

Manggaraian People's Perspective on Migration: A Study of Popular Manggaraian Songs' Lyrics

(Perspektif Masyarakat Manggarai terhadap Migrasi: Sebuah Studi tentang Lirik Lagu Populer Manggarai)

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Abstrak

Migrasi merupakan salah satu masalah penting dalam kehidupan orang Manggarai. Banyaknya orang Manggarai yang bermigrasi ke berbagai daerah di Indonesia membawa dampak substansial bagi masyarakat setempat. Dalam kurun waktu yang lama, mereka telah bertransformasi dari masyarakat agraris menjadi masyarakat industri. Pergeseran sosial-ekonomi sebagai akibat migrasi menjadi salah satu tema yang berulang dalam lagu-lagu populer Manggarai. Dua lagu yang mengusung tema ini adalah "Lelak Loce Renda" karangan Felix Edon dan "Hemong Beo" karangan Yasintus S. A. Jaar. Penelitian ini mengkaji dua lagu ini dengan mempertanyakan faktor apa saja yang mendorong masyarakat Manggarai untuk bermigrasi ke luar daerah dan bagaimana mereka memandang migrasi sebagai bagian dari realitas sosiokulturalnya. Jawaban atas pertanyaan-pertanyaan ini dikembangkan dengan menggunakan perspektif sosiokultural berdasarkan konsep teoretis yang dikemukakan oleh Everett E. Lee, yaitu faktor penarik dan pendorong. Hasil penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa faktor-faktor yang mendorong masyarakat Manggarai bermigrasi ke luar daerah awalnya selama ini dapat dikelompokkan menjadi faktor "pendorong" dan faktor "penarik." Faktor pendorong terbesar ditemukan dalam nilai budaya Manggarai yang tertuang di dalam *goet-goet* (ungkapan). Orang Manggarai melihat migrasi sebagai jalan untuk meraih masa depan yang lebih baik. Faktor penarik terbesar adalah harapan bahwa tempat-tempat tujuan mereka bermigrasi menawarkan lebih banyak peluang ekonomi daripada yang tersedia di kampung halaman atau desa asal mereka.

Kata kunci: Manggarai, migrasi, lagu populer regional

Abstract

Migration is one of important issues in the Manggaraian's life. Their migration from Manggarai to various regions in Indonesia has made substantial impacts on Manggaraian society. Over a long period of time, they have transformed from an agrarian society into an industrial society. This socioeconomic shift has become one of recurrent themes in Manggaraian popular songs. Two of the songs featuring this theme are "Lelak Loce Renda" written by Felix Edon and "Hemong Beo" written by Yasintus S.A. Jaar. Two questions that the present study intends to answer are what factors



encourage Manggaraian people to migrate out of their home region according to the lyrics of the abovementioned two songs? And how do they perceive migration as part of their sociocultural realities? The answers to these questions are developed using a sociocultural perspective based on a theoretical concept posited by Everett E. Lee named *pull and push factors*. The study has led to the conclusion that the factor that has motivated the Manggaraians to migrate out of their home region thus far can be grouped into “push” factors and “pulls” factors. The greatest push factor is found in a Manggaraian cultural value called *goet-goet* because of which they see migrating for better future is a respectable decision. The greatest pull factor is the expectation that the places to which they want to migrate offer more economic opportunities than those available in their hometown or home villages.

Keywords: Manggarai, migration, regional popular song

INTRODUCTION

It is apparent that one of the significant impacts of the advancement of information technology and infrastructure is the population mobility across different regions nationwide and worldwide. Cellular phones, television, and radio have provided incredible access to information that encourages many people to travel or move to faraway places. Moreover, with the advanced development of infrastructure such as the increasing availability of road accesses, airports, and ports, geographical mobility has been made much more possible. Nowadays, transportation infrastructure has reached numerous rural areas, and as a result, the number of migrants coming from these areas is increasing.

