

Local Wisdom For Social Integration In Multiethnic *Nagaris*

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Abstract. This research departs from the policy of the West Sumatra government to return to the *nagari* government as outlined in West Sumatra Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2000 concerning the Government of *Nagari*, where *nagari* institutions are built based on Minangkabau traditional values, while half of the are from the community are Javanese ethnic. The research objectives are: 1) Describe the dynamics that occur in the process of institutionalizing the *nagari* back in the Sitiung village. (2) Analyzing the role of local wisdom creates social integration in the multi-ethnic *nagari* in Sitiung. The findings of this research show that the work of local institutions including local wisdom has created social integration in the community in religious life. Local wisdom that is still held firmly by the Minangkabau and Javanese ethnic communities is the glue for the creation of social integration in the community so that the institutionalization of *nagari* which is a new condition for ethnic Minang and ethnic Javanese has a positive dynamic. The value of the local community "*tabang mancakam, inggok basitumpu*" about the acceptance of outsiders in society is a cohesive value for the formation of the *nagari*. The value of patience and social adaptation about where the earth is stepped on, where the sky is upheld held by ethnic Javanese is also one of the adhesives of maintaining the value of diversity in a religious society.

Keywords: Local Wisdom, Social Institutions, Institutionalization Of *Nagari*, Social Integration.

1 Introduction

The policy of the West Sumatra government to back to the *nagari* government as outlined in the West Sumatra Regional Regulation no. 9 of 2000. Of course the Government of the *Nagari*, brings a new atmosphere in people's lives. Even though since 1983 the *nagari* government system has been abandoned with the enactment of Law No.5 of 1979 concerning village government. The implementation of the village government system is not only different in structure compared to the *nagari* government system, but also has divided regional unity with the conversion of *orong* into a village that has its government by eliminating elements of the community when *nagari* government has a significant contribution in the daily survival of *nagari*. These elements are known as the *tigo tali sepilin* or "*tungku tigo sajarangan*", which is between elements of *ninik mamak*, *alim ulama*, and the scholars. Besides that, since 1993 there has also been a structuring of villages by combining several villages into one village, meaning that the former *orong* before the village administration was implemented has undergone border changes. Village government is the lowest structure, under the administrative authority of the sub-district government. The consequence is that one *nagari* could have been divided into two different sub-districts at that time.

In general, the reason that was brought back to the *Nagari* government was that the form of village government had destroyed the form of territorial genealogy and turned off community participation in development (Pador, 2002: 9). In the past, there was a very high culture of cooperation in Minangkabau during the *nagari* administration, because the leadership of the *ninik mamak* was still going well, so the guardian of *Nagari* received full support from every tribe in the *Nagari*. Besides, at that time the potential of nature was still sufficient to support *nagari* financial resources. Among *nagari*'s financial resources are, forest products, river (sand), *nagari* gardens, markets and *ipeda* (taxes), in traditional rules it is said, *kahutan babungo kayu, ka sungai babungo pasie, ka pasa babungo piti* (the forests gives wood, the river gives sand, the market gives profit), the point is that financial resources in the *Nagari* come from the natural wealth of the *Nagari*.

However, the current state of religion had changed compared to when it was in the village, around 20 years the village administration has been running for quite a long time and has brought considerable changes in people's lives. In the perspective of social change, no society does not change, even the eternal only changes itself. Changes also occur due to the influence of global cultures, such as economics, information, art culture, technology, and leadership. The leadership of the leader as an example, in Minangkabau, has experienced a shift in value, even though its physical presence in the community still exists. This condition will cause various dynamics in the Minangkabau community when they want to return to the ideal form of the *nagari* government system.

In *Nagari* Sitiung this phenomenon is very interesting to study because in addition to the phenomena that occur in Minangkabau people, in general, it is also found here, again unique part of the population consists of ethnic Javanese (transmigrants). In 1977, when the construction of the Mega Mungkur Dam project in Wonogiri came to a group of transmigrants to Sitiung with a village *bedhol* system, where village government officials followed the displacement of residents from their original area along with the institutional equipment of the community in the place of origin. Therefore anthropologically the values originating from the place of origin will flourish in a new place. So it can be imagined, that the life of the transmigrant will be a copy (replica) of the living system in the community in the place of origin.

As one of the clear destinations for transmigration, this village has a heterogeneous population, at least two ethnic groups play a role in social life, namely the *Minang* and Javanese ethnic groups. Then mutual influence influences the life order. Judging from the kinship system, there are very different kinship systems. The Minangkabau ethnic group adheres to a matrilineal system, where the lineage is based on the maternal line. While ethnic Javanese adhered to the *patrilinial* kinship system, the lineage according to the father's line. It will also have different implications in regulating inheritance.

