

“ADAT” AND ISLAM AMONG
THE MINANGKABAU: THEIR REPRESENTATION
IN INDONESIAN CINEMA

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Films featuring ethnic and religious themes elicit strong reactions and criticism. Minangkabau content films are no exception. Social life is not always reflected in the themes of religious and ethnic films. The film, however, may also communicate specific messages. The present study examines two Minangkabau films, namely *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan* (Pioneers of Independence) (1977) and *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (Under the Protection of the Kaaba) (2013). It is argued that both include Minangkabau representations of Islam and traditional customs. To arrive at symbols, meanings, and discourse structures, the two films draw on social semiotics and film semiotics within a critical discourse framework. The internal strife between Islamic and traditional groups in the Minangkabau, therefore, features in both films. According to Minangkabau history, this discourse emerged during the Padri War and the colonial period. A collective idea that prevails in Minangkabau social life to this day is conflict discourse. Thus, using mainly visual imagery, filmmakers process and create this collective conception in the dramatisation of film stories.

Key words: Minangkabau; Islam; conflict; representation; film

Introduction

Islam is an element of the Minangkabau's social and historical experiences and dynamics. It is impossible to separate Islam and *adat* (custom) from the Minangkabau people's everyday social lives. As in other regions of Indonesia, Islam is believed to have spread among the Minangkabau without resorting to force. Its success could be attributed to acculturation with the social lives and customs of the Minangkabau people (Siregar et al., 2022). The *surau* (small mosque), *adat*,

and Islamic education institutions in Minangkabau are real-life instances of this process.

The intersection of Islam with *adat* among the Minangkabau has become a focal point for group interests. Conflict is always more significant than peace. It can be seen in studies on this topic. Conflicts are terms that form the basis for intolerant discourse for the Minangkabau. The term “traditional” typically contrasts with “modern” in numerous ways, including in Islam for the Minangkabau.

Film is commonly recognised for its capacity to introduce and identify culture. On the one hand, films can serve as effective instructional instruments for social values. Because of its substance and implications, films may also serve to legitimate, dominate, and promote particular social groups. Furthermore, films might be industrial products intended to benefit the industry. The breadth of culture, race, and even religion is frequently taken up and displayed only in stereotypes already familiar to the audience. The film is more commonly regarded as a stereotypical replication for financial benefit (Alola & Alola, 2020).

Likewise, Minangkabau religiosity and ethnicity in films are inseparable from the production and reproduction of the discourse. *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan* (Pioneers of Independence) (Sani, 1977) was one of the “victims” of the rulers’ domination and legitimacy when the film was released (Hanan, 2017). Originally titled *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’bah* (Under the Protection of the Kaaba), the film was delayed due to government censorship. *Titian Serambut Dibelah Tujuh* (A Narrow Bridge) (1982) suffered the same fate, even though it could be screened in cinemas. *Cinta Tapi Beda* (In Love but Different) (2012) was withdrawn from circulation and brought the director to court (Dewi, 2017; Priyambodo, 2018). These three examples introduce Islam and Minangkabau ethnicity into their critique. Indirectly, public knowledge leads to widely known stereotypes.

Thus, the primary question is: does what is shown in the film depict Islam and Minangkabau customs? Given that film is an industrial product, is there a discourse deliberately constructed for an interest group? Do each of these roles – Islam and Minangkabau *adat* – appear in the film as a unity? The present study seeks to address these problems by examining how Islam and *adat* are portrayed in Minangkabau cinema. A Minangkabau film may serve as a locus for discourses according to the objectives of specific groups.

This study focuses on the representation of Islam and Minangkabau customary traditions in two Indonesian films, *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan* (Sani, 1977) and *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’bah* (Saputra, 2013). To achieve this aim, the research adopts a qualitative approach that combines social semiotics and film semiotics within the framework of critical discourse analysis. This approach enables films to be understood as representational practices that produce meaning through visual signs, narrative structures, and specific socio-cultural contexts. By examining

scenes, characters, visual symbols, and narrative relations, the study explores how the films represent social, religious, and ethnic relationships, and how these representations contribute to the construction of discourse on Minangkabau identity within differing historical and ideological contexts.

