

# Tradition and Industry: Representation of *Silek* Minangkabau in Cinema

Herry Nur Hidayat<sup>1,\*</sup>, Bani Sudardi<sup>2</sup>, Sahid Teguh Widodo<sup>3</sup>, Sri K Habsari<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta*

<sup>2,3,4</sup>*Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta*

<sup>\*</sup>*Corresponding author. Email: herrynh@student.uns.ac.id*

## ABSTRACT

Film is a complex work of art production as well as a symbol of social behavior. Films also have an influence on the audience through the content they convey. This article examines three film titles containing Minangkabau: *Harimau Tjampa*, *Merantau*, and *Surau dan Silek*. All three are assumed to convey *silek* as a part of the traditional life of the Minangkabau community and represent the social changes that occur. Film semiotics and social semiotics are used as theoretical frameworks. The study focuses on visual imagery and narrative characterization tools to reveal social changes related to *silek* in Minangkabau. As a result, the three films show a significant change in *silek* representation. *Harimau Tjampa* can be called a quite accurate film representing *silek* as a tradition in Minangkabau. Film *Merantau* conveys *silek* as a means of building a film genre as an action film. Meanwhile, *Surau dan Silek* conveyed a shift in their view of *silek* as a tradition to *silek* as a competed sport. Through its representation in the three films, it can be said that *silek* has undergone a social change from tradition to become an industrial commodity, in this case, the film industry.

**Keywords:** *Silek, Minangkabau, Cinema, Tradition, Industry*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The long journey of the Indonesian film industry cannot be separated from the source of creation from locality and ethnicity. Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia which for the last two decades, has been the source of the creation of several Indonesian films. Two of them are the results of Hamka's novels, namely *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (2011) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (2013). The revival of ethnicity in the Indonesian film industry has started since the film *Merantau* (2009). In addition, the film *Merantau* is also considered the beginning of the revival of the action film genre in Indonesia.

This ethnic content is not new if one looks back at the early days of the growth of the Indonesian film industry. The film considered the first Indonesian film is *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* (1926) which is Sundanese folklore. In relation to Minangkabau, the first Indonesian film about Minangkabau was *Harimau Tjampa* (1953). Although *Melati van Agam* (1930) and *Siti Noerbaja* (1941) appeared long before, both films raised the Minangkabau realm only as a setting of the

story. It is different with *Harimau Tjampa*, which in his story raises aspects of social life and the traditions of the Minangkabau people. The Minangkabau element that is quite thick that *Harimau Tjampa* shows is *silek* (*silat*). Through storytelling, especially characters, *silek* is shown as one of the joints of Minangkabau people's lives.

Later, *silek* was brought back in *Merantau*. The film, which carries the name of Iko Uwais, is considered to have raised one of the richness of Minangkabau tradition, namely *silek*. Appointed as the title, the behavior pattern of wandering Minangkabau people does not appear in this film. This film shows more action than the content of *merantau*. Not long after, the film *Surau dan Silek* (2017) was released. The film, directed by the Minangkabau director Arief Malinmudo, presents *silek* from a different point of view. Through their characters, *Surau dan Silek* show the struggle of *silek* to face the currents of modernization and industrialization.

The three films – *Harimau Tjampa* (HT), *Merantau* (MR), and *Surau dan Silek* (SS) – highlight *silek* as content. As a product and a symbol of social behavior,

the three films may convey a discourse about *silek*. Consideration of the time difference becomes very important in this case. The difference in visualization as a manifestation of the development of film technology indirectly builds the story and, of course, affects the audience's understanding differently. Therefore, the question arises, do the different representations of *silek* in the three films represent social changes in Minangkabau? This article answers this question through a study of *silek* content in HT, MR, and SS.

On the other hand, there are several studies with the objects of the three films. Hidayat, et al. (2021) stated that *Harimau Tjampa* and *Surau dan Silek* contain Minangkabau content that is suitable for use as *Alam Minangkabau* teaching materials. On the other hand, according to Hidayat et al. (2021), the film *Harimau Tjampa* contains Minangkabau aesthetics in both material and non-material forms. Fitri (2018) considers the film *Surau dan Silek* as change views on *silek* and *surau* in Minangkabau. Meanwhile, according to Arief (2018), the film *Surau dan Silek* is a fictional film that presents different views on *surau* and *silek* from two generations of Minangkabau. Anggraini (2016) mentions that the values of tradition and folklore thick in *Harimau Tjampa* are similar to the romanticism of films in the colonial period. In the *Kompasiana* rubric, Kamal (2013) talks about *Harimau Tjampa* as the first Minangkabau film set.

