representing their sub-ethnicities (Krier, 2000; Ramanta & Samsuri, 2020). Traditional marriage is a ceremonial event rich with customary values and Islamic principles (Azwar et al., 2023; Taufiq & Busyro, 2023). The customary marriage system outlines permissible marriages, which can occur between individuals of the Minangkabau ethnicity or between Minangkabau individuals and those of other ethnicities (Warman et al., 2023). Additionally, marriage prohibitions are detailed in the Quran and Minangkabau customary law (Busyro & Malindo, 2022; Destuliadi, 2022; Sopyan & Suryani, 2020). Surah An-Nisa verse 23 specifies 13 prohibitions based on blood relations, kinship, marital relations, and combining partners with their relatives. Minangkabau customary law prohibits marriage within the same sub-ethnicities (Warman et al., 2023).

For Minangkabau society, marriage within the same ethnicity is considered ideal compared to interethnic marriage (Asmaniar, 2018). Therefore, two types of marriages are allowed in Minangkabau: Same-ethnic Minangkabau marriage. These marriages are considered ideal as they preserve Minangkabau culture within the family. They involve all customary instruments to perpetuate the matrilineal lineage and inherit ancestral property (*pusako tinggi*) (Hanif et al., 2023; Krier, 2000; Yaswirman, 2017). Second, interethnic marriages are considered concerning, as they may weaken family (sub-ethnic) relationships in the future. These marriages are not considered conducive to preserving Minangkabau customs and culture, essential aspects of the Minangkabau way of life. (Anwar, 1997; Yaswirman, 2017).

This provision applies to all Minangkabau society, both men and women. Men are responsible for managing, while women are considered the owners of the heirloom property (Tarigan & Naldo, 2022). In the cases of interethnic marriages, there is an effort to practice the “malakok” tradition, which aims to integrate individuals from other ethnicities into the Minangkabau matrilineal family (Hafizah, 2017). This tradition seeks to gain recognition for spouses from other ethnicities as members of the Minangkabau family, reflecting the importance of cultural continuity in marriage (Dewi et al., 2019; Eriyanti, 2016). The ‘malakok’ tradition stems from the community’s adherence to customary marriage rules. When the ‘malakok’ tradition is implemented, each partner’s respective uncles (*mamak*) will supervise and regulate all household affairs (Kamal & Rozi, 2020). Thus, the ‘malakok’ tradition is a social mechanism to prevent future conflicts between the two extended families (Eriyanti, 2007).

4. The Influence of Migration on Interethnic Marriage Preferences of Young Minangkabau Migrants in Yogyakarta

The pre-hypothesis testing stage was conducted following the data analysis procedures outlined by (Machali, 2021). This pre-hypothesis test consists of validity, reliability, normality, and linearity tests. These tests were conducted separately and are related to the two variables. Here are the details of the pre-hypothesis test:

Validity Test

Table 2. Validity of Independent and Dependent Variables with Kendall’s tau-b Correlation Test

Indicators	Calculation Value	Probability Value (Significant 0.50 - 2 tailed)
Independent Variable		
Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness	0.472 - 0.566	n = 100 respondents (0.195)
Social Interactions with Other Ethnicities	0.445 - 0.637	
Dependent Variable		
Communalism in the Customary Marriage System	0.423 - 0.599	n = 100 respondents (0.195)
Malakok as an Interethnic Social Mechanism	0.653 - 0.704	

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

Table 2 shows the validity table shows a significant value of 0.50 (sample confidence level of 95%) with n equal to 100 respondents, showing Kendall’s tau-b correlation coefficient of 0.195 as a valid threshold. The validity test conducted using SPSS version 25 consists of four indicators, divided into two indicators per variable. Thus, the calculated value of the four indicators (0.423-0.704) has exceeded the probability value of 0.195, which is considered met at this stage.

Reliability Test

Table 3. Reliability of Variables

Independent Variable		Dependent Variable	
Cronbach’s Alpha	Items	Cronbach’s Alpha	Items
0.639	6	0.778	6

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

The reliability in table 3 displays the Cronbach’s Alpha values for the two variables to indicate reliability or test consistency. This test, conducted using SPSS version 25, resulted in values of 0.639 and

0.778, with reliability criteria greater than 0.60 as the minimum value set by V. Wiratna Sujarweni (Sujarweni & Endrayanto, 2012).