Review of Related Literature

Film and Representation

Film is a visual storytelling medium; hence, the visual presentation is considered the most instantly identifiable element of the story. For the audience to comprehend the story and its motivations, the filmmaker’s main responsibility is to create a visual world (Brown, 2016, p. 12). These aspects are included in the *mise-en-scène*, which refers to visual elements (Lewis, 2014, p. 55). This *mise-en-scène* element plays a vital role in conveying the story and its meaning (Sreekumar & Vidyapeetham, 2015, p. 27). The four aspects of this *mise-en-scène* are setting, costume, lighting, and character movement. In addition, actors are seen as visual elements in films and as essential elements that help convey narrative messages (Lathrop & Sutton, 2013, p. 4).

Narration can be a universal human practice for entertainment, education, and socialisation. Considering the universal nature of narrative, it is not surprising that cinema has evolved into a narrative medium (Prince, 2014, p. 230). In media studies, films convey particular discourses to audiences. Thus, narrative discourse is more than just an aspect of storytelling. According to Gunning (2019, p. 391), there are three narrative meanings: first, the actual language that tells the story. The second is the content that discourse communicates, i.e., “an event or series of events, real or fictitious, which are the subject of this discourse” and can be studied “regardless of the medium, linguistic or otherwise” in which they are expressed. The third is the event “someone tells something” or “the act of telling the story itself”. The term narrative refers to discourse markers that form a story. Storytelling as a means of expression produces a story. Thus, narrative is a method for expressing what someone desires to convey and how to convey it.

Film is often considered a form of representation, even though it is inappropriate; few call it a reflection of life. Viewers often feel they have experienced the same events as those shown in the film. This assumption can be accepted because, in reality, the film does present truth. Because of its convincing nature, Metz (1991, p. 4) suggested that films could move audiences and attract large groups. Regarding socio-cultural practices and the impression of reality, film arises from a deliberately conditioned narrative process. Both images, sounds, dialogues, and even its music are deliberately produced to say something.

As a cultural product, film represents cultural beliefs and values. Films are both imitations and life records that combine symbols, conventions, and social ideologies. Thus, filmmaking entails more than just textual approaches. It is also necessary to use a contextual approach to gain a comprehensive understanding. In a contextual approach, film is understood further as a socio-cultural process (social ideology, politics, policy, economy, commerce, industry, etc.). Kress & van Leeuwen (2020) offer methods for analysing visual images in film as a social study. Similar to linguistic structure, the visible form influences the interpretation, representation, and format of social interaction. Meaning is never just a semiotic model; it is always cultural. Thus, verbal and visual expressions will produce different meanings. The meaning expressed by speakers, writers, or creators is social even though, in the end, it has individual effects. It causes multimodal texts in visual, verbal, and written forms, producing different images, speech, and writing meanings.

Representation is the process by which members of a cultural group produce and change something (Hall, 2020). Representation uses words and other media as a sign to represent something. Hall went on to argue that language and mental representation are the two representation systems used in this process (Rojek, 2009). A system of meaning representations of signs and symbols of cultural identity is constructed through mental representation. It is indispensable that all members of a cultural group share the same mental representation of concepts, images, and personal ideas (conceptual mapping). Similar to a system of representation, they must communicate using the same cultural code.

Several studies on Indonesian films featuring Islam and the Minangkabau seem to be aesthetic in nature, with little attention paid to representation and discourse. The film *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*, by Aisya et al. (2017), portrayed the incompatibility of Minangkabau culture with reality using *mise-en-scène* analysis on the visual appearance of the *rumah gadang* (big house), *baju kuruang basiba* (traditional loose blouse), and *surau*. Accordingly, the film's visual appearance differs from authentic Minangkabau culture. In response to the film *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan*, which was adapted from Hamka's novel *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (2012), Junus (1984) argued that the director Asrul used the novel series in the film to reconsider the past through current thought while working on it.

Prior studies seem limited to exploring and uncovering social values and norms in the film. The cinema is viewed as an aesthetic work that serves as a means for knowledge and instruction. When the film uncovers items that differ from societal ideals, the results are used solely to reinforce the dominant beliefs and conventions. However, as a type of medium, film is one of the arenas for struggles over ideology, hegemony, and domination.