Population mobility has been described in a number of ways in relation to its conception and its association with migration. Dickinson (2017:5) explains that “Migration literally means “to move from one place to another.” The root of the word, *migra*, comes from the Latin and is also found in the closely related words immigration (to enter, or in-migration), emigration (to depart, or out-migration), and remigration (to return, or return migration).”

Dickinson’s definition of migration cited above is taken as a conceptual basis for the discussion of the two Manggaraian songs’ lyrics that are brought into focus in this study. The migration as a major theme in the lyrics is referred to as the Manggaraians who leave Manggarai and move to other regions in Indonesia. Since their mobility is a migration from rural areas to urban areas, it can be discussed in terms of its association with *urbanization* or its nature as a *rural-urban migration* (Haase *et al.* 2018; Tacoli *et al.* 2015). Urbanization has been referred to as “The increase over time in the population of cities in relation to the rural population” (Namanya 2010:43). A grim phenomenon related to this kind of migration is that some people from Manggarai in particular and those from Nusa Tenggara Timur Province have fallen victim to human trafficking in their attempt to find jobs in big cities (Daeng 2018).

Manggaraian songs have always told stories about Manggaraian society and culture. Through their lyrics, Manggaraian songwriters express their criticisms on the authorities and their society, pass on traditional values to the younger generation and comment on current social realities in their environment (Deki 2011). According to Merriam (1964), presenting images of social realities is an integral part and the major function of music creation in any society. Manggaraian pop songs with their sociocultural significations reflect this particular function. Manuel argues that “Popular music can be distinguished from other types of music by two essential features: it is disseminated largely by the mass media, and it is the by-product of the mass basis for marketing commodities” (Lockard 1996:150).

Popular traditional songs in Manggarai have a long history that involves several stages of development (Deki 2011). Manggaraian songwriters have adopted western musical notation since the 1950s. Early Manggaraian songs were written to be sung at religious ceremonies. Songs that were written as mass cultural products or songs with profane themes in the sense suggested by Manuel began to emerge in the 1970s. Makarius Arus was an important figure in this period. He pioneered in writing popular songs that feature the everyday experiences of Manggaraian people in their society. Many of his songs had become favorite songs for a large number of audiences. An influential figure in the second generation of Manggaraian pop songs was Daniel Anduk whose peak of popularity was in the 1980s. Among Manggaraian singers and songwriters that follow Anduk's path is Felix Edon. Unlike his predecessors who mostly introduced their songs by performing them at in traditional public events, Edon produced and marketed his songs in his own recording company named Matahari Record. Edon's pioneering indie production and his popularity has inspired many emerging musical groups in the 1990s to adopt the same strategy. Two of popular Manggaraian bands in this period were Lalong Liba and Ulumbu. During that time, Manggaraian pop songs were distributed in cassettes and compact discs. With the rise of the Internet and the increasing access to online digital media platforms, Manggaraian music producers distribute their works through YouTube and Facebook. Nevertheless, although the digitalized distribution has been widely used today, public events such as traditional parties in which a large number of Manggaraians get together are still an important medium for Manggaraian musicians to introduce and market their songs in their home region.

Song lyrics can be an effective means of communicating ideas for a musician. Lyrics can function as a meaningful text through which we can learn how people of a particular society perceive themselves and the current sociocultural realities in their life. As suggested by Stygles, "Many lyrics are an open invitation for learners to explore perspectives, culturally significant events, and the underlying message of humanity" (2014:101). In this context, the lyrics of Manggaraian popular songs can be observed as a text that communicates a perspective of sociocultural phenomena in Manggaraian society. Therefore, a study on Manggaraian pop songs can be expected to reveal certain aspects related to migration as one of important phenomena in the Manggaraians' sociocultural realities.