It can be seen that the studies on the three objects are still partial. Each researcher examines a film from one point of view. The comparison of one Minangkabau content that appears in several films from different periods has not been studied. It is not impossible that the Minangkabau content conveyed represents social changes that also occur in Minangkabau society.

It is generally understood that there is a complex relationship between film and culture. When social behavior changes, which is followed by changes in social structure, the media, both technology, and information, are referred to as one of the change factors. Vice versa, changes in social behavior ultimately require technological changes with consideration of a better life. The film, as a cultural product, cannot be separated from the influence of these changes. It can be seen from changes in style, genre, content, and even in film techniques, which also affect the audience (tastes and behavior) as members of social groups. Like other cultural products, film (content) can be shaped by social structures and form social structures.

The film is often said to be a form of representation and even a reflection of life. Viewers often feel that they have experienced the same events as those shown in the film. This assumption can be accepted because, in reality, the film does "present" reality. Through audio-visual imagery and technology, films present the impression of reality and build that impression into

reality. Because of its convincing nature, Metz (1991: 4) says that films can "move" audiences, has the power to draw crowds.

Concerning sociocultural practices and impressions of reality, the film results from a deliberately conditioned narrative process. There is a specific formula that involves many individuals in making a film. The idea of the story and its casting is a narrative perception of reality which is then compiled into an imaginary reality. Metz (1991: 5) calls it the power of unreality. Good pictures, sound, dialogue, even music in the film is a speech that "says something" that is deliberately produced.

Visual language (film) will not be understood transparently and universally. In this case, the sign (visual) is seen as not arbitrary (arbitrary). The "motivation" is built in the relationship between the sign maker and the context of the sign being produced. It cannot be separated from the production of analogies and classifications. The sign maker will consider, choose, and use the form that is considered appropriate to express meaning with whatever media is considered appropriate to make the sign (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006: 2-9).

The statements above indicate the presence of signs and symbols in the film. The film is not impossible as a means of communication that contains specific messages. Therefore, the film is considered a language because it "works like a language." Film as a language does not mean telling about something but instead telling something.

## 2. METHOD

The study of HT, MR, and SS in this article is a semiotic study. The semiotics used are film semiotics by Ehrat (2005) and social semiotics by Hodge & Kress (1988). The data on the content of *silek* in the three films is the visual imagery and behavior of the characters associated with the *silek*. Data in dialogues and character actions were transcribed into written text, while visual data used screenshots. Of course, the narrative aspect of the film cannot be ruled out. In this case, the narrative in question is not just an aspect of storytelling. According to Gunning (2009: 391), narrative refers to the content communicated by discourse, i.e., "an event or series of events, real or fictitious, which is the subject of this discourse" and which can be studied "without regard to the medium, linguistic or otherwise" in which they are expressed. In general, the narrative is a device of expression, what is conveyed, and how to express it.

The steps in this study refer to the framework referred to by Miles et al. (2014: 31), namely data condensation, data display, and conclusion verification. All three are interwoven before, during, and after data

collection in parallel form, to form a common domain called analysis. In this view, the three types of analysis and data collection form an interactive cyclical process. The researcher continues to move between the four nodes during data collection and then shuttles between condensation, display, and inference/verification for the remainder of the study.

### 3. *SILEK* IN CINEMA

*Silek* in *Harimau Tjampa* is shown through the characters Lukman, Saleh, and Datuk Langit. The three of them visually display the *silek* movement. Lukman is a youth figure wandering to acquire *silek* to avenge his father's death. Because of the heavy requirements, Lukman abandoned his intention to study with Datuk Langit and finally studied *silek* from Saleh. At the end of the story, it is known that the killer of Lukman's father was Datuk Langit. Lukman and Datuk Langit finally fought for their honor.

In addition to showing the visualization of the *silek* movement, *Harimau Tjampa* also conveyed some basic philosophies in *silek* that must be understood and practiced by students of a *sasaran* (*padepokan*). Saleh several times conveyed to Lukman that "patience" is the basis for mastering the science of *silek*. *Musuh tidak dicari, bertemu pantang dielakkan* 'enemies, are not sought; a meeting is inevitable' as an understanding of *silek* mastery also appears several times in Saleh's dialogues. Saleh also visually shows Lukman the four basic steps of *silek* in a scene.

