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The Customs of Matrilineal Kinship: Its Implications on Women's Involvement in Arts Activities in Minangkabau

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Abstract---This article describes the matrilineal customs and their implications for women's involvement in artistic activities in Minangkabau. The matrilineal custom provides limited opportunities for women to be involved in artistic activities. This phenomenon was deeply felt in the 1970-the 1990s, when it was complicated to find women taking a role in an artistic event, especially as actors (players). The prohibition or strong resistance comes from the Mamak (mother's male relatives) as the ruling party in the matrilineal kinship system. The data and facts in this paper were from literature studies, observations, and interviews. The study results showed that the strength of the Mamak prohibition against women's involvement in

artistic activities was the assumption that these activities include discordant acts and deviant behavior that can embarrass relatives and ethnic groups. Historical events, the function of the arts, and art support groups in the past have colored society's antipathy towards art in general. In the current reality, marked by the weakening role of Mamak and the increasingly vital role of fathers in the household, more and more women are involved in artistic activities.

Keywords---matrilineal, women, arts.

Introduction

The Minangkabau tribe is quite a unique tribe in Indonesia, with its people adhering to customs or a matrilineal kinship system (following the mother's lineage). The matrilineal kinship system adopted by the Minangkabau tribe has made Minangkabau adat a unique custom in Indonesia (Navis, 1984). The nature of the *soko-ibu* (matrilineal) society chosen by the ancestors of the Minangkabau people, even though it is rare, is almost perfect and is rarely matched in the world (Amir, 1999). The kinship principle of the Minangkabau people is matrilineal descent, which regulates kinship through the mother's line. By this principle, a son will take his mother's tribe. This lineage also has meaning in the continuation of inheritance, where a child will inherit according to the mother's line. From this provision, in one family, inheritance, especially fixed items that are hereditary, such as rice fields and fields, will fall on the daughters.

In the matrilineal kinship system, the role is Mamak, the mother's male brother. Father is *urang sumado*, or a person who comes. They have few rights over children because their mothers are more powerful (Radjab, 1964). Marriage in Minangkabau does not create a new family (nucleus family). The husband or wife remains a member of their respective lineage (Navis, 1984). In daily life, the Minangkabau people are very attached to their extended family, especially the maternal family. The paternal family is called Bako, whose role is tiny in everyday life. Therefore, in Minangkabau, there is no so-called nuclear family, which shows that the father has a more critical role. Mamak is more involved in anything, and the father will also play a role as Mamak for his nephew in the family home of his mother and sister (Suwondo, 1978). Art is part of the culture, and culture has contents in the form of 7 (seven) universal cultures, namely (1) language, (2) technology systems, (3) livelihood or economic systems, (4) social organizations, (5) knowledge systems, (6) religion, and (7) art (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). As part of the culture, art (folk art) is generally not known with certainty when it was created and who created it. The reason is that folk art is not the result of individual creativity. However, it is created anonymously along with the collectivity of the supportive community (Kayam, 1981). Minangkabau custom legalizes art because art is closely related to traditional ceremonies. This legality is regulated and confirmed in customary law called the *Nan Sambilan Pucuak* law (Batuah, 1986). So strong is the relationship between art and custom that art is made of *bungo adat* (traditional flower). It means that art events consistently enliven every implementation of traditional ceremonies. The relationship between art and custom is in the customary Mamangan which reads "*kalaulalam alah*

takambang, marawa tampak bakiba, aguang tampak tasangkuik, adaik badiri di nagari, silek jo tari kabungonyo (if nature has developed, marawa (traditional flags) are fluttering, gongs are hanging, adat stands in the country, silek with dance becomes the flower). In Bagurau, events performed the Arts of Minangkabau, the community's concept of performing arts in general. Bagurau includes all fun activities, crowded in a show or entertainment together with musical performances or games. Sometimes it is enlivened with other games, such as martial arts performances (Pencak silat). Bagurau is in Baralek event (party, feast, celebration event), which is a kind of ceremony for a specific purpose related to the custom, religion, and social events as well as ordinary crowd events (Yunus, 1990).