The medium has evolved into one of the instruments for creating modern human identity through the reproduction of stereotypical knowledge. The audience thus accepts these stereotyped patterns as commonplace normality. Through the

power of knowledge and the medium, this normalisation process subsequently persuades the audience to behave as it is represented. The film manifests real unreality (Metz, 1991, p. 5). Standardisation (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2019, p. 64) is ultimately applied to industrial products and human behaviour in modern terms. The contemporary term is deliberately constructed as a standard of behaviour instead of the traditional term, which should be abandoned (power of language).

Furthermore, using terms such as preservation, revitalisation, conservation, and others is an industrial tool that biases towards standardisation in the name of consumer interests. Culture-based industries are ostensibly culture-friendly (Power & Scott, 2004, p. 10). The slogan *tontonan untuk tuntunan* (viewing for guidance) is reproduced and re-engineered by the medium to benefit groups, especially the industry.

To be accepted by the audience, the representation in the film replicates stereotyped knowledge portrayed as normal. As a visual language, film has the power to evoke specific meanings in the way a particular cultural group is represented. There are two related methods of representation in the meaning process. The first allows giving meaning to the world by establishing a set of correspondences or chains of equivalence between things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas – conceptual maps. The second relies on building a set of correspondences between a conceptual map and a collection of signs that represent certain concepts and are arranged in different ways. The present study uses the second framework of meaning to examine and uncover the hidden material in the film’s discussion of Islam and Minangkabau culture. In culture and media studies, the stereotyped knowledge patterns of the audience are linked to a variety of potential motives through conceptual maps.

Methods

This study is part of a critical discourse study, in which the historical dimension is secondary to the primary data source. This study analyses films that feature Islam and Minangkabau customs, namely *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan* (PPK) (Sani, 1977) and *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’bah* (DLK) (Saputra, 2013). The selection based on year of release additionally hinges on the idea that each film adequately reflects its era. The coding process includes transcriptions of character conversation, behaviour, and imagery (Miles et al., 2014). This code is in the form of words or short phrases that symbolically provide summative attributes, stand out, capture the essence, and evoke some language or visual-based data. The data encoded during the encoding process can range in magnitude from a single word to a whole paragraph or to an entire page of text, like a moving image stream. In data analysis, codes are constructs made by researchers that symbolise and interpret the mean-

ing of each item of data for pattern detection, categorisation, theory building, and other analytical processes. In this case, the term 'coding' is better known as 'paraphrasing'. Meanwhile, visual imagery as data is determined by breaking the film into sequences, scenes, and shots. The data used are visual images that show indicators of space, time, and events that build up stories.

Films with Minangkabau content are seen as a system of representation for the Minangkabau ethnicity. It is assumed to contain Minangkabau symbols that are aesthetically verified as representing Minangkabau ethnic identity. The standards are the values, norms, and social order prevailing in Minangkabau society. Meanwhile, the knowledge and experience of characters in film is a comparator. This step focuses on how the comparator affects perceptions, concepts, and personal ideas - as input - in their intersection with identity standards to form a conceptual mapping. The emergence of an error is also a consideration in developing the output of this Minangkabau aspect. All these elements are seen through the signs that appear in the film. This representation becomes the data for analysing social and multimodal semiotics. The representation of Minangkabau ethnicity is seen as a text that conveys a message through mimesis and semiosis.

Representation of Conflict in Minangkabau Society

Through Halimah's narrative, the PPK film depicts conflicts among the *ulama* (Islamic scholars). Halimah was accused of disobeying her husband, Sidi Marajo, for not following the prohibition on attending Haji Jalaluddin's recitation. Based on the consideration of Kadi Haji Makmur, Halimah was sentenced to *nusyuz* (not being given maintenance, but not being divorced). Without confirmation from both parties, Kadi Haji Makmur, as the religious judge, decided on Halimah's sentence. Halimah's complaints and objections to Kadi Haji Makmur were not accepted. Halimah then complained about her punishment to Haji Wali in Padang Panjang.

