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## Adaptation patterns and cultural change of Batak Toba migrants in Pematangsiantar city

Corry Corry\*), Ulung Napitu, Ease Arent, Sunggul Gultom, Abdul Muis, Muhammad Gazali Bascin  
Universitas Simalungun, Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

This study examines the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural change of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City. The territorial mobility of Toba Batak migrants, which is permanent and expansionist, affects their adaptation patterns, socio-cultural changes, and settlements after they become migrants in new areas. The method used to analyze data about the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural change of the Toba Batak people used descriptive qualitative methods. The population in this study were all Toba Batak migrants living in Pematangsiantar City. Informants in this study were 12 people consisting of 5 people from Toba Batak traditional leaders and one person for comparison with Simalungun traditional leaders, one person in Angkola, one person for Javanese, one person for Malay, one person for Mining, one person for Karo, and one person for Chinese. The results showed that the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural change experienced by Toba Batak migrants was influenced by the cultural background of Pematangsiantar City, namely Simalungun culture as the host culture, and other cultures that were not dominant. Toba Batak migrants adapt in Pematangsiantar City to local culture but retain most of their socio-cultural values, even though they become migrants and settle in Pematangsiantar City.



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### Corresponding Author:

Corry Corry,  
Universitas Simalungun  
Email: [purbacorry470@gmail.com](mailto:purbacorry470@gmail.com)

## 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 various communities and adapts to each other. This condition has been going on for a long time, from the colonial era until now.

During the Colonial period, like other cities in Indonesia, Pematangsiantar City was occupied by residents of various ethnicities, namely Simalungun, Javanese, Batak Toba, Karo, Mining, 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 Mining Malay settlement areas, the Timbang Galung village, the Mandailing settlement, the Guerilla, the Simalungun settlement, and the ethnic Chinese in the city center.

Settlement patterns that group based on ethnicity significantly 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 cultures other than their own, and c). judgments and feelings of pleasure with cultural differences (Zulkifli, 2003).

Ankie in Hatu (2011) argues that no society stops its development because every society experiences changes that occur slowly or quickly. Changes in society will basically involve almost all aspects or segments of society. In accordance with the statement, this also happens to Batak migrants who work in the informal sector. Gillin and Gillin in Marius (2006) define social change as a variation of accepted ways of life, which are caused either by changes in geographical conditions, material culture, population composition, or ideology, or due to diffusion or new discoveries in society.

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' primary purpose is to achieve a cultural mission. The cultural mission of the Toba Batak people consists of a). They have a lot of land and property (hamaraon), b). having power (Karajan), c). have many children (hagabeon), and d). achieve honor (hasangapon). Bangun (1978) stated that migrating Toba Batak people 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 Bataks view the concept of territory in 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-past) (Harahap & Siahaan, 1987; Pelly, 1994).

According to the philosophy of *sidapot soup do naro*, the adaptation pattern of the Toba Batak people 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. *Side pot soup do Naro's* philosophy dictates that the Toba Batak people's adaptation pattern is like a firm fish in its stance, 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. They must continue to live without assimilating into the new environment (Marluga, 2016).

To analyze 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. Batak migrants who work in the informal sector often experience changes in their lives. This change occurs after he migrates. Many factors have caused this change, both in terms of changes in residence and interactions with different people and in terms of work and so on. Changes in the lives of migrants in the informal sector include changes in socio-cultural and welfare levels. It is interesting to find out how far the actual changes are felt by Batak migrants who work in the informal sector in Pematangsiantar City and whether these changes have a positive or negative impact on their lives. This study examines the pattern of adaptation and socio-cultural change of Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar City. The territorial mobility of Toba Batak migrants, which is permanent and expansionist, affects their adaptation patterns, socio-cultural changes, and settlements after they become migrants in new areas.

## Method

In 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 a research that seeks to examine a

particular 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 were 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 Mining, 1 Karo, and China 1 person. Data collected through in-depth interviews and observation participation combined with library sources were collected, tabulated, analyzed, verified, and displayed to formulate conclusions. After conducting the interviews, the researchers carried out data analysis, starting from when the data was collected until the conclusion was drawn. Data analysis was carried out by data collection activities, data reduction, data presentation, and concluding (data verification) (Miles & Huberman, 1992)..

