

The Existence of Women in Social Structure Minangkabau community in Ka'Bati's Padusi Novel

Annisa Fitri¹

SMA N 3 Padang, Indonesia

¹Email: annisafitri071097@gmail.com



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Abstract. This study is motivated by the portrayal of a Minangkabau woman in Ka'bati's Padusi novel who is marginalized from the traditional social order. She is deprived of inheritance rights, suffers domestic violence, and is forced to migrate abroad to sustain her family. Therefore, this study aims to reveal and explain: (1) the traditional role and function of women in Minangkabau customs and culture; (2) the roles and functions of women as represented in the Padusi novel; and (3) the factors that cause the shift in women's positions within the Minangkabau social structure. The research employs a qualitative descriptive method with data consisting of words, sentences, and discourses in the novel that reflect women's roles and functions. The findings indicate that women in Minangkabau tradition hold inheritance rights and occupy a central and noble position in the matrilineal system. However, the novel illustrates a contrasting reality in which women lose inheritance, experience violence, and are compelled to migrate for survival. These changes are influenced by social transformation, economic pressures, and modernity. With this, the study concludes that literature reflects social reality, where women's roles shift to replace men's responsibilities. Thus, this research offers a new perspective on the transformation of Minangkabau women's roles in literature as a reflection of contemporary social change.

Keywords: Existence, Representation, Role, Function of The Novel

INTRODUCTION

The Minangkabau ethnicity is known as one of the few societies in the world that adheres to a matrilineal system. In this system, lineage, titles, and inheritance are passed through the mother's line, thereby positioning women as central figures in both family and community life. As holders of inheritance and guardians of the rumah gadang, women traditionally have a noble and respected status within Minangkabau culture. These values are often represented and reflected in literary works, as literature portrays social realities, cultural practices, and conflicts within society (Pradopo, 1997:36).

One of the literary works that highlights these dynamics is Ka'bati's Padusi novel. The novel presents stories of women whose lives are no longer aligned with the traditional ideals of Minangkabau customs. The female characters are deprived of their inheritance, experience economic marginalization, and even face violence within the household. These problems illustrate a shift in the role of women from respected cultural figures to marginalized individuals who must struggle for survival, sometimes by migrating abroad to earn a living.

Several previous studies have examined Padusi from various perspectives, such as gender inequality (Nasri, 2016), social interaction (Ulva, 2018), psychological characterization (Gusnita, 2016), feminist analysis (Tumanggor, 2018), and ecocritical review (Marton, 2018). Although these studies provide valuable insights, most of them focus on gender issues, personality, or ecological aspects. However, none have specifically examined the shifting roles and functions of Minangkabau women in relation to the social

structure of their community as reflected in the novel. This gap is important because the matrilineal system is the core of Minangkabau culture, and its disruption directly challenges the traditional identity of the society.

Based on this gap, the present study focuses on analyzing the social structure of the Minangkabau community as depicted in Ka'bat's Padusi novel, with special attention to women's rights and positions as the symbolic wealth of the rumah gadang. The objectives are to: (1) describe the role and function of women according to Minangkabau customs; (2) analyze how these roles and functions are represented in the novel; and (3) identify the factors that cause the shift in women's existence within the Minangkabau social structure as illustrated in the narrative. This study contributes by providing a new perspective on how literature reflects the erosion of matrilineal values in contemporary Minangkabau society.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach using the framework of sociology of literature combined with a comparative perspective. The sociology of literature is applied to interpret the novel as a reflection of social reality, while the comparative approach is used to contrast the representation of women's roles in the text with the ideal norms of Minangkabau customary law. The primary data source is Ka'bat's Padusi novel, while secondary data consist of literature on Minangkabau traditions, previous studies, and theoretical references that support interpretation.

