



MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING FOR ACADEMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITI MALAYA AND UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

Whereas the UNIVERSITI MALAYA, a university established under the laws of Malaysia and having an address at Lembah Pantai, 50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (hereinafter referred to as "UM")

and

The UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA a university established under the laws of Indonesia and having an address at Jl. Brawijaya, Kasihan, Bantul, Yogyakarta 55183. (hereinafter referred to as "UMY") seeking to improve understanding between their respective academic institution and to establish mutually beneficial collaborations benefiting their students, have agreed to sign this Memorandum of Understanding (hereinafter referred to as the "MoU") as a first step toward achieving these shared goals.

NOW THEREFORE PURSUANT THERETO, the Parties hereby agree as follows:

SCOPE AND FIELDS OF ACADEMIC COOPERATIONS

- (1) The Parties hereby agree to implement within the framework of the rules and regulations applicable in each of the institutions and subject to availability of funds and resources, the following programmes and activities, which may include, but not limited to:
 - (a) Student and/or academic and administrative staff exchanges;
 - (b) Joint research activities:
 - (c) Exchange of publications, reports and other academic materials and information; and
 - (d) Sharing of other activities and programmes in areas of mutual interest, where such sharing shall result in benefit to both Parties.
- (2) It is agreed that the terms and conditions of any agreed programme and activity contemplated in this MoU shall be the subject matter of separate written agreements to be negotiated and agreed upon by both Parties and/or any third parties, wherever applicable. PROVIDED ALWAYS the decision whether to initiate and/or implement any programme or activity shall be at the sole discretion of each Party.

(3) The Parties agree to designate, on behalf of each institution, a coordinator whose responsibility will be to supervise the execution of this MoU and to draw up a programmes or activities to be implemented under this MoU, setting out specific provisions concerning the exchange programmes, budget requirements and details of funding. For this purpose, the coordinator for UM is the Faculty of Education and for UMY is Faculty of Language Education.

2. FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

(1) The Parties acknowledge that in the absence of any specific agreement in writing to the contrary, each Party will be responsible for its own costs and expenses in establishing and conducting programmes and activities contemplated under this MoU, including without limitation its own costs and expenses in travel and accommodation.

3. INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

(1) The Parties agree that the ownership of and any other rights relating to intellectual property arising from or in connection with any programme or activity under this Memorandum of Understanding shall be determined on a case by case basis, and shall therefore be specified and agreed for each such programme or activity in a separate written agreement between the Parties.

4. CONFIDENTIALITY

(1) The Parties agree and undertake to keep confidential at all times any information or data that may be exchanged, acquired or shared in connection with any programme or activity conducted pursuant to this MoU save where the same is already in public domain.

5. DURATION AND TERMINATION

- (1) This MoU shall take effect on and from the date of execution of this MoU and shall continue to be effective for a period of five (5) years and may be extended for such further period as may be agreed by the Parties in writing.
- (2) Notwithstanding clause 5 (1) above, this MoU may be terminated by either Party giving written notice to the other at least six (6) months prior to the proposed date of termination.
- (3) Notwithstanding clause 5 (2) above, the provisions of this MoU or any other written agreement in respect of any on-going exchange programme or any other form of cooperative activity under this MoU shall continue to apply until their completion unless both Parties mutually agree in writing to the earlier termination of the programme or cooperative activity.

NOTICE

(1) Every notice, request or any other communication required or permitted to be given pursuant to this MoU shall be in writing, in English and delivered personally or sent by registered or certified post via air mail or by courier or email (which shall be acknowledged by the other Party) to the Parties at the addresses as stated below:

(a) If to UM: Faculty of Education

Universiti Malaya

Lembah Pantai 50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Attention: Dean, Faculty of Education Email: dekan_pendididikan@um.edu.my

(b) If to UMY: Faculty of Language Education

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Jl. Brawijaya, Kasihan, Bantul, Yogyakarta 55183

Attention: International Relations Office

Fax no.: 0274 – 387646 Email: bkln@umy.ac.id

7. MISCELLANEOUS

(1) This MoU may be modified, varied or amended at any time after due consultation and with the written agreement of both Parties.

- (2) The Parties acknowledge that all visits or exchange of staff, students or administrators will be subject to compliance with the entry and visa regulations of Malaysia and Indonesia and with the respective Party's requirements with respect to staff and student visits.
- (3) This MoU is not intended to be legally binding. It merely expresses the intentions and understanding of the Parties which will form the basis of any legally binding agreement to be drafted and executed in the future.
- (4) The Parties hereby agree that they are not bound exclusively by this MoU and shall be at liberty to enter into any separate agreements or arrangements with any third party without reference to the other Party.

COUNTERPARTS, EXECUTION

(1) This MoU may be executed in one or more counterparts, each of which shall be deemed to be an original but all of which together shall constitute one and the same instrument. The Parties shall be entitled to rely upon delivery of an executed electronic copy of this MoU.

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IN WITNESS THEREOF, the Parties have caused this MoU to be executed by their duly authorized representatives.

For and on behalf of For and on behalf of UNIVERSITI MALAYA UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA PROF. DATO' IR. DR. MOHD. HAMDI PROF. DR., IR. GUNAWAN BUDIYANTO., ABD. SHUKOR M.P., IPM. Vice-Chancellor Rector 13 January 2022 Date: Date: In the presence of In the presence of ASSOC. PROF. DR. ZAWAWI ISMAIL EKO PURWANTI, S. PD., M. HUM., PHD.

Dean, Faculty of Education

Bean Faculty of Language Education

LAPORAN AKHIR PENELITIAN SKEMA KERJASAMA LUAR NEGERI



PATTERNS AND MOBILITY TRANSFORMATIONS: KERINCI DIASPORA IN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

Mohammad Syifa Amin Widigdo, S.Ag., Ph.D. (0503067801)

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Prof. Awang Azman Pawi, Ph.D

UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

Dibiayai Oleh Lembaga Penelitian, Publikasi dan Pengabdian Masyarakat (LP3M)
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Tahun Anggaran 2020/2021



UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

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PROTEKSI ISI LAPORAN AKHIR PENELITIAN

Dilarang menyalin, menyimpan, memperbanyak sebagian atau seluruh isi laporan ini dalam bentuk apapun kecuali oleh peneliti dan pengelola administrasi penelitian.

