

Representation of Minangkabau in the film *Onde Mande!*

Herry N Hidayat ¹, Okta Firmansyah ²

Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Andalas, Padang ^{1,2}
Indonesia ^{1,2}

(herryh@hum.unand.ac.id ¹, oktafirmansyah@hum.unand.ac.id ²)

Received : 2024-12-15

Revised : 2024-12-23

Accepted : 2025-01-07

Abstract

This article describes the results of the film study on Onde Mande! (2023, Paul Fauzan Agusta). In general, this film tells the story of the conflicts and intrigues that occurred among residents on the shores of Lake Maninjau who intended to build their village. However, there is a discourse in the story's structure. This film's narrative structure does not only show Minangkabau's life and culture. In this research, the film Onde Mande! is seen as the language behavior of a social group. The analysis technique is based on the storytelling structure, which includes characterization, setting, and focalization (point of view). The characters' actions are analyzed through screenshots and divided into categories of sequential scenes. The results of both analyses are then analyzed further by viewing it as a representation of a society, in this case, the Minangkabau, through the symbols in the film. As a result, the narrative of this film builds the character of the Minangkabau people, who are proud of their Minangkabau heritage. They are willing to sacrifice for the progress and prosperity of their hometown. On the other hand, the meaning of the emerging symbols builds up a discourse on power relations. This film creates the impression of social protest against the reigns. The ruler's inability to improve the welfare of his people must be paid for by the fraudulent actions of members of his society.

Keywords: Minangkabau; Film; Semiotics; Discourse; Representation

Abstrak

Artikel ini menguraikan hasil kajian film berjudul Onde Mande! (2023, Paul Fauzan Agusta). Secara umum, film ini bercerita tentang konflik dan intrik yang terjadi pada kelompok masyarakat tepian Danau Maninjau yang bermaksud membangun nagari-nya. Akan tetapi, tampak terbangun wacana yang berbeda dengan struktur pengisahannya. Bangunan cerita dan penceritaan film ini tidak semata hanya menampilkan kehidupan dan budaya Minangkabau.

Dalam penelitian ini, film Onde Mande! dipandang sebagai perilaku berbahasa sebuah kelompok sosial. Teknik analisis mendasarkan pada struktur penceritaan yang meliputi tokoh dan penokohan, latar dan pelataran, dan fokalikasi (point of view). Adapun lakuan tokoh (action) dianalisis melalui tangkapan layar (screenshot) yang dibagi dalam kategori adegan (scene) yang berurutan (sequence) yang membangun cerita (story). Hasil analisis keduanya kemudian dianalisis lebih lanjut dengan memandangnya sebagai representasi kelompok masyarakat, dalam hal ini Minangkabau, melalui simbol-simbol yang ada di dalam film.

Hasilnya, narasi cerita film ini membangun karakter orang Minangkabau yang bangga dengan keminangkabauannya. Mereka rela berkorban untuk kemajuan dan kesejahteraan kampung halamannya. Di sisi lain, pemaknaan terhadap simbol-simbol yang muncul, terbangun wacana relasi kuasa yang cukup kental. Film ini membangun kesan protes sosial masyarakat terhadap penguasa. Ketidakmampuan penguasa menyejahterakan rakyatnya harus dibayar dengan tindak kecurangan anggota-anggota masyarakatnya.

Kata Kunci: Minangkabau; Film; Semiotika; Wacana; Representasi

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the Indonesian film with Minangkabau content entitled *Onde Mande!*, directed by Paul Fauzan Agusta and released in 2023. Briefly, this film tells the story of the efforts of the people of Sigiran Village on the shores of Lake Maninjau to advance their area. This effort was driven by Ridwan (Angku Wan) by participating in a competition with a prize of money. However, Ridwan died the day after announcing his victory in the competition. It is where conflict between characters emerges. Each character from Sigiran village plotted to delay the intention of the company representatives (Anwar and Dadang) to meet Ridwan. On the other hand, Haji Ilyas' two sons managed to find Ridwan's son. Through a telephone conversation, they discovered that Anwar, one of the employees who came to Sigiran, was Ridwan's son.

The conflict in this film's story is quite interesting to study further. The setting of Lake Maninjau, West Sumatra, creates the impression that the character's behavior is a representation of the Minangkabau people. Apart from that, the characters and characterizations of this film show stereotypes of the Minangkabau ethnic group. However, as a fictional work of art, is this film truly an absolute representation of Minangkabau?

The essential thing about this film is the source of creation. Minangkabau cultural products have long been a source of film creation. When compared with previous Minangkabau-contented films, the film *Onde Mande!* shows everyday life, while many previous films were based on literary novels. Several novel titles by writers from Minangkabau (West Sumatra) were also made into feature films, including *Melati Van Agam*, *Siti Nurbaya*, *Salah Asuhan*, *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck*, and *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah*. In this case, the emergence of differences between two different work media (literature and film) is an aspect that must be addressed both in terms of narrative structure and background of creation.



Source: https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Onde_Mande!