In this film, *silek* is shown to be very closely related to the life of the surau. The characters' *silek* exercises in this film are carried out in the courtyard of Saleh's surau. In general, there are nine scenes of events that show *silek*, both in practice scenes and in fights. Visually, the *silek* movement in *Harimau Tjampa* can be easily identified. The movement of steps, punches, and kicks shows that the movements performed are *silek* moves. In addition, scenes from the tradition of accepting *silek* students are also shown. In this case, students provide several items as a condition to be able to learn *silek*.



Figure 1. Asking master acceptance (HT)



Figure 2. Blocking (HT)

*Silek* in MR is shown through Yuda and Erik. Yuda is the main character in this film. Yuda, a young man from Bukittinggi, went to Jakarta with the intention of teaching *silek*. Erik is Yuda's traveling companion to Jakarta. Their second encounter requires them to fight because they are on opposite sides. In Jakarta, Yuda is trapped by the presence of Astri and Adit. Astri, a club dancer whom Joni was bullying, is helped by Yuda.

Yuda's fight scenes dominate this film to help Astri. *Silek* is shown in the opening of the film, which shows Yuda practicing *silek* movements. Visually, the *silek* movement in this film can only be identified in two scenes—first, the film's opening scene, second, the scene of Yuda practicing *silek* with his teacher. The rest, Yuda's fight scenes against his enemies, *silek* movements are difficult to identify. Because the visualization of the battle scene is quite fast, the *silek* movements performed by the characters seem to be immersed in mixed martial arts. Although some movements can be recognized that suggest the *silek* movement, the fight scenes in this film are closer to freestyle combat, not *silek*.



Figure 3. *Silek* Harimau (MR)

In contrast to HT, the *silek* practice scene in MR is not performed in the surau courtyard or *sasaran*. The scene of Yuda's *silek* practice with his teacher is shown in the yard of the *rumah gadang*. It can be seen through the visual image of the *rangkang* (barn) building in the scene. Knowledge and understanding of *silek* philosophy in this film also does not appear at all. Although at the end of the story he was killed by Ratger, Yuda was built as a character with high *silek* ability. It was manifested through his victory against his enemies. It is what builds the assumption that Yuda intends to teach *silek*.

*Silek* in *Surau dan Silek* is presented from different perspectives. Therefore the delivery is also different.

Through Adit, Kurip, and Dayat, *silek* is presented from a contemporary point of view. Adil, Kurip, and Dayat are students of an elementary school in Bukittinggi. The three of them loved *silek* so much that their loss in one tournament made an impression, and they wanted to win the next tournament. These three figures are opposed to the figure of Johar. A retired lecturer at a university in Yogyakarta returned to his hometown. Known as warriors in their youth, Johar asked to train Adil, Kurip, Dayat in *silek*. Initially, Johar refused because he disagreed that *silek* should compete as a tournament. Because of his wife's persuasion, Johar finally agreed to train Adil, Kurip, and Dayat to win the *silek* tournament.

In the film *Surau dan Silek*, the philosophy of *silek* is expressed through the character of Johar. When training *silek* on Adit, Dayat, and Kurip, Johar juxtaposed *silek* with Islamic teachings, namely *shalat*, *shalawat*, and *silek*, into a unified whole. The philosophy of *lahiriah mencari kawan batiniah mencari Tuhan* 'outward-looking for friends, inner seek God' and *musuh tidak dicari bertemu pantang dielakkan* 'enemies are not sought to meet inevitable' became the basis for the teachings of *silek* conveyed by Johar. Interestingly, in this film, *silek* practice is visualized in the courtyard of the surau and several places with stunning landscapes. On the other hand, the *silek* scene in this film and the practice scene show the *silek* fight as a match or tournament on stage. A fight scene appears between young Johar and his classmates, who later become "enemies" who harm him.



Figure 4. *Silek* as tournament

#### 4. SILEK AS TRADITION AND INDUSTRY

*Silek* is a *silat* term known in the Minangkabau region (West Sumatra). *Silek* is a typical traditional martial art developed for a long time (Sjarifoedin, 2011: 9). In Minangkabau, although they cannot be separated, the concepts of *pancak* and *silek* have different meanings. *Silek* is the core of the game of *silat* (self-defense) that should not be shown. Meanwhile, *pancak* is a *silat* game that is not performed by displaying the beauty aspect of the movement (Maryono, 1999: 7). On the other hand, *silek* for the Minangkabau people fosters good relationships with fellow humans and their God, as mentioned in *di lahia mancari kawan, di batin mancari Tuhan* (Jamilus, 2010: 570).