LAPORAN AKHIR PENELITIAN

Informasi Data Usulan Penelitian

1. IDENTITAS PENELITIAN

A. JUDUL PENELITIAN

Patterns and Mobility Transformations: Kerinci Diaspora in Malaysia and Indonesia

B. SKEMA, BIDANG, TEMA, DAN TOPIK PENELITIAN

Skema Penelitian	Bidang Fokus Penelitian	Tema Penelitian	Topik Penelitian
Kerjasama Luar Negeri	Sosial Humaniora - Seni Budaya - Pendidikan	Pembangunan dan penguatan sosial budaya	Identitas, mobilitas, diversity, dan multikulturalisme

C. KOLABORASI DAN RUMPUN ILMU PENELITIAN

Jenis Kolaborasi Penelitian	Rumpun Ilmu 1	Rumpun Ilmu 2	Rumpun Ilmu 3
Kolaboratif Luar Negri	ILMU SOSIAL HUMANIORA	ILMU SOSIAL	Sosiologi

2. IDENTITAS PENELITIAN

Nama	Peran	Tugas
Mohammad Syifa Amin Widigdo, S.Ag., Ph.D.	Ketua Pengusul	
Sjafri Sairin, Prof., M.A., Ph.D.	Pakar Bidang	Analisis Data
Zidny Azhar Hasbiyan	Mahasiswa Bimbingan	Administrasi dan koleksi data
Prof. Awang Azman Pawi, Ph.D	Pakar Bidang	Analisis Data

3. MITRA KERJASAMA PENELITIAN (JIKA ADA)

Pelaksanaan penelitian dapat melibatkan mitra kerjasama, yaitu mitra kerjasama dalam melaksanakan penelitian, mitra sebagai calon pengguna hasil penelitian, atau mitra investor

Mitra Nama Mitra Ko

4. LUARAN DAN TARGET CAPAIAN

Luaran Wajib

Tahun	Jenis Luaran
2	Publikasi Jurnal Internasional Bereputasi (minimal SCOPUS Q2)

Luaran Tambahan

Tahun	Jenis Luaran

5. ANGGARAN

Rencana anggaran biaya penelitian mengacu pada PMK yang berlaku dengan besaran minimum dan maksimum sebagaimana diatur pada buku Panduan Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat.

Total Keseluruhan RAB Rp. 0

Tahun 1 Total Rp. 0

Jenis Pembelanjaan	Komponen	Item	Satuan	Vol.	Harga Satuan	Total
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5. LEMBAR PENGESAHAN

HALAMAN PENGESAHAN LAPORAN AKHIR PENELITIAN SKEMA:

Judul : Patterns and Mobility Transformations: Kerinci Diaspora in Malaysia and Indonesia

Peneliti/Pelaksana : Mohammad Syifa Amin Widigdo, S.Ag., Ph.D.

NIDN : 0503067801 Jabatan Fungsional : Lektor

Program Studi/Fakultas : Magister Ilmu Agama Islam

Nomor HP : 08119846060

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Anggota

Nama : Sjafri Sairin, Prof., M.A., Ph.D.

NIDN :

Jabatan Fungsional : Guru Besar

Program Studi/Fakultas : Psikologi Pendidikan Islam

Nama : Zidny Azhar Hasbiyan

NIM : 20171010018

Prodi : Magister Studi Islam

Nama : Prof. Awang Azman Pawi, Ph.D

NIK : 1234567899876543 Institusi : University of Malaya

Biaya : Rp. 0

Yogyakarta, 27 Mei 2021 Mengetahui,

Kepala LP3M,

6. RINGKASAN

This study investigated the mobility of Indonesian migrants from Kerinci to Malaysia and how this mobility shaped their cultural and ethnic identity. Previous studies about Indonesian migrants in Malaysia primarily observed legal and illegal Indonesian workers in Malaysia. This research was conducted to study the continuity of the cultural heritage that the workers bring from the home country and the cultural impacts of the host country's social, political, and culture on their identity transformation. In this regard, this study explored Kerinci people's motives to migrate to Malaysia, strong desire to return to their home country after residing in Malaysia, and how these motives, passion, and mobility shaped and transformed, especially in the pre-and post-independent period of Indonesia. Understanding these phenomena is vital to strengthen a cultural bond and cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia while recognizing each country's distinct culture, heritage, aspirations.

7. KEYWORDS

Pattern; Transformation; Migration; Mobility; Culture; Identity; Indonesia; Malaysia

8. HASIL PELAKSANAAN PENELITIAN

The migration of Indonesians to Malaysia started to occur in the 14th century to the present day. Indonesians who migrated to Malaysia come from different ethnic groups. The Minangkabau people had settled in Malaysia in the 1400s (de Jong, 1980). The Bugis entered later in 1700 (Bahrin, 1967). Javanese entered between 1880-1940 in Selangor (Thamrin, 1985). The exact number of those who migrated during that period is still unclear. Around 1910 they were estimated to be around 13,000, which later grew to 88,000 in 1940. Indonesian immigrants may have grown to 1.2 million since that time, of which half were illegal migrants. In 1997, 319,652 legal workers were absorbed in various sectors in Malaysia. This amount covered 65% of the Malaysian labor market (Kassim, 1997, p. 55).

Kerinci is a fertile land, which brings prosperity for Kerinci's society and attracts people outside Kerinci to seek a better life and fortune. However, since the 1990s and the monetary crisis that hit Indonesia, the economic crisis also took place in Kerinci. It began with the decline in various of their primary commodities, such as coffee and cinnamon. Until the 2000s, the condition had not been better. As a result, once a destination of people came, this beautiful place was abandoned by its people. Many local Kerinci children migrated to other cities, even countries, including Jambi, Riau, and Malaysia. The *tuan* (landlords) turned into *upan* (workers) children in the lands of other people (Tago, 2013).