Normality Test

Table 4. Kolmogorov-Smirnov Normality Test

Variables	Averages	Standard Deviation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov	Probability Value	Result
Independent	25.10	2.385	0.150	0.050	Normally
Dependent	23.26	3.177	0.060		Distributed

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

The normality test uses the Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality approach with the Exact Test Monte Carlo, tested on SPSS version 25 as showed in table 4. The Exact Test Monte Carlo is used because the respondent data is too large for the automatic calculation of Asymptotic P Values in the SPSS test (Mehta & Patel, 2013).

Linearity Test

Table 5. Linearity Test

Free (F) Value	Significant Value	Probability	Result
10.805	0.01	<0.05	Linear Relationship

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

Based on the linearity test results as shown in table 5, the F value is 10.805, with a significant value of 0.01, less than the probability value (0.05). These results show a significant linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

5. Simple Linear Regression Test

These two variables will be analysed using a simple linear regression analysis technique that is useful for pursuing the hypothesis of the influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. Kadir explains this analysis technique as a hypothesis test that aims to determine the value of the influence presented by each indicator on the independent variable (migration) as a variable that will test each indicator of the dependent variable (interethnic marriage) (Kadir, 2010). The results of all tests of each indicator will be summarised so that it can test the independent variable with the dependent variable with three detailed mechanisms: regression equation model, hypothesis test, and coefficient of determination, which will be analysed using SPSS version 25.

Indicator Test of Variables

Two indicators for the independent variables are Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness (CCIA) and Social Interactions with Other Ethnicities (SIOE). The dependent variable is also measured by two indicators: Communalism in the Customary Marriage System (CCMS) and 'malakok' as an Interethnic Social Mechanism (MISM). Each indicator was meticulously derived from the researchers' analysis of two primary reference books by Tsuyoshi Kato (1982) and Muchtar Naim (2013), ensuring the accuracy and reliability of the research.

This comprehensive analysis reveals that the four indicators across the two variables are explicitly interconnected. This interrelation is attributed to both authors' shared interest in the diaspora phenomenon within Minangkabau society. Furthermore, both Kato and Naim reflect on the practice of *merantau* (migration), which plays a significant role in the social changes experienced by Minangkabau

society, particularly in the context of the customary marriage system—an issue central to this research. Therefore, the researcher has conceptualised the content of these two key references, forming the four indicators for the two variables.

Each indicator is tested using simple linear regression to determine which independent variable indicator has a more significant influence on each dependent variable indicator. The following section presents the results of the indicator analysis using a simple linear regression analysis technique:

Table 6. Indicators Test (Simple Linear Regression Analysis)

Indicators	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
CCIA – CCMS	.209	.044	.034	1.543
SIOE – CCMS	.224	.050	.040	1.538
CCIA – MISM	.267	.071	.062	1.995
SIOE – MISM	.226	.051	.041	2.017

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

First, as indicated by table 6, for CCIA (Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness) and CCMS (Communalism in the Customary Marriage System), the R Square value of 0.044 indicates that cross-cultural influence awareness (CCIA) explains 4.4% of the variability in communalism within the customary marriage system (CCMS). It means that only a tiny portion of the changes in CCMS can be explained by changes in CCIA. The relatively low R Square value suggests that cross-cultural influence awareness weakens communalism in the customary marriage system among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. However, it is essential to note that even a tiny percentage of influence can have significant implications in a social context. The lower Adjusted R Square value (0.034) further confirms that the influence of CCIA on CCMS could be more decisive when adjusted for the number of variables in the study's findings. These findings contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of communalism within the customary marriage system.

Second, the comparison between the influence of SIOE (Social Interactions with Other Ethnicities) and CCIA (Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness) on CCMS (Communalism in the Customary Marriage System) is of interest. The R Square value of 0.050 for SIOE explains 5% of the variability in CCMS, slightly higher than the 4.4% explained by CCIA. It indicates that the relationship between social interactions with other ethnicities and communalism in the customary marriage system is weak but slightly more robust than that of CCIA. The low Adjusted R Square value (0.040) also supports the interpretation that the influence of SIOE on CCMS is insignificant.