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the Minangkabau custom gives respect and protection to women. It is also the case with artistic processes that receive legality or legitimacy from tradition. However, the matrilineal custom adopted by the Minangkabau tribe places stringent restrictions (even forbidden) on women to be involved or become actors in an artistic event. Due to the nickname *bundo kanduang* and the tradition's protection, women in Minangkabau face various forms of taboos and prohibitions. Among the taboos and prohibitions is committing discordant acts or deviant behavior that can embarrass relatives and troops. One form of this bizarre behavior involves oneself artistic activities. Therefore, many women in Minangkabau face challenges and pressure from their mothers when they involve themselves in creative activities (Quisumbing & Otsuka, 2001).

As for the cases, almost all the motives were banned, being expelled from the village, excluded from community life, and some were even threatened with death by their *Mamak* (Sastra, 2000). This incident happened around the 1980s, when the writer's younger sister became a female figure in randai art (Minangkabau regional theater) in the village. Unfortunately, when *Mamak* knew about the case, then she shouted in a high tone, "*indak bisa, ka jadi apo kau, apo kato urang kampuang, malu den sebagai Mamak*" (you can't, what do you want to be, what people say in the village, I am ashamed as a Mamak). The same information was when conducting research in 1990 for thesis material to complete undergraduate studies (S1) at the Indonesian Art College (STSI), Surakarta, Solo, Central Java. The author interviewed Erni, a *tukang dendang* (singer) from the Payakumbuh area, Fifty Cities District, West Sumatra. Together with Alirman, the fiddler man, they perform a Barabab (a combination of singing and rebab) at the Lubuak Bangku restaurant on the Bukittinggi Pekan Baru causeway every night. The cases were almost identical, and they were often insulted, gossiped about, and even considered bitches (no shame). According to Erni, her mother has repeatedly banned her or ordered her to stop working as a singer, considering the many opposing views and discordant voices directed at her family. However, Erni continued to live in this profession because of her love for traditional Minangkabau music, especially drums. In addition, the money obtained from the performance of the barabab every night could help the family's economy, which was indeed difficult to some extent. The strong resistance, rejection, or prohibition, especially from the Mamak side, towards women's involvement in Minangkabau's artistic activities, was felt in the 1970-1990s.

Methodology

A method is a way or procedure in achieving a specific goal (Djajasudarma, 2010) says that a technique is "an orderly and well-thought-out way to accomplish a purpose; a systemic way of working to facilitate the implementation of an activity to achieve the specified goals. Methods contain descriptions of steps, procedures, and practices to complete a task or job. This research is qualitative, and the results were not from statistical procedures. The calculation aims to reveal contextually holistic symptoms by collecting data from natural backgrounds and utilizing the researcher as a critical instrument (Sugiarto, 2015). The data sources are primary and secondary data. Primary data is obtained directly from the source, not through intermediaries. According to Titib (2001), preliminary information is data obtained directly by researchers from research objects. Primary data can be from direct field observations and interviews with sources to obtain the required information. Secondary data sources are obtained indirectly through intermediary media or obtained and recorded by other parties. The data was from literature studies and books that have something to do with research material carried out in the form of reports or previous research results. Secondary data is obtained indirectly from sources or objects or through documents or third parties.

The primary data of this study was through observation, a form of data collection technique through systematic observation and recording of a symptom that appears in the object of research (Prastowo, 2012). The method's effect was capable of researchers understanding the research object clearly. An observer's task is to find out or seek information about the object under study, not only through informants but also through people who know about the thing under study. The author's personal experience as a person born and raised in Minangkabau who sees feels and experiences the reality that occurs in society is invaluable data for this study.

Apart from observation, in collecting data in the field, interviews were also conducted with selected informants or sources. Interviews were a process of direct interaction or communication or interviewers with respondents, and the data collected are facts, attitudes, opinions, desires, and experiences (Budiarto & Angraeni, 2003). Interviews were with selected sources that could be trusted for the correctness of the information by research needs. Literature studies in the form of printed books, research reports, theses, dissertations, and journal articles containing information about Minangkabau culture are important data sources in this research. Various information from these literary sources was an analytical tool in examining artistic activities for Minangkabau women concerning the matrilineal kinship system.