The unit of analysis includes the main and supporting characters (such as Sahara and Dinar), narrative fragments that portray social and cultural life, and dialogues related to inheritance, ulayat land, the role of bundo kanduang, domestic violence, and migration. Data were collected through repeated close reading of the novel, identification and extraction of relevant passages, note-taking, and classification of excerpts into thematic categories. The researcher acted as the main instrument of the study, supported by note-taking tools and recording devices for documentation during peer discussions.

To ensure trustworthiness, data validation was conducted using triangulation. This included source triangulation by comparing the novel with Minangkabau literature and previous studies, methodological triangulation through close reading, comparative analysis, and peer debriefing, and theoretical triangulation by employing multiple perspectives to enrich interpretation. Dependability was strengthened through an audit trail, while credibility and transferability were enhanced by providing thick description.

The data analysis followed a systematic process adapted from Miles and Huberman's model: data identification, reduction, coding, categorization, interpretation, and inference. In the identification stage, relevant units of analysis were marked and collected. During reduction, only passages directly related to women's roles and social structure were retained. Open coding was then applied to label each excerpt, which was subsequently grouped into broader thematic categories such as inheritance disputes, loss of ulayat rights, domestic violence, and women's migration. Comparative analysis was conducted by examining how these themes align or deviate from Minangkabau customary norms. Finally, the themes were synthesized to formulate explanations of the social factors—such as economic pressures, modernity, and changing social environments—that drive the shifting roles of women in the novel. Verification of findings was carried out through triangulation and peer review to ensure validity and reliability.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

1. The Existence of Women's Roles and Functions According to Minangkabau Customs and Culture

Based on Minangkabau culture, women occupy a special position in adat because the family unit is based on maternal lineage (matrilineal). This is in accordance with the existing provisions that the universe is a teacher as a place of learning and nature as an object. As for human offspring, it is like a plant, if the seeds of good plants will certainly give birth to good trees and fruit, and vice versa for humans. Therefore, a mother will determine the character of the human she is born with, like the cubs below.

*Kalau karuah aie di hulu
sampai ka muaro karuah juo.
Kalau kuriak induaknyo
rintik anaknyo.
Tuturan atok jatuh ka palambahan juo.*

*'If the water is cloudy upstream,
up to the muddy estuary too.*

*If the parent kurik,
his son's spit.
Rooftop story fell into exile too.'*

That is the provision stipulated by Minangkabau custom that the mother is the place to draw the human lineage which is often referred to as the matrilineal system. Behind that, custom also places women in a noble position and position and must be respected.

According to Idrus Hakimy (2004) mothers (*bundo kanduang*) in Minangkabau have a special position in the system of heredity and *harato pusako* (inheritance), such as rice fields, fields and houses where they live; it doesn't mean that men don't get a place in Minangkabau custom. Although at first glance a man in Minangkabau is seen as having no house and economic rights, in fact he has two houses and two economic sources, namely at the house of his female relatives (*kaumnya*) and his wife's house, as well as the rice fields.

Minangkabau custom takes into account and regulates women's rights in such a way, including economic resources. The matrilineal descent system is equipped with economic conditions and housing. In the basic rules of marriage in Minangkabau, if there is a divorce, the husband leaves the wife's house (*abu tauntunga*), so that women who are divorced by their husbands will not experience disappointment and difficulties in life, especially in the economic and housing fields.

On the other hand, a man who lives in his wife's house also manages his wife's family farm/business, and at the same time he also obtains economic rights from his extended family (his people) or from his relatives. Based on this fact, it can be seen in Minangkabau that men and women have the same economic or financial rights.

In Minangkabau, apart from *pusako* in the form of wealth, there is also *pusako* in the form of title values. According to Amir (2004: 94) intangible wealth is also referred to as a measure of inheritance, such as princely titles, and so on. Maternal lineage is also called *sako* parent or behavior or personality obtained through maternal blood circulation. The term *sako induak* is equated with the term "marriage". According to Amir (2007), *harato pusako* is divided into two parts, namely high heredity and low heredity. What is discussed in this study (the novel "Padusi") is high heredity (*pusaka high*) which is associated with the role of women in the family and their people.