There have been studies about traditional pop songs in Indonesia that are worth mentioning here. Studies on the historical development of Sundanese pop music and Jaipongan tradition show that Sundanese traditional music's popularity has extended from Sundanese cultural region to many other cultural regions, and it has proved its resistance to western influences (Williams 1990; Manuel and Baier 1986). Studies by Supanggih (2003) and Sutton (2013) show that musical hybridity between western and local traditions can be found in *campursari* and *kecapi* musics. Cooper's study (2015) suggests that there is irony in *campursari* as a traditional pop music since it reflects ambivalence towards modernity while combining western musical instruments and Javanese musical instruments.

Studies on traditional pop music in Minangkabau have also presented interesting findings. Barendregt's research (2002) for instance, found that the renaissance of Minangkabau pop music was preconditioned by several factors: the emergence of recording studios, the increasing number of new musicians and technology advancement that has enabled musicians' works to be distributed in compact discs, video compact discs and digital formats in the Internet. Another factor that helps the growth of Minangkabau music was in the political sphere: the regional autonomy in the country that has been established by decentralization has invigorated Minangkabau people's sense of ethnicity and therefore their enthusiasm in their own traditional music. These factors explain how Minangkabau music regains its popularity in its cultural region. Another study on Minangkabau music by Suryadi (2015) observes that its revitalization is also enabled by the system that supports its distribution. Minangkabau pop music is produced, distributed and consumed primarily by the Minangs. As suggested by Peter Manuel, traditional pop music such as that of Minangkabau is "characterized by

democratic, participatory, grassroots control, a lack of social distance between producers and consumers, and a decentralized structure affording responsiveness to community values and aesthetics” (2015:501).

Balinese pop music has also attracted many researchers’ attention. One of them is Johnson (2002) who studied the relationship between traditional music, tourism, and the new context of Balinese music. Johnson observes that the public culture of Balinese pop music has allowed the production of hybrid genres to compete in global market. He infers that Balinese pop music appeals to different segments of audience who would respond to it according to their different experiences and preferences/expectations in music. Fushiki’s study (2013) on the same subject identifies two musical genres of Balinese pop music, namely conventional Balinese pop and alternative Balinese pop. The conventional pop is closely connected with Balinese traditional music, whereas the alternative pop incorporates various characteristics of other musical genres. Balinese alternative pop music has gained a large number of fans that are mostly young people, and it has also had social and political effects on them.

Manggaraian pop music as a subject matter can be found in Yuliantari’s study (2016) in which it is discussed in its relation to the history of Manggarai. What is still lack are studies on the relationship between Manggaraian pop music and the sociocultural realities of migration and urbanization. The present article responds to this gap and attempts to offer an insight focusing on the areas of discussion addressed through the two research questions: What factors encourage Manggaraian people to migrate out of their home region according to the lyrics of Manggaraian popular songs and how do they perceive migration as part of their sociocultural realities? With these questions as the focus of discussion, this study aims to identify some influential factors in the Manggaraians’ migration to big cities as implied in the lyrics of Manggaraian pop songs.

METHOD

This study is presented using a sociocultural approach to reveal important aspects in the relationship between Manggaraian society and their culture particularly those that are closely related to their migration out of their home region. It is assumed that there are cultural aspects such as traditional values that contribute to some Manggaraians’ decision to move to big cities outside Manggarai. Manggaraian traditional values and worldview in which Manggaraian migrants were born and brought up presumably affect their perspective and attitude towards migration, and many Manggaraian musicians have expressed their ideas on migration in their songs’ lyrics. It is expected that by examining the lyrics of Felix Edon’s “Lelak Loce Renda” and Yasintus S. A. Jaar’s “Hemong Beo,” two of Manggaraian popular songs featuring this theme, Manggaraians’ perspective on migration and the factors that motivate them to do it can be inferred. For this purpose, Everett E. Lee’s concept of pull and push factors is applied in the analysis. Lee postulates that

Some factors of economic character (unemployment, low level of the income, heavy taxes) can belong to the pushing; social and political (poverty, discrimination, restrictions on a freedom of worship and religions, wars); adverse natural and climatic conditions, etc. [...]