## Results and Discussions

### 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. Pematangsiantar City's original population was the Simalungun tribe. However, 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 description of the pluralist and multi-ethnic population in Pematangsiantar City can be seen in the table below:

**Table 1** Population Distribution by Ethnicity in Pematangsiantar City

N o	Districts	Mala y	Kar o	Simalung un	Toba	Madin a	Pakpa k	Java	Nia s	Minan g	Chin a	Ace h	Etc	Amou nt
1	Siantar Marihat	35	675	1597	15416	645	30	2040	149	30	28	34	254	20933
2	South Siantar	25	980	1236	11147	438	13	1192	99	124	1849	13	331	17447
3	West Siantar	684	365	4956	6201	3647	17	12046	125	1759	3034	261	4801	37896
4	North Siantar	315	319	4363	23671	4019	39	8151	136	2937	1678	81	4177	49886
5	East Siantar	189	1107	4054	20254	1766	99	5247	296	523	1854	100	1255	36744
6	Siantar Martoba	391	805	8281	17084	2424	51	19056	262	562	267	211	956	50350
7	Siantar Marimbu n	98	100	350	14309	612	15	4093	26	65	4	3	1000	20675
8	Siantar Sitalasari	2386	938	5085	20221	634	10	4016	30	40	11	2	950	34323
	<b>Amount</b>	<b>4123</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>29922</b>	<b>12830</b>	<b>14185</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>5584</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>6040</b>	<b>8725</b>	<b>705</b>	<b>1372</b>	<b>268254</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>1,54</b>	<b>1,97</b>	<b>11,15</b>	<b>47,83</b>	<b>5,29</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>20,8</b>	<b>0,4</b>	<b>2,25</b>	<b>3,25</b>	<b>0,26</b>	<b>5,12</b>	<b>100</b>

Source : BPS, 2021

The Population Estimate of Pematangsiantar City based on ethnicity is the percentage of the population due to the 2010 BPS.

Referring to the contents of the table above, it can be seen that the largest population in Pematangsiantar City is the Toba Batak tribe, as many as 12,8303 people, followed by the Javanese, as many as 55,841, Simalungun, as many as 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. However, 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. It is not surprising if we 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 at almost the same time. Dutch colonialism aimed to protect its economic interests, such as securing plantation areas in the East Sumatra region, so efforts were made to pacify 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, Mandailing Bataks, and others. Europeans, Chinese, and Keling, are more oriented to plantation economic motives and live in plantation areas, so they do not get along with the local population. Meanwhile, the Toba Batak people, who had become Christians motivated to open rice fields, 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 Simalungun Batak people.

In 1823 the Siantar and Simalungun areas began to receive the attention of the West, namely John Anderson from England (Anderson, 1971). It intensified attention to this area by the Dutch colonial since 1865, along with 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 it was difficult to access them, and (3) There is a perception of the nature of local cannibalism so that it is disheartening and delays investigations into the Batak area. 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 Lower Simalungun area, which includes the kingdoms of Siantar, Java Land, and Panel, is a fertile area and suitable for plantations.

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 Javanese, Chinese, and Kings, 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 can not 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 worked as administrative staff in plantations, hospitals, teachers, and colonial government offices. They are actual people who have tasted Western education due to the work of the ending, who are very active in establishing village schools. The development of the number of educated workers from the schools opened by sending was felt by the Dutch colonial government and plantation entrepreneurs who needed workers to fill various administrative jobs. The Simalungun ethnic, as the original inhabitants of the Simalungun and Pematangsiantar areas, were significantly harmed by the growth of plantations and the opening of new rice fields. 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).

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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 above theory and supported by other theories are expected 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 particular 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 specific cultural characteristics, such as a group of educated people. (4) The definition of behavior requires the existence of a specific 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)

I was 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 particular institutions has, a specific culture, and its residents have an interpersonal lifestyle. Such a city's lifestyle significantly affects all its citizens to adapt to each other, maintain, maintain integration, and experience changes in identity. These three things significantly 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 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. It holds that city life influences people's lives with specific 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 miniature worlds that touch each other but do not exclude each other, namely; (1) A sizeable 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 particular institutions and specialization of work with certain social interest groups (Park, 1969).

Like the compositional view, that city life does not cause mental collapse, anomie, and 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 influences social groups as well as individuals. However, there are differences between rural and urban people in economy, ethnicity, and lifestyle. The 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 ultimately weaken kinship ties and does not cause social disorganization, changes in religious beliefs, and alienation from the community.

In urban areas, migrants place themselves in their cultural minority, and wherever possible, they recreate the moral and cultural atmosphere following the 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 several blood relatives through frequent visits

to relatives, help, and 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 amid life and the increasingly inter-ethnic solid 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 particular ethnic group, the rules of which are mainly used as guidelines for living in the broader 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 Pematangian 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 city life. There are two types of adaptation, namely active adaptation and passive adaptation. Dynamic adaptation means that the Toba Batak people undergo reciprocal adjustments. In contrast, passive adaptation is an adaptation that occurs only by one party who is required to adapt to a particular 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 the village is a unified social system and day-to-day 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 stated by (Bruner, 1961; Dwyer, 1981) that the cultural roots of the Toba Batak people who live in cities are found in rural communities, and almost all people Toba Bataks who live in cities have more meaningful clan associations with their relatives than with their non-Batak neighbors.

Toba Batak migrants in Pematangsiantar try to learn the Javanese language and behave more subtly like Sundanese. 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). 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). Although there is a tendency for 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. If the tendency to defend oneself is ignored, it will result in disintegration, anomie, and loss of ethnic identity. Meanwhile, the cultural system will be left behind without being willing to accept renewal. For this reason, the Toba Batak cultural system based on Dalihan Na Tolu is required to carry out an adaptive function and carry out a pattern maintenance function in maintaining and developing itself as much as possible in a balanced state (Siahaan, 1987).