According to Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo (2009:347) These customary provisions are expressed through the following *mamagan* (life guidelines).

*Bundo kanduang dalam kaum
Amban paruak pamegang kunci
Amban paruak alung bunian
Pusek jalo kumpulan tali
Hiasan dalam nagari
Nan gadang basa batuah
Kok hiduik tampek banasa
Kok mati tampek baniat
Ka unduang unduang Madinah
Ka payuang panji sarugo*

*'Bundo kanduang in the clan
Wardrobe and key holder
The power holder of the tribal house
The center of the net collects the ropes
Nagari decoration
Big lucky man
Time to live a vowed place
If you die, the place of intention
A protective veil to Medina
Umbrella to heaven*

Based on these customary provisions, *bundo kanduang* has an important role and function in the *gadang* house, namely as follows.

1. *Bundo kanduang* as the True Mother

Bundo kanduang consists of the word *bundo* meaning 'mother' and the word *kanduang* 'true', so *bundo kanduang* is 'true mother'. *Bundo kanduang* has motherly qualities and has a leadership spirit. *Bundo kanduang* is given a number of exceptions and primacy in life when compared to men whose aim is to be preserved from all forms and actions that will bring down this very noble people (Zainuddin, 2016:39). So within their people, women have special honor compared to men because in fact in Islam women are noble and respected.

2. *Bundo kanduang* as Decision Maker

According to Ibrahim Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo (2009) The position of Minangkabau women as mother and father is the main source and determinant in making a decision. In customary meetings, the matter and everything that will be decided is first consulted and asked for approval by the *mamak* to *bundo kanduang*. The results of the decisions taken will be conveyed in deliberations and returned to the *bundo kanduang*, because the implementation of the decisions implemented is coordinated with the *bundo kanduang*. All decisions given must be considered because *bundo kanduang* is a *pusek jalo* a collection of ropes. This can be seen from the following *mangan*.

Bundo kanduang barumah gadang
Pusek jalo kumpulan tali
Bukik biaso timbunan kabuik
Lurah biaso timbunan ayia
Tampek mangadu jo mamintak
Tampek mangaluah jo manulak

'Bundo kanduang has a gadang house
The center of the rope assembly mesh
An ordinary hill becomes a heap of fog
Lurah used to be a pile of water
A place to complain and ask
Where to complain and refuse'

In the *mangan* it is explained that *bundo kanduang* as a *pusek jalo* a collection of ropes must be able to deal with problems that come up wisely and act fairly so that the decisions taken can be well received.

3. *Bundo Kanduang* as the Leader of the People

According to Ibrahim Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo (2009) *Bundo Kanduang* has a position and function as a leader in his people. This can be seen from the following *mangan*.

Bundo kanduang-Limpapeh rumah gadang, amban paruak pamagang puro, amban paruak aluang bunian, pusek jalo pumpuan tali, hiasan dalam nagari, nan gadang basa batuah, kok hiduik tampek banasa, kok mati tampek baniat, ka unduang unduang Madinah, ka payuang panji sarugo.

'Bundo kanduang- the splendor of the gadang house, the holder of the chest of clothes and the keys, the holder of the power of the people's house, the center of the net of ropes, domestic ornaments, the great auspicious person, the time of life a place of vows, if one dies the place of intention, a protective veil to Medina, an umbrella to heaven's banner'

In the *mangan* it is explained that in Minangkabau Adat it is taught and instilled respect and glorification of women as a majesty in family life and as a symbol of descent from a matrilineal society. Therefore, *bundo kanduang* is a person who has the soul of a leader in the affairs of his household and his people; become the guarantor for the caretaker of the people's inheritance; being the center of all activities within the clan and determining the dignity of the clan within the *nagari*; and at the same time being responsible for religious moral education and the manners of its people, which is in accordance with the teachings of *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* or ABS-SBK (Adat is based on religion, religion is based on the book of Allah).