The high level of economic development, higher income, safety, opportunity to get access to labor market (including in informal sector that is especially important for illegal immigrants) and other factors belong to pulling ones (Gurieva and Dzhioev 2015:102).

In other words, the internal factors are the push factors of migration, whereas the external factors are the pull factors of migration. Besides these categories, there is an also intermediate factor involved in one's decision to migrate. Some factors that can be identified into this category are transportation fares, the prevailing regulations for migration, the amount of information about the migration destinations, etc. The discussion in this article is confined to the pull and push factors that are implied in the lyrics of two songs mentioned above.

“Lelak Loce Renda” and “Hemong Beo” are specifically chosen as the focus of this study because the lyrics of these songs strongly represent Manggaraians’ perspective on migration particularly the pull and push factors that influence their decision to migrate. The method used to examine the lyrics involves the transcription of the lyrics and library research on the transcripts. The data acquired from the lyrics are first classified into several clusters based on the research questions. The clustered data are then organized and interpreted to develop some explanations that answer the research questions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kabupaten Manggarai is situated in Flores Island in the Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Based on the geographical profile of this regency published by the regional government of Manggarai (BPS Kabupaten Manggaraian 2014a; 2014b), 38.55% of its territory is at elevation of 100-300 meters above sea level and 33.86% of it is at 500-1000 above sea level. Its temperature ranges from 12.5-26.5 degree Celsius. The statistics of its population’s educational background shows that 41.22% of them hold no diploma, 31.59% only completed elementary school, 13.3% completed junior high school, 10% completed senior high school and 3.13% have bachelor degree. 21.9% of Manggaraian population live in Kecamatan Langke Rembong (the municipal city of Manggarai) and 78.1% live in rural areas. Most of them, with their low educational level and their rural background, rely on agriculture as their livelihood.

Those data of Manggarai’s population can be seen as indicators of their socioeconomic realities. Their low educational level is one of the reasons why they earn a living by farming. They don’t have to be a professional to be a farmer. They can learn farming skills without acquiring formal education. Since most of Manggaraians in rural areas live largely from agricultural farming, other economic sectors are scarce. This condition results in the limitation of job opportunities for the younger generation, and it has developed into an urgency of migrating to other places where the number of job vacancies or economic opportunities may be higher.

Based on Chen’s observation (2019), the Manggaraians are adventurous people. There is a familiar saying in their culture, “Do lako, do ita, do bae,” which means the more you travel, the more you see and so the more you know. However, in reality, the majority of Manggaraians have never leaved Manggarai or Flores Island because it is geographically challenging. Historically, their extensive contact with foreign cultures began to take place in the early of 20th century by the coming of Catholics missionaries (Widyawati and Purwatma 2013; Widyawati 2018; Erb and Widyawati, 2018) and has increased since 1980s when there was massive improvement of infrastructure in this region (Webb 1994). Their tendency to travel or to explore is reflected in a Manggaraian’s *goet* (proverb) that is expressed in the lyrics of “Lelak Loce Renda” (LLR): “Lalong bakok duhu lako, lalong rombeng koe du kole.” This *goet* literally means “a chicken is white when it leaves; it is covered with dense feathers when it returns home.” This proverb refers to the Manggaraians’ expectation that those who migrate to faraway places will attain success or higher social status. In Manggaraian tradition, an individual who plan to embark on a long journey has to hold a *wuat wa’i* ceremony. This particular ceremony is held as a prayer for the safety of the would-be traveller in his/her journey and his/her new place in the future. It is during this ceremony that the *goet* is expressed to the would-be traveller so that he/she will always hold onto it as the ultimate goal of his/her journey in foreign places. The original version of the *goet* is “Lalong bondol duhu lako, lalong rombeng duhu kole” (Sutam 2019). The proverb expresses a philosophical perspective that those who travel to or start a new life in a foreign place is like a featherless chicken. His/her journey life experience and knowledge will make him/her wiser and prosperous like a rooster which has grown dense feathers.