The researchers are much interested in legal and illegal Indonesian workers in Malaysia (Bahrin, 1967; Hugo, 1993; Kassim, 1987, 1995, 1997; Nasution, 1996; Thamrin, 1997). They emphasize research on the study of the attracting and driving factors of migration. Research addressing the sustainability of the culture that people carry from their home countries and how the host country's social, political, and economy shape their culture and identity is still limited. Past experiences in the hometown, series of the migration process to Malaysia, and recent experiences in Malaysia are significant life events that change the definition of migrants about who they are, how they understand their cultural boundaries, and where they seek a new identity (Appadurai, 1994). When living in Malaysia, the Kerinci migrants tend to build their identities as new people. They still associate themselves with their home country or with their hometown (Sairin, 2002). Regarding ethnicity, the Kerinci people employ their ethnicity as one of the integrative factors in their interactions with residents in Malaysia. Ethnicity is reflected and takes religious ritual activities, social activities, Kerinci language use, arts groups, and family relations (Zainuddin, 2017, 2020).

Interestingly, although *Orang Kerinci* (Kerinci people) have lived in Malaysia for an extended period, even got a particular place and position there, their imagination about their home country is still well preserved. Their desire to return to Kerinci still resides in their mind. At the same time, the Kerinci community in Indonesia still wants to migrate to Malaysia. This paper studies this phenomenon and investigates why the Kerinci community migrated to Malaysia, why they wanted to go back to Indonesia, and how their mobility and migration transformed and shaped their social and cultural identity in the pre-independence and post-independence of Indonesia.

Mobility and Migration in the Pre-Indonesian Independence

a. Motives

1. Avoiding Colonial Pressure

Sangkar Island people first entered Malaysia in the early 20th century. They migrated in 1901 at the same time as the year the Dutch entered Kerinci. They avoided the pressure of Dutch colonialism, such as forced cultivation and forced labor. Forced cultivation was a monopoly in commodities, while forced labor opened the Kerinci-Pesisir Selatan access road, West Sumatra. Japan later continued these forced labor systems to extend the Kerinci-Bangko road. Then, the Sangkar Island people fled to Jambi and then crossed over to Malaysia. Some left their hometown during this time due to family problems. After they arrived in Malaysia, they opened fields to cultivate crops. They became known as the first generation of Sangkar and Kerinci Island nomads in Malaysia. ¹

2. Pilgrimage

The second generation of Sangkar Island people entered Malaysia in 1920 with pilgrimage or *hajj* as the primary motive. Initially, they migrated to Jambi to work as rubber cutters, and after earning some money, they crossed over to Malaysia. There they went to the houses of the first generation of Sangkar Island who had settled previously. Then they returned to work to make money. After earning enough money, they continued their journey to Mumbai, India. These adventurous pilgrims were helped by the I famous rich man, Haji Kasim. Haji Kasim was bearing

¹ Interview with Juhaimi Tamim and Bastian Wahid, November 13, 2016 in Sangkar Kerinci Island. The two informants were often in and out of Malaysia in the 1980-2000s era. Their grandfather and several uncles settled and died in Hulu Langat, Selangor, Malaysia

the costs of the pilgrims from Mumbai to Mecca back to Mumbai. Haji Tamin, Haji Yunus, and Haji Nawi in 1920 also were Kerinci migrants that continued the tradition.²

3. Love and Adventure Motives

In the 1930s, some young people from Sangkar Island left their hometown for more personal motives. Haji Abdullah, for example, liked a girl from his village. However, he did not get the blessing of his parents. Due to unbearable sadness, Haji Abdullah sulked and left his hometown. He crossed over and settled for a long time in Malaysia before he passed away in Singapore. During his tenure, he never returned to Sangkar Island. Later, Haji Abdullah's children's houses have become a transit point for the Sangkar Island people who migrate there.³

Meanwhile, Chatib Yusuf entered Malaysia more as an adventure. After graduating from Thawalib Padang Panjang in 1934, he did not return home. With Yahya Latif, his school friend, he traveled to Malaysia. There they met many Sangkar Island people. Chatib went further. In 1936, he went to Hong Kong. Then, he traveled to Burma and stayed for three years in Mumbai, India. He was adventuring in a faraway land. He was not even in his hometown when his parents died. In 1950, he returned and settled on Sangkar Island.⁴

In 1945, Indonesia declared its independence. Colonial pressure was finally gone from Kerinci. Therefore, most Sangkar Island people returned from Malaysia. Kerinci's post-independence economic condition was excellent. The mainstay commodities prices, such as rubber, cinnamon, and coffee, were relatively high. Hence, from the independence era until the 1970s, only a few Sangkar Island people migrated to Malaysia.⁵

b. Migration and Mobility Patterns

The first generation of Sangkar Island people entered Malaysia in the early 20th century via Jambi. They started their journey on foot. This journey was certainly not easy. Luckily, they got used to traveling long distances on foot. For example, to look for salt, they walked to the west coast of Sumatra at Mukomuko via the Ipuh River. This journey through the jungle took four days and four nights. Traveling by foot to Jambi certainly took longer, and they must always be ready to face various challenges along the way. Sometimes, they had to fight with rogues. For that, they mastered self-defense. In their hometown, all young people learned martial arts. Then, from Jambi, they continued their journey by sailing to Malaysia. These early nomads landed in Kuala Kelang. From there, they continued their exploration upstream to open fields. The Kerinci farming area was later purchased by the Malaysian government and became part of Kuala Lumpur. Around the area stands the Universiti Malaya and Merdeka Stadium. After foreigners sold some lands, Kerinci was divided into several groups. Some returned home to Kerinci. Some moved to Hulu Langat, and some chose to stay there in the lower part of the area. Extensive and unlogged forests became tourist attractions. The area in Kuala Lumpur is now known as Kampung Kerinci and Jalan

² Interview with Juhaimi, son of Haji Tamin and Bastian Wahid on Sangkar Island, November 13, 2017. Juhe's father left for Hajj in 1920 with his teenage friends Haji Junus and Haji Nawi. Haji Tamim was born in 1904 and Haji Nawi was born in 1901

³ Interview with Mirza Yahya at Sungai Penuh Kerinci, July 27, 2009 and Azwar Yahya on Pulau Sangkar, July 30, 2009. Both informants are Haji Abdullah's grandchildren

⁴ Interview with Hidayat Chatib, Chatib Yusuf's son, in Jambi, March 23, 2009

⁵ Regarding Sangkar Island prosperity post-independence era of Indonesia, read more about Mahli Zainuddin Tago, Memperalat Agama: Pergeseran Rasionalitas Tindakan Sosial, Yogkarta: Samudera Biru, 2014, especially pages 97-108.