4. *Bundo Kandung* as a Role Model

Bundo Kandung has exemplary properties that determine the formation of the character of the child he is born with, because children will imitate and imitate in their family environment. According to Hakimy (1978: 8) the exemplary qualities that must be possessed by a *bundo kandung* are: (1) are correct because a *bundo kandung* must have a righteous nature which is always reflected in daily life; (2) *Bundo kandung* who is honest and serves as an example in his people; (3) are intelligent in order to know *mudharat jo mufakat, mangana labo jo rugi, mengetahui sumbang jo salah, tahu diunak kamanyangkuik, tahu rantiang kamacucuk ingek didahan nan kamaimpok, tahu diangin nan baseruik, arih diombak nan basabuang, tahu dialamat kato sampai*; (4) fluent in speech, because *bundo kandung* functions as an educator in the family and its people; and (5) has the nature of shame in himself, because shame is a trait that must be possessed by human beings who are faithful and pious.

2. The Existence of Minangkabau Women's Roles and Functions in *Ka'bati's Padusi* Novel

Based on custom, women in Minangkabau will become *bundo kandung*. He will become the main pillar or pillar of the *rumah gadang* so that his presence and words are heard and appreciated. However, in this novel the existence of women is in the opposite direction from the provisions of Minangkabau customs. This is because what happens in this novel is that a woman who lives in Minangkabau does not have her name written on her family tree. This resulted in him not getting the main rights, namely inheritance, both property inheritance and customary inheritance as *bundo kandung*. The impact is that women are no longer respected figures in the *gadoang* house, especially by their people. Another impact is that the figure of a *bundo kandung* is no longer respected by her husband in her own home, who in custom is only seen as ashes in the furnace.

Based on the results of data analysis, four forms and changes in the roles and functions of women were found in this novel, namely (1) the loss of women's rights to obtain inheritance and *ulayat* land, (2) the lives of women who are disadvantaged and not respected, (3) women who getting physical and mental violence, and (4) changing and damaging the role of men.

1. Loss of Women's Rights to Obtain Inheritance and Indigenous Land

As it should be in the Minangkabau custom that inheritance goes to the woman, in the sense of being the owner and caretaker, in this *Padusi* novel the fact is that inheritance and *ulayat* assets have been mortgaged by the men of the Sahara family to fulfill their daily needs. Therefore, he tries to make a fortune by migrating for economic needs and continuing education. This is felt by the Dinar character, a woman who is neglected by her men, as in the following quote.

"When ulayat can no longer be mortgaged for costs to repair a rickety and leaky house, burying bodies that stretch out in the yard, or costs for a girl's wedding that are getting more and more expensive; what can a nephew's son do if he doesn't go abroad? Looking for better land and fortune. Moreover, the ulayat that has been broken up for the benefit of those who were born first and continues to grow. Not a few heirlooms were confiscated for the benefit of development." (Ka'bati, 2015:4-5).

On the other hand, the harsh reality faced by Dinar was when the inheritance and customary land were mortgaged, there were no other assets left because his mother was not from a group of people who had a lot of wealth. This is illustrated in the following quote.

"What glory and power can we have if it turns out that my family does not own ulayat land at all, inherited land passed down to people who are called "bundo". Without land, all the glory of women is a dream. Thus, everything happened solely because my mother was not from a clan of wealthy people whose customary land could be maintained for dozens of generations." (Ka'bati, 2015:17).

As a result of pawning the heirlooms and clan land, the Dinar family lives by renting land which is paid annually. This was because the men from that community liked to play gambling and fight cocks so that they pawned a lot of property and land. This is contained in the following quote.

"Our house is a rectangular building, like a cube measuring five by five meters. The small cube is then sealed with a thin sheet of board which forms a stuffy room. One entrance and a side window facing the sea.