One of the requirements of a *nagari* as regulated in *Tambo* and which is also stated in the regional regulations on *Nagari*, said that *Nagari* is an indigenous community unit, consisting of several tribes, has clear boundaries and has its own wealth. Then the *nagari* community must belong to a tribe in the *nagari* concerned. The process of entering this tribe is quite complicated for ethnic Javanese, because the culture that has been embraced is a bilateral system. So that the process of *malakok* was launched in line with the process of back to the *Nagari* in Sitiung, the initial process of back to the *Nagari* was disturbed.

In principle, the arrival of ethnic Javanese has been received by the local community as citizens, but at that time their arrival was run more administratively with full protection from the state. Although there are traditional Minangkabau rules in accepting new relatives from outside, in Minangkabau terms "*tabang basitumpu, hinggok mancakam*" means that the procedure for outsiders to join into a Minangkabau (tribe) community for immigrants, or the

term Sitiung "*maam mamak*" is certainly not easy to implement. This rule also applies to Minang people from outside the *Nagari*, like other districts.

The rules of the game have their characteristics in each region, not uniform for the entire Minangkabau region. Several requirements must be met for migrants such as buying a goat, then holding a small ceremony as a notification to the public. After that was done, then for newcomers, automatically became a member of the tribe of the people, for example, the Piliang tribe, Malay, Caniago and so on. For the people who still have a large area of customary land, usually, the new niece is given a piece of land to be used as a livelihood. If there is a problem of crossing a dispute for the new niece's child, then the head of the people will protect and settle according to the prevailing customary rules.

When the process of returning to *Nagari* was carried out by the Minang community who felt they were natives, demanding that the rules of the game be carried out according to the Minang custom, so families from ethnic Javanese had to practice Malakok (I mean mamak). The application of customary rules is not easy, because you have to join different tribes in one family.

The application of the religious system in this place is no different from the *nagari* in other places in West Sumatra. So it is interesting to analyze whether in its implementation some phenomena arise both from positive and negative aspects. When the West Sumatra Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2000 concerning the Government of *Nagari* emerged, the lowest form of government in West Sumatra was automatically no longer in the form of a village but had changed to the form of a *nagari* government. The administrative area of *Nagari* is not a village, but consists of several villages in the past, part of the *nagari* is no longer called a village, but a *jorong* (*jorong* was existed in the *nagari* before the law no.5 of 1979). So the objectives of the research are: 1) Describe the dynamics that occur in the process of institutionalizing the *nagari* again in the Sitiung village. (2) Analyzing the local wisdom level creates social integration in the multi ethnic *nagari* in Kanagarian Sitiung.

2 Research Methods

The research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive, analytical methods. The qualitative approach is intended to obtain more in-depth data about the phenomenon of social interaction and social processes that take place in the community to uncover processes that occur in a non-homogeneous society, but there are no conflicts that can disrupt the harmonization of social life that is needed in realizing a nation's life sustainable. Research informants were community leaders, formal figures of the *Nagari* government, the sub-district government was used as triangulation. The informal *nagari* figure is known as five elements (*limo jinih*) in the *nagari* which consists of *ninik mamak*, *ulama*, scholars, female figures known as *bundo kanduang*, and youth leaders (*parik paga nagari*). Informants were selected purposively with the criteria that they had been settled in the *Nagari* for a long time, having inherent characteristics with the status of adat carried out both from ethnic Javanese and Minangkabau and other ethnic groups. Data analysis was carried out since the beginning of data collection, using the principle of qualitative analysis of Miles and Huberman with the unit of analysis at the group level, namely the *Nagari* Sitiung community.

3 Results And Discussion

According to information from Javanese ethnic community leaders, the first idea to organize a transmigration program for the people of Wonogiri was in the 1970s by Ir. Sutami, who at that time was the Indonesian Minister of Transmigration. Based on scientific analysis of the environment, if there is no response to the flow of the Bengawan Solo river, the future of Java is feared to be separated between Central and East Java. The idea was supported by the Indonesian government when the president came to power was Suharto. The planned exit for environmental control is to build a large stir, now known as the Gajah Mungkur reservoir.