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).

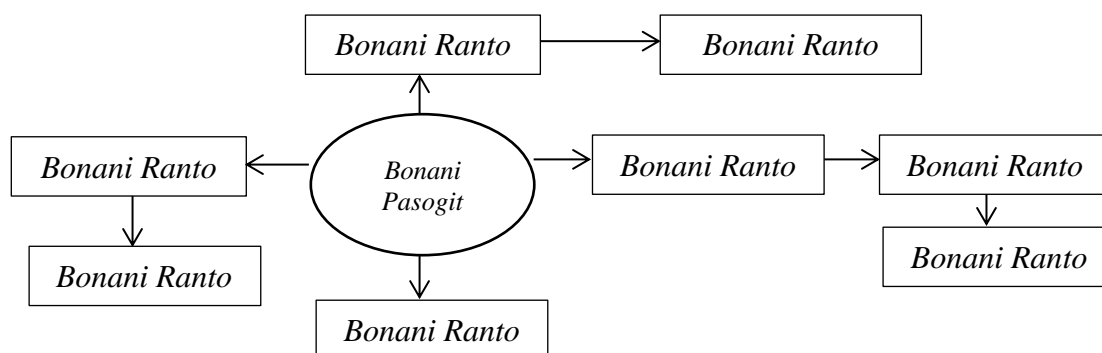
### **Toba Batak Migration Pattern**

The driving factors for the Toba Batak people to migrate to various regions in Indonesia, including 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 that they are ready to settle down and die wherever they are. 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. They assume that houses and land owned in overseas areas are integral to their hometown (Pelly, 1994).

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



**Figure 1.** Toba Batak Migrant Migration Pattern  
Source: Pelly (1994)

#### Information :

→ : Toba Batak migrant migration direction

○ : Ancestral land (Bonani Pasogit)

□ : Overseas Nature (Bonani Ranto)

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, character, and value system of culture. The Toba Batak's identity until now is known to people in 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 distinguishes 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, and descended according to your father's lineage. The concept of the clan as the primary 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. 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 much 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. However, 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). 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. These identity characteristics are also found in Toba Batak migrants, reflecting specific characteristics and distinguishing them from other ethnic groups. At the current development, these characteristics can no longer be maintained along with the development of modernity values.

### **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. Cultural missions can influence the choice of work and place of residence and the establishment of community organizations in the urban context. 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, Dalian a tolu kinship, networks, clan associations, and associations based on village similarities (parsahutaon). Associations of clans of the Toba Batak people in Jakarta, Bandung, and Medan, including Pematangsiantar City, depend 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 religious factors. This aligns with what Hasselgran stated through his research results that the Toba Batak identity is ethnic, cultural, and religious (Nainggolan, 2012).

The life of the Toba Batak people in urban areas and including in Pematangsiantar City, is characterized by the existence of 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 permanently destroy local wisdom and kinship, which are very important in life. It is recognized that there are no comprehensive kinship relationships (Suparlan, 1996; Napitu, 2021).

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 by Bruner (1974). The Toba Batak people still maintain the customs of their ancestors, but they also try to adapt to Sundanese 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 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 amid a multi-ethnic and ethnic community in Pematangsiantar city.

The identity of the Toba Batak has undergone a change which is indicated by the indication that the second generation of migrants is experiencing an identity crisis. When it is associated with the existence of the Toba Batak identity based on the clan and kinship *dalihaan na tolu*, the above opinion currently cannot be maintained following the ideal. 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. The Toba Batak people in Pematangsiantar, with a dominant Sundanese culture, have an identity similar to "Sundanese" and speak subtly even though they prefer to speak powerfully and frankly.

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. 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.

## Conclusions

In the discussion above, the writer can conclude that the adaptation pattern of Toba Batak immigrants in Pematangsiantar City is generally not influenced by the host's ethnic culture, namely Simalungun culture and other ethnic cultures. However, it tends to be influenced by the pragmatism of city life because in Pematangsiantar City, there is no dominant culture. As a result of the absence of a dominant culture in Pematangsiantar City, the immigrants, including the Toba Batak migrants, had an adaptation pattern that imitated the culture of cities such as Medan, Bandung, and other cities in Indonesia, which was characterized by the concentration of settlements based on ethnicity, such as Kampung Toba (Christian Village), Kampung Banten, Kampung Karo, and so on. The social changes experienced by Toba Batak immigrants in Pematangsiantar City did not adopt a certain ethnic culture. So, in Pematangsiantar City, most of the social and cultural values that people brought with them from their home areas are kept and used in everyday life. This is true for all of the tribes that live there. The pluralism and multiculturalism of the social community living in Pematangsiantar City are like a small mosaic in city life. Even though they touch each other, all of them are in Pematangsiantar City, the pluralist ethnic culture is maintained. There has never been a conflict between different tribes, races, ethnicities, and religions.

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