These words of cultural wisdom are correlated with the previously mentioned expression, “Lelak loce renda, toe emong neho lelon.” *Loce* is a woven mat made from screwpine leaves with certain motifs. In Manggaraian tradition, *loce* is used in important meetings or gatherings of members of extended family as well as members of the community. Sutarni (2019) informs that *loce* also means a wife or a new life. The Manggaraians believe that taking a wife or a new life is “toe emong neho lelon,” which means it is not as easy or as wonderful as it may seem. It takes a struggle, a hard work and a lot of effort to make your marriage life or new life as beautiful as people expect to see. In Manggaraian tongue, “Dempul wuku, manga dumpu.” For this reason, the elders’ wisdom, “Senget pede dise ende, agu waheng dise ame,” is the principle the Manggaraians have to live by.

The Manggaraians believe that God’s hands are always at work in humankind’s life. The most fundamental aspect that Manggaraian traditional songs and Manggaraian pop songs have in common is the prominence of hope and prayer that God will be willing to always help and guide humans in their life journey. Human’s need for God’s guidance can even be found in some of Manggaraian rap songs which generally talk about worldly affairs and use slangs in the lyrics. An expression representing of a wish for God’s guidance and help throughout the journey to a foreign land can also be found in LLC’s lyrics: “Mori ge, Mori mese ge, lelo ta.” This line reflects the belief that humans can always be sure that God will be with them and protect them in their journey exploring new opportunities in the foreign place and He will also guide them in their way returning home.

There is also the tradition of sacrificing a chicken to the spirits of the ancestors in wuat wa’i ceremony. The chicken’s blood is the symbol of offering to them with the hope that they will be willing to accompany and protect the would-be traveler in his/her journey. In Manggaraian language, the sacrifice is expressed “Palong dara bakok, we’e dara ndereng mose’g me.” The wish for a safe journey is expressed “Karong salang lako’gm, boto weleng one kebe.”

The Manggaraians’ belief in religious rites and in the crucially of living by the tradition faithfully shape their perspective that a Manggaraian’s failure in achieving his/her goal in the new place is associated with their parents’ failures in the past. In this context, it is assumed that the parents might have not carried out a proper ceremonial or ritual procedure to prepare for their children’s journey. This cultural perspective is represented in the lyrics of Hemong Beo (HB): “Ema ge cala manga hemong, agu mamur dugu lakom e, danonge.” This part of lyrics tells about someone who goes through hardship and failures in a foreign land, and he thinks that the reason for his misfortune is something that he might have done in the past before he migrated that violates Manggaraian tradition. His past non-compliance results in “Ho’o kami anak tau wengkas salang, wancing ngalis ema ge.”

Another part of the lyrics narrates his parents’ respond to this matter: “Anak ge, toe ata hemong laku ta. Tau cumang sangged ase kae, dopo olon mose daat one tana data.” The line means that they missed out nothing in performing the traditional ceremony prior to their son’s migration, and they hope that bad experiences would only happen in the past. It implies that the realm of Manggaraians’ migration is closely connected to their home region. To them, Manggarai will always be their home, whereas the region they have migrated to is the place to make a fortune or earn a better living. In this sense, Manggarai is *mbaru*, and the place where they live as migrants is *uma*. Any misfortune in *uma* is connected to certain past behaviors and experiences in *mbaru*. So, in this context, a Manggaraian son’s question to his father about the past is connected to Manggaraian traditional worldview about the history of his family and his birth place.

Hence, it follows that a son's success is connected to good deeds that his parents have done in the past. A popular song written by Feliks Edon titled "Anak Diong" mentions a saying that goes "Weri woja, ako woja. Weri latung, gok latung," whose literal meaning is "if you plant rice seeds, you will harvest rice; if you plant corn seeds, you will harvest corn." It signifies that what one experiences in his/her life is the effect of his/her behaviors or deeds in the past. This perspective corresponds to the Christian teaching about "reaping what you sow" in life that most of Manggaraians adhere to.