Results and Discussion

Mamak's resistance to the involvement of women in artistic activities in Minangkabau is inseparable from the matrilineal kinship tradition adopted by the Minangkabau tribe. Factually, Minangkabau custom gives respect and protection to women both morally and materially. From a material perspective, women in Minangkabau are very secure in their lives. Inheritance is for women. Even

though men will get their share, too, they feel ashamed to use their rights as heirs. Their traditional teachings, *bapantang laki-laki mamakan harato pencaharian perempuan* (abstinence for men from consuming women's income), can prevent them from utilizing the inherited property as their right (Amir, 1999). The property is her sister's right, and if her sister does not have inheritance rights, it will be given to her female cousin (Navis, 1984). In addition, a woman in Minangkabau will receive protection from her brother. A man in Minangkabau tries to find wealth not only for his own interests but also for his sister's needs. If his sister is still a girl, then the needs in the form of marriage preparation tools are his responsibility. For his married sister, a man must build a house for her. This is how the duties of a man in Minangkabau continue (Navis, 1984). In this context, according to custom, there is no urgency or relevance for women in Minangkabau to involve themselves in artistic activities, primarily if the profession is carried out to fulfill a living.

The matrilineal custom positions women (mothers) to play a central role in education, securing wealth, and family welfare (Amir, 1999). The matrilineal kinship system places women as central figures in Minangkabau. According to Minangkabau custom, the group of mothers gets the nickname *bundo kanduang* (biological mother). Bundo means mother, kanduang means true. *Bundo kanduang* is a true mother who has motherly and leadership qualities. This is expressed in the traditional rhyme as follows, "*bundo kanduang, limpapeh rumah nan gadang, umbun puruik kubangan kunci, umbu puruik aluang bunian, pusek jalo kumparan tali, sumarak dalam kampuang, kaudang-undang kamadinah, kapayuang panji kasarugo*". This expression implies that Minangkabau custom gives priority and exclusion to Minangkabau women as proof of the glory and honor given to them (Hakimi, 1994).

As a figure whose dignity by custom and a leader who will be a role model in the family, ethnic group, and relatives of women faced with many taboos and prohibitions. All forms of behavior and actions of women in Minangkabau will receive stringent supervision from the Mamak as the ruling figure in the matrilineal kinship system. In a narrow sense, Mamak is the mother's brother; in a broader sense, Mamak is not only limited to the mother's siblings but all men of the same generation as mothers in the same tribe. Thus, the terms *mamak kandung*, *mamak sejengkal*, *mamak sehasta*, *mamak sedepa* are known according to kinship distance (Amir, 1999). Minangkabau custom even gives a position and a heavier obligation to the Mamak than the mother. Custom requires that the Mamak guide his nephew and arrange and supervise the utilization of the *mamacik bungka nan piawai*. The mamak's obligations to inheritance include guarding the boundaries of rice fields and fields, regulating the fair use of products within the *seperindukan* (one mother), and most importantly, maintaining that customary assets continue to function according to customary provisions. As a *bungka nan piawai*, Mamak is the holder of justice and truth. This obligation is carried out by being fair to all nephews and utilizing high inheritance results. On the other hand, Mamak is responsible for agreements with outsiders, for example, in marriage ties. If there is an agreement between the two, the Mamak is the person in charge of the agreement. If there is a broken promise, the Mamak has to pay off the debt. If *tukar tando* has been made as a sign of

agreement, the Mamak will become the foundation and sacrifice for the agreement (Amir, 1999).

Customs as a product of laws are rules, norms, and values that serve as guidelines for every Minangkabau citizen in all aspects of life (Amir, 1999). Every Minangkabau citizen must adhere to traditional teachings expressed in mamangan “*hiduik dikanduang adat, mati dikanduang tanah*” (live in the customs, die land). Between life and death, they already know their place and have no other choice (Navis, 1984). Both customary law and Islamic teachings become the ideal and authentic culture for every Minangkabau citizen. The ideal culture includes formal rules of conduct and habits, approved and expected to be followed by many people (cultural norms).

Meanwhile, authentic culture includes things they carry out (static norms) (Horton, 1993). Women in Minangkabau are expected and demanded to always be in the ideal cultural corridor. Any behavior and actions that do not following the ideal cultural demands of society are considered discordant or deviant behavior that can bring shame to relatives and ethnic groups.