The house is right on the beach. It was built on land rented annually from a landlord who controlled almost all of the resident's land along the coast. According to the conversation I heard, actually the land there used to belong to our tribal people which was later mortgaged. It's all because of the habit of the

men in the tribe who like to gamble and fight cocks. One of the stakes is land property.” (Ka’bati, 2015:18).

2. The Dishonorable Life of a Woman

Very contrary to the custom that should apply in Minangkabau, that women are highly respected and valued. However, in reality Dinar and his mother are not honored and live in poverty and misery, as in the following quote.

“What a sad fact this is. In Bundo Kanduang, why can't women receive inheritance? Why am I not glorified? Why do most women in coastal communities seem stupid and dirty, and seem like slaves? Have these customs shifted, or are we actually not civilized people?” (Ka’bati, 2015:18).

For Dinar, it is a dream to become a woman who gets inheritance and inheritance. Not having these things makes women no longer glorified and become slaves in their own land. The inheritance that Dinar and his family did not get had a very influential impact on his life so that he experienced poverty and misery and forced him to live harder to meet his needs. At a very early age he had to endure trials, and eight years of age generally does not have the economic thinking that adults should think about. This can be seen in the following quote:

“I'm about eight years old, my younger siblings are six years old and five years old respectively. As the oldest child, I don't know what to do. I almost agree with your opinion, that because we are all women, that's why life feels poor and unlucky.” (Ka’bati, 2015:37).

At a very young age and having two younger siblings, Dinar had to live a bitter reality because his father wanted a son but he couldn't get it. Because the situation and conditions were very complicated for her, Dinar almost justified her father's opinion that all girls bring bad luck and misfortune to the family.

3. Women Get Physical and Mental Violence

As applicable in Minangkabau custom that women are highly respected and glorified. But that was not obtained by Dinar's mother because she was abused by her own husband. This is contained in the following quote.

*“...I clearly heard the roar of my father's breath and the moans like a mother's stifled cry.
“Come on, Mausul, I can't stand you being treated like this anymore.” “Then you provide the female tenant's money for me to sleep with!” “But...” “Shut up! What is a woman for if not for sleeping?”*

I shivered at the loud bang. Slowly I sat down. I saw my sister, Sarah was fast asleep. I inched to the barrier door. There I witnessed a scene. My mother's small body was squeezed under a large tattooed body that was not covered by a single thread. Mother's legs flailed as if trying to escape. The man kept on crawling. His mouth bit the mother's body.” (Ka’bati, 2015:25-26). A very rough treatment faced by a man who should protect a weak female figure. However, it is different with Mausul, Dinar's stepfather who has the heart to treat his wife with disrespect. After that Dinar's mother gave birth to a daughter, but Mausul did not want a daughter but a son. As a result of the physical violence committed by Dinar's father to his mother, his mother was subjected to mental pressure or lost her sanity, as explained in the following quotation.

“Mother has changed. His temperament became different. I think this history of slapping my father's hand on his head is the cause. Father's departure also adds an unbearable burden. Mother said it was a bit kanai because of a nervous breakdown.” (Ka’bati, 2015:31).

It is very sad to see that women who are glorified and respected get violence from their husbands. This was solely because Dinar's mother did not give birth to a son. Because a daughter is useless in the eyes of her father.

4. Damage to Men's Roles and Functions

The things that are the obligation and responsibility of men according to Minangkabau customary provisions are to look after and protect their children and nephews and to glorify and respect women who will later become *bundo kanduang* figures in their family. By guarding the inheritance and managing it so

that it does not become extinct and so that later it will be useful for his nephews and descendants. However, this is in stark contrast to the figures of Minang men in the novel *Padusi*. This is contained in the quote below.

"After the father disappeared, the men in the village became increasingly bad-tempered. The arbitrariness of women and children is getting worse. Criminals, pickpockets, muggers, and prostitutes abound. Even in the criminal map in the police, our village is considered as all depravity. High divorce rate. Almost evenly." (Ka'bati, 2015:41).