Abdullah Hukum. Hukum was one of the early generations of Kerinci people who entered Malaysia.⁶

The next generation entered Malaysia through the Kerinci-Padang-Riau route in the 1930s and beyond. From Riau, they crossed to Peninsular Malaysia along with the opening of the highway connecting Kerinci-Pesisir Selatan-Padang. The Dutch colonialists opened this highway with a forced labor system. Kerinci nomads no longer had to walk for days through Jambi to go to Malaysia on the highway. Political developments at that time also made Kerinci and Pesisir Selatan a district under Pesisir Selatan Kerinci Regency. This district was part of the West Sumatra Residency. Thus, geographically and administratively, Kerinci was closer to Padang than to Jambi.

c. First and Second Generation of Kerinci Migrants: Settlement

1. First Generation

Like other Kerinci people, migrants from Sangkar Island of Kerinci arrived in Malaysia and established good social integration with the local population. Thus, they could develop settlements that are then inhabited together with the local people. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Sangkar Island people began to enter Malaysia. In the following decades, Sangkar Island people had been to Malaysia. Even in the 1920s, many Sangkar Island people settled there, especially in Batu 14.5 Hulu Langat, Selangor Daarul Ehsaan, Malaysia.

Among Sangkar Island people who entered and lived in Malaysia at that time, Haji Karim, Haji Syarif, Haji Ahmad, Haji Hasan, Haji Rasyid, Haji Taher, Haji Abdullah, and Haji Semin were several well-known names. Other Sangkar Island people living in Malaysia during this era were Nunggoh Sapia, Upok Sani, Nakek Amril, and Haji Daro Upok Mawi. The last name is Haji Daro, as his friends also made the pilgrimage to Mecca via Malaysia. On the way to Mecca, he had to be separated forever from his *haji* friends and sister. The younger brother died on the ship on the way to the Holy Land. ⁷

Haji Karim lived and raised his family in Malaysia for a long time. He owned massive land and built a house and mosque on the Semungkih river. Previously on Sangkar Island, he was known as Pileh. After returning from Mecca, he changed his name to Haji Karim. Haji Karim brought his son Haji Wahid and his eight-year-old nephew Haji Tamin to Malaysia. He left a lot of land property around Hulu Langat. Haji Karim's grandson/Haji Wahid's child, named Yumpaek, still lives in Hulu Langat in the house he built on the land that he inherited from his grandfather, Haji Karim.⁸

Haji Syarif migrated to Malaysia in two periods. His first visit was when he was a child. After growing up, he returned to Sangkar Island. In his hometown, he was elected to be the *mendapo*, the local leader on Sangkar Island at that time. As a leader in his homeland during the Dutch colonial era, he helped republicans fight for independence. Therefore, he was under pressure from the Dutch colonialists. Due to a conflict with the colonial, he left his hometown and fled to Malaysia. The spirit against the Dutch made him join a local struggle against British colonialism there. During this second period in Malaysia, several of Haji Syarif's children were born, including Darwis Upok Kafrawi.

⁶ Interview with Juhe, on Sangkar Island, January 13, 2016; Haji Abdullah Hukum is Juhe's great-grandfather from Sungai Abu Kerinci. She is mamak kontan of Juhe's grandfather, who also comes from the Abu River. Juhe had visited all of his great-grandchildren living in Malaysia when he was often in and out of Malaysia. Now, they mostly live in Sanamao Village in the lower reaches of Seremban.

⁷ Interview with Amril, Sapia, and Iza on Sangkar-Kerinci Island, November 12, 2016

⁸ Interview with Juhe on Sangkar Island, January 13, 2016, with Yumpaek in Hulu Langat Malaysia, October 22, 2016

Another Sangkar Islander who lived in Malaysia during this era was Haji Ahmad. Like Haji Syarif, Haji Ahmad had been in Malaysia since a baby. At that time, he had a son named Napi. Like many of his friends at that time, he performed the pilgrimage and departed from Malaysia. After the pilgrimage, Napi changed his name to Haji Ahmad. While in Hulu Langat, he lived in Semungkih and worked like other Sangkar Islanders as cultivators. When he was 18 years old, he returned to Sangkar Island. On this way home, he was robbed in Medan so that when he arrived at Sangkar Island, he was out of money.⁹

Besides the men, Sangkar Island women also migrated to Malaysia. Haji Siti Sapur was one of them. She was brought by her mother to Malaysia when she was a little girl. Haji Sapur's grandfather is Hangtuao Sungkid and had a house in the old hamlet on Sangkar Island. When her grandmother and mother returned to Kerinci, Haji Sapur did not come. He was married to a Pandan Kerinci Islander who lived in Malaysia. They got married in Singapore and lived there for a long time. Haji Sapur has 16 children from two husbands. When the interview is conducted, 11 children are still alive. She continued, "My husband is a Pandan Islander. We got married in Singapore. After Singapore, we came back here because my husband was from here. I had a hard time going back to Kerinci." ¹⁰

Although integrated with the local population, Sangkar Island people who settled in Hulu Langat lived close to each other. They also lived not too far from their fellow Kerinci people, especially from Kerinci Hilir. They generally lived around the Batu-1 to Batu-20 area, according to their home village in Kerinci. The Batu-14 area was dominated by Kerinci people from Jujun, Ambai, and Keluru villages. Batu-14.5 area was mainly inhabited by Kerinci people from Sangkar Island, Lolo, and Pandan Island villages. Many Kerinci people from Tarutung village inhabited the Batu-18 Simpang Pansun area. Meanwhile, the Batu-18 area upstream was mainly inhabited by the Kerinci people from Semerap village.