The Minangkabau people have two sources of teachings as the basis of life, both material and moral. The sources of these teachings are adat and Islam as stated in their adat philosophy, custom with *bersendi syarak (agama)*, and *syarak bersendi kitabullah* (al-Quran). Two things become a measure of behavior for the Minangkabau people: *Sumbang* and *Salah*. *Sumbang* is a concept of expressing behavior or actions in an association that has the potential to lead someone to do wrong. If *Sumbang* is related to behavior or actions that cannot be subject to legal sanctions, then *Salah* is an act that can be punished criminally. Ethically, the Minangkabau custom forbids a person not only to make a mistake because it will embarrass the family but also prevents it from the start in the form of behavior that can accompany wrongdoing, namely discord. One of them concerns the relationship between men and women, whether they are still in a family relationship. This shows that sexual and social interaction, according to custom, has certain limits. The restriction was made as a fortress to prevent sexual abuse from occurring. Even if they are still in a family relationship, associations between boys and girls must be within limits that do not cause discord. Discordant size is *salah caro, buruak rupo* (the wrong way, ugly), or not following the norm (Hasanudin, 1999).

The privileges given to Minangkabau women must be through a series of efforts to protect them. Chairman of the Minangkabau Kanduang Bundo Association, Prof. Dr. Hj. Puti Reno Raudha Thaib, MP, at the global *Bundo kanduang* congress, which was held in Tanah Datar District, West Sumatra, on December 3-5 2022, explained that there are 12 taboos that every Minang woman must avoid in daily behavior or is called the, customary rules to regulate the behavior of a Minang woman so as not to deviate from her nature and social status in society. Raudha explained that *Sumbang* means odd or awkward, meaning that women in Minangkabau must avoid doing bad things because it will shame their tribe and people. Puti Reno Raudha Thaib explained 12 *Sumbang* behaviors that Minangkabau women must avoid, including *Sumbang* when sitting, standing, walking, speaking, asking, answering, seeing, eating, dressing, working,

socializing, and behavior. Raudha gave examples of Sumbang behavior, including when a woman sits cross-legged, *mancangkung* crouches, or straddles; ideally, a woman should sit cross-legged. That is the physical meaning, and implicitly, women are expected to be able to sit the problem and solve it well. Sumbang to women who wear narrow clothes that show their curves. Contribute to women walking alone, hurrying, and looking at their reflection, which means just being preoccupied with themselves. While at work, Minang women are expected to be able to sew, embroider, and cook. This is not only physical, but implicitly, women are expected to be able to sew and cook, which means being able to solve problems well (Campopiano et al., 2017).

Sumbang duo baleh is interpreted as twelve discordant or reprehensible behaviors. However, they cannot yet be categorized as wrong actions, meaning that these actions are not wrong but are awkward in the eyes of the Minang people. If a Minang woman does this, society sees her as strange, and her parents usually rebuke her. The source of this contribution by duo baleh is written in Tambo containing traditional values passed down from generation to generation in the form of the father's advice, which is often given to their daughters. There is a distribution of Sumbang duo baleh and its meaning, namely:

1. Sumbang Duduak (Sitting)
The polite way to sit for Minang women is to kneel, not cross-legged like men, *mencangkung* (squat) or straighten your knees. Sit sideways, and squeeze your thighs together when sitting on a chair. If you are traveling together, do not straddle (stretch your thighs).
2. Sumbang Tagak (Standing)
Minang women are prohibited from standing at the door or on the stairs, not standing on the side of the road if no one is waiting for them, and discordantly standing with men who are not muhrim.
3. Sumbang Jalan (Walking)
When walking, Minang women must be friends (accompanied), at least with small children, do not walk in a hurry. If you walk with boys, walk behind, and keep the way when you are with peers.
4. Sumbang Kato (Saying)
Speak slowly, so the meaning is understood, do not interrupt or interrupt other people's words, and listen first until it is finished.
5. Sumbang Caliak (Looking).
It is impolite for a Minang woman to look at the opposite sex. Turn your gaze to another or lower your head and look down. Do not look at the clock when there are guests, and do not like to look at yourself.
6. Sumbang Makan (Eating)
Do not eat while standing; if you eat with your hands, hold the rice with your fingertips, bring it to your mouth slowly, and do not open your mouth wide. When eating with a spoon, do not let the spoon collide with your teeth, and be careful when adding fruit.
7. Sumbang Pakai (Wearing)
Do not wear narrow and sparse clothes that may not reveal the secrets (curves) of the body, especially those that are hidden (open) up and down. Wear loose clothes, matching the skin color and the suitable condition, so it is pleasing to the eye.