Third, the R Square value of 0.071 for CCIA (Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness) and MISM ('malakok' as an Interethnic Social Mechanism) is the highest among all pairs of indicators. This significant value indicates that CCIA explains 7.1% of the variability in MISM, suggesting a more substantial influence than other indicators. This finding is significant as it highlights the importance of cross-cultural influence awareness in understanding the dynamics of MISM. However, this value still indicates that CCIA needs to explain the variability in MISM more thoroughly. The Adjusted R Square value of 0.062 confirms that when adjusted for the number of variables, the influence of CCIA on MISM slightly decreases but remains the most significant compared to other pairs.

Fourth, for SIOE (Social Interactions with Other Ethnicities) and MISM ('malakok' as an Interethnic Social Mechanism), the R Square value of 0.051 indicates that social interactions with other ethnicities (SIOE) explain 5.1% of the variability in 'malakok' as an interethnic social mechanism (MISM). This value is slightly higher than the influence of SIOE on CCMS, but it is still low. This finding suggests that social interactions with other ethnicities have a limited influence on MISM. The Adjusted R Square value of 0.041 also indicates that the influence of SIOE on MISM remains low after adjusting the model.

In the indicator test table above, the R Square value indicates the extent of the influence of each independent variable indicator on the dependent variable indicators. Specifically, CCIA (Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness) in the independent variable shows a significant influence when a simple

linear regression test is conducted on the MISM ('malakok' as an Interethnic Social Mechanism) indicator in the independent variable, with an R Square value of 0.071, equivalent to 7.1%.

Regression Equation Model

Table 7. Variability Coefficient

Models	Unstandardised Coefficients		t	Significant Values
	β	Std. Error		
Constant Value (α)	12.988	3.229	4.023	0
Independent Variable (X)	0.409	0.128	3.195	0.002

Dependent Variable (Y)

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

The regression model tests the dependent variable (Y) with the formula $Y = 12.988 (\alpha) + 0.409 (X) + e$. The absence of negative values in the sum indicates that the dependent variable produces a positive regression value (positive influence). With a significance level of 0.050 (P), the obtained P value of 0.002 is smaller than the threshold, confirming that the regression model is statistically significant ($0.002 < 0.050$). This implies that the independent variable significantly influences the dependent variable. The constant value (α) of 12.988 (β) explains that each 1% increase in the independent variable's influence results in an increase of 12.988 in the dependent variable. Thus, if the constant value (α) increases by 1%, the dependent variable value increases by 0.409, the value attributed by the independent variable, leading to a proportional increase (e.g., a 2% increase corresponds to a dependent variable value of 13.397, and so on).

Hypothesis Test

The hypothesis is evaluated based on the probability value (P) with a threshold of 0.050 and the critical value (t) of 1.660 for 100 respondents. The resulting significant value is 0.002, indicating it is smaller than the P value ($0.002 < 0.050$), and the calculated t value is greater than the critical t value ($3.195 > 1.660$). Thus, the independent variable has a positive influence on the dependent variable.

Determination Coefficient

Table 8. Test of the Influence of Migration on Interethnic Marriage Preferences

R	R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Std. Deviation (Dependent Variable)	Significant Value
0.307	.094	3.039	3.177	0.002

Predictors: (Constant), Migration (Independent Variable)

Data Source: SPSS Version 25

The R-value is a coefficient of 0.307, indicating the strength of the influence of the independent variable on the dependent variable (see table 8). The R Square value explains the independent variable's potential to predict the dependent variable's value (Y). The R Square value (0.307)² multiplied by 100% equals 9.4%, indicating that other variables contribute 91.6% to the potential influence on the dependent variable—the value of Std. The error of the Estimate (SEE) is 3.039, which is also used to test the suitability of the independent variable as a predictor for the dependent variable. When the SEE value is compared with the Std. Deviation of the dependent variable (3.177), and the result is $3.177 < SEE$, the independent variable is declared feasible as a predictor for the dependent variable. The following regression curve analysis can further explain the predictions made by the independent variable:

From the three mechanisms of the simple linear regression test, the hypothesis between H_0 (there is no influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta) and H_a (there is an influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta) shows that H_0 is rejected and H_a is accepted.