It can be understood from the quotation above that there are many cases of depravity and damage to women's self-esteem due to many violations of customary norms so that men change their character because their roles and responsibilities have been damaged. In this novel it is described that customary rules seem to be just rhetoric because men's roles and responsibilities have been damaged by the times.

3. Causes of the Shift in the Existence of Women's Roles and Functions in Minangkabau Customs and Culture with Current Realities

Based on data analysis, several factors have been found to cause changes in the roles and functions of Minangkabau women in the novel *Padusi* Karya Ka'bati.

1. Changes in the Social Environment

Social change will always occur throughout the ages considering that society is constantly moving, developing, advancing and changing. Every individual or group in a society will definitely experience a change. This happens because every individual and group member in the community has the thoughts and abilities to continue to advance and develop from time to time. Often changes in society are due to elements that must be carried out in order to achieve a more decent life in the future. This change was triggered by the desire to lead a better life in the future. With the nature and nature of humans who always want to make changes to continue to create new things. New things continue to develop until finally changing the old system accordingly and over time.

The social environment is very influential in everyday life because the number of members of the clan is increasing day by day, while the agricultural land as an economic resource is getting smaller and smaller, causing easy conflicts and struggles between members of the clan. Minangkabau custom which has regulated that heirlooms and ulayat land may not be traded, and can only be pawned under certain conditions and not for individual interests. Inheritance that can be pawned is because it aims to mambangkik batang tarandam, because gadih gadang tak balaki. Apart from that, to repair the gadang house, the corpses were lying down because of the lack of maintenance costs and costs batagak panghulu. Such circumstances and environment urge humans to be more advanced in order to meet their daily needs. In this novel, Dinar's stepfather cannot meet the needs of the family so Dinar's mother becomes indebted to her neighbors and works by picking up small fish that are scattered among fishermen who return to sea. The rupiah that he collected with his son was used up for daily food expenses and paying off the debt. This social change is experienced by the women in the novel

"And he never gives mom enough shopping. as a result, mothers often owe money to neighbors or in stalls. And, to pay off the debts that never decrease, my mother and I have to work." (Ka'bati. 2015: 4-5).

The quote above is one of the consequences of Dinar's mother's lack of responsibility as a husband, so that she and her children have to work hard to fulfill their family's needs by paying debts to neighbors or food stalls around where she lives.

2. Economic Needs

Merantau is the culture of the Minangkabau people which has influenced shifting values. Over time, previously in Minangkabau culture it was not justified for women to wander far away and leave the gadang house, except for the purpose of seeking educational knowledge, or spreading educational knowledge and that had to be with their muhrim, but in practice what happened in this novel is that many women go abroad to make ends meet and seek fortune by working as a TKI/TKW. This is found in the quote below.

"The Minang people are indeed migrants, but their culture and customs, which are based on syara', do not justify women being deployed to wander so far. Indeed, in

history, Minang women went abroad but for educational purposes to spread knowledge and the glory of the culture they inherited. But not working as laborers, like we are now. Even then, they went with their muhrim.” (Ka’bati, 2015:4).

The economic factor is very influential in everyday life, because it is an important source. Originally traveling was aimed at education but now wandering for women aims to make ends meet. On the other hand, Sahara went abroad to fulfill his needs and his future because his father was no longer able to provide for his family. This is contained in the following quote.

“Because of that, it seems that he rarely comes home to his wife. He just lives in the surau. Plus, old age and non-existent fixed income. He gets alms and zakat delivered by the community. It took turns the children and wife delivered food to father; while my daily expenses and my other brothers and sisters are working on it. You can't complain. Moreover, her husband is a Tuanku. Must be respected.” (Ka’bati, 2015:12).

It is understood that a husband who should try to provide for the needs of his family, but Mrs. Sahara is the one who does it, looking for daily expenses and even educational expenses for her children.