8. Sumbang *Karajo* (Working)
Minang women's work is light and uncomplicated, leaving the heavy work to the men.
9. Sumbang *Tanyo* (asking)
Do not ask like a test. Ask gently, listen carefully first and ask clearly.
10. Sumbang *Jawek* (Answering)
When answering, answer well, answer more than what needs to be answered, and leave what is unnecessary.
11. Sumbang *Bagaua* (Associating)
Do not hang out with boys if you are the only girl yourself. Do not hang out with small children, let alone join their games. Keep your tongue in socializing.
12. Sumbang *Kurenah* (Behavior)
It is not good to whisper when you are together, and it does not cover your nose in a crowd. Do not laugh at other people's suffering, let alone burst out laughing. If joking, just enough so as not to offend those who hear. Take care of other people's beliefs, and do not be like a *musang berbulu ayam* or weasel with chicken feathers (not following nature and deeds).

Those twelve *Sumbang* categories regulate that woman does not stand, walk, say, answer, see, dress, mingle, work, ask questions, answer, and excessively or inappropriately *bakuraneh* (behave) with men who are still related to people who are respected. A woman is categorized as committing an incestuous act if she behaves like a man, sits, stands, or stays in a place occupied by many men without being accompanied by an older person or without a very urgent need. Dressing inappropriately, such as being too tight or sparse to show the shape of the body's curves, not to mention not covering the limbs or particular body parts (*aurat*), is a *Sumbang* act because it can invite wrongdoing. If this inconsistent behavior can be avoided, a woman can be seen as good and respected within her tribe and people. Women who often do *Sumbang duo baleh* are considered impolite or, in Minang terms, *indak bataratik* or do not have rules. If Minang women often do discordant behavior, it will make them fall into wrong behavior, reducing their dignity as respectable women.

Matters in Minangkabau traditional teachings are categorized as *Sumbang* acts; in Islamic teachings are called wicked or immoral acts. The Islamic religion, which is based on the Al-Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, prohibits its followers from approaching adultery (QS: 17: 32). Islam teaches every man to restrain his eyes and genitals from committing adultery (QS: 24: 30). Likewise for women, besides being advised to restrain their gaze from the opposite sex, they are also ordered to cover their genitals with a veil so that the beautiful parts of their body are not visible which in the Qur'an are called jewelry (QS; 24:31). Therefore, to prevent a man or woman from falling into immorality, Islam recommends that those who are eligible to marry immediately and those who cannot afford to take care of themselves.

There are assumptions and views that the involvement of women in artistic activities in Minangkabau is *Sumbang* and deviant behavior based on factors of morality and cultural ethics that develop in society. According to Hasanudin, it has been a fundamental understanding among the Minangkabau people for a long time. That the process of art is the world of men, it is odd if there are women

who involve themselves in it. In addition, art performances are primarily performed in a *bagurau* atmosphere where there is no gap between the performers and the audience and between the audience (all mixed in), making the position of Sumbang female performer. Moreover, if in a *bagurau* atmosphere, most of the participants are men. Therefore, in ancient times it was tough to find women involved in artistic activities, even if there were relatively small numbers. There is shame towards relatives, family, ethnicity, and the surrounding community. Such differences in gender roles tend to harm women because societal resistance will arise when women want to actualize themselves in the public sphere, which is considered to be the world of men. Women's movements are often hindered when they enter the realm that, according to cultural views/values, is considered inappropriate for women to act (Arjani, 2008). Besides that, women who are artists in general often go out of the house at night to hold performances. With the general public's view that it is not suitable for women to often go out at night, women artists are often branded and considered cheap. This phenomenon is oriented to the public sector men and women to the domestic sector, resulting in an imbalance of authority between the two sexes (Wiratini, 2009).