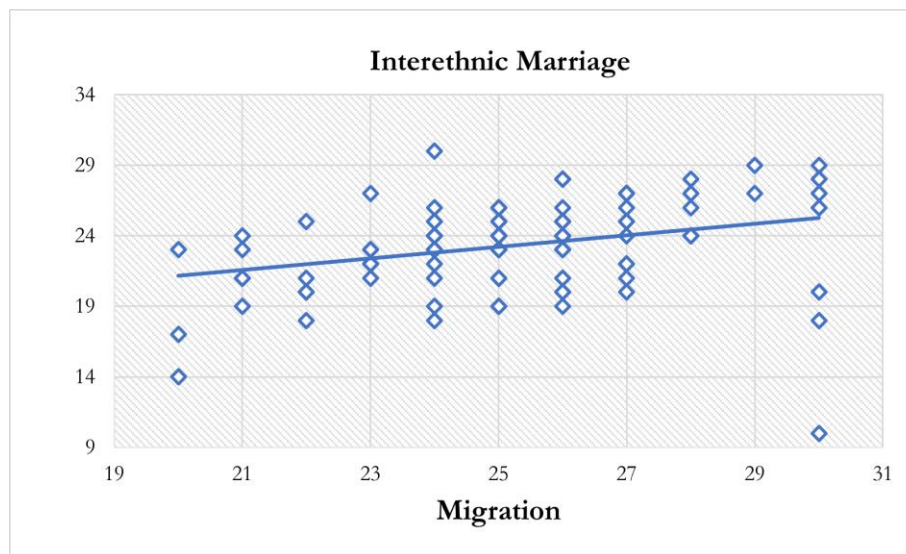


Figure 2. Curve Analysis: Simple Linear Regression

Data Source: SPSS Version 25 Analysis

From the three mechanisms of the simple linear regression test (see Figure 3), the hypothesis between H_0 (there is no influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta) and H_a (there is an influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta) shows that H_0 is rejected and H_a is accepted.

6. From Tradition to Modernity: Comparing Marriage Preferences of Young Minangkabau Migrants with Previous Research

The hypothesis confirmed through simple linear regression analysis indicates that migration influences interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. This finding is consistent with several previous researches on Minangkabau interethnic marriages. For instance, research by Jufri Naldo et al. examined the challenges faced by Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. This qualitative research, involving 15 informants, revealed a shift from the tradition of endogamous marriages to interethnic marriages (Naldo et al., 2023). Thus, in the exact research location, the present research findings are reinforced, demonstrating that interethnic marriage preferences are influenced by migration. Consequently, migration is one of the variables influencing marriage preferences among the Minangkabau community in general, particularly among young, unmarried Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta.

Despite differences in locus, tempus, and the subject of research, the findings of this research are supported by several similar types of research on the variables of migration and interethnic marriage among the Minangkabau and other ethnic groups. These findings, particularly the influence of migration on interethnic marriage preferences, significantly contribute to the field. First, the increasing mobility of the Minangkabau community, residing within their cultural region and diaspora due to migration, has led to developments in the customary marriage system. Research by Akhyar Hanif et al. (2023) indicates that preference for endogamous marriage remains ideal while individuals stay within their cultural region. However, this research also suggests that migration expands marriage preferences beyond endogamy and introduces interethnic marriages (Hanif et al., 2023).

Second, interethnic marriage among the Minangkabau community is generally accepted, demonstrating the community's inclusive and respectful attitude towards cultural diversity. The 'malakok' tradition facilitates this acceptance, a social mechanism that fosters special bonds, such as marriage, while creating new space within the Minangkabau customary marriage system (Dewi et al., 2019). Dewi et al. (2019) also identify migration as a factor in initiating interethnic marriages. Although marriages can occur within Minangkabau, interethnic couples often meet during migration and continue their relationships upon returning to their homeland (Dewi et al., 2019).

Third, migration for those who are unmarried plays a crucial role in broadening marriage preferences and fostering an open-minded and adaptable approach. Sintia Farsalena (2022) reveals that unmarried migrants are often equipped with family-driven strategies promoting openness to other ethnicities. This challenge encourages migrants to consider partners from different ethnic backgrounds during their time away (Farsalena, 2022). Consequently, migration allows individuals to develop multiple marriage preferences. Mina Elfira (2023) demonstrates that interethnic marriage preferences formed during migration can influence marriage discourse within the Minangkabau community. Encounters with other ethnic groups during migration create opportunities for interethnic marriages, which are an adaptive and flexible way to socialise while living far from one's home region (Elfira, 2023).