Kadi Haji Makmur represents the *ulama* influenced by the Dutch colonial government. On the other hand, Haji Wali was a representative of an *ulama* who refused to cooperate with the colonial rulers. The conflict narrative also presents interpretations of fragments of the Padri War (1803-1838). During the growth and development of Padri ideology, in the villages and *nagari* (district) subject to this understanding, two people were appointed as *Imam* and *Kadi* (Holt, 2007; Radjab, 1964). The *Imam* is responsible for providing religious knowledge and overseeing worship, while the *Kadi* is a judge who punishes citizens found guilty. As a marker of social status, some *ulama* even resorted to fraud to obtain this position. As a result, not a few *Kadi* deliberately win cases for the interests of certain groups and personal gain. This deviation exacerbated the conflict between Islamic religious



Figure 1. Mr. Kadi influences the congregation, Asrul Sani (dir.), *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan*, 1977. Indonesia. © PT Taty & Sons Jaya Film. (Source: screenshot by author)

groups (*ulama*) and *adat* groups. At that time, two opposing groups were known and were called *kaum putih* (white people) and *kaum hitam* (black people) (Radjab, 1964, p. 32). Both designations refer to the colour of clothing usually worn by each group. White is *ulama*, while black is *adat*. Visually, the contradictions and conflicts between these two groups are represented through the characters' costumes, namely black and white.

The collective knowledge of *hitam* and *putih* became the construction for the PPK storytelling, which simultaneously represented the internal conflict between Islam and *adat* in Minangkabau. Although the conflict has a background of Dutch colonial influence, this film does not feature Dutch characters. The influence of the colonial power is represented through the figures of Minangkabau traditional leaders, namely the *penghulu* and *demang* (traditional elders). This visualisation constructs the representation of the Minangkabau interethnic conflict. The *ulama* resistance movement faced the *ulama* and *adat* leaders who were influenced by the colonial rulers. Because of the collective knowledge of Minangkabau history, the audience will unconsciously agree that this phenomenon is true and is still happening today.

The representation of the conflict between the *ulama* and the *adat* appears differently in the DLK. In this film, conflict is shown in the deliberation scene that leads to a consensus, and in the scene of Hamid's trial. Hamid is accused of committing a disgraceful act against Zainab. The considerations of Islamic law put



Figure 2. Representation of “black people,” Asrul Sani (dir.), *Para Perintis Kemerdekaan*, 1977. Indonesia. © PT Taty & Sons Jaya Film. (Source: screenshot by author)

forward in the deliberation are countered through decision-maker selection. The decision rests with the *adat* elders. In the trial scene against Hamid, each elder expresses his opinion on the events. All of them base themselves on Islamic law through their respective analogies. The social sanctions imposed on Hamid were the result of deliberation and considerations grounded in Islamic law. However, the *adat* elders’ sentencing decision in the trial reflected the dominance of *adat* in Minangkabau society.

Indirectly, these conflict structures represent the dualism of influence in social practice in Minangkabau society – the matrilineal system as *adat* and the patrilineal system as in Islam. Several previous studies provide evidence of this practice. De Jong (2012, pp. 73, 182) calls this practice hostile in friendship within the concept and practice of matrilineal-patrilineal kinship in the two groups of harmony, *Koto Piliang* and *Bodi Caniago* (two *adat* systems in Minangkabau). Meanwhile, Tanner (1982, p. 129) described it as a dispute between *adat* and Islam over matrilineal kinship, marriage, inheritance, and the position of women.

The conflict between Islam and *adat* in Minangkabau also manifests in differences in inheritance law. According to Islam and Minangkabau *adat*, Zainab in the DLK is an attempt to combine inheritance law. However, the representation that appears is not part of the conflict. Her will to manage her father’s legacy business can be called a narrative construct that carries a different narrative. The

refusal of matchmaking based on the ability to manage assets is a form of Zainab's existence. The shift in the kinship system and the Minangkabau communal family to a nuclear family emerged through the character of Zainab. This event also contains representations of *harato pancarian* (husband-wife wealth), whose ownership is considered personal. According to Islamic law, *harato pancarian* is passed on to sons, wives, and brothers. In Minangkabau customary law, several aspects of inheritance relate to its status as *harato pusako randah* (lower inheritance). On the one hand, Zainab's character represents rejection and resistance to customary powers that seek to control inheritance in the name of Islamic law. On the other hand, the behaviour of Zainab, who wants to control and manage her father's inheritance, does not represent inheritance law according to Islam.