Past historical events related to the art world have contributed to the birth of people's resistance to the art process in general. The science of history views that the present situation or condition is a product of developments from the past (Rustopo, 1991). All cultures are formed from a complex set of traits (traits) and are the result of environmental conditions, psychological factors and historical links (Kaplan, 1999). Judging from their social structure, the layers of Minangkabau society can be distinguished from the *niniak mamak* group (traditional leader), the clerical group, the intelligent group (intellectuals), and the ordinary community. These groups have their way of looking at or assessing a social phenomenon that occurs in their environment, including folk art. In the social reality of the past, enthusiasts who supported this type of folk game could be distinguished into three groups: the *parewa* group, the *surau* group, and the *angku-angku* group. These three groups were social groups that had different orientations from each other in the pre-war period. The relationship between the three can be said to be not harmonious (Navis, 1984).

In historical records, the movement of Minangkabau art in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was led by youths. Very few of these youths joined this group. They prefer to live freely in the village, are reluctant to worship, and are allergic to adat. They also often show traits that are not commendable or are not by Minangkabau traditional views and adhere to Islamic teachings. Their actions, such as stealing, cockfighting, and gambling, did not even heed traditional and religious teachings, such as not praying, not fasting, and not wanting to follow customary procedures or rules. Their group by the community, is called *parewa*, the group that always wears black clothes or wears a headband on their head, likes to gamble and splice chickens or other things. Generally, they are warriors; even though they do not like to pray, they care about their self-respect, their relatives, and their hometown (Navis, 1984). People are antipathetic towards the attitudes and behavior of *Parewa*. Their presence creates psychological conflict in society.

The traditional group pays little attention to the attitude of the *parewa*. In contrast, the alim ulama group is very reluctant and hates *parewa* because all their behavior and actions are contrary to and not by Islamic teachings. Therefore, the pious clergy also hated the arts that were involved in or played by this *parewa*. Even today, there are still orthodox clerics in Minangkabau who still consider artistic activities to be illegal (Hajizar, 1988). The accusation of being a *parewa* group for people involved in artistic activities is still felt today. (Yunus, 1990) Many Minangkabau people think that people who work as *saluang* and *tukang dendang* (a form of Minangkabau performing arts) are considered members of the *parewa* group; they tend to be regarded as a person who are not worthy of being placed as honorable person. Under these conditions, *Tukang dendang* or *Tukang Saluang* became community leaders.

Historical trauma related to the function of art in the past has also triggered people's antipathy towards the world of art in general. Several folk performing arts are closely related to the world of mysticism and magic and function for negative things. Brandon (1989), says folk performances are mainly associated with village life and animistic beliefs, prehistory, and rituals. One magical performing art developed in Minangkabau is the *siropak saluang*, whose remains can still be found in *Nagari Taeh Baruah*, Fifty Regencies, Payakumbuh City, West Sumatra. In the past, the primary function of the *siropak saluang* was as a tool to accompany *dendang*, better known as *dendang siropak*. *Dendang* and *saluang siropak* are an integral part of the *siropak* performance, a magical ritual performance. The tradition of *siropak* performances usually functions to influence or control other people through magical powers that are collected from the elements of *siropak* performances (Yuniarti, 1990).

Even though they received very severe challenges and restrictions from *Mamak* for Minangkabau women to be involved in artistic activities, at that time, several female artists emerged who later became legendary in society. From tradition, there is the name Syamsimar, a singer who was very famous in Minangkabau in the 1970-1980s. The strains of his voice and the flicks of the sung rhymes are popular with many people. Syamsimar is not only a village artist who performs from village to village. She has explored various cities in Indonesia where there are communities (nomads) from Minangkabau. More than that, Syamsimar's golden voice has been recorded on vinyl records (cassettes). Thousands of these tapes are widely distributed in Minangkabau and various cities in Indonesia. In the same decade, there was the name Ely Kasim, a modern Minang pop singer. Like Syamsimar, Ely Kasim's golden voice has also been recorded on tape/cassette. One of her famous songs is *Ayam den lapeh*. Ely Kasim spends much time in Jakarta, active as an entertainer for Minangkabau cultural arts with her dance studio Sangrila Bunda.

Other names that deserve mention are Huriah Adam and Gusmiati Suid; two prominent female artists who contributed significantly to the development of dance in Minangkabau. Huriah Adam is famous for her *piriang* dance, and Huriah Adam and Gusmiati Suid is famous for their *rantak* dance. As a dance artist (choreographer), Gusmiati Suid has taken part in various national and international festivals. Gusmiati Suid spent her time in Jakarta managing the Gumarang Sakti dance studio. The three legendary Minangkabau female artists

passed away before the Creator. They have contributed to the development of Minangkabau art, whose impact is still felt.