Structurally, *silek* is taught to the next generation following three rules. The first is the child, the second is the *kamanakan* (sister's daughter), and the third is the *batali sabab* (good relations with people outside of matrilineal kinship due to several things). They were teaching *silek* to the *batali sabab* because there is no longer someone to teach in the kinship system, so people are looking for people who are willing and willing to join the *silek* teacher tribe according to the rules of applicable customs. Another reason for *batali sabab* is that the *silat* teacher feels care for someone not from his tribe in everyday life. This relationship is called *batali sabab buek*. The last relationship is caused by someone who has helped a teacher a lot. In contrast, if the teacher feels that the help is sincere or does not see a particular purpose behind it, this relationship is called *batali sabab budi* (Jamilus, 2010: 572). The relationship between *batali sabab* in *silek* is shown between Saleh as a teacher and Lukman as a student in *Harimau Tjampa*. The visualization of the *langkah nan ampek* 'the four steps' shows the philosophy of *silek* as self-defense, not a means of fighting, but of defending justice. In a tricky step, the first three steps are defense as a form of patience against the opponent's attack. Even though it seems to be an attack, the fourth step is physically pushing the opponent away (Hidayat et al., 2021a). Although it was built to tell stories, *silek* in *Harimau Tjampa* is represented as part of the social life and traditions of the Minangkabau community. The tradition of raising *silek* students with certain rituals shown in this film shows how accurately *Harimau Tjampa* represents *silek* as a Minangkabau tradition. The close relationship between the *surau* and *silek* also appears in this film.

Concerning the practice of *silek*, the *surau* for the Minangkabau community functions as a religious institution and as an educational institution (Abdullah, 1966: 17). In addition to being a dormitory for young people, the *surau* is a place to learn to recite the Koran, study religion, a place for ceremonies related to religion, a place for gatherings and meetings, a place for travelers to stay, a place of prayer, and others (Azra, 2003: 50). Navis (1984: 190-191) added that near the *surau*, a *sasaran* is usually built for agility training or other games. *Sasaran* is used not only by the people concerned but also by members of other clans as a place to learn from one of the leading warriors. It is because each *sasaran* has its advantages. By providing opportunities for other people to learn at *sasaran*, there is a relationship between the youth of each group.

Despite some criticisms about the content of *silek* in *Merantau* (Dasta, 2009; Indah, 2009), it is undeniable that *silek* is shown visually as the opening scene in this film. In general, the film *Merantau* contains classic stories about heroism and the battle between good and evil. Yuda is on the good side, and Ratger and Joni are on the evil side. The fight occurred because there was a

vulnerable group being contested, in this case, Astri. The plotting through the conflict buildings of the characters leads to predictable events. However, the weakness in this film's storyline seems to be covered by the display of action through fights and character battles. The tension that is trying to build through the fight scenes can cover the monotonous tempo of the storyline.

*Silek* is a Minangkabau martial art that has been part of the custom since ancient times and has grown to this day. *Silek* is performed by both men and women, inspired by nature and the surrounding customs (Marjanto et al., 2019: 45). Two types of *silek* are known in Minangkabau, namely *silek harimau* (tiger), which men study, and *silek batino* (female) specifically for women (Jamilus, 2010: 571). The Minangkabau philosophy, which considers the *alam takambang jadi guru* 'nature develops as the sample,' forms *silek* as seen from the moves that imitate the movements of animals, such as tigers, birds, and crocodiles, as well as from the differences between *silek* styles in the *darek* (plain) section. and in the *pasisia* (coastal) (Maryono, 1999: 227).

The data in the pictures above show one of the *silek* movements that show the characteristics of *silek harimau*. This flowing movement is inspired by the fast, precise, and robust tiger movements. According to Ulfitrah & Desriyeni (2018: 112), *silek harimau* has several cunning movements such as kicking, hitting, locking, holding, fighting on the ground, and using weapons. *Silek harimau* originating from Padang, especially in Minangkabau, is characterized by an open-handed technique and mimics the claws of a tiger.