The early generations of Sangkar Island who lived in Hulu Langat owned land for farming. The lands once belonged to the kingdom, released to the local community. The Hulu Langat area all belonged to the Sangkar Island people. Meanwhile, the Hulu Langat area towards Lui was inhabited by the Kerinci people from Sangkar Island, Jujun, Semerap, Seleman, and Tanjung Tanah. Many Kerinci people from Sungai Penuh and Pondok Tinggi lived in Kerinci Village, which is now in Kuala Lumpur. Datuk Isa, one of the community leaders in Kerinci Malaysia, is one of their descendants who still live in Kampung Kerinci in Malaysia.

2. Second Generation

This tradition of settling in Malaysia was continued by the second generation, including Zainal Abidin, Hassan, Sani, Zainal, Haji Sapur, and Ibrahim. They were born in Hulu Langat. When this research was conducted in 2017, the Sangkar Island people were Hasan and Haji Sapur. The next generation is their children. Some no longer live in Langat. Hasan's son, Mat, works in a state intelligence agency and lives in Kajang. Hasan's other son, the head of Public Works, lives in Semyih and builds a house next to his parents' house. His other child lives on the 16th floor of an apartment. However, the home of the third generation of Sangkar Island people in Hulu Langat is still the right place for Sangkar Island people to come to Malaysia.¹¹

Zainal Abidin is the second generation of Sangkar Island nomads who spent their old days in Malaysia. He had returned to his hometown after the independence of Indonesia. In his

⁹ Interview with Iza Haji Ahmad's grandson on Pulau Sangkar-Kerinci, November 12, 2016

¹⁰ Interview with Haji Sapur in Semungkih Hulu Langat, March 26, 2017

¹¹ Interview with Amril on Sangkar-Kerinci Island, November 12, 2016, with Juhe on Sangkar-Kerinci Island, January 13, 2016

hometown, he married, opened a *lepau* (stall), and several of his children were born there. Later, after Malaysia became independent, Zainal returned to Malaysia. He took care of his father's property which is still there. The father had died on Sangkar Island. The location of his father's land is close to Haji Karim's house at the Semungkih intersection. Zainal Abidin recently remarried in Malaysia and has three children. He spent his old days until he died in Malaysia.

The second generation of Sangkar Island who has lived in Malaysia for a long time is Darwis Pra. Darwis was probably born in Hulu Langat because his father, Hangtuao Pra, had lived in Malaysia for a long time. Darwis completed his primary education in Malaysia. After Indonesia's independence, he returned to Indonesia. He continued his education and finished fifth grade at Padang Panjang, the Islamic education center in Indonesia. Even though he has settled in Kerinci, Darwis is still often in and out of Malaysia. In Hulu Langat, his parents left him lands property. Hangtuao Pra, Darwis's father, like his generation in general, owned a lot of Langat land. Unlike Zainal, Darwis spent his old days on Sangkar Island. One of his children, Saprin, continues in the footsteps of Darwis , living in Hulu Langat, Malaysia until now. 12

Mobility and Migration in the Indonesian Post-Independence

a. Motives

1. Connecting Family Relation and Friendship

Entering the 1980s, Sangkar Island people re-entered Malaysia. Their main motive was to reconnect the relationship since the independence era. In 1981, Juhe started his journey via the Kerinci-Padang-Pekanbaru-Tanjung Balai Karimun-Pontian Johor-Kuala Lumpur-Semungkih/Langat route. Juhe went straight to Bidin's house, a Sangkar Islander who lived in Malaysia but previously lived on Sangkar Island in the 1940s. Bidin returned to Malaysia after Malaysia's independence and never returned to Sangkar Island. Bidin then invited Juhe to Hasan's house, Juhe's cousin born in Malaysia. Therefore, Juhe and Hasan had never met before. Juhe's story went on about his first meeting with Hasan, "Hasan and I hugged and cried. After that, Hassan called his wife and children. Since then, I have lived at Hasan's house."

In general, Sangkar Island people initially entered Malaysia with a motive of finding and connecting with relatives. While in Malaysia, they lived in a relative's house where the family atmosphere was still solid. They considered the visitors as relatives who came from far away. Sangkar Island people who lived in Malaysia also saluted them because for Malaysians entering Indonesia was taboo. Meanwhile, the informants could enter Malaysia. The longing of the Sangkar Island people in Malaysia for their families in Kerinci was channeled by their relatives back home. Due to family visits, they did not linger in Malaysia. After Juhe and more people from Sangkar Island returned to Malaysia, Amril entered Hulu Langat in 1984. Yumpaek, Uyok, and Anhar Lolo also joined. In comparison, Bidin alias Zainal Abidin returned to Sangkar Island.

2. Economic Factors

In the 1990s, a new motivation for Sangkar Island people to enter Malaysia emerged: the economy. Around this time, Kerinci experienced an economic downturn. The price of cinnamon as Kerinci's mainstay commodity had fallen drastically, influencing various aspects of the economy. Sangkar Island, which was initially a destination for migrants, began to be abandoned. Even the natives left the island. On the other hand, the Malaysian economy began to grow. The difference in income in Kerinci compared to Malaysia was significant. To avoid an economic crisis in their hometown, re-entry to Malaysia was an option. The tendency to enter Malaysia also hit the Kerinci people from outside the Sangkar Island. They came from the central and upstream parts of Kerinci. Many Lempur, Lolo, Cupak, Semurup, and even Siulak people began to enter Malaysia.

¹² Interview with Safrin Darwis in Hulu Langat, Selangor-Malaysia, March 26, 2017

The peak of the Sangkar Island re-entry to Malaysia was in 1996-2000. At this time, about 50 Sangkar Island people were in Malaysia. Hulu Langat became their headquarters. On weekdays, they were scattered throughout Malaysia, as far as Kelantan. On Sunday, they regrouped at Hulu Langat. They worked non-permanently. Some became carpenters. Juhe, for example, was working on the installation of water in high-rise buildings. Others worked as laborers on various projects. Some worked in the informal sector as street vendors. These multiple jobs brought them far more income than farming at home.