Figure 1. *Onde Mande!* film poster

Apart from displaying Minangkabau visual icons, traditional art and social order also appear in the film to represent Minangkabau culture. However, Minangkabau, in this case, is more than just West Sumatra. Minangkabau means geographic, economic, political, and cultural unity. According to Navis (1984), Minangkabau is better known as a form of culture than a state or kingdom that has existed in history.

Literature Review

Film as a work of art is a representation, not a reflection. Different points of view will produce different works. A representation will only be able to present something entirely from some points of view according to the audience's expectations. Hall (2003) emphasized that representation produces meaning from concepts in the mind through language. The relationship between concepts and language allows us to refer to the 'real' world of objects, people, or events to the imaginary world of fictional objects, people, and events.

The representation has possible analogy, imitation, signification, and symbol relationships. Therefore, the representation process cannot be separated from semiotics. The argument underlying the semiotic approach is that all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning. So, representation also works, such as language (Hall, 2003).

Like literature, film is a means of communication that contains symbols conveyed complexly through audio and visual dimensions. However, the process of meaning will somehow refer to generality, to something logical and acceptable. The concreteness of meaning emerges in representation. This form does not only connect thoughts (assumptions) with an object. Instead, the mental content relates to an external object and reflectively realizes this relationship. This is what is called interpretation. Such a triadic process form, object-sign-assumption, becomes a complete representation when there is a correlation between the three (Boggs & Petrie, 2008).

In this regard, Ehrat (2005) offers reasonably complete semiotics to analyze the meaning of films. Adopting Peirce's concept of semiotics, Ehrat applied it as film semiotics into an aesthetic logic framework consisting of aesthetic process, which is the degeneration of film narrative signs and aesthetic interpretation, which is finding 'something' in the film narrative. In addition, three things need to be considered in this interpretation process (both aesthetic process and aesthetic interpretation). First, a sign is a form of relation formed by logicity. Second, the sign will follow the previous sign and vice versa (correlation). Third, the interpretation process consists of explanation and confirmation. In this case, we explain the sign's relationship with the object and the representation and confirm the logicity of the relationship.

Based on Peirce's triadic concept, Ehrat introduced the concept of Categories in applying meaning to signs, especially in film. He offers the concept of Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness categories. Firstness is a way of being without reference to anything. In the context of signification, this category contributes significantly to the signification relation of icons. Secondness contains the context of signification efforts. In this category, there is a distinction between the real and the rational. By the combined nature of the two, the Second must be classified by its nature and then correlated with the First. The Second category can be a reference (a possible quality), while the First category can be dynamic or immediate. If it is dynamic and existentially related, then this First category can be determined through its relation to the Second category (e.g., action or action). If it is direct, then the first category is quality or existence. It is in this Second category that there is the possibility of the question, 'Is this real or imagined?' The Third category carries the 'mutual relation' between the Second and Third categories, which is the mediation between the two categories in the context of logical reasoning. The Third category can be a concept, a word, or an

argument. The Third relation is the most complete but requires the previous two relations (Ehrat, 2005).

In short, every sign contains a meaning that constantly interacts and relationships with the sign's object and its interpretation. A sign is a unitary expression that contains mental relations (Firstness) with 'something' outside the sign itself (Secondness), which forms an independent structure (Thirdness). The relationship between the sign and its meaning is the relationship of existence (necessity), the relationship of reason (possibility, necessity), and the relationship of non-existence. This contradicts the traditional propositional principles in the process of symbol meaning, namely the principle of contradiction, the principle of identity, and the principle of exclusion (Ehrat, 2005).

One thing that needs to be realized is that cinema is not just a narrative. Cinema is representation. There is a difference between representing something and narrating something. Although it also uses representation, narration differs in the dimension of time. The narrative presents space through time, while the film presents space through space because the time dimension in the film is spontaneous (on the spot). 'Time in the film is continuity' (Metz, 1991); therefore, it can "overcome the gap in physical and psychological perception of time" (Ehrat, 2005).

So, the meaning of a film is not only based on the image, sound, or narrative aspects alone. Narration in the film is psychological and subjective, while the film contains elements that are not impossible to be a specific code system that the filmmaker wants to convey. As a code, the three aspects interact and relate to each other to build 'something.' In this case, a code (Stam et al., 1992) is a system of distinctions corresponding permanently and constantly in a series of messages. Code usually refers to a systematic set of conventions and patterns of selection and combination of units.

On the other hand, the construction of narrative time in film refers to the dynamic relationship of time aspects: story time, plot time, and screen time. Storytime is the period covered by all the events told during the film, including (if mentioned or implied to be necessary) the birth of the main character and all the significant events that have shaped him. Screen time only adheres to its notion of what is most appropriate for enhancing and maximizing aesthetic effects. Although not to be confused with it, screen time always refers to the film's duration. This is where the dynamic relationship between the three-time frames in the film takes place. The film

can create the possibility of multiple temporal and spatial zones whose relativity becomes meaningful when viewing them as a multimodal form. Storytime, plot, and screen time place the audience within the film's chronology. Duration, as a means of controlling pace and significance, positions events and characters within the spectrum of audience attention. Through this manipulation of narrative time, the film overcomes the limitations of its essential linearity to suggest the semantic and symbolic possibilities of multiple chronologies (Fulton et al., 2005).