Although the film *Merantau* builds a narrative about *silek*, if close pay attention, *silek* in this film is only a builder of the storytelling. The *silek* narrative is built through the characters and characterizations as well as the background of the story. On the other hand, *silek* also builds characters and characterizations in the story of this film. The *silek* moves shown in this film will refer to the martial arts in general. Because the character Yuda comes from the city of Bukittinggi, the Minangkabau *silek* narrative is built. This *silek* narrative building is emphasized through the visual display of the symbol on Yuda's bag.

*Silek* for the Minangkabau people is directed at fostering good relationships with fellow humans and their God (Jamilus, 2010: 570). If it is related to this statement, the *silek* shown in *Merantau* is very different. In Yuda's meeting with Astri for the first time, Yuda's character immediately uses violence against Joni's character to help Astri. Indirectly, apart from the purpose of helping, these events build a discourse on the arrogance of characters who have *silek* abilities. Likewise, in the fight between Yuda and Erik. The two continue to fight because they are on opposite sides.

Yuda intends to help Astri, while Erik is paid to kill Yuda. Despite their different backgrounds, both were built as *pasilek* (fighter) figures from Minangkabau. The incident of Yuda's fight with Erik can be said to build a narrative of power competition between *silek* institutions. *Silek* in this film is ultimately only used as a storytelling tool to build story tension. The physical conflict in this film seems to be dominated by fight and fight scenes. On the other hand, the fight scene does not represent a fight with the typical Minangkabau *silek* moves.

Yuda's intention to teach *silek* seems different from the institutions teaching *silek* in Minangkabau. It can be assumed that Yuda's figure wanted to establish a *silek* college in Jakarta. Although it can be concluded that there is a relationship between teaching *silek* in a college with the rules of *batali sabab*, it will not be easy to find prospective students with the intended criteria. Indirectly, *silek* in this film is shown to have separated from its tradition and learning process, namely the *surau* and *sasaran* (Navis, 1984: 90-91). *Sasaran* no longer refers to the physical place to practice *silek* but shifts its meaning into an equivalent term for the word college or hermitage. Besides that, Yuda's intention to teach *silek* is entirely different. It has something to do with what he is doing. Predictably, his intention to teach *silek* was to support himself while he was overseas. There is a discourse on changing the interpretation of the traditional values of *silek* and *merantau* in this film. The shift understanding of *silek* from *sasaran* to an institution is in line with understanding the concept of *merantau* into a motive with an economic background. As a part of the modern world, *silek* and *merantau* are reproduced to suit it.

As the title suggests, the content of Minangkabauan in *Surau dan Silek* is dominated by content about *silek*. *Silek* in this film is shown as a branch of sports competition through its characters. In addition, the close relationship between *salat*, *salawat*, and *silek* is also emphasized several times in this film. This film puts forward the religious values of the Minangkabau people through the tradition of the martial art of *silek*. The relationship between the teacher and the *silek* student in this film shows a *batali sabab* relationship (Jamilus, 2010: 572), which is shown through Johar's character as a teacher and Adil, Kurip, and Dayat as a student.

*Silek* in the film *Surau and Silek* can be called a vehicle to convey the discourse of social change that occurred in Minangkabau. *Silek* is a typical traditional martial art developed for a long time (Sjarifoedin, 2011: 9). In Minangkabau, although they cannot be separated, the concepts of *pancak* and *silek* have different meanings. *Silek* is the core of the game of *silat* (self-defense) that should not be shown. Meanwhile, *pancak* is a *silat* game that is not performed by displaying the beauty aspect of the movement (Maryono, 1999: 7).

However, since the beginning of this film's story, *silek* has been visualized as one of the competed sports.

*Surau dan Silek* seems to depict a conflict of opinion when *silat* was about to be adopted as a sport. Some groups oppose *silat* to be exhibited, while several other groups approve of it. The opposing group considers *silat* as a product of a tradition passed down especially. In addition, it is feared that *silat* can cause violence that results in injury to athletes. On the other hand, those who agree also see *silat* as a product of tradition but must be maintained, preserved, and developed. By being appointed as a sport, it is believed that *silat* will be increasingly recognized and developed globally (Maryono, 2000: 113-130).