Fourth, the dialectic between local Minangkabau traditions in migration destinations and modernisation has resulted in a synthesis where interethnic marriage preferences are accepted, provided social relationships among migrants are maintained. The research shows that interactions with other ethnic groups in the context of migration, particularly in Yogyakarta, reinforce these preferences (Naldo et al., 2023). These interactions expose migrants to diverse cultural values and norms, gradually shaping their attitudes toward interethnic marriages. As long as these relationships foster a sense of community and shared values, accepting interethnic marriages grows stronger, highlighting the flexibility of Minangkabau traditions in accommodating modern social dynamics.

Fifth, interethnic marriages still face challenges regarding the implementation and cross-cultural communication. Organising interethnic weddings often encounters obstacles in wedding ceremonies, requiring culturally-based communication to align agreements between cultures, such as Minangkabau and Javanese. Research by Final De Pranc and Maman Suherman (2022) emphasises that interaction through culturally-based communication is critical to successful interethnic marriage implementation (De Pranc & Suherman, 2022).

Thus, previous research supports the hypothesis of migration's influence on interethnic marriage preferences for young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. These preferences arise from a dialectical process and the evolution of the customary marriage system, resulting in significant innovative findings in customary marriage practices. The innovation is evident in the understanding that unmarried migrants, while in migration, develop their perspectives on marriage preferences, which are not constrained by rigid traditional norms. Instead, they find the customary marriage system dynamic, allowing room for personal preference adjustments. This research finding aligns with cultural change theories, highlighting how migration leads to cultural hybridity, enabling migrants to retain traditional practices while adopting new ones.

7. Partial Reality: The Role of Migration in the Customary Marriage System

Through simple linear regression analysis, the independent variable (migration) becomes a predictor of the dependent variable (interethnic marriage). Using the social reality construction approach, findings on young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta, as the tested subjects, show that they have developed a dialectical momentum within the principle of tribal exogamy marriage in the customary marriage system socialised by Minangkabau society. During the migration process (Naim, 2013), these migrants formed an antithesis to same-ethnic marriage (tribal exogamy in Minangkabau ethnicity), leading to a preference for interethnic marriages as part of the customary marriage system.

Experience and knowledge of the customary marriage system and Minangkabau culture significantly contribute to the sociological understanding of marriage discourse within Minangkabau

society. The differing tendencies between Minangkabau people who migrate and those who remain in their homeland provide a solid basis for variations in marriage practices. These variations highlight how migration can challenge and reshape traditional norms, allowing for integrating new cultural perspectives. Consequently, marriage, regarded as an essential cultural rite, evolves to reflect the changing realities the Minangkabau people face in diverse environments (Kato, 1982).

In the migration variable, the indicators of Cross-Cultural Influence Awareness (CCIA) and Social Interactions with Other Ethnicities (SIOE) influence the customary marriage system based on tribal exogamy. Young Minangkabau migrants comprehend the external momentum (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) of the customary marriage system through their experiences and knowledge of marriage and migration discourse, a habitus of Minangkabau society contributing to the customary marriage system. CCIA and SIOE project the discourse of the 'malakok' tradition, supporting the perpetuation of interethnic marriages.

This explanation delves deeper by connecting CCIA and SIOE with migration experiences. It underscores how exposure to diverse cultures and social norms, a direct result of migration, significantly influences the perceptions and practices of young Minangkabau migrants. The research suggests that these influences are not superficial but rather deeply ingrained, affecting the internalisation of cultural norms and the persistence of practices like 'malakok.' These practices, in turn, promote social integration and support interethnic marriages.

The initial analysis did not explicitly address the 'malakok' tradition and focused on the statistical relationships between the indicators and marriage practices. This explanation enriches the discussion by demonstrating how CCIA and SIOE contribute to preserving and adapting cultural practices such as 'malakok,' reflecting how traditional norms are maintained and adapted in new contexts. These practical implications make the research findings particularly engaging and interesting.

'Malakok' as an Interethnic Social Mechanism (MISM) serves as an antithesis proposed by young Minangkabau migrants, presenting an alternative (partial) (Berger, 1963) within the customary marriage system. Simple linear regression analysis reveals that interethnic marriage preferences do not reconstruct tribal exogamy into ethnic exogamy (interethnic) but offer another reality to develop the customary marriage system. It is supported by the fact that the communalism in the Customary Marriage System (CCMS) indicator does not indicate a negative but a positive influence on the interethnic marriage variable. Therefore, for young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta, both the primary reality (tribal exogamous marriage) and the partial reality (interethnic marriage) are viable marriage preferences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

The positive influence of the CCMS indicator on the interethnic marriage variable suggests that communal values in Minangkabau society are not rigidly opposed to interethnic unions. On the contrary, these values can be flexible and adaptive, supporting such marriages if they contribute to social cohesion, economic prosperity, or other communal benefits. It challenges the perception of rigidity and promotes a more inclusive understanding of communalism that aligns with the evolving social and cultural landscape of contemporary Minangkabau society.

