

HEGEMONY IN HAMKA'S NOVEL *TENGCELAMNYAKAPAL VAN DER WIJCK*

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Abstract

The research discusses the issue of hegemony in Hamka's novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*. The work is apparently coded with custom system in its society and can be seen as a reflection of social reality. The novel explores the custom system in Minangkabau society and reveals that nearly every member of the society is bound by the existing cultural norms. From one side, the cultural system gives a good guideline for the people; but on the other side, the hegemony within the cultural systems brings the people into rigidity. No one is brave enough to stand against the hegemony of the existing norms. The research focuses solely on the form of hegemony practices done by the elders in Minangkabau culture. This research is done by descriptive qualitative method through literary sociological approach by using the theory of power of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci. The data are obtained by using reading and noting technique. The data source is the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* by Hamka. The results of the research consist of two points; (1) hegemony in the form of ideology namely authoritarianism. (2) hegemony in the forms of culture namely kinship system and social stratification in Minangkabau.

Keywords: *Authoritarianism; hegemony; kinship; social stratification; power*

1. Introduction

The appearance of power, violence and forced marriage in a society influences people's behavior in a daily life. This case is caused by the existence of hegemony of power emerging in a social life. Hegemony is described by Gramsci as the foundation of a ruling class, in which ideas are used as a power to eliminate class struggle, capable of muting conflict of interest sufficiently to allow class societies to function (Bates, 2013: 351). It is relevant with the custom portrayed in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* by Hamka which was firstly published in 1938, and filmed under the same title and has been printed until now. The background of this novel is Hamka's opinion on the strictness of custom and social relations that hinder the love relationship of a couple. One of the cultural hegemonies portrayed in this novel is a marriage rule stating that a marriage done between someone and another person coming from out of Minangkabau tribe is strictly forbidden in the society. Hamka feels that these customary regulations are not in accordance with the teachings

of the religion in the area, namely Islam. The novel talks about a protagonist named Zainudin who faces many obstacles in having a love relationship. Zainudin is an orphan who wanders into the land of his father's birth, Padang. He falls in love with a beautiful and original girl of Minangkabau, Hayati. Hayati is also an orphan who lives with her uncle, a customary leader in her village. In the novel, Hamka describes a young man named Zainudin who is forged with a life full of simplicity and is considered to be someone who is not of customary descent. He loves a girl named Hayati who is raised by a family and society that maintains strong cultural tradition. However, their love affair faces many obstacles because Hayati's family members do not like Zainudin because his origin is not traditional according to the local community.

The researchers are curious to know more about the custom influenced by the hegemony upheld by the society in the novel. Then the topic discussed often occurs in real life today so that it can be a moral lesson which should be learned by the readers. The novel is written by one of the figures in Indonesian literature, Prof. Dr. H. Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (1908 – 1981) or known as HAMKA who is very famous in Indonesia. The novel is more unique and interesting than others because the author of this novel has a good intention to criticize some traditions that have been done by society at the time, especially about "forced marriage". Hamka is known as a writer, humanist, scientist, leader, cleric, preacher, politician, educator, as well as an expert in Islamic religious sciences. As a writer, Hamka has produced some works of romance literature which are quite reckoned with in the Indonesian literary scene. Among his romances are *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (1937), *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (1938) and *Merantau Ke Deli* (1939). He has also produced hundreds of works which include novels, sufism, philosophy and interpretations which are still being read by people. He writes the book *Sejarah Kerajaan- Kerajaan Islam Nusantara*. In the field of religious sciences, he writes a book of commentaries that we then know as *Tafsir Al- Azhar*, something that seems rarely by Muslim scholar in Indonesia. He also writes various Islamic works in the various fields, namely *Pelajaran Agama Islam*, *Falsafah Hidup*, *Lembaga Budi*, and *Lembaga Hidup*. Hamka has also been the rector of the Islamic University of Jakarta and Prof. Mustopo University of Jakarta. Hamka has received several awards at the national and international levels such as Doctor Honorary Award, al-Azhar University, 1958; Doctorate of Honoris Causa, University of Malaysia, 1974; and the title of Datuk Indono and Prince Wiroguno from the Indonesian government.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony

It is generally agreed upon that Antonio Gramsci shares with Marx and the Marxists as a whole of their belief that the struggle between the ruling class and the subordinate working class is what enables society to move forward. However, when it comes to the way, the ruling class dominates and rules and in this case Gramsci distances himself a lot from Marxism. In other words, whereas the Marxists focus on the coercive practices of the ruling class and its tendency to exploit the proletariat by means of force, Gramsci emphasizes the role of ideology. In his opinion, before the ruling class resorts to direct force and coercion, it seeks to make its rule acceptable by all classes. This is what Gramsci calls "hegemony". To foster a better understanding of the gramscian concept of hegemony, it is useful to highlight its link to earlier Marxist

thought. Relatedly, Marx is of the opinion that the world cannot get its real meaning through our views and perceptions as idealist philosophers claim. For him, our ideas and views necessarily appear within certain historical and social contexts. In his own words, “life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life” (Jones, 2006: 28).

According to Marx, since the ruling class owns and controls the means of production, it must equally control the means of intellectual and cultural production. Consequently, the ideas of the ruling class must be the most prevailing ideas in society. Put in Marx’s words, “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, the class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production” (Jones, 2006: 28). By implication, therefore, what follows is that since the economic base is the determining element in society, the success of the working class revolution requires a fundamental change in the economic base. To argue this point, Steve Jones says:

To truly change society, the base would have to be fundamentally changed and this for Marx, writing in the context of industrial society, entailed workers seizing control of the „means of production“ (above all, the factories). It follows from this argument that super structural changes penal reform, say, or abolishing private education could not in themselves be truly revolutionary. This is not to say that they would be unwelcome, but they would not change the essential characteristics of capitalist exploitation (Jones, 2006: 29).

It can, therefore, be argued that Marx and his followers are so obsessed with the economic factor that they ignore the role culture and ideology can play in the production of social relations. For them, it is always the economic base that determines the status people occupy in society. This is to imply that if the working class wants to become the dominant class in society, it must have total control of the base. That is, revolution would be possible only if there is a fundamental change in the economic base.

Gramsci rejects the Marxist claim that the power of the ruling class is limited to the economic base. For him, a social class becomes hegemonic not only by controlling the means of production and coercing other classes but rather by establishing their consent. In fact, consent is so important to Gramsci’s theory of hegemony. The point being made is that before the ruling class resorts to force and coercion, it seeks to indoctrinate the proletariat with those ideas that make them consent to their subordinate position. Gramsci holds the view that hegemony is always established on

The “spontaneous” consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is “historically” caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Jones, 2006: 12).

In the main, Gramsci’s concept of hegemony can perhaps be traced back to Marx’s prediction that the working class revolution which took place in Russia would spread to all advanced capitalist societies. Gramsci notices that this was not the case. On the contrary, although the suffering of the working class was very obvious, the ruling classes of all capitalist societies managed to maintain their rule, in some cases without even using physical force and coercion. According to Gramsci, the

subaltern people were so manipulated that it did not even occur to them to question the dominant system of rule which came to be seen as the "norm". The dominant groups managed to stabilize their rule by seeking to win the approval of other groups. To argue this point, Dominic Strinati maintains:

Dominant groups in society, including fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing the "spontaneous consent" of subordinate groups, including the working class, through the negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups (Jones, 2006: 165).

The main point to get hold of here is that the consent of the people is what makes the rule of the dominant class secure. This is why the latter relies more on manipulative and ideological means than direct force and oppressive power. Put differently, when the subaltern people believe that it is in their interests to accept the leadership of the ruling class, they do so willingly.