At that time, the income of working a day in Malaysia could cover the cost of living for a week. The income from working the other six days could be saved. Meanwhile, on Sangkar Island, the daily income could only meet the everyday needs of life. On the other hand, in Malaysia at that time, there were always jobs. Saprin, for example, initially worked in a refinery/factory for a salary. Then, he worked as a builder before becoming a contractor. When he did not get a wholesale job, he worked as a daily laborer for someone else's wholesaler. However, to save money, they must save and cook themselves. Eating at restaurants made them unable to save because the cost of living in Malaysia was also high.

An informant, Bastian, felt that it was easy to earn money in Malaysia. He became a street vendor by bringing clothes from Indonesia to be sold in Malaysia. Clothing made in Bandung was sold for Rp. 70.000. In Malaysia, it was sold for 100 Ringgit or around Rp. 400.000. He also carried a traditional Kerinci machete. The machete in Kerinci was around Rp. 15.000 and sold in Malaysia for Rp. 100.000. As he wanted to profit, he brought a machete maker from Pendung Kerinci to Hulu Langat. After growing, this business experienced a setback because it did not get permission from the local government.

Those who worked as construction workers also earned lucrative income in this era. Bilong, for example, worked as a construction worker. He worked with Juhe laying bricks for buildings in the Ampang area. The income was 12.5 cents per brick. If they could lay a thousand bricks, then they would earn 1,250 Ringgit. Juhe as a handyman gets 750 Ringgit, and Bilong as a servant, received 500 Ringgit. If they could do 1,000 bricks a day, each of them could receive a minimum of two million rupiahs a day.

In the 2010s, the economy in Kerinci improved. The price of coffee and cinnamon rose again. The income of those who worked in Malaysia compared to their hometown was not much different. On the other hand, life in Malaysia began to feel harder. In 2017, supporting a family with several children with daily work was no longer sufficient. Daily workers still earned 100 Ringgit a day. The salary was not enough to support three children attending college. This fact made many Sangkar Island people return to their hometowns. Now, those who still live in Malaysia are not as many as in the 1990s. Those who still survive are the red IC holders. They survive with their children, who have become Malaysian citizens. About ten illegal people still stay in Malaysia. Some other red IC holders are still in and out of Malaysia sometimes.

b. Pattern

In the 1980s, those from Sangkar Island who went to Malaysia again used the Jambi route and the Kerinci-Bangko highway. Public transportation was already smooth through this route. Instate administration, Kerinci has also become part of Jambi Province. After Jambi separated from West Sumatra, Kerinci separated from the South Coast. Kerinci is part of Jambi Province, and South Coast remains part of West Sumatra Province. Of course, to get to Malaysia, the Padang route is still used by some Kerinci people. Thus, the Kerinci people have two routes to Malaysia: the eastern route via Jambi-Riau Islands-Malaysia and the western route via Padang-Riau-Malaysia.

The early generations of Pulau Sangkar and Kerinci people generally entered Malaysia quickly. Malaysia was not a foreign country for them. They had many similarities, especially tradition, religion, and language. However, the dialect between Kerinci Malay and Malaysian Malay was different. At that time, immigration was not required to enter Malaysia. Passports, let alone visas, between the Sovereign Kingdoms of Depati Empat Alam Kerinci on the Peak of Sumatra and the Malay kingdoms on the Peninsula were not yet available.

Along with the development of geopolitics, these cognate people must accept their fate as part of a different country. They must go through the immigration process to get out of the area. Those who enter and leave through the immigration process are called legal immigrants. In contrast, those who enter and leave without a passport are considered smugglers.

For generations, Sangkar Island people who entered Malaysia preferred to smuggle. They did not want to be bothered by immigration or passport processing. It was also time-saving. They could smuggle back and forth freely in Malaysia and Indonesia. In the 1970s, when he sent his brother from Kerinci back to Malaysia, he smuggled. After living in Malaysia for about six months, he also returned to Kerinci by smuggling. He was still making this pattern in the 2010s era. Four years ago, her sister-in-law went to Malaysia. Once there, the younger brother did not dare to return to Kerinci. So, he went back to Malaysia to pick up his sister from Johor to be sent to Batam. In Batam, there was already a Sangkar Island person who picked up the brother-in-law. Likewise, in 2016, the informant also sent several people to Malaysia through the back lane or smuggling.

Other informants who entered Malaysia in 1985 also smuggled. From Kerinci, he headed to Padang-Pekanbaru-Selat Panjang-Tanjung Pinang. By taking a boat, he and some friends headed to Pontian Johor. According to the informant, at that time, he went in and out of Malaysia by smuggling. No authorities in Malaysia or Indonesia arrested them because Malaysia used to be short of the workforce. Even then, Datuk Musa Hitam seemed to have deliberately included them in Semungkih, Hulu Langat Malaysia. The informant stayed at Hasan's house, whose mother was a brother and sister with Safrin's grandfather.¹³

Several other informants also entered Malaysia by smuggling. Amril left for Malaysia via the Padang-Dumai route. He went straight to Tanjung Balai Karimun after his arrival in Dumai. From here, he continued his journey by smuggling across to Hulu Kelang in Malaysia. Before reaching Hulu Kelang, there were small islands where the speedboat could hide from the officers. They passed Tanjung Batu Island, called the gate of Malaysia. Another informant, Supia, entered Malaysia by smuggling through Selat Panjang. At that time, they used the Kurnia ship, later changed to the Surya Baru ship. Unlike the other friends, Supia often played cat and mouse in the middle of the sea with the police because he was an illegal trader, which was also known as a *smokil*.

The Indonesian and Malaysian governments found it difficult to eradicate people entering and leaving through the back lane or smuggling. Many ships were ready to deliver and pick up. Some ports along Malacca Strait became their in-and-out route. In the middle of the Malacca Straits, many small islands could be a hiding place for smugglers.