When the Gajah Mungkur dam was built around 1976 in Wonogiri, the Wonogiri area itself was not an area prone to flooding along the Bengawan Solo river at that time, which was more vulnerable than the other side of the river, from Solo, Sragen to East Java. To anticipate the area next to the flood disaster each year, the Gajah Mungkur reservoir was built. As a result of the construction of this dam, the Wonogiri area became submerged in water, so residents in the inundation area needed to be moved elsewhere. There were five sub-districts in Wonogiri district which were moved at that time, namely Wonogiri sub-district, Wuriyantoro sub-district, Batu Retno sub-district, Tirtomoyo sub-district and Nguntoro Nadi sub-district. The decision at that time was to move project-affected residents into the national transmigration program. The destination of the transmigration area was chosen which roughly matched the geographic conditions of the area of origin, because the background of its inhabitants was farming mainly rice farmers, so it was chosen to place the people of Wonogiri in Sitiung, West Sumatra.

Culturally emotional human beings have a close attachment to the village of birth, to leave the area permanently is usually very heavy especially to areas that they have not known before. To convince the Wonogiri people, Sitiung and West Sumatra community leaders came to Wonogiri, including the Wali Maas, Wali Hasyim, Mansurdin Anang. At that time the governor of West Sumatra was Harun Zein, after the post of governor of West Sumatra Harun Zein was appointed as Minister of Manpower and Transmigration. The background of resettlement is different from the background of the transmigration program in other places, for example with the transmigration program implemented because of natural disasters, or because it is no longer possible in the place of origin to get a decent livelihood. While in the Wonogiri area they felt they could still live properly, because they supported their government program to join the transmigration program. This background caused the transmigration community from Wonogiri to feel disappointed if they found the reality on the ground not following what had been promised to them before leaving. This condition was one of the reasons the government had great attention when it implemented the transmigration program well.

3.1 Back to *Nagari* Program

Before the enactment of Law No. 5 concerning Villages in 1974 concerning Local Government, *Nagari* Siting was indeed in the form of *Nagari* government, but with the enactment of the law, the *nagari* government had to be changed into village government. When the migration program in Sitiung arrived, the status of the *nagari* government had changed to become a village government, so the condition was the same as the lowest government that was applied on the island of Java at that time, namely the village government. With the form of village government, it means there are no problems with the form of government in the place of origin with the destination. However, with the enactment of Law Unadang Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government, given the opportunity to implement the lowest government based on the origin of local customs, the West Sumatra government took advantage of these

opportunities to return to the form of *nagari* government. This policy is the first test for Javanese ethnic communities in the life of village institutions. The results of Indraddin's study (2004), that for community leaders and the general public two perceptions develop, namely between the indigenous community and the former transmigration ethnic Javanese community. For the indigenous community, returning to *Nagari* has had a positive impact in several ways:

- a. During his return to *Nagari*, he has regained a sense of brotherhood between relatives in the *Nagari*, as long as the village administration is felt to have faded.
- b. During his return to the *Nagari*, the application of customs has indeed been felt by the enactment of the adat of the mutual *nagari*. Among the relatives in one tribe in the *Nagari*, there seems to be no boundary barrier anymore.
- c. The level of security is getting better, meaning that in the village government there is often a commotion, especially among the younger generation, if there is a crowd like a football match between villages, the implementation of celebrations (crowds) is always a commotion. The commotion could cause hostility and casualties among the community, so that before returning to the village the activity was abolished

Since returning to the village, the crowd events have been allowed to return, and in fact there is no more commotion.

For the Javanese ethnic community, returning to the *Nagari* government caused several things:

- a. Reduced participation of ethnic Javanese people in village development, because it was coordinated by RT (neighborhood association), in the *Nagari* government with jorong heads that could not reach large areas.
- b. People feel confused where they will learn about *Nagari* values, while they are required to do so.

For the government sector for the people from the Minangkabau ethnic group, it was felt to be the same between the village government and the *nagari* administration. However, the performance of the *nagari* government is higher than that in villages, each personnel is present in the office every day, while the past period of village administration is rather passive.

Because of the high adaptability of the Javanese ethnic community, the change in the form of government from the village administration to the form of *nagari* government which is a government based on Minangkabau traditional values is not a problem. The success of running a village government based on the Minangkabau adat government known as the *nagari* up to now can run smoothly. The key to success in the process of institutionalizing *Nagari* lies in adaptation in the form of patience. This can be seen from the willingness of ethnic Javanese as migrants to accept the rules of the game which socially actually have an element of discrimination because several provisions do not provide equal opportunities for *Nagari* residents to occupy positions.