2.2 Theory of kinship

According to Fox (1966), the kinship system has an important meaning in many societies, both simple and advanced societies. Relationships with ancestors and relatives are the key to relationships in the social structure. Relationships with relatives become the axis of various interactions, obligations, loyalties, and sentiments. In a society where kinship is very important, loyalty to relatives replaces loyalty to others. This means that the kinship system is closely related to the social structure it builds further.

The Minangkabau ethnic is famous for its matrilineal kinship system. The matrilineal kinship system is rare because only a few ethnic groups in the world have it. Heider (1997: 182) mentions several examples of matrilineal societies in the world such as the Navajo and Hopi people in North America, several ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa, some cultures in India, especially in the southern state of Kerala. According to Heider, the largest matrilineal population is the Minangkabau ethnic group in Indonesia. According to Marzali (2000), the characteristics of the matrilineal system are as follows:

- 1) descent is traced through the female line;
- 2) lineage group members are recruited through the female line;
- 3) inheritance and political succession are channeled through the female line.

Meanwhile, Kato (1978) describes the characteristics of the Minangkabau matrilineal system, namely:

- 1) The formation of the lineage group is organized according to the female line;
- 2) The lineage group is headed by a man called the *penghulu*;
- 3) The pattern of local dual settlement in the sense that a man stays at his wife's house at night and during the day at his parents' house;
- 4) The authority in the family is in the hands of the *mamak*.

2.3 Theory of Authoritarianism

The initiator of the new research stream on authoritarianism is Robert Altemeyer (1988). His approach leaves the theoretical basis of the Freudian psychodynamic theory behind and focuses on learning processes highlighting agents of socialization, such as

family and peer group, and the context of society. In his work the so-called right-wing authoritarianism is influenced by situation or environment rather than just personality development. Another fruitful stream of contemporary authoritarianism research relates authoritarianism to threat and fear (Duckitt, 2001). Combining classical assumptions with the threat theory conceptualized by Stephan and Stephan (2000), authoritarianism appears to be a consequence of rapid social change perceived as individual or collective threat (e.g., unemployment, processes of culture change).

2.4 Theory of Social Stratification

Historically and sociologically speaking, there is no classless society. All societies exhibit some forms of ranking whereby its members are categorized into positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, prestigious or insignificant, in relation to each other (Davis & Moore, 1945). This form of categorization that operates in a structured system of inequality in which members are ranked based on selected criteria thereby limiting members' access to wealth, power and opportunities is referred to as social stratification. That is, social stratification is a sociological term that applies to the ranking or grading of individuals and groups into hierarchical layers such that inequality exist in the allocation of rewards, privileges and resources.

According to Giddens (2001), social stratification simply refers to as structured inequalities between or among different social groupings. It is to be noted that these inequalities are engendered not by mere categorization of individuals according to their attitudes but by an established system of classifying groups; a complex of social institutions that generate observed inequalities which unequally distribute societal resources (such as income and power) with the most privileged individuals and families enjoying a disproportionate share. Some individuals, by virtue of their roles or group memberships, are advantaged, while others are disadvantaged. If stratification is universally necessary (Davis & Moore, 1945) and disadvantageous to certain groups, then societies must create a democratic structure that allows social mobility – the ease and frequency of moving into a different class, rank, group or hierarchy than that into which one was born – since the fairness of societies is only judged by its level of social mobility (Simandan, 2018).

3. Research Method

This research is a qualitative descriptive research. According to Creswell (1994: 18), qualitative research is also described as an unfolding model that occurs in a natural setting that enables the researcher to develop a level of detail from high involvement in the actual experiences. Using descriptive qualitative methods means providing detailed description, explanation, and interpretation of the data to be obtained from a research. This method is applied because the researchers want to do deep exploration about social phenomenon related to cultural hegemony which can be found in a society. Descriptive data referred to in this research is to use data in the form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs, not numbers.