When Hamid's mother died, it was stated that the house where she lived was handed over to (inherited by) Hamid. The system of inheritance of property to sons is part of Islamic inheritance law. Meanwhile, according to Minangkabau custom, the legacy of the *rumah gadang* to descendants is wrong. The ownership of the *rumah gadang* is with the people, not individuals. The visualisation of the *rumah gadang* as the residence of Hamid's mother, which was later passed on to Hamid, does not represent Minangkabau *adat*.

Rumah gadang is a symbol of the presence of one *suku* (genealogical lineage) in one *nagari* and a centre of life and harmony, such as a place for family consensus and ceremonies (Bahauddin, 2023; Navis, 1984; Prasetya & Adi, 2011). *Rumah gadang* is a traditional building with a domestic function as a residence, and it is used for traditional family ceremonies, such as marriages and deaths (Graves, 2007, p. 6; Marthala, 2013, p. 20; Nakamura, 2001, p. 187). On the other hand, *rumah gadang* is a form of *harato pusako tinggi* (high inheritance). For the Minangkabau people, property refers to immovable assets, namely rice fields, land, and houses. The property is a high inheritance, and its use and legacy must follow the rules and regulations set by custom. *Rumah gadang*, as an heirloom, derives its value from its inheritance system. Its position is a sacred heritage that cannot be contested or transferred, such as a rice field (Navis, 1984, p. 157).

Surau, in the film, also constructs an Islamic narrative in Minangkabau. Regarding men's roles and positions in Minangkabau, a *surau* serves as a meeting spot, gathering area, and sleeping place for boys who have reached puberty and are older. *Surau*, for the Minangkabau people, is a place where a boy grows, learns, develops himself, and is prepared to face life (Hadler, 2013; Naim, 2013). In its development, the coming of Islam to the Minangkabau also shifted the function of the *surau* to become a place of Islamic religious learning (Azra, 2003, p. 8; Navis, 1984, p. 189). It is what then slowly shifts the learning method applied in the *surau*. According to Natsir (2013), the *surau* experienced clashes that significantly undermined its authority as a traditional Islamic educational institution in Minangkabau society.



Figure 3. Hamid teaches at *surau*, Hanny R Saputra (dir.), *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*, 2013. Indonesia. © MD Pictures. (Source: screenshot by author)

In the DLK, the visualisation of the *surau* by the character Hamid's teaching (Figure 3) can represent the dynamics of the intellectual conflict in Minangkabau society. If linked to the visualisation of the Thawalib School (Figure 4), the scene represents the conflict between *Kaum Tua* (old, secular, and traditional clerics) and *Kaum Muda* (youth, modernist clerics) in Minangkabau society in the early 20th century in the context of understanding the purity of Islam (Azra, 2003; Satria, 2019). Previously, the learning method at the *surau* was known as a *halaqah*, in which students sat cross-legged in a circle facing the teacher (Anam, 2017, p. 160; Azra, 2003, p. 14; Mursal, 2018, p. 107; Nur, 1991, p. 110). With its ideas, the *Kaum Muda* founded religious schools that modernised their methods and curricula. The learning method is no longer the *halaqah* method; it is now grade-level. General science and Western languages (Dutch and English) are some of the subjects in the curriculum (Azra, 2003, p. 21; Nur, 1991, p. 108).

Conflict as Discourse

The two films in this article (PPK and DLK) feature fairly thick Minangkabau content. Through storytelling, elements of Minangkabau society appear that not only build up the setting in which the story is told, but also suggest a discourse



Figure 4. Classroom learning methods in the Thawalib school, Hanny R Saputra (dir.), *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*, 2013. Indonesia. © MD Pictures. (Source: screenshot by author)

of conflict in Minangkabau. This is because the Minangkabau philosophy of life is *adaik basandi syara' , syara' basandi Kitabullah* (custom affiliated with sharia, sharia affiliated with the Quran). For the Minangkabau people, Islam is the central pillar of their traditional institutions. The intersection of Islam with *adat* in Minangkabau is a form of Minangkabau openness in intercultural relations.