Culture will always change according to the times and human civilization. These changes are at least caused by 2 (two) factors, namely environmental factors and contact with foreign cultures. The ability to change is essential in human culture (Haviland, 1988). Culture must be seen as something dynamic, not something rigid or static. Tradition is essentially a tradition, and tradition is not something that cannot be changed. Tradition is precisely combined with a variety of human actions. A man makes something with tradition, accepts it, rejects it, or changes it (Peursen, 1988). Minangkabau culture, in principle, also experiences dynamics and changes. These changes were driven by the occurrence of societal conflicts, both between social groups and social groups, social groups and individuals, or individuals and individuals. In other words, Minangkabau culture is based on social conflicts. The conflict is a phenomenon that is culturally part of the Minangkabau culture. It is expressed in their traditional saying, "*basilang kayu dalam tungku, disinan api mangkonyo hiduik* (cross wood in the stove, that is where the fire lives).

That is, the crossover is an absolute requirement to reach a consensus that is expected from various forms of conflict. One of the milestones in the context of changing Minangkabau culture is the entry of Islam into Minangkabau. Modern Islamic teachings were brought to Minangkabau by Indonesian pilgrims and students from Mecca (Hamka, 1967). Several Islamic clerics undertook a renewal movement to purify Islamic teachings. Through Muhammadiyah, these Islamic reformation figures demanded and called all Minangkabau people to leave the "heretical" clerics and "greedy" traditional chiefs. They emphasize the importance of taking Islamic law from the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet (Pelly, 1994).

Renewal movements carried out by Islamic scholars received extreme challenges from indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples and the clergy are interested in maintaining their position in front of their followers. The sharp conflict between indigenous people and religious people reached its peak with the outbreak of the Paderi war in Minangkabau (1803-1838). The conflict could end with the signing of the bukik marapalam agreement in 1837 (Navis, 1984). Acceptance of the Bukik Marapalam agreement as a consensus gave birth to the falasah "*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*" (adat with syarak (religion), syarak with the bookullah (al-Quran). The primary source of the custom is Islamic law, and Islamic law is the Koran (Navis, 1984). This formulation places Islamic supremacy above custom, and this has been in effect since then (Pelly, 1994). The logical consequence of the Bukik Marapalam agreement is that all the actions of the Minangkabau people must be based on rules -rules justified by Islam (Sastra, 2000).

The renewal movement carried out by Islamic scholars had a vast impact on the process of people's lives in Minangkabau, including art. Various forms of folk performing arts supported by *parewa* groups that are not by Islamic teachings are prohibited. Simultaneously with the strengthening of Islam in Minangkabau, the *parewa* group disappeared into the midst of society. In reality, now, the Minangkabau people are devout adherents of Islam. Surprisingly, there are

Minangkabau people who are not Muslim. They only believe in God as taught by Islam (Koentjaraningrat, 1982). The Minangkabau people put "nan bana" (truth) as king. The king in Minangkabau culture is not a person (human), but what the truth says is none other than the al-quran (Naim, 1980).

Even though most Minangkabau people adhere to Islam, Islamic scholars in Minangkabau have never issued a fatwa, whether art is haram or makruh. In the view of most Muslims, art is part of the culture and has nothing to do with Islamic teachings. Humans create art in the relationship between fellow humans and between humans and nature. Art is created not at the level of human relations with God. In worship, Allah does not require artistry from his servant. The songs and music will not entertain God, and dance is offered. In worship, God does not want music and dance accompaniment, but the solemn accompaniment is desired. Even though art is not related to Islamic teachings but to Islamic culture, because culture is subject to and controlled by religion, art is also controlled by religion (Gazalba, 1988).