The data are taken from the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* in the forms of text referring to hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci. The research deals with the hegemony: authoritarianism and kinship system and social stratification of Minangkabau. All the hegemonies are adjusted with the above-mentioned points of discussion. Sources of data in research are subjects from which data can be obtained.

The sources of data are taken from other related sources such as books, journal articles and other sources.

Data collection procedure in this research starts from getting a full understanding of the novel entitled *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*. Relevant data are selected and identified. Theories related to the subject matter of the research are observed and selected. Data analysis in the research consists of three flows of activities that occur simultaneously, namely data collection, data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing/verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In data collection procedures, the data are obtained from what is read and recorded in a detailed description, in this case about the hegemony in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*. In presenting the data, the classified data are then arranged in an orderly manner so that it is easy to understand. The data are then made into a table and analyzed or interpreted according to the context of the text in order to obtain a description related to the hegemony. Finally conclusions are made about the results from the data obtained from the beginning of the research. This conclusion still requires verification (re-examination of the truth of the report) so that the results obtained are truly valid.

4. Discussion

In this research, the researcher uses hegemony theory proposed by Antonio Gramsci. According to Gramsci, hegemony can be achieved through coercion. Coercion is the cultivation of power from the dominant group by using violent apparatus such as the police (Faruk, 2017: 135). In line with this, the research discussing issue relates to the hegemony contained in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* includes: kinship system, authoritarianism and social stratification of Minangkabau.

4.1 Kinship System of Minangkabau

Minangkabau kinship system is Matrilineal. Matrilineal is a society custom regulating the flow of descent from the mother's side. The principle of the Minangkabau community kinship system is matrilineal descend, which counts the members kinship through the maternal line. Minangkabau community kinship system in the novel is clearly described from the beginning story told with background of Zainudin's father who has no female siblings. As a result, it cannot inherit from the mother's line. That matter also has an impact on Zainudin who knows that his father and mother are from different tribe which causes him not being considered have Minangkabau descent by the community of Minangkabau in Batipuh village. In Minangkabau custom, Zainudin is called as a *banana child* who is the result of different ethnic marriage. This thing affects his life when he wants to get married to Hayati. Their love relationship was strongly opposed by Hayati's uncle "Datuk". It can be noticed from the following text:

...*"Zainuddin," ujarnya. "Telah banyak nian pembicaraan orang yang kurang enak kudengar terhadap dirimu dan diri kemenakanku. Kata orang tua-tua, telah melakukan perbuatan yang buruk rupa, salah canda, yang pantang benar di dalam negeri yang beradat ini. Diri saya percaya bahwa engkau tiada melakukan perbuatan yang tiada senonoh dengan kemenakanku, yang dapat merusakkan nama Hayati selama hidupnya. Tetapi sekarang saya temui engkau untuk*

memberi engkau nasihat, lebih baik sebelum perbuatan berkelanjutan, sebelum merusakkan nama kami dalam negeri, suku sako turun-temurun, yang belum lekang di panas dan belum lapuk di hujan supaya engkau surut” ... (Hamka, 2017: 59)