Meanwhile, as a cultural product, the film represents cultural beliefs, convictions, and values. Films are also imitations and recordings of life in which social signs, conventions, and ideologies are embedded. Therefore, film marking is not limited to the textual approach. It is also necessary to practice a contextual approach to achieve complete meaning. Film in the contextual approach is also seen as a socio-cultural process (social ideology, politics, policy, economy, commercial, industry, and others). Film is a social institution that contains certain political tendencies that determine what films are made and how they are watched (Turner, 2003).

Many factors ultimately can potentially change perceptions of a group's identity. Intercultural and ethnic intersections, social, cultural, and political contexts, and the development of modern technology are essential factors in this regard. These factors lead to tensions between tradition and modernization, which, of course, impact changes in identity. Modernization also leads to changes in identity globally. Although identity is fixed in some aspects, it is flexible and can change in others. Therefore, identity can also be seen as a process. An individual's identification with his or her group identity, role, position, beliefs, maturity, and even geography will change over time, which is also influenced by the physical and social environment. Therefore, this study views the femininity in the film as a representation of Minangkabau.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods. This qualitative method is often interpreted as an interpretative method to answer open-ended research questions. Qualitative research is an approach to exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals and groups related to social or humanitarian issues. The process involves questions that arise in the procedure, and data analysis is carried out inductively, building findings from specific to general themes. The final report is flexible in building

individualized and open-ended findings (Creswell, 2014). Researchers focus on observing, describing, interpreting, and analyzing how humans think and act about themselves and their environment (Bazeley, 2013).

The data source for this research is the film *Onde Mande!* directed by Paul Fauzan Agusta and released in 2023. Because the data source is a film, this research uses a multimodal approach to film semiotics within the framework of critical discourse analysis. In their book *Reading Images*, (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006) states that, like language, the visual structure is a form of interpretation of experience and a format of social interaction. Meaning and interpretation are forms of cultural behavior, not just semiotic models. In the process, verbal expressions will produce different meanings from visual expressions. Visual language cannot be understood transparently and universally. In this case, the (visual) sign is seen as arbitrary; its 'motivation' is built in the relationship between the sign-maker and the context in which the sign is produced. It is inseparable from the production of analogies and classifications.

It is also worth mentioning that in this study, the researcher is in the position of a researcher audience. Visual communication involves two types of participants: represented participants and interactive participants. This research uses the second notion, namely interactive participants. These participants have three possible relationships: (1) the relationship between the represented participants; (2) the relationship between the interactive participants and the represented participants (the attitudes of the interactive participants towards the represented participants); and (3) the relationship between the interactive participants (the things that the interactive participants do to or for each other through the images) (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned before, *Onde Mande!* is a film about a slice of life on the shores of Lake Maninjau in West Sumatra. In a village called Sigiran, a group of community members care about the progress and welfare of their village. Some of the influential characters in the story building and storytelling are Ridwan Sutan Pangeran (Angku Wan), Amril (Am), Ni Ta, Maryam (Mar), Haji Ilyas, Huda, Hadi, and Anwar.

The semiotic analysis in this article is preceded by the analysis of storytelling elements based on *mise en scene*. In this case, visual imagery is one of the film's most recognizable narrative aspects. This is due to the filmmaker's primary task of creating

a visual world essential to the audience's understanding of the narrative and its motivations (Brown, 2012). These aspects are included in *mise-en-scene*, which refers to visual elements (Lewis, 2014). Through visual display, these *mise-en-scene* elements are essential in conveying the story and its meaning (Sreekumar & Vidyapeetham, 2015). The four aspects of *mise-en-scene* are setting design, costume, lighting, and character movement (Lathrop & Sutton, 2013). The character's movement in question is the appearance of the actor's movement or position in camera space (frame), better known as blocking (Lewis, 2014). In this case, blocking also involves the actor's acting with the camera. Blocking can be a static position or movement involving the actor's expression and gesture. In this case, the actor is not only seen as a visual designer in the film but as an essential element that helps build the narrative message in the film (Lathrop & Sutton, 2013). However, on this occasion, the discussion is limited to the building of events that construct the story.

Despite appearing only in the first ten minutes, the character of Angku Wan can be called the central character of this film. Without this character, the story and storytelling of the film *Onde Mande!*. It would not be built. Because he intends to build his village, the story revolves around the conflicts of other characters.

Angku Wan tu jadi guru. Kapalo sikola SD di kampung kami. Urangnyo kareh, ndak amuah dikecekan. Tapi kami tau, nieknyo elok. Dan cintonyo ka kampung iko iyo ndak ado lawan doh. Dek cintonyo ka kampung itulah Angku Wan manduda. Bininyo pai maninggaan inyo duo puluh taun nan lampau mambaok anaknyo supayo nasibnyo labiah elok di Jakarta. Angku Wan indak namuah pindah. Samanjak itulah baliu tinggal surang se lai.