Malaysians are descendants of Indonesians. Hence, they had a solid emotional connection with Indonesians who came to Malaysia. They became a comfortable place to live for the smugglers after successfully entering Malaysia. Even the king of Negeri Sembilan is a descendant of Minangkabau. Likewise, many Makassar people and Javanese are residing in Malaysia. According to an informant, in the case of the Kerinci people, "Our ancestors' father's grave is Putri Serunduk Pinang Masak from Seremban Malaysia."

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¹³ Interview with Saprin in Hulu Langat, Selangor-Malaysia, March 26, 2017

However, smuggling in and out of Malaysia is hard. This trip only used a small boat called biduk for a minimum of four hours, sometimes six hours, sometimes even eight hours. As their arrival was suspicious, the raid was tightened. The ship's engine must be turned off in the middle of the sea. The biduk would swing by the waves and become invisible to the police patrol. This situation may make some smugglers scared. For example, Y, a novice smuggler, experienced it. His boat's machine broke down, and he did not want to continue his journey, and he wanted to return to Kerinci. He saw that the boat's top edge was only ten centimeters from the water. He was afraid that his small boat would sink. His friends encouraged him by comparing him with a brave pregnant woman passenger. There were indeed several pregnant women in the biduk. Finally, one friend got off and dragged Y into the boat.

This risky journey sometimes caused irrational behavior. An informant was once crossing with his best friend. Their *biduk* (small boat) has arrived at the Singapore border. Due to the big waves, they were forced to pull over to the shore at the border. They were afraid of being arrested by the Singapore police. Then, they had to behave irrationally under threatening situations. The informant would burn incense. He prayed to a sea spirit and begged to be escorted to the destination. Strangely after that, the wind and waves pushed his boat from behind to the coast of Malaysia. They finally reached Pontian safely. From Pontian, they were followed by several other passengers to Hulu Langat. They wanted to learn from others who had managed to escape the Singapore police in the middle of the Malacca Straits.

When leaving Malaysia back to Indonesia, the easy way apart from smuggling is deportation. This route, for example, was chosen by Z, a Sangkar Islander who worked as a bricklayer in Malaysia. He was working with Juhe at the time. When he came home from work to avoid the Malaysian police raid, Juhe took Z home through the back road riding a motorcycle. However, Z refused. He insisted on going home on foot via the highway. He said that let the police catch him, at most the Langat police too. The police finally caught the Z. He missed Kerinci and wanted to leave. He had been in police custody for about a week before the Sangkar Island people visited and took him back to Langat. Z refused to go back to Langat. With a smile, he said, "I want to go back to Kerinci. I want to come back for free. Hahaha."

c. The settlement, National, Cultural, and Ethnic Identity, Land and Labor

In the 1980s, the Sangkar Island people re-entered Malaysia. They are the third generation to enter Malaysia and make the second generation houses a place to live. Some still have a genealogical relationship with this second generation. Even some are direct descendants of the first generation and have inherited land in Hulu Langat. In 1984, for example, there were 13 people from Pulau Sangkar as the third generation who entered and stayed for a long time in Malaysia. Their names were Jul, Wan, Mpaek, Saprin, Amril, Rasidi, Uyok. Then, Taurit, Ujang, Mikwan, Can Azan, and Awi followed. Next came Ad, Kisra. Later, Taufik and Juhe, who did not stay, quickly returned to Kerinci and lived in Malaysia for only a few months. Mpaek built a house on the land inherited by his grandfather, Haji Karim, from the first generation. 14

There are now two types of Kerinci people in Malaysia. The first type is those who clear land there, and the second type is those who come later as Indonesian migrant workers (TKI). The land clearers besides the Sangkar Island people are people from the Abu River, Tutung River, and Deras River. Some live in Pahang and some in Kampung Padang Perak. They became the right place for the next generation of Kerinci who entered Malaysia and came from those villages. The Sangkar Island people are right at Semungkih Hulu Langat. Even if they work in Pahang, during

¹⁴ Interview with Amril on Pulau Sangkar-Kerinci, November 12, 2016, with Yumpaek in Hulu Langat Malaysia, October 22, 2016

holidays, or holidays they return to Hulu Langat. Meanwhile, the migrant workers who recently entered Malaysia, among others, came from Siulak, Lempur, and various other villages in Kerinci. In Malaysia, they work as TKI in multiple locations. They do not have a residential center like the Pulau Sangkar, Jujun, and Lolo people in Hulu Langat.

Furthermore, the Kerinci people in Malaysia are divided into two groups: IC (Identity Card) holders and *Orang Kosong* (immigrants without official Malaysian identity cards). IC holders are those who work regularly. *Orang kosong* is those who do not have IC. They did leave with passports, but after the visa expired, they did not return to Indonesia. Those who come from various villages in Kerinci continue to work. Their number exceeds IC holders. In the 1990s, the empty land between houses in Semungkih at night was filled with these people. They brought mats as bedding in the open. In the evening, they came and left in the morning to work. They would hide in the forest when there were census operations. Some police and customs officials who are still of Kerinci descent did not arrest the *orang kosong*. Sometimes, they even leaked in advance if there is going to be an operation by the police.

When there is a massive expulsion of around 400,000 Indonesian migrant workers from Malaysia, ethnicity can still help even though no longer optimal. The economic crisis in Indonesia made hundreds of thousands of people from various parts of Indonesia such as NTT, Madura, and especially Java invaded Malaysia, likewise the Kerinci people. The Malay Kingdom strongly warned that anyone who keeps illegal TKIs or *orang kosong* would be fined 10 thousand Ringgit. The Kerinci people, IC holders, still invite their *orang kosong* to come to their house. However, *orang kosong* can only eat there and may not stay for the night. IC holders are no longer able to accommodate their relatives who enter as migrant workers there. ¹⁵

There are three types of Kerinci people in Malaysia: blue IC holders, green IC holders, and red IC holders. Blue IC holders are Kerinci people who have become Malaysian citizens. As a Malaysian citizen, when returning to Kerinci, the blue IC holders must use a visa. They get some help from the Malaysian government. The Kerinci people who build houses in Hulu Langat are generally the blue IC holders. They never expect to return and spend the rest of their life in Kerinci. Green IC holders are those who maintain their status as Indonesian citizens. In general, they now choose to return to Kerinci. The red IC holders have had families in Malaysia but still want to go home and spend their lives in Kerinci. Red IC holders have the freedom to enter and leave Kerinci-Malaysia freely. Sometimes they live in Malaysia with some family members, and sometimes they live in their hometown in Kerinci with some other family members. They are the people at the crossroads.