The data source above shows the existence of hegemony addressed to Zainudin. The text is a dialogue between Datuk and Zainudin describing a rejection to Zainudin who proposes Hayati to be his wife. The rejection is caused by kinship system regarding that Zainudin is not original person of Minangkabau. Kinship system of Minangkabau is matrilineal where lineage is based on maternal line. Woman in a matrilineal society has a stronger position in the family and in decision making. It is known that Zainudin’s mother is from Mengkasar meanwhile the role of woman is very important in kinship system of Minangkabau. For that reason, Zainudin gets a rejection of Hayati’s uncle. The rejection can be noticed clearly from the text *nian* (KBBI) taken from Indonesian means *very* showing that very many people talk about the special relationship between Zainudin and his niece named Hayati and it makes the people around unhappy and do not like Zainudin. The people there hate what Zainudin does to Hayati because they suppose that the deed done to Hayati is something marked based on the view of religion namely Islam and the custom in that area. Moreover, the utterance of Datuk “*kata orang tua-tua*” is a form of strengthening to support him not to approve the relationship between Zainudin and Hayati where the role of elder people is dignified especially about something related to the custom or local norm. Although Datuk is convinced that Zainudin does not do something bad forbidden by religion to his niece that can ruin a good name of Hayati in her whole life, he keeps giving advice to Zainudin to break the relationship before it goes further which possibly can ruin their good name in that area. In addition, the utterance of Datuk *lebih baik sebelum perbuatan berkelanjutan, sebelum merusakkan nama kami dalam negeri, suku sako turun-temurun, yang belum lekang di panas dan belum lapuk di hujan supaya engkau surut* describes that Datuk upholds the dignified custom of Minangkabau and regards Zainudin is not an original person of Minangkabau. It can be noticed clearly from the text *nama kami dalam negeri* uttered by Datuk to Zainudin showing that Zainudin is out of their tribe namely Minangkabau. Besides, the text *supaya engkau surut* describes that Datuk also asks Zainudin to surrender the special relationship to Hayati before being late. The utterance is as if a conclusion expressing that breaking the relationship is a better decision which should be taken by Zainudin. Another description showing kinship system of Minangkabau is also found when Hayati is afraid of responding Zainudin’s letter expressing his feeling to Hayati. It can be seen from the following text:

... “Segala perkataan Tuan itu benar, tidak ada yang salah. Tapi peredaran masa dan zaman senantiasa berlain dengan kehendak manusia, di dalam kita tertarik dengan tertawanya, tiba-tiba kita diberinya tangis. Saya ingat kekerasan adat di sini, saya ingat kecenderungan mata orang banyak, akan banyak halangnya jika kita bercinta-cintaan. Saya takut bahaya dan kesukaran yang akan kita temui jika jalan ini kita tempuh” ... (Hamka, 2017: 56)

The text above shows that Hayati worries and feels a fear if she has a love relationship with Zainudin. It is not because she does not love Zainudin but she knows there will be so many obstacles which they will face later. The text *Saya ingat*

kekerasan adat di sini describes that Hayati really understands about a strict custom in that area especially about "marriage rule" emphasizing that a marriage done between someone and another person coming from outside of Minangkabau tribe is strictly forbidden. Hayati realizes that Zainudin must be regarded as someone from a lower class society because he is not an original person of Minangkabau. In fact, Zainudin's father is from Minangkabau but his mother is from Mengkasar. From the case, it can be seen that having an origin of Minangkabau blood is something priceless in the kinship system of Minangkabau society.

4.2 Authoritarianism

Leaders in authoritarian systems often exercise their power arbitrarily and consider themselves above existing law. The existence of authoritarianism can be found everywhere. It is not only in the government system but also in the society as it is portrayed in the leadership in the society of Minangkabau depicted in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*. Hayati's uncle "Datuk" is a customary head who upholds the custom rule and adheres authoritarianism system causing the appearance of hegemony addressed to Hayati and Zainudin. The following is the text describing hegemony referring to authoritarianism:

... "Sudahkah engkau tahu, Hayati?" "Apa Engku? "Zainudin telah saya suruh pergi dari Batipuh. Kalau dia hendak menuntut ilmu juga, sebagai niatnya bermula, lebih baik dia pergi ke Padang Panjang, dia telah mau." ... (Hamka, 2017: 62)

The text above shows an authoritarianism of Datuk commending Zainudin to leave Batipuh. Datuk does not like the coming of Zainudin in the village which he leads. Besides having a relation with Hayati, Zainudin is not regarded as an original person of Minangkabau. Thus, as a customary head, Datuk emphasizes that a marriage between Minang person and someone from outside of Minang is strictly forbidden in Minangkabau tribe. As for the reason, he uses his authority and power to instruct Zainudin to leave Hayati and Batipuh. On the other side, when Hayati knows that Zainudin is commended to go, she begs a pity to Datuk as the following text:

... *Oh Engku, mengapa engkau sampai hati membunuh Zainudin dan membunuh kemenakan Engku sendiri?* ... (Hamka, 2017: 63)

The data source above describes how Hayati begs a pity to Datuk. She kneels on Datuk's leg not to do it but it does not make Datuk change his mind. The text *mengapa engkau sampai hati membunuh Zainudin dan membunuh kemenakan Engku sendiri* clearly describes that Datuk's decision makes her and Zainudin lose spirit of life and undergo depression. However, as an elder man named Datuk, the decision made by him is something right. Furthermore, he has a power and authority to do so. In this case, the hegemony portrayed in authoritarianism does exist in the novel.

4.3 Social Stratification

In accordance with the structure of Minangkabau society and agrarian economy during the colonial era is still simple, thus social stratification has not been complicated. In general, the level of Minangkabau social norm is only applied for society in a certain village. Social stratification of Minangkabau society contained in the novel clearly shows the boundaries among social class. Hayati belonging to the upper social class is

not allowed to marry Zainudin whose status and origin are considered unclear by Hayati's family. Hayati's family prefers to accept another man named Aziz who has a higher social status from life to Zainudin. below is the text showing the hegemony emphasizing a social stratification:

...Hai Upik, baru kemarin kau memakam garam dunia, kau belum tahu belit-belitnya. Bukanlah kau sembarang orang, bukan tampan Zainudin itu jodohmu. Orang yang begitu tak dapat untuk menggantungkan hidupmu, pemenuh, pengiba hati, dan kadang - kadang panjang angan-angan. Di zaman sekarang ini haruslah suami penunjang hidup itu seorang yang tentu pencaharian, tentu asal usul. Jika perkawinan dengan orang yang demikian langsung, dan engkau beroleh anak, kemanakah anak itu akan berbako? ...
(Hamka, 2017: 63)

The text above is a conversation between Datuk and Hayati describing hegemony referring to a social stratification. The rejection to Zainudin by Datuk is caused by the existence of social stratification. Zainudin is regarded as a member of low social class so that it is not suitable if he gets married to Hayati whose social stratification is higher than his. It can be noticed from Datuk's utterance through the text *Bukanlah kau sembarang orang, bukan tampan Zainudin itu jodohmu* strongly emphasizes that Hayati is an extra ordinary person coming from high social class meanwhile Zainudin is considered from low social class having no good financial condition as it is portrayed in the text *Di zaman sekarang ini haruslah suami penunjang hidup itu seorang yang tentu pencaharian*.

5. Conclusion

Based on the research of hegemony, it is concluded that the elements that build hegemony of power in the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* by Hamka is influenced by the background and view of the author coming from Minangkabau descent who knows clearly about all Minangkabau customary systems as described in the background of the novel. This thing shows a sign of the existence of relationship between literature and society. Common sense owned by Hamka also has considerable dominant influence in the hegemony of power contained within the novel. Hamka's common sense is depicted in the figure of the protagonist of the novel namely Zainudin. Zainudin is the one experiencing the hegemony power of elderly people and custom in Minangkabau tribe. The hegemony powers depicted in the novel are classified into kinship system, authoritarianism and social stratification of Minangkabau. On the other side, the existence of common sense of Hamka is not separated from the existence of Minangkabau customary knowledge factor in *tambo* which is the source of the stipulation traditional systems in Minangkabau custom. The folklore which still exists today used as a guide to traditional life of Minangkabau getting renewal from religion namely the creation of customary and the religion relation does not make a complete change in the custom of Minangkabau. The relationship also influences the occurrence of inner class positions of Minangkabau society depicted in the novel namely class position between custom and religion. On the other side, the role of mother at this time begins to change because of being influenced by kinship terms applied in Indonesia, as well as the strengthening of the core of the family that reduces the role of *mamak* and the strengthening of the father's role in Minangkabau society.

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