Angku Wan was a teacher. The principal of the primary school in our village. He was a strict man, unwilling to be counseled. However, we knew his intentions were good. His love for this village was unrivaled. It was because of his love for the village that Angku Wan became a widower. His wife left him for Jakarta twenty years ago to bring their child to a better life. Angku Wan did not want to move. He has lived alone ever since.

Source: *Onde Mande!* 03:16

Delivered by the narrator, apparently by the character Amril, Angku Wan is a retired teacher and principal of an elementary school in Sigiran Village. He has divorced his wife, left with their son, and migrated to Jakarta. In Sigiran, Angku Wan lives alone and is cared for by Amril and her family.



Source: *Onde Mande!* 03:24

Figure 2. Ridwan Sutan Pangeran (Angku Wan)

Angku Wan is a respected figure in Sigiran. Apart from his teaching profession, his discipline and firmness made him one of the influential figures in Sigiran. In addition, Angku Wan was a kind and generous figure. Amril mentioned this when Maryam (Amril's daughter) asked her father why Amril could put up with Angku Wan's stubbornness.

Lake Maninjau in West Sumatra is one of the lakes formed from a volcanic crater. Therefore, this lake is one of the world's most volcanic lakes. Occasionally, sulfur from the crater under the lake bed rises to the surface. This causes the fish in the lake to die. Meanwhile, residents around the lake rely on fishing for their livelihood. This is what Angku Wan thought. He is looking for ways to ensure that residents' daily lives around the lake do not always depend on fishing, significantly when the sulfur rises.

Table 1. Angku Wan expressed his intention to develop the village.

Screenshot	Dialogue
	<p>Angku Wan: <i>Kampuang kito ko ndak elok lai. Kok naiak lah belerang dari bawah danau, ikan mati sadonyo. Tu lah pasrah sajo lai. Kito buek caro baru untuak mencari pitih.</i></p> <p>Angku Wan: ...our village is no longer suitable. If sulfur rises from under the lake, all the fish die. We have given up. We have to find a new way to make money.</p>

Source: *Onde Mande!* 06:38

To obtain funds to develop her village, Angku Wan participated in a contest held by a laundry soap company. Angku Wan won two billion rupiah in prize money. Unfortunately, Angku Wan passed away the day after the announcement of her win.

After Angku Wan's death, Ni Ta suggested Amril cheat the soap company that organized the contest. She expressed this intention because she believed the soap company did not know Ridwan Sutan Pangeran's identity. Ni Ta suggested that Amril play the role of Angku Wan. Ni Ta had even invited Sigiran community leaders to negotiate the matter.



Source: *Onde Mande!* 20:56

Figure 3. Discussion between Amril and Sigiran community elders

Without Amril's approval, Ni Ta invites the community leaders of Sigiran village to confer about strategies to get the prize in the contest won by Angku Wan. This event involved Amril, Ni Ta, the Kepala Desa, Sekretaris Desa, Maryam, and Haji Ilyas. Knowing Amril's intention, Haji Ilyas refused to agree. Maryam did the same.

On the other hand, it turned out that Angku Wan had prepared a plan to develop a chicken and duck farm for the people of Sigiran. This was discovered by Amril, Ni Ta, and Maryam while searching for ID documents after Angku Wan's death. The plan had been written clearly and in detail into a note. Knowing this, Maryam changed her mind to support her father and mother's plan to obtain Angku Wan's prize money on the grounds of carrying out Angku Wan's good intentions.

Table 2. Amril and Maryam examine Angku Wan's book.

Screenshot	Dialogue
	<p>Amril: <i>Mar, caliak lah ko, Mar.</i> Maryam: <i>Iko rancana Angku Wan supayo ado penghasilan alternatif untuak kampuang awak kalau balerang sadang naiak di danau. Bantuak kini ko lah. Lengkap pakai gambar skema taranak itiak, ayam, budidaya baluik. Macam-macam pulo rancananya, Mak. Hebat Angku Wan, tu mah.</i></p> <p>Amril: <i>Mar. Look at this, Mar.</i> Maryam: <i>This is Angku Wan's plan for alternative income for our village if the sulfur rises in the lake. Like now. Complete with schematic drawings of duck farming, chickens, and eel cultivation. There are various plans, Mak. Angku Wan is great.</i></p>

Source: *Onde Mande!* 33:52

On the other hand, Haji Ilyas believes it would be better if he could find Angku Wan's heirs, which are his wife and children. His two sons, Hadi and Huda, were sent to Jakarta after successfully finding a photo and address of Uni Zam (Zamira), Angku Wan's ex-wife.

Table 3. Huda and Hadi were asked to go to Jakarta.