3. Modernization Demands

According to Rosana (2015) Modernization cannot be separated from human life, because modernization is one of the social changes that occur in society. Society cannot avoid it because every human society is always changing and always wants to change. Changes in behavior and thoughts obtained from cultural acculturation from outside, science that is increasingly sophisticated and makes it easier to obtain the information needed, seems to be decisive in modernization. Such things trigger social change in Minang society. One of the changes that have occurred in Minang society as demands for modernization is in terms of appearance in this novel.

“When the creativity of thought is restrained, where else can the creative power be channeled if not to physical appearance? tight t-shirts with pencil pants, high heels, and various styles of cosmetics.” (Ka’bati, 2015:77).

In addition to changes in appearance, changes in negative behavior in the campus environment are contained in this novel, as in the following excerpt.

“The riots were carried out outside the campus environment, which was not covered by the strict rules. Secretly spreading promiscuity, consumption of illegal drugs, many malls and discotheques appeared. Beachside entertainment and hotel rooms are more beautiful creative places than campuses.” (Ka’bati, 2015:77).

The Minangkabau people are currently facing the challenges of the times, where surau used to be one of the educational media that was taught from an early age to the next generation, but now there are not many suraus like before because education is now being transferred to schools and also pesantren. Modernization triggers positive and negative social changes. The positive impact of modernization is facilitating access to information, education and as an economic resource through the internet. However, if you look at its current developments, it will cause more negative impacts if it is used incorrectly. For example, the use of social media is very influential in shaping one's character. Everything is posted on social media including relationships and even personal life. In addition, the negative impact is the widespread use of drugs and the like, prostitution and free sex, sexual violence, LGBT, and other deviant things that happen to society. This is in line with Fadhilah's opinion/research results (2020) The rise of immoral acts in West Sumatra which has recently affected the psychological atmosphere of children, educators and parents in Minangkabau. They will see that immoral practices are not far from their social environment. They are not only worried that their children will be exposed to negative news, but also can plunge the younger generation into immoral behavior.

Discussion

Although the shifts in function and social structure of Minangkabau women discussed in this study originate from a novel, it cannot be denied that literary works are a reflection of the society. In addition, literary works are a product of local wisdom that are able to provide feedback and enlightenment for those who are able to appreciate them (Agustina, et al. 2016). In accordance with the opinion of Zanuddin (2010) that the primacy of women over men in Minangkabau custom is as a *bundo kanduang*, which places women in a special position, including: descendants drawn from the mother's line (Matrilineal). Women or Bundo

kanduang who are considered as figures of the rich house gadang, have a very decisive role in Minangkabau society. Limpapeh which means the middle pillar in a building where all the strength of the other pillars will be concentrated which will be connected with other tools. If the center pillar collapses, the other pillars will fall apart.

Bundo kanduang has a high position within his people, namely as 'owner'; in the sense of "guard" of the harato pusako (inheritance) of the people because it is fully used for the benefit of their people. For this reason, this inheritance may not be sold except for four things, namely for administration mayat tabujua ditengah rumah, rumah gadang katirisan, gadih gadang alun balaki, dan mambangkik batang tarandam. In addition to the interests of these four things, inheritance can only be used for the continuation of the life of their people with the provision that "ownership" by women as *bundo kanduang*, while "management and supervision" by men as niniak mamak (Agustina, et al., 2016).

However, in this study the provisions outlined by the custom are very contrary to their realization. In the novel "Padusi" by Ka'bati, it is told how the figure and condition that is being experienced by a Saharan character who loses women's rights to inheritance because ulayat land has been sold by men arbitrarily, so to support his family he tries to make a fortune by how to migrate and become migrant workers in Malaysia. Based on the reality in the novel, there has been a shift in the existence of women in Minangkabau, namely going abroad to earn a living, which should be done by men. In fact, according to customary provisions, because the economic system is communal, the inheritance belongs to all relatives/people, genealogically matrilineal women as *bundo kanduang* are given the power to represent their relatives as "owners" of pusako (inheritance), while men as ninik mamak are given power as a "manager" for the benefit of his relatives; however, men do not have the right to determine for themselves but must be together with the women of their clan (Navis, 1984:161). Thus, the rights of women in Minangkabau are equal to those of men. This is what has been violated by men because selling inheritance does not involve women, but only for their own interests because they lose at gambling.