Furthermore, parents' compliance to traditional cultural norms and values does not redeem an individual's wrong-doing. This norm is expressed in HB's lyrics in this line: "Ema ge, cala sala ba weki me reme rebam, one ami anak itan mose da'at ho'o ga." A parent's mistakes in the past may have an impact on his/her children's life. This expression reflects the polarity between the past and the future but without the separation between the two poles. The home region and the family belong to the past, whereas the migration destination represents the present. Yet, the past and the present are connected to each other. More specifically, the past has paved one's way into his/her present.

Migration is in fact one of major concerns for the people of Manggarai since it affects their economic, social, and cultural situations. Churches in Manggarai continue to collaborate with other religious organizations to educate Manggaraian society about the impacts of migration (Bau 2019). Special attention is given to the negative impacts of migration in the society. Some of them are the decreasing number of labors in agricultural sector in Manggarai which leads to the increasing number of farmlands left abandoned and unattended. As expected, this condition results in the drop in income from farming. Moreover, fewer numbers of labors in rural areas cause an increase in wages for agricultural labors, which is an issue for land owners. Other negative impacts include inadequate care for children and several moral and social issues related to migration (Ino 2019).

As a matter of fact, Manggaraian people are capable of fulfilling their basic needs, i.e. food, clothing, and shelter, by farming, but there are a number of reasons that motivate them to migrate. The first is the change in the way they perceive ownership and properties. Agricultural capitals such as land, crops, and human resources that Manggaraian families have in their disposition have proven inadequate in fulfilling secondary and tertiary needs related to such as radio, television, cellular phone, parabolic antenna, tape recorder or CD player, and computer. This non-basic needs bring a change in their perspective on prosperity and contentment. The second is the increasing need for cash caused by the increasing need for consumptive goods that should be purchased by cash. Similar situation also happens in other aspects of consumption where money is needed. Consequently, money is becoming much more valuable as means of exchange and measurement of value than agricultural products such as crops and livestock. In other words, barter has become an outdated trade system, and it has been outdated by the monetization of farming products. The third is that the limited choices of occupation motivates the Manggaraians with higher level of education to find other opportunities somewhere else that are more align with their qualifications. Indeed, these formally educated Manggaraians may potentially cause subsequent waves of migration as more Manggaraians aspire to follow their lead. According to Papastergiadis (2000), a chain of migrations is generated by members of community who have moved out and lived as migrants in other places.

Observations on Manggaraians' migration have reveal a pattern showing that their most frequent destinations are big cities in Indonesia such as Surabaya, Malang, Jakarta, Denpasar, Makassar, and other cities in the Province of Kalimantan Timur and those in the Province of Kalimantan Selatan. It is because many Manggaraian migrants have lived in those cities for relatively a long period of time. There is a line in LLC's lyrics that implicitly informs that the main goal of their migration is finding a better life: "Dempul wuku, manga dumpun." It corresponds with a cultural concept called "Mose di'a, which means "to live well" (Sutam 1998). Living well not only means living in affluence but also

living respectably as both an individual and a member of society. In addition, once they attain success, their success is not only a personal achievement but also their family's achievement.