Screenshot	Dialogue
	<p>Ilyas: <i>Apak paralu kalia baduo menolong Apak. Kalian harus ka Jakarta.</i> Hadi: <i>Ka jakarta, Pak?</i> Ilyas: <i>Yo</i> Huda: <i>Kami ka Padang se alun pernah lai doh, Pak. Jakarta lo Apak suruah. Ma tau Jakarta.</i> Ilyas: <i>Kalian harus mencari Uni Zam jo anaknyo. Sabab, untuak mencari ahli waris itu satu-satunya jalan yang halal dan jujur.</i> Huda: <i>Ado Apak alamaiknyo?</i> Ilyas: <i>Ado. Ko ha. Ko ado potonyo.</i></p>
<p>Source: <i>Onde Mande!</i> 35:30</p>	<p>Ilyas: I am asking for your help. You have to go to Jakarta. Hadi: To Jakarta? Ilyas: Yes. Huda: We've never been to Padang. However, you tell us to go to Jakarta? We do not know Jakarta. Ilyas: You have to look for Uni Zam and her son. Because finding the heir is the only halal and honest way. Huda: Do you have the address? Ilyas: Yes. Here is her photo.</p>

Meanwhile, the soap company that was organizing the competition sent two of its employees (Anwar and Dadang) to come to Sigiran Village. Their arrival was intended to verify the winner of the competition, namely Ridwan Sutan Pangeran or Angku Wan. Knowing this, Amril panicked and was about to give up. However, Ni Ta calmed him down and suggested buying time until he found a way to trick the two company employees.



Source: *Onde Mande!* 1:20:09

Figure 4. Anwar found out that his father, Angku Wan, had died

In Jakarta, Huda and Hadi managed to find traces of Uni Zam. Unfortunately, Uni Zam has died, and his fabric shop is being managed by someone else. However, Huda and Hadi managed to contact Uni Zam's son, none other than Anwar, one of the soap company employees who came to Sigiran Village. Anwar once denied rigging the competition to get his prize. However, knowing his father's love for Sigiran Village and his plans to develop livestock farming other than Lake Maninjau fish, Anwar was willing to try to get his father's prize money from the competition.

Table 4. Anwar's meeting with residents of Sigiran village.

Screenshot	Dialogue
	<p>Anwar: <i>Saya sekarang mengerti kenapa kalian semua berkomplot untuk mengulur waktu.</i></p> <p>Amril: <i>Maafkan kami, Nak Anwar. Semua ini kami lakukan demi menjalankan keinginan almarhum Angku Wan untuk menyejahterakan kampung.</i></p> <p>Anwar: <i>Ya. Saya paham. Tapi, akan susah untuk melanggar peraturan. Melihat situasi ini, saya rasa jalan yang terbaik adalah untuk saya kembali ke Jakarta, melaporkan ke kantor bahwa Pak Ridwan, bapak saya, sudah meninggal. Dan untuk pemenang sayembara, diundi ulang.</i></p> <p>....</p> <p>Ni Ta: <i>Sebaiknya, kamu baca ini.</i></p> <p>Anwar: <i>Apa ini?</i></p> <p>Maryam: <i>Di buku itu tertulis lengkap semua rencana ayahmu untuk Sigiran dan semua impiannya di sana. Dan mungkin impian ini bisa terwujud kalau misalnya uang dua milyar yang dimenangkan bisa diberikan pada kampung ini.</i></p> <p>Anwar: <i>Banyak ya, rencananya.</i></p> <p>Amril: <i>Almarhum sangat mencintai kampung ini.</i></p> <p>Ilyas: <i>Ya. Itulah sebabnya ayahmu tetap tinggal di sini. Uni Zam, ibumu itu adalah saudara sepupu saya. Uni Zam meninggalkan Angku Wan karena ingin mencari kehidupan lain yang lebih baik di luar Maninjau. Tapi, Angku Wan ndak mau pindah.</i></p>
<p>Source: <i>Onde Mande!</i> 35:30</p>	<p>Anwar: I understand why you all conspired to stall for time.</p> <p>Amril: Forgive us, Son Anwar. We do all this to carry out the wishes of the late Angku Wan and make the village prosperous.</p> <p>Anwar: Yes. I understand. However, it will be difficult to break the rules. Seeing this situation, I think the best way is for me to return to Jakarta and report to the office that Mr. Ridwan, my father, has died. Moreover, the winners of the competition will be drawn again.</p> <p>....</p> <p>Ni Ta: You better read this.</p> <p>Anwar: What is this?</p> <p>Maryam: In that book, all your father's plans for Sigiran and all his dreams are written in full. Furthermore, his dream could come true if, for example, the two billion won could be given to this village.</p> <p>Anwar: There are lots of plans.</p> <p>Amril: He loved this village.</p> <p>Ilyas: Yes. That is why your father stayed here. Uni Zam, your mother is my cousin. Uni Zam left Angku Wan because they</p>

wanted to look for a better life outside Maninjau. However, Angku Wan did not want to move.