Johar's figure represents resistance to the shift in the understanding of traditional values, especially *silek*. His longing for *silek* in the *surau* atmosphere manifests the persistence of traditional values that are still firmly held. Johar refuses *silek* learned at the sporting level, which he thinks is not following the philosophy of *silek* itself. Showing off *silek* skills is a form of arrogance that will invite opponents. It seems that for Johar, *silek* is not looking for a win to compete, especially in a tournament.

However, Johar finally relented and agreed to train Adil, Kurip, and Dayat *basilek*. Johar came to terms with the firmness of his views on certain conditions. The quote above represents Johar's negotiations, namely by requiring how to practice according to the way he knows. Indirectly, Johar's form of negotiation is a form of acceptance of the adoption of *silek* as a sport for its sustainability but still rejects *silek* as an industrial commodity. Several dialogues and scenes in this film indirectly show that *silek* has become an industrial commodity quite reckoned with.

*Surau dan Silek* shows the shift of traditional values into the industry. This film depicts that *silek* is no longer the consumption of the chosen people in a traditional environment, but rather a mass consumption. The philosophical requirements demanded in learning *silek* have shifted into economic and financial requirements. Registration fees, uniforms, and places to practice no longer in the *surau* are manifestations of this shift. The emergence of several other martial arts colleges ultimately urges Minangkabau (West Sumatra) *sasaran* to compete in the context of this industrial world. Winning in a tournament is the target, measure, success, and goal to get as many students as possible. A victory that even uses underhanded means. Traditional cultural values seem to have been put aside to make it happen. Winning in a standard tournament is a form of industrial hegemony.

On the other hand, resistance to the shift in the philosophical understanding of *silek* was ultimately defeated by conservation considerations. Industrial

forces have defeated efforts to stick to the idealism of traditional cultural values. Compromise against consumers reflects the industry's dominance in order to bias and control consciousness (Adorno, 2001: 72). Tradition is manipulated and shifted its meaning into style as a form of standardization. The cultural product industry also generates positive externalities as they contribute to the quality of life in the places where they gather and enhance the image and prestige of the local area (local products) (Power & Scott, 2004: 10). This fact is interesting for policymakers to develop further.

Comparison of the representation of *silek* in HT, MR, and SS shows that there are differences as a form of changes that occur in *silek* as part of social life in Minangkabau. Over time, in this case, the release of the three films, *silek* as a tradition, seems to be fading. The HT, released in 1953, can be considered reasonably accurate in representing *silek* as a Minangkabau tradition. The film MR, released in 2009, solely uses *silek* as a builder of the action film genre. Meanwhile, the SS, which was released in 2017, conveyed *silek* from a different angle. *Silek* in SS is shown as a form of defeat of tradition against industrial power. *Silek* has been subject to the laws of economics and conglomeration by setting physical and visual standards. As a representation of resistance to the industry, in the end, Johar had to give in to personal reasons that were very cliché. It is also seen in MR through the character Yuda who intends to teach *silek* overseas. *Silek*, as part of the life of the Minangkabau tradition, has become an industrial commodity that also forms the mindset of consumers that *silek* is the same as *silat*.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Whatever the content and spirit of its manufacture, films cannot be separated from the aspect of industry and power. The film is a commodity, a tool, and a means of trade. Behind it all, conflicts of interest will always follow. The slogan of art for art would not apply in the industry. Films will always consider the profit and loss of production so that traditional culture and ethnic content that are raised are merely commodities and merchandise, not as a form of conservation, preservation, or cultural revitalization.

Changes and differences in understanding the Minangkabau concept in the film are not merely the effects of technological and information developments, especially in the film sector. In addition to Minangkabau elements, industrial, economic, political, and social aspects are important factors in this change. Whether we realize it or not, this condition has made the discourse of Minangkabau ethnic identity increasingly "widespread" both personally, socially, and geographically. Through visual imagery, the film shows the relationship between what is seen, experienced, and understood to unravel



and reach the meaning of the discourse on ethnic identity contained in it.