An important sociocultural reality implied in the lyrics is that Manggaraian migrants tend to maintain their connection with their cultural root: "Ho'o kami anak tau wengkas salang, wancing ngalis ema ge." They feel the need to preserve their cultural identity amid influences in the foreign land that may cause them to lose it. The concern about cultural identity is expressed in HB's lyrics in the line that says "Ema ge nia mai tana dading mo; Danong lahos lako, hemong keor beo." This line presents someone who questions his father about what counts as home for them. In this way, he expresses his concern about being away too long from Manggarai, their place of origin. This line represents Manggaraians' perception that they live in the foreign place only temporarily, not permanently. Therefore, they leave their home with the wish to return home someday in the future. In conclusion, the desire to return home reflects their strong connection with their place of origin, and therefore, their wish to keep their cultural identity as a Manggaraian. Manggaraians' attachment to their tradition is not only observable in their traditional attire they wear in particular occasions, their participation in traditional events and the Manggaraian terms of address they use, but also in their close relationship with the members of their extended family. Traditional events in Manggarai are commonly held as a way to bring together the Manggaraians from various regions in the country and so as to maintain good relationship between them. Hence, attending a traditional event has social, cultural and spiritual significations. The implication is that one's identity as a Manggaraian is questionable when he/she abandons or does not maintain his/her connection with his/her cultural origin.

Thus, losing the sense of cultural identity may generate the feeling of alienation in a foreign place. This issue can develop even when the individual has lived in that place for quite a long time. This psychological issue related to cultural identity is also represented in the lyrics through the following line: "Mamur hae wa'u, tana ru laing tana data." An individual who lose a good relationship with his extended family can develop a sense of detachment with his place of origin. The absence of family or friends and the loss of contact with them may cause him to feel isolated from his cultural root.

As a whole, LLR's lyrics provides an image of a Manggaraian who goes to faraway place to improve his living standard with a firm belief that life is worth fighting for. A wish for a prosperous life should be made come true through a hard work because it is an achievement that he can be proud of when he returns home. HB's lyrics provide another image that is closely correlated with that in LLR's lyrics. It tells that achieving a successful life in the foreign place is a long-term struggle during which one may be confronted with a number of failures. It may take years before his dream of success comes true. Unfortunately, living in the foreign place for too long, so far away from his family and familiar sociocultural surroundings, may threatens his sense of cultural identity. On the one hand, he may feel isolated from his cultural origin. On the other hand, he cannot feel that he is part of the society and culture where he currently lives and works. This disquieting condition encourages him to make efforts to maintain contact with his origin through a number of cultural symbols from Manggaraian tradition.

CONCLUSION

The factors that motivate Manggaraian people to migrate are, among others, internal factors that involve economic, social, and cultural aspects of their life. The major economic factor is a shift in needs fulfilment that has transformed the Manggaraians from an agrarian society into an industrial society in which money and wages become the primary income measurement and non-basic needs are growing as a result of technological inventions. The major social factor is the advanced development of infrastructure that provides more access to isolated areas and increases the geographical mobility of

their inhabitants. The major cultural factor is Manggaraian traditional saying or *go'et-go'et* that value migration as a praiseworthy deed. These are the push factors of the Manggaraians migration.

The main pull factor of their migration is Manggaraian migrants who have lived in the destinations of migration for certain period of time. Some of them have even played a role as migration agents in those regions. More diverse choices of job opportunities has also become the factor that "pull" the Manggaraians to these places, particularly because of the fact that job opportunities in their home region are very limited and the level of wages for agricultural labors has become too high for Manggaraian land owners.

Manggaraian popular songs featuring migration as a theme generally tell a story of a Manggaraian who has migrated out of his home region to search for a better life in another region. The migrant's experiences in the foreign place show that it takes a lot more struggle to achieve this dream than it may seem. The song titled "Hemong Beo" presents an image of a Manggaraian migrant who has lived in a foreign place for a long time but has not been able to achieve the success he has been dreaming of. He associates his hardship with his past in Manggarai in that he thinks that he might have not done enough to uphold traditional values and norms, and this thought increase his longing for his cultural origin. The song, as many other Manggaraian pop songs, implies that the Manggaraians feel the need to preserve their cultural identity. The images of the past and the present interrelate with the images of the place of origin from which they have migrated out and the foreign place in which they currently live and work for a living. Manggaraian migrants generally associate coming home with the attainment of success in the foreign land.

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