The story analysis above indirectly builds the representation of Minangkabau in the film *Onde Mande!* However, it is not enough to only interpret the meaning of a film's signs through the story and storytelling aspects alone. Films contain elements that are not impossible, namely a particular code system that the filmmaker (director) wants to convey. In this case, code (Stam et al., 1992) is a system of differentiation that corresponds consistently and consistently in a series of messages. As stated in the previous section, three things must be considered in meaning-making. First, a sign is a form of relationship formed by logic. Second, the sign will follow the previous sign and vice versa (correlation). Third, the interpretation process consists of explanation and confirmation, which explains the relationship between signs, objects, and representations and confirms the logic of this relationship.

The author refers to Minangkabau's ethnic representation as the Minangkabau aesthetic concept. Minangkabau aesthetics cannot be separated from understanding the concept of Indonesian aesthetics. An example is the combination of the microcosm and the macrocosm, which is realized by combining Islamic customs and religion. The Minangkabau aesthetic concept in this research is the relationship between human behavior and nature, both in responding to, processing, and utilizing it. This behavior shows humans' gratitude to God. These elements, humans, nature, and God, differentiate Eastern and Western aesthetic concepts. Minangkabau concretizes this concept in the form of *alam takambang jadi guru, tali nan tigo sapilin, and adaik basandi syara, syara basandi Kitabullah* (Hidayat et al., 2021b). This concept cannot be separated from Koentjaraningrat's (1980) definition of culture as a system of ideas, behavior, and human work manifested in ideas, activities, and artifacts.

Based on the results of the analysis of the storytelling above, the character Ni Ta can be called a representation of *bundo kanduang* in the life of the Minangkabau people. According to Ernatip & Devi (2014), in the context of matrilineal kinship, the role and position of women in Minangkabau are unique. Women hold power through their control of land, lineage, and kin through their knowledge of and control over social customs and practices. The position of Minangkabau women is economic and traditional administrators. Minangkabau women are prepared to become *bundo kanduang* within their *kaum* 'people' In the *rumah gadang* 'great house' and its

surroundings, women are introduced to life activities in both the domestic and public spheres, namely household work and their responsibilities for interracial and kin relationships. About the ownership and management of inheritance, *bundo kanduang* is described as *amban puruak pagangan kunci* 'holder of the keys to wealth' and *amban puruak aluang bunian* 'manager of wealth.' However, this does not mean that people's assets are managed alone. Because the biological mother is the center of relatives, everything related to the ownership of relatives must go through consultation with the relatives of the *suku*.

Ni Ta: *Perusahaan sabun tu kan alun tau baso Angku Wan maningga?*

Amril: *Tantu alun. Alun duo jam mah, Angku maningga.*

Ni Ta: *Inyo alun lo pernah basobok jo Angku Wan.*

Amril: *Kan baru ka patang pengumuman sayembara tu.*

Ni Ta: *Mandanga suaro Angku Wan gai, alun nyo lai doh?*

Amril: *Uda mangarati maksud Ta tu.*

Ni Ta: *Kan kito bahas mimpi terakhir Angku Wan tu. Bantuaknyo kesempatan untuak baliau tu alun ka taturuik bana tu.*

Amril: *Ha... kalau baitu, kan luruih jalan awak tu? Tapi baa yo caronyo?*

Ni Ta: *Ya... dipikianlah.*

Source: *Onde Mande!* 13:30

Ni Ta: The soap company, doesn't it know that Angku Wan died?

Amril: Of course not. It has not been two hours since Angku Wan was buried.

Ni Ta: They have never met Angku Wan?

Amril: It was only yesterday that the contest was announced.

Ni Ta: I have not heard Angku Wan's voice yet, right?

Amril: I understand what you mean.

Ni Ta: We discussed Angku Wan's last dream. His opportunity has not been realized yet.

Amril: Ha... So, our path is good. But how?

Ni Ta: Yes... Then, think about it.

Ni Ta: *Tapi, Da. Si Afdal alah Ta suruah mangumpuan ninik mamak sakampung ko.*

Ka panolong mamikian rencana tu siang ko. Baa lo bantuaknyo kok tibo-tibo ndak jadi se?

Amril: *Eyayay... Baa Uda ndak diagiah tau dulu?*

Ni Ta: *Tau lah Ta baa Uda tu. Uda ko alah tadasak mako kancang balari.*

Amril: *Pandai-pandai Ta se tu nyo. Tapi, iyo ka satuju ninik mamak tu Ta?*

Ni Ta: *Eh... dimusyawarahan se dulu. Namonyo keluarga. Mudah-mudahan lai satuju. Ndak ka surang gai Uda mausahoan nyo doh.*

Source: *Onde Mande!* 15:40

Ni Ta: But, Da. I have told Afdhal to gather ninik mamak from the village to help think about the plan this afternoon. What if it does not happen?

Amril: Eh... Why wasn't Uda told?

Ni Ta: I know how Uda is. If you are in a hurry, you will run fast.

Amril: You are just being clever. But will Ninik Mamak agree?

Ni Ta: Uh... discuss it first. We are family. Hopefully, you agree. Uda will not be doing it alone.