Several studies of Minangkabau culture and traditions (Abdullah, 1966; Arif, 2020; Benda-Beckmann, 1979; Djamal, 1998; Hadler, 2008b, 2008a; P. D. J. De Jong, 1980; Naim, 2013; Sanusi, 2020; Soehardi, 1997; Tanner, 1982) showed that the growth and development of Islam in Minangkabau cannot be separated from the role of traditional practices, as in other regions of the archipelago. On the one hand, Islam is flexible in its approach to tradition. With its customary philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* (learn from nature), Islam is not opposed at all in Minangkabau society. *Adat* adapts to Islam through *alua* (groove), *patuik* (proper), *raso* (sense), and *pareso* (review). The conflict between the two has resulted in harmonising *adat basandi syara' syara' basandi Kitabullah* (customs are based on sharia, sharia is based on the Book of Allah/the Quran). However, the emergence of conflict at the intersection of Islam and *adat* remains unavoidable. Nevertheless, for the Minangkabau people, the conflict between Islam and *adat* is not a process of reform or purification but an approach towards balance (Abdullah, 1966, p. 33). The use of the term conflict (and its synonym) is more prominent

than the harmonisation of Islam with *adat* in Minangkabau society. Islam for the Minangkabau, shaped by acculturation and the integration of Islamic law and *adat*, was depicted differently in the film.

Conflicting Islam has always been a prominent discourse in Minangkabau-content films. Reform and purification are terms often used in this process and social dynamics. Either directly or indirectly, the discourse of internal conflict within Islam or between Islam and *adat* always appears through Minangkabau content. Islamic law and *adat* institutions become narrative elements that construct a discourse of conflict. This conflict also gave rise to the discourse of Islamophobia among Muslims themselves. In general, as a result of the Padri War, the Minangkabau interethnic conflict has become public knowledge, consistently reproduced in film. The conflict between Islam and *adat* becomes inexhaustible material, reborn in new forms. In this case, it is processed through film narration, especially characterisations.

Thematically, the audience will readily accept that the colonial rulers have influenced one group of *ulama*. However, the visualisation in this film depicts a conflict among the *ulama*. These *ulama* are represented in their efforts to gain influence and legitimacy in social life through various means.

For a film producer, the events of the Padri War are still seen as a source of profitable film creation. Historical events and the social effects they produce are also a source of storytelling. The discourse of conflict between *ulama* and *adat* seems endlessly reproduced as a source of creation. Even though they are set in different social settings, the conflicts shown represent the social effects that emerged from the events of the Padri War. The visual contrast between black and white in the characters' costumes indicates that the war events made a deep impression on the lives of the Minangkabau people. The audience's knowledge of the Padri War served as the source and material for the reproduction of the representation map, which was processed by the film producer and displayed in a different form. In constructing the conflict, the audience has unwittingly constructed knowledge and understanding that Islam in Minangkabau has always been conflicted, either directly or indirectly, between *ulama* and *adat*.

Abdullah (1966) considers that this customary Islamic conflict is not an actual or ideal conflict but only a form of tension in social reality to achieve balance. This concept of conflict can then be used as an analytical tool to explain social change. Hamka (1984, p. 133) states that Minangkabau culture is a blend of *adat* with *sharia*, which is made customary according to the conditions and situations of the Minangkabau. Suppose there is a conflict between the two. In that case, the sign is not that *sharia* or religion is against *adat*, but that the *ulama* sometimes challenge the *adat* when the custom has been frozen or erased, and is instigated by outsiders, especially the Dutch colonialists, to hinder the religious process and Minangkabau traditional Islam. Kahin (1979, p. 4) asserts that the sworok of

Dutch scholars on the Minangkabau always emphasises conflict by exaggerating the matrilineal form of inheritance law according to adat and Islamic inheritance law. Hadler (Hadler, 2008b) concludes that the references to white and black in the Padri conflict refer to the confession of sins and the return of man to holiness, not to the conflict between the *adat* community and the Padri people who hold to a *Wahhabi* understanding, as described by the Dutch orientalists.