An informant, a red IC holder, economically feels more comfortable working in Hulu Langat than Kerinci. However, all members of his immediate family are in Kerinci. His presence in Malaysia is to finance those in Kerinci. In Langat, he still lives in his relatives' house. Even though many Kerinci people have built homes in Langat Gani, they are not interested. He stated that one day he would return to Kerinci. Therefore, now he must be separated from his family for a long time to make a living.¹⁶

Another informant is also a red IC holder. He deliberately did not want to change his nationality by taking the blue IC even though he could do it. He has lived in Hulu Langat for decades and had children and grandchildren there. Kerinci has become a part of his life. His wife also had the same opinion. He admitted that economically her life in Malaysia has been better than in his hometown in Kerinci. However, Kerinci remains their hometown. Malaysia is only a matter

¹⁵ Interview with Juhe on Januari 13, 2016 di Pulau Sangkar-Kerinci,.

¹⁶ Interview with Gani and friends on October 22, 2016, in Hulu Langat Malaysia.

of economy, to make a living. Even though they have lived in Malaysia for decades, they want to spend their old days at home. The informant continued, "We are only here to wander. The grass is always greener on the other side. We will not force our children to choose. It is all up to God."¹⁷

Other informants were born in Hulu Langat to parents from Kerinci. He feels like a Kerinci person and a resident of Hulu Langat. Unlike his parents, who remained as green IC holders, the informant held blue ICs. Officially, he is a Malaysian citizen. However, he was disappointed. He could not enter a state university in Malaysia because both his parents were red IC holders. He may only enter a private university or enter a university but on a diploma program. Now, he is listed as a student of the Syah Alam Polytechnic. The fact that they are not considered native Malaysians is disappointing to the informant. He was born and raised in Hulu Langat. His education from elementary to higher education was all in Malaysia. His brother also could not enroll in a state university even though he obtained perfect scores due to a mother who is an Indonesian. However, the informant said, "I will stay in Hulu Langat in the future. My friends and childhood are here." ¹⁸

9. KESIMPULAN PENELITIAN

Sangkar Island people came to Malaysia for various reasons. The first generation left their hometown to escape the pressures of Dutch colonialism. They settled in Malaysia and paved the way for the next generations. The second generation came to Malaysia because of religious motivation to pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Mecca. Migrating to Malaysia was part of the strategy to practice the fifth pillar of Islam. The next wave came to Malaysia to rekindle the relationship with family members who had settled in Malaysia before. In the 1990s, Sangkar Island people came to Malaysia for more economic motivation. They entered to avoid a financial crisis in their hometown. When the economic crisis ended in the 2000s, most of them returned home.

Sangkar Island people entered and left Malaysia in various ways. They would start their journey out of Kerinci by land. At first, they started the trip by migrating to the eastern region, Jambi. There they continued their journey by crossing to Malaysia. After the road opened through West Sumatra, many Kerinci people entered Malaysia via the Kerinci-Padang-Riau route. From Riau, they then crossed the Strait of Malacca to Peninsular Malaysia. They entered Malaysia through smuggling. Though the authorities had partially opened the official routes, the migrants still preferred to enter and leave Malaysia through the back lane.

Sangkar Island people in Malaysia are divided into two: land openers and migrant workers. Regarding state administration, they are divided into two groups: IC holders and *orang kosong* (people with no official Malaysian identity card). Some also hold red IC. They have families in Malaysia but still want to go home to spend their old days in Kerinci. Many ethnicity aspects become an integrative factor in integrating the Kerinci people, especially the Sangkar Island people, with the local community in Malaysia. In addition to the genealogical element, there are factors of topographical similarity, Kerinci language in social interactions, and cultures such as traditional dances, songs, and wedding ceremonies. Even the Kerinci culture is officially recognized as part of the Malay culture, which the Malaysian government recognizes.

Furthermore, the religious similarity between the Kerinci people and the Malaysian supports the social integration of the Sangkar-Kerinci Island people in Malaysia. The local government of the

¹⁷ Interview with Saprin dan Niboy on March 26, 2017 in Hulu Langat-Selangor-Malaysia.

¹⁸ Interview with Nursida on March 26, 2017 in Semungkih Hulu Langat, Selangor-Malaysia.

Kerinci Regency and the Selangor-Malaysia Regional Government will appreciate Kerinci's culture more between communities and governments. Kerinci's culture has succeeded in breaking through cultural boundaries to be an integrative factor in the social interaction of the Kerinci people in Malaysia. So far, Kerinci's culture has been limited to community. This cultural development can become a worthy tourism commodity marketed internationally by utilizing various cultural/tourism events in Malaysia.

10. STATUS LUARAN WAJIB

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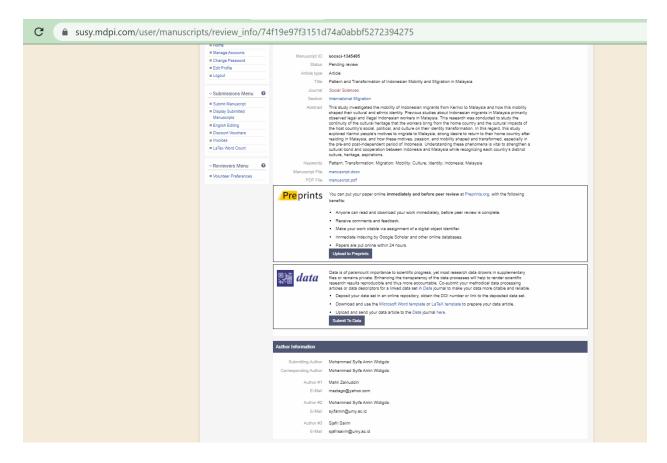
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18. LAMPIRAN-LAMPIRAN	