Knowing Angku Wan's intention to advance and prosper in his village, Ni Ta proposed to get around the soap company organizing the competition so that the prize money could still be obtained. Ni Ta also recommended that negotiations be held about receiving the prize with community leaders in Sigiran Village. It can be seen that the

conflict between the figures in obtaining Angku Wan's prize money started from Ni Ta's idea. Ni Ta also found the Sigiran Village development plan book, which Angku Wan made.

Built as the owner of a *lapau* 'stall,' the character Ni Ta can be said to represent activities in the domestic and public spheres. Apart from serving and providing for the needs of family members (domestic domain), the action of serving *lapau* guests can be interpreted as representing public domain activities. Although not directly, public domain activities are also represented through Ni Ta's actions in ordering Afdal, her son, to call Haji Ilyas, Da Nas, and Da Dodi to negotiate in her *lapau*.

The deliberation event regarding Angku Wan's prize money at the Amril *lapau* can be said to be a representation of Minangkabau culture and traditions. Amril, Haji Ilyas, Da Nas, Dodi, Maryam, and Ni Ta participated in this scene. Suppose we refer to the leadership concepts of *tali tigo sapilin* 'three twisted ropes' and *tungku tigo sajarangan* 'furnace with three supports.' Each figure represents elements of traditional Minangkabau community figures, namely *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, and *cadiak pandai*. Haji Ilyas represents the *ulama*, Da Nas and Da Dodi represent the *niniak mamak*, Maryam represents the *cadiak pandai*, and Ni Ta represents *bundo kanduang*. In this scene, the four leadership elements in Minangkabau consulted to advance their village. In this case, Blackwood (1995) emphasizes that *ninik mamak* and *bundo kanduang* manage the inheritance for the prosperity of their people.

On the other hand, the symbolic representation of Ni Ta as a *bundo kanduang* and Minangkabau woman shows the opposite. This was shown in his decision not to participate in the negotiations. In that incident, Ni Ta went to the kitchen to prepare drinks. Ideally, women in Minangkabau are placed in a unique position. Its remarkable features can be seen economically in the Minangkabau kinship system. Women are heirs to the wealth of their tribal relatives, while men only help manage it. However, this is not the case with women's voting rights. According to Nuryanti (2011), in public and family affairs, the position of Minangkabau women is weaker than men. In a deliberation for consensus, women's voices are only advisory, not partisan. Equality of rights between men and women in Minangkabau is not absolute but places them (women) within the framework of their feminine nature.

When compared with the character Maryam (female and highly educated), Maryam cannot be said to represent women in the deliberation process. In this scene, Maryam is seen as a representative of a *cadiak pandai* because of her educational status and

work as a teacher. In this film, Maryam is built as a character to ask questions about daily, logical, and analytical knowledge. In the picture in Table 2, Amril asks Maryam about the book containing Angku Wan's plan that Ni Ta found. On another occasion, Maryam was also the place to ask Hadi and Huda questions about Jakarta. At the end of the story, Maryam also explains Angku Wan's plans to Anwar for Sigiran village. According to Fajri & Asril (2023), *cadiak pandai* are intellectuals who know and understand general affairs in everyday life. It appears that all the events involving Maryam were in the context of mastering knowledge, representing the role of the *cadiak pandai* in Minangkabau.

Meanwhile, Haji Ilyas showed the representation of *ulama* in Minangkabau. According to Fajri & Asril (2023), religious *ulama* functions as a builder of the faith and morals of citizens. In the film *Onde Mande!* Haji Ilyas's behavior in the role of the religious scholar is shown through his rejection of Amril and Ni Ta's proposal, as well as his efforts to find Angku Wan's heir (Table 3). Following the role of *ulama* in Minangkabau, the character Haji Ilyas shows behavior that is following the teachings of the Islamic religion.

One exciting thing is the embodiment of the representation of *niniak mamak* in this film. Dodi (Da Dodi) and Nasrul (Da Nas) are representatives of the *niniak mamak* of Sigiran Village. This can be connected to Ni Ta's dialogue with Emril. Ni Ta told her son, Afdhal, to invite *niniak mamak* for discussion. Visually, the characters Da Dodi and Da Nas wear ASN (*Aparatur Sipil Negara*) 'public service' uniforms. If the visualization is seen as a sign, then the meaning can expand contextually, both in the context of story events and Minangkabau culture. In the context of the story's events, this sign represents the two characters as government officials. Meanwhile, in the context of Minangkabau cultural discourse, this sign represents the traditional and state administrative authority one role holds (*niniak mamak*). As Hidayat et al. (2021) said, actors blocking dan position also play a role in conveying the Minangkabau representation. The blocking combination with the setting and lighting also builds a discourse about Minangkabau (Figure 3).

About other characters, the context of the story's discourse expands regarding the role and position of community figures in Minangkabau in traditional power relations and state administration. There are representations of Minangkabau traditional authority, namely *bundo kanduang*, *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, and *cadiak pandai*. *Niniak mamak*, in the story of this film, is also a representation of state officials. Meanwhile,

the character Angku Wan can be called a representative of ordinary people. Therefore, the film *Onde Mande!* seems to build popular representation, traditional government, and state government.