As a symbol, the change in Minangkabau ethnic identity can be positive or negative, especially *silek*. On the one hand, *silek* in film will strengthen the personal identity of the Minangkabau people through the film as a narrative of ethnicity. However, on the other hand, the freedom of creativity in the industrial context will bring the possibility of "melting" the content of *silek*. However, it takes more understanding, awareness, and wisdom to accept a fictional work of art.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed equally to this work.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Abdullah, T. (1966). Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau. *Indonesia*, 2, 1. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350753>
- [2] Adorno, T. W. (2001). *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (J. M. Bernstein, Ed.). London - New York: Routledge Classic.
- [3] Anggraini, S. N. (2016). "Aku Yang Galau": Refleksi Film Masa Kolonial Hingga Awal Kemerdekaan. *REKAM: Jurnal Fotografi, Televisi, dan Animasi*, 11(2), 79. <https://doi.org/10.24821/rekam.v11i2.1295>
- [4] Arief, M. (2018). Film Surau dan Silek (Ketika Anak-Anak Menemukan Sebuah Makna) [Laporan Penelitian]. Surakarta: ISI Surakarta.
- [5] Azra, A. (2003). *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi* (I. Rasyidin, Ed.). Ciputat: Logos.
- [6] Dasta, R. M. (2009, Agustus 23). *Film Merantau: Sebuah Komentar* - ANTARA Sumbar. Diambil 24 September 2020, dari Antara sumbar website: <https://sumbar.antaranews.com/berita/134296/film-merantau-sebuah-komentar>
- [7] Ehrat, J. (2005). *Cinema and Semiotic: Peirce and Film Aesthetics, Narration, and Representation*. Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press.
- [8] Fitri, D. (2018). Representasi Ideologi Minangkabau dalam Film Surau dan Silek Ditinjau dari Kajian Semiotika. *LAYAR: Jurnal Ilmiah Seni Media Rekam*, 5(2), 66–77. Diambil dari <https://jurnal.isbi.ac.id/index.php/layar/article/view/795>
- [9] Gunning, T. (2009). Narrative Discourse and the Narrator System. In *Film Theory and Criticism*. New York - Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [10] Hidayat, H. N., Sudardi, B., Widodo, S. T., & Habsari, S. K. (2021a). MINANGKABAU AESTHETICS IN INDONESIAN CINEMA. *Psychology and Education Journal*, 58(2), 4672–4692. <https://doi.org/10.17762/pae.v58i2.2855>
- [11] Hidayat, H. N., Sudardi, B., Widodo, S. T., & Habsari, S. K. (2021b). Minangkabau in Film: Integrative Learning Media for Alam Minangkabau. *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Education & Social Sciences (ICESS 2021)* Minangkabau, 160–166. Semarang: Atlantis Press. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210918.031>
- [12] Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- [13] Indah, N. (2009). "MERANTAU" Kurang Filosofi Silat. Diambil dari KapanLagi.com website: <https://www.kapanlagi.com/showbiz/film/indonesia/merantau-kurang-filosofi-silat.html>
- [14] Jamilus. (2010). Kesenian Silat dalam Kehidupan Orang Minangkabau. *Ranah Seni*, 3(2).
- [15] Kamal, M. (2013). "Harimau Tjampa"; *Film Berlatar Minangkabau Pertama*. From Kompasiana website: <https://www.kompasiana.com/alchemist/552e1a116ea834ee3c8b456a/harimau-tjampa-film-berlatar-minangkabau-pertama>
- [16] Kress, G., & Leeuwen, T. van. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London - New York: Routledge.
- [17] Marjanto, D. K., Hijriani, I., & Undri. (2019). Silek Minangkabau dalam Khazanah Pencak Silat Indonesia: Proses Pewarisan dan Upaya Pemerintah dalam Melestarikannya. *Jurnal Kebudayaan*, 14(1), 43–54.
- [18] Maryono, O. (2000). *Pencak Silat Merentang Waktu*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Galang.
- [19] Metz, C. (1991). *Film Language: A Semiotic of the Cinema* (M. Taylor, Ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- [20] Miles, M. B., Huberman, M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles - London - New Delhi - Singapore - Washington DC: Sage.
- [21] Navis, A. A. (1984). *Alam Terkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Grafiti Press.
- [22] Power, D., & Scott, A. J. (2004). A prelude to cultural industries and the production of culture. In D. Power & A. J. Scott (Ed.), *Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture*. London - New York: Routledge.

- [23] Sjarifoedin, A. (2011). *Minangkabau dari Dinasti Iskandar Zulkarnain sampai Tuanku Imam Bonjol*. Jakarta: Gria Media Prima.
- [24] Ulfitrah, O., & Desriyeni. (2018). KEMAS ULANG INFORMASI ALIRAN PENCAK SILAT DI MINANGKABAU. *Jurnal Ilmu Informasi Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan*, 7(2).