When it will be realized the formation of *nagari* institutions, especially those included in the Local Regulation of Lunto Sijunjung Sawah Regency No.22 of 2001 concerning the Government of *Nagari*, there is no rejection from the community. Besides that there is also no discussion about alternative forms of new *nagari* that will be formed with the specificity of the Sitiung village which has half of the population of Javanese ethnic groups. Based on Article 4 of the Regional Regulation of Sawah Lunto Sijunjung District Number 22 of 2001, regarding the formation of *nagari* reads:

- (1) The ex-UPT villages that make it possible to join the *nagari* origin ulayat, are combined into one *nagari*.
- (2) For ex-UPT villages that do not allow to join the *nagari* ulayat origin can be formed into *nagari*.

- (3) Formation of *nagari* for villages ex-UPT is based on consideration of economic potential, area of wilayah, number of residents, and after there is a number of ethnic groups determined by regional regulations.
- (4) Towards the *nagari* residents of the ex-UPT village are gradually required to know, understand, appreciate and practice the philosophy of the Minangkabau community "*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*" and *adat salingka nagari* with the motto "*dima bumi dipijak, disinane langik dijunjuang*".

Guided by paragraph 3 of article 3, it is clearly impossible for the ex-UPT village to become its *nagari*, because there are conditions to have four tribes which have been determined by the regional government. The attitude of the people who come from Javanese ethnicity is to accept and follow the existing rules, which are important to go through first.

Not only in institutions, from the leadership side there are also rules that do not provide equal opportunities for citizens to become local leaders. In the early stages of the program returning to *Nagari*, one of the requirements made in the selection of *Nagari* guardians was from the Minangkabau ethnic group. This requirement, if viewed from the principle of justice, is certainly classified as unfair, because it closes the opportunity for ethnic communities other than Minangkabau to advance as candidates for guardian *nagari* (the leader of the *nagari* is called wali *nagari*). The Javanese ethnic community did not protest against the discrimination provisions but just followed what had become a joint decision. The philosophy used is patience in a shared life. When asked to several community leaders from ethnic Javanese, it was said that the village leadership did not need to be contested, but needed Joint support. Although there is no chance to become a guardian of the *Nagari*, it is not an opportunity to become a *Nagari* secretary or other affairs head. Such an attitude does indeed look beneficial to those who are patient, it turns out to be the head of affairs that is occupied by ethnic Javanese. Attitudes that do not question something in principle in community life have a very positive impact on the development of conditions that support the harmony of life in the community.

3.2 Adaptation Strategy

There are some favorable conditions to adapt to indigenous people, including the type of village *bhedol* transmigration program. Village *Bhedol* is a moving system by including all elements of the community in the place of origin. With such a system, to bring out community leaders in a new community does not take long. They have become accustomed to their role models from their place of origin. For the transmigration community in Sitiung, one of them is those who come from a clever element. Like the teacher, and the customary holder in the place of origin. It is indeed experienced by an SR figure from a traditional figure and also a cleric, who often goes around to transmigration sites throughout Sitiung (Sitiung I to V), that the community atmosphere is very much influenced by the role model of the local community. If the influential figures are from young people who are somewhat "thugs" then the behavior of their society will also lead to a slightly "thug" atmosphere. Whereas in the area where a role model is a person who has strong religious values, the atmosphere of the community is similar.

For *Nagari* Sitiung role models, in general, are from educational figures who have interacted with local communities. The values of the Minangkabau community which is also the value that has been used by the community are generally used as guidelines to adapt. These values include where the earth is stepped there, the sky is upheld. Adapting to local culture is a way that is very beneficial for immigrant communities. They realized that now their village was Sitiung, no longer Javanese. They realized that they would no longer return to Java.

3.3 Not Demanding the Nonprinciple Aspect.

We can see the specialty of the migration program from Wonogiri with the involvement of officials at that time, starting from West Sumatra officials who came to Wonogiri to Wonogiri officials who drove to the location. The first entourage of the transmigration program from Wonogiri was delivered directly by the Wonogiri regent at that time by Harmoyo. Handover from the regent of Wonogiri with the West Sumatra regional government directly. In the handover ceremony with the government of West Sumatra, the symbolic handover ceremony was actually carried out with the Sitiung community. As a newly arrived resident, the migrants have also been sent as children of niece by the community of *Kanagarian* Sitiung. But it is only ceremonial, now it is required to confess again. Admitting *induk* is a process carried out by migrants in *Nagari* to approach themselves by entering into a tribe in the *Nagari*. For example, a family enters (*induk*) on a *piliang* tribe in the *Nagari*, then the family concerned is considered a member of the *Piliang* tribe, all the traditional activities carried out by the family will be supported. In the early stages, part of the Javanese ethnic community objected to the regulation, because at the time of arrival at Sitiung administrative and traditional ceremonies were handed over. The role of Javanese ethnic community leaders emerged in these conditions, where they called on the community to follow the customary rules that apply in the Sitiung village. Although at the initial stage there was a feeling of objection from some people, but over time it was felt functional by the community, so it was used to doing it. It turns out that the rules are not always detrimental, at this time the Javanese ethnic community feels the benefits, because it can provide social support and a sense of security in community life.