On the other hand, the harsh reality experienced by Dinar is that he has no inheritance, because his mother is not the person who gets a share of the inheritance. This condition triggered coercion and pressure from her husband so that her mother and Dinar, who was only five years old, had to work hard to earn a living to support their family. This fact was also found in Marton's research (2018) that in the *Padusi* novel there is exploitation of women and children in the life of the Minangkabau people. Furthermore, the living conditions of women who are not fortunate are not appreciated by their husbands. This fact is in stark contrast to the figure of women who are respected and glorified in customary terms. This finding is also in line with the results of Ulva's research (2018) that social interaction in the *Padusi* novel is in addition to being in an associative form, namely the process of social interaction that contains positive values such as cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation; also found in the dissociative form, namely the process of social interaction that contains negative values such as competition, controversy, and conflict or conflict. In this case, arbitrary control of inheritance by men has an impact on the emergence of competition, controversy, conflict, and even conflict within their people. That is why, in Minangkabau customary provisions as inheritance, inheritance cannot be divided, let alone sold, but must be maintained so that its use is always intact in order to maintain the continuation of the lives of relatives so that it can also be passed on to the next generation (Navis, 1984: 159-160).

In addition, Dinar's mother received bad treatment as a wife by his father so that he lived in poverty and misery. The very rough treatment experienced by Dinar's mother from his father in the form of physical and psychological violence greatly impacted Dinar's personality. This fact is also supported by the findings of Gusnita (2016) that Dinar's personality as the main character of the novel *Padusi* grows as a rebellious, quiet, vengeful woman. The factors that shape Dinar's personality come from his father's ego, the psychological condition of his mother who was oppressed and the death of her two younger siblings, the failure of her dreams, etc. so that Dinar grew into a woman who likes to be alone and has difficulty interacting with men. This shows that there has been a shift in the role of women in Minangkabau, from being glorified as a mother in managing inheritance for the benefit of her family and people to being neglected and abused by her own husband. In fact, according to customary provisions, the husband does not have full rights over the wife's house because the husband is like *abu atehdinding*, who at any time, if not in accordance with the customary provisions, can leave/leave the wife's house; except for the husband's own house or nuclear family (Agustina, et al, 2016). Thus it can be concluded that the existence of women in the *Padusi* novel has in fact shifted from the social structure of Minangkabau society, even contrary to the provisions outlined in adat.

The social changes experienced by the female figure occurred due to several factors. Among them are changes in the social environment. The number of family members continues to increase, while the land that is a source of economy is getting smaller and smaller, so conflicts over land often occur. Furthermore, economic factors such as daily living costs and children's education costs. Finally, the thing that influences the change in the existence of women is modernization. Conditions and circumstances that encourage people to be more advanced in order to live in accordance with the demands of the present.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The findings of this study demonstrate a significant shift in the role and function of women in Ka'bati's *Padusi* novel compared to the traditional social structure of Minangkabau society. Ideally, women as Bundo Kandung serve as guardians of inheritance, central figures in the rumah gadang, and determinants of their family's honor, in line with the principle of adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK). However, the novel depicts a contrasting reality in which women lose inheritance rights, suffer marginalization, and even experience physical and psychological violence. This shift not only undermines their position as respected mothers and decision-makers but also forces them to assume the role of breadwinners, replacing men who neglect their responsibilities. The causes of this transformation are rooted in economic pressures and the demands of modernization, which reshape gender relations and social values. Thus, the novel reflects a broader social change where women's roles, once central and honored, are redefined under new structural and cultural conditions.

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