Furthermore, in terms of stories and storytelling, the representation of these three roles and positions builds a discourse on the weakness of the state in managing and improving the welfare of its citizens. The ideas and concepts of developing and advancing the village were pioneered by the figure Angku Wan as a representative of the people. This plan is supported and will be implemented by traditional groups. Meanwhile, the state's role in this story is represented without ideas and only following the advice of traditional groups. Even more interesting is the emergence of the private sector's role in building this discourse. The soap company that organizes the competition can be said to represent the private sector, which provides funding for the progress of a village.

CONCLUSION

In general, it can be said that the film *Onde Mande!* builds a representation of one community in Minangkabau, in this case, on the shores of Lake Maninjau. The signifiers of Minangkabauness in this film are the Minangkabau language in almost all dialogue, visualization of local settings, and background music dominated by traditional Minangkabau music. This representation indirectly builds a discourse of social criticism towards the government. The characters in this film's story create a representation of the four elements of traditional leadership in Minangkabau, namely *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, and *bundo kanduang*, representation of elements of state government, community representation, and representation of the private sector. The representation of these four parties then built a discourse criticizing the weak management of state officials to advance the village and its region.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors express thanks to the Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Andalas, Padang. This article is part of the research results of the FIB Universitas Andalas Basic Scientific Research Scheme with grant number 3044/UN16.07.D/KPT/XI/2024.

REFERENCES

- Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative Data Analysis Practical Strategies*. Sage.
- Blackwood, E. (1995). Senior Women, Model Mothers, and Dutiful Wives: Managing Gender Contradictions in a Minangkabau Village. In A. Ong & M. G. Peletz (Eds.), *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*. University of California Press.
- Boggs, J. M., & Petrie, D. W. (2008). *The Art of Watching Film*. McGraw-Hill.
- Brown, B. (2012). *Cinematography: Theory and Practice, Image Making for Cinematographers and Directors*. Elsevier - Focal Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage.
- Ehrat, J. (2005). *Cinema and Semiotic: Peirce and Film Aesthetics, Narration, and Representation*. University of Toronto Press.
- Ernatip, & Devi, S. (2014). *Kedudukan dan Peran Bundo Kanduang dalam Sistem Kekeabatan Matrilineal di Minangkabau*. BPNB Sumatera Barat.
- Fajri, R., & Asril. (2023). Pelaksanaan Fungsi Tungku Tigo Sajaringan berdasarkan Perda Nomor 7 Tahun 2018 tentang Nagari. *JOM Fisip*, 10(2), 1–23. <https://jom.unri.ac.id/index.php/JOMFSIP/article/download/34781/33343#:~:text=Cadiak Pandai ini merupakan pendamping,di Minangkabau adalah Alim Ulama>
- Fulton, H., Huisman, R., Murphet, J., & Dunn, A. (2005). *Narrative and Media*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, S. (Ed.). (2003). *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. The Open University - Sage Publication Ltd.
- Hidayat, H. N., Sudardi, B., Widodo, S. T., & Habsari, S. K. (2021a). Menggali Minangkabau dalam film dengan mise-en-scene. *ProTVF*, 5(1), 117. <https://doi.org/10.24198/ptvf.v5i1.29433>
- Hidayat, H. N., Sudardi, B., Widodo, S. T., & Habsari, S. K. (2021b). MINANGKABAU AESTHETICS IN INDONESIAN CINEMA. *Psychology and Education Journal*, 58(2), 4672–4692. <https://doi.org/10.17762/pae.v58i2.2855>
- Koentjaraningrat. (1980). *Sejarah Teori Antropologi I*. UI Press.
- Kress, G., & Leeuwen, T. van. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Routledge.
- Lathrop, B. G., & Sutton, D. O. (2013). Elements of mis-en-scene. *Film Study Journal*, 2, 1–7. http://www.proseproductionsink.com/1102_Licata_Elements_of_Mise-en-scene_modified.pdf
- Lewis, J. (2014). *Essential Cinema: An Introduction to Film Analysis*. Wadsworth.
- Metz, C. (1991). *Film Language: A Semiotic of the Cinema* (M. Taylor (Ed.)). The University of Chicago Press.
- Navis, A. A. (1984). *Alam Berkembang Jadi Guru: Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau*. Grafiti Press.
- Nuryanti, R. (2011). *Perempuan Berselimut Konflik*. Tiara Wacana.
- Sreekumar, J., & Vidyapeetham, A. V. (2015). Creating Meaning through Interpretations : A Mise-En-Scene Analysis of the Film ‘ The Song of Sparrows .’ *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies, Special Issue September 2015*, 89–97.
- Stam, R., Burgoyne, R., & Flitterman-Lewis, S. (1992). *New Vacabularies in Film Semiotics*. Routledge.
- Turner, G. (2003). *Film as social practice* (8th ed.). Routledge.