During the current socio-cultural life of the Minangkabau people, art may be presented as long as it does not conflict with Islamic teachings. The establishment of a karawitan conservatory in Padang Panjang (in its development, it later became ASKI, STSI, and now ISI) shows that the clergy and Minangkabau society in a broader context can accept art. The existence of the only art higher education institution in Minangkabau can bring about significant changes to the involvement of women in artistic activities. Although in the early decades of its establishment, most of the students were male, in its later development, the number of female students was quite large. Nowadays, it is common to witness Minangkabau women dancing, playing music, and *randai* (Minangkabau regional theater) without any worries of being scolded by their Mamak, considered to have committed discordant acts and deviant behavior that could embarrass their relatives and ethnic group (Guldenmund, 2000).

The more open opportunities for Minangkabau women to be involved in the artistic process are inseparable from the various changes in the kinship structure in Minangkabau. The change in question is the weakening of the extended family's role and the strengthening of the nuclear family's role. Household responsibilities fall on the shoulders of the husband (father) rather than the mother. With the influence of modern households, the position of *urang sumando* (husband) is no longer someone who comes (guest). However, it has become a determining factor in which the nuclear family can stand alone. A husband (father) is fully responsible for earning a living, while the wife is responsible for managing the household and caring for and educating children. This change causes the children to be closer to their fathers and the mother's less influence on their nephews (Suwondo, 1978). Besides that, globalization and modernization, with all their forms and effects, have changed people's perspectives, patterns, and behavior. Advances in science and technology, especially information technology, have made the world seem borderless. What happens in that part of the world will be witnessed simultaneously in the other world. Besides that, revolution 4.0 is currently sweeping various nations in various parts of the world, which directly or indirectly impacts the art process. The Industrial Revolution 4.0 is also known as

a disruptive technology. In an essential sense, disruption is the discovery of technology that radically changes human behavior (Kusumastuti, 2019).



Minangkabau Women play Tambua instrument
(Documentation: Wardizal, 2023)

The photo above shows three women wearing hijabs playing the Tambua musical instrument (a traditional Minangkabau musical instrument). The photo was taken at a relative in Minangkabau's *baralek* (wedding) event. Without feeling guilty and awkward, two women played music while laughing even with the men and were witnessed by many. An event or sight that could never be witnessed in the 1990s because it was considered discordant and deviant behavior and embarrassed relatives and ethnic groups. *Hijab* is synonymous with Muslim clothing, and the Minangkabau people are devout adherents of Islam. The actions and behavior of a Muslim woman must be by Islamic rules and teachings. In addition, every Minangkabau person must submit and comply with the rules or customary norms that apply to the customary philosophy of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*. The phenomenon that appears now, where women are increasingly free to involve themselves in artistic activities, shows that there has been a fundamental cultural change during the socio-cultural Minangkabau society. This is to the Minangkabau traditional saying *sakali aia gadang, sakali tapian barubah* (once the water is significant, once the bank changes). It means. Change is something that sometimes cannot be dammed or resisted.

Conclusion

The involvement of women in artistic activities in Minangkabau must be in the role of the Mamak as the ruling party in the matrilineal kinship system. In the 1970-the 1980s, when the role of Mamak was powerful and decisive, women in Minangkabau were strictly regulated to be involved in artistic activities. These activities are considered incest and deviant behavior that can embarrass relatives and ethnic groups. *Sumbang Duo baleh* are 12 types of behavior or actions that Minangkabau women must avoid: *Sumbang Duduak* (Sitting), *Sumbang Tagak* (Standing), *Sumbang Jalan* (Walking), *Sumbang Kato* (Saying), *Sumbang Caliak* (Looking), *Sumbang Makan* (Eating), *Sumbang Pakai* (Wearing), *Sumbang Karajo*

(Working), Sumbang *Tanyo* (Asking), Sumbang *Jawek* (Answering), Sumbang *Bagaua* (Associating), dan Sumbang *Kurenah* (Behaviour).

Just as culture is constantly changing, some changes also occur in the socio-cultural of Minangkabau society. One of the fundamental changes is the weakening of the role of the Mamak or extended family (extended family) and the strengthening of the father or nuclear family (nucleus family). This change had a vast impact on women in Minangkabau. At this time, women were given the broadest possible opportunity to participate in artistic activities actively. Resistance or prohibition from Mamak is no longer felt due to the strengthening of the father's role in the family. Every Minangkabau woman is given the freedom to do something, including artistic activities, by always upholding customary norms and religious teachings by the basic philosophy of *Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (religious-based adat (Islam), *Kitabullah* coded religion (Al-Quran)).

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