On the one hand, this narrative builds a discourse on the decolonisation of Islamic education in Indonesia. The rapid growth of awareness of education and the development of “secular” schools constitute a form of “modernisation” of Islamic education methods in the Minangkabau, driven by intellectual conflict and the influence of the Dutch colonial government. As a result, the *surau*, as a representation of education in Minangkabau society, experienced a decline, and its image faded. Chadwick (1991, p. 80) states that the *surau* has shifted its function only to a place of worship and learning of Islam, in the sense of the *musala* (place for prayer, little mosque) and *madrassa* (Islamic school).

Kaum Tua tried to survive the modernisation of the *surau* education system in Minangkabau, which was considered the most suitable for the Minangkabau community’s character. *Kaum Tua* is trying to ground the Islamic education system. The weakness is that locality becomes the primary tool, while “foreign” things are removed because they are considered destructive. On the other hand, *Kaum Muda* tried to adapt the old education system to the new one introduced by the Dutch colonial authorities. At a certain point, the attempt to take advantage of colonial tools reversed. It appears that *Kaum Muda* is trapped in the colonial ideology they seek to fight. The new system built by *Kaum Muda* fosters a sharper social stratification. The mentality of elites, capitalists, and individuals is getting stronger in this *Kaum Muda* system. The system of classes, tuition fees, curriculum, and diplomas manifests this system’s submission to the domination and legitimacy of certain groups. According to Futaqi (2018, p. 240), the colonial mentality that still appears in the Islamic education system in Indonesia is an elitist mentality, a capitalist mentality, an individualist mentality, and a competitive mentality. He added that Islamic education in Islamic countries – where the majority of the population is Muslim – is nothing more than a duplication of education in Western countries, which they denounce; thus, the product of their education system cannot be an alternative. It can be seen in several traditions of educational philosophy in Indonesia, which still adopt Western educational philosophy as a colonial project that tends to rely on materialism and pragmatism, factors that have influenced the academic passion of the Muslim community. In the film, the *surau* is represented as a victim of the colonialisation of education in Indonesia. Islam is alienated from the realm of worship only in the *surau*.

However, for the Minangkabau people, the differences between *ulama*, Islam, and *adat* do not need to be exaggerated. Islam and *adat* in Minangkabau

have merged into the fabric of social life. However, this knowledge needs to be more widely understood by the film audience. In the film, the harmonisation between Islam and adat in Minangkabau society is deliberately hidden to construct conflict as a form of storytelling. Various forms of storytelling are intentionally made to contain this interethnic discourse. The conflict was constructed within the framework of the struggle for Indonesian independence and moral values, and even as a romance story to attract an audience beyond the Minangkabau community.

Conclusion

The internal conflicts in Islam and Islam with *adat* in Minangkabau, represented in films, result from the filmmakers' processing or reproduction. The dramatisation of stories is the primary goal of filmmakers in reaching audiences, especially non-Minangkabau audiences. The audience's lack of knowledge about Minangkabau society ultimately proves that the Minangkabau representation in the film is factual. In addition to the movie's discourse, fictionality must also be considered. Unconsciously, the audience's tastes are deliberately shaped through discourses constructed, not only through film. Minangkabau society, full of conflict, becomes the audience's knowledge, wrapped up in the conflict between the film's characters. The Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system is portrayed differently when it is transformed into a nuclear family system. The intervention of the Dutch colonial authority has influenced Minangkabau social life. This can be seen in the developments and changes in the *surau* education of the Minangkabau. The Minangkabau in the film are a *new Minangkabau* that seems to cater to the audience's tastes, shaped by a stereotyped concept of collective knowledge. In the film, the philosophy of *adaik basandi syara' syara' basandi Kitabullah* is not presented as a form of harmonisation of the social life of the Minangkabau, but rather as the root and cause of prolonged conflict in Minangkabau society.

Declaration Of AI Use

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