3.4 Strengthening the Economy to Increase Social Status

The strategy of improving the economy also looks effective in creating a harmonious life in the *Nagari*. Economic improvement among ethnic Javanese population can increase their strata in the community. A high work ethic supported the economic increase that occurred among the ethnic Javanese population. The habit of people working hard in their original places is still carried over to transmigration destinations. Apart from the habit of working as a farmer, of course motivated by the condition of land ownership in a new place. Many residents who claim to have their place of origin do not have agricultural land, while in Sitiung they have land and agricultural land. Along with the development of time economic improvement is felt to increase the strata in society. Many *nagari* residents from Javanese ethnicity are the foundation for complaining for Minangkabau ethnic groups (native residents of their daily terms). Being a foundation that raises high self-confidence from ethnic Javanese citizens, automatically fosters social equality in social life.

3.5 The Process of Assimilation and Acculturation in the Life of the *Nagari* Community

The process of cultural assimilation is one of the bind in creating harmonization in social life. The rules that require the entry of outsiders into the tribe in the Sitiung *nagari*, where ethnic migrants initially felt heavy turned out to foster a sense of unity in the community. With the merging of these feelings increases to other stages, including mixed marriages. Mixed marriages that occur between ethnic Javanese families and ethnic Minang establish a sense of brotherhood between the two ethnic groups. Marriage is not only the process of uniting two families, but also establishing cultural relations related to social institutions in society, including social institutions of marriage. The ethnic Javanese marriages with Minangkabau ethnicity are far

different both in the procession, as well as from the requirements, but the two ethnic groups seem to agree to adopt the advantages of their respective customs mutually. One of the Javanese ethnic habits during the party is the establishment of an executive committee, where the committee is responsible for the party. Families that have celebrations are greatly helped by the help of an executive committee formed before the party. At first the Minangkabau ethnic group did not have the habit of forming such a committee, eventually also imitating the procession that is usually carried out by Javanese ethnic communities. In the Minangkabau community, the marriage procession is usually carried out by relatives whose pattern of division of labor is governed by customary values, as social changes in the community, many individuals (relatives) no longer understand their role in customary rules. The habit of carrying out a party with the committee is one of the adhesive factors in building social integration in the *nagari* community.

For people from ethnic Javanese, who are usually very strict with customary customs in the procession of marriage, it turns out that in Sitiung ethnic Javanese people began to mix their culture with habits that apply to ethnic Minangkabau people. The use of knick-knacks by ethnic Javanese at wedding parties, it turns out to combine Javanese and Minangkabau customs. Aids which are usually used in the style of Javanese culture, are now mixed between two cultures. This atmosphere also encouraged the two ethnic groups to visit each other at a wedding ceremony. By visiting each other at this event according to the recognition of community leaders and several other informants, it was felt to increase social interaction and cultural integration in the lives of the *nagari* community.

4 Conclusion

Social integration can be realized in multi-ethnic community life if immigrants can carry out social adaptations with many succumbing to the initial stages. Applying the philosophy in which the earth is stepped on, their heaven is upheld is a good entry strategy for ethnic immigrants in an area. This is evident in the institutionalization of the *nagari* back in Sitiung, although in the initial process it emphasized more indigenous rules. The strategy of succumbing to the initial stage is not a disadvantage for ethnic immigrants, but it is an advantage as an entrance to take part in various activities in community life. Along with the social changes that occur in a society that values material more, then an increase in the household economy is an effort to improve the social strata in the community so that it will always be included in the decision-making process in the *nagari*. Implementing the customary rules of the local community should not be seen as a burden in life, but can be used as an entry point for social integration. The demand for "induak" against ethnic immigrants in the Sitiung *nagari* which was originally considered a burden by ethnic immigrants turned out to be felt as an adhesive for community life in the institutionalization of *nagari* in Sitiung which more applied traditional rules in managing *nagari* (village). It is evident that if the community as an actor is able to utilize structures that empower, can adapt and be integrated in the lives of people who have different cultural backgrounds. Losing at an early stage does not mean defeat, but the beginning of social adaptation success.

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