Objectively, young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta initiated the dialectic of the customary marriage system during their migration (Kato, 1982). This finding indicates that Yogyakarta provides cross-cultural experiences and knowledge for the migrants (Berger, 1963). The proposal of partial reality (interethnic marriage) by young Minangkabau migrants is integrated into the customary marriage system, aiming to juxtapose with the primary reality of tradition and culture. Thus, interethnic marriage becomes a dialectical discourse due to migration experiences, which, though not originally part of the system, is now considered significant due to migration being a primary reality with traditional and cultural dimensions integral to Minangkabau society. Young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta find that Minangkabau traditions can accommodate interethnic marriages through the 'malakok' tradition (Berger, 2011a). These single migrants understand that the 'malakok' tradition can act as an interethnic social mechanism (Kato, 1982), perpetuating interethnic marriages. In this realm, this dialectic produces a synthesis for interethnic marriages. For young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta and the customary marriage system, this synthesis is acceptable because, within the

dimensions of traditional and customary Minangkabau culture (Berger, 2011a), interethnic marriages accommodated by the 'malakok' tradition can fulfil the communal meaning of marriage for Minangkabau society.

The partial reality highlighted by young Minangkabau migrants, specifically interethnic marriage, can only be socialised within a framework that operates on a large scale, known as primary reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). As a result, the preference for interethnic marriage will be socialised secondarily. It is because it has been juxtaposed with the primary socialisation, which asserts that the ideal marriage begins with same-ethnic marriage (tribal exogamy) and may eventually extend to interethnic marriage (ethnic exogamy).

To ensure the success of interethnic marriages, young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta must frame interethnic marriage within the context of the 'malakok' tradition. It involves adopting one of the Minangkabau tribes to integrate the spouses of other ethnicities. The indicators of these variables address this challenge, resulting in a reconstructed reality of the Minangkabau customary marriage system that now encompasses two preferences: same-ethnic and interethnic marriages. This research shows that migration experiences allow young Minangkabau migrants to form partial realities that balance traditional values and new cultural experiences, resulting in a hybrid marriage preference model.

8. Conclusions

Research on interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants investigates whether migration influences these preferences, considering the ideal marriage in Minangkabau culture. The tendency of young Minangkabau migrants to show interest in marrying individuals from other ethnic groups during migration is confirmed through simple linear regression analysis. This analysis reveals that migration can influence and predict interethnic marriage preferences. Furthermore, using the framework of reality construction in the customary marriage system, this phenomenon is analysed as a dialectic process experienced by young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta. The implication is that partial realities emerge due to changes in location and time, affecting the customary marriage system among these migrants. The consequences of the migration process have introduced additional preferences into the customary marriage system.

Theoretical Implications

This research contributes to the discourse on perceptions and preferences for interethnic marriages between Minangkabau individuals and those from other ethnicities. It advances previous research by transitioning from qualitative to quantitative data acquisition and analysis methods. This research enhances methodological approaches, data collection, and theoretical analysis related to migration and interethnic marriage within the Minangkabau cultural dimension. It offers an alternative explanation for the preference for interethnic marriage among young Minangkabau individuals during migration.

Practical Implications

The empirical findings position migration as a variable influencing the customary marriage system. The preference for interethnic marriage among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta can be understood as a consequence of living in a cross-cultural city. The emergence of new ideas within the Minangkabau customary marriage system can be seen as an inevitable evolution of marriage practices.

Research Limitations and Suggestions

This research's data is limited to the age range of 19 to 24 years among young Minangkabau migrants in Yogyakarta under Law No. 40/2009 on Youth, Article 1 Paragraph 1, which defines youth as aged 16 to 30. However, the mobility of young Minangkabau migrants extends beyond Yogyakarta. Future research should address this limitation by expanding the population coverage and age range.

Additionally, future research should consider other potential predictor variables of interethnic marriage preferences among young Minangkabau migrants to provide a more comprehensive understanding.

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