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The Shifting Function of Mamak in the Implementation of Minangkabau Customs in the Community of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak Lintau Buo District

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ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the diminishing role of mamak in Jorong Tigo Tumpuak. Mamak functions more as a father in his wife's family. The position and role of a mamak also began to change, for example in terms of the economy and education of his nephews, it should be the mamak who is responsible for the economy and education of his nephews, but now the role is taken more by the father. The findings in this study explain that the Shifting Functions of Mamak in the implementation of Minangkabau Customs the economic function is successful or unsuccessful economically the nephews remains the responsibility of the mamak and participates in guiding the nephews. The educational function of a mamak does not play much of a role in delivering the nephews to be able to go to school even to college. The religious function of the mamak's role as a guide to religious values has shifted due to busyness, and some of the responsibility has shifted to parents and teachers. The customary function of the mamak's understanding of customs has also declined, causing this important role not to be fulfilled properly.

1. Introduction

Indonesia has various ethnic groups, each ethnic group has different customs and patterns. This is a potential owned by the Indonesian people as a legacy from the nation's ancestors that provides rules for human actions and behavior in everyday life. The customs obeyed by the community are quite basic. These basic things are the basis of thinking, values in life, social norms, philosophy of life, and laws that must be obeyed. Every person, community, nation and state must aim and aspire to live a happy life, both here and in the hereafter. To achieve the goals and ideals of life, every person, society, and nation or state really needs guidelines and rules of life that function to guide and direct so that the goals and ideals of life can be realized in reality.

Similarly, the Minangkabau community as one of the ethnic groups, also aims and aspires to live a happy life in the world and in the hereafter as desired by the Minangkabau customary teachings as the basic law, namely craving for the realization of a happy life in the world and in the hereafter as described in the traditional expression “Bumi sanang padi manjadi. Padi kuniang Jaguang maupiah. Taranak bakambang biak. Anak kamanakan sanang santoso. Bapak kayo, Mandeh barameh. Mamak ditambah urang pulo”. Or in the teachings of syarak called “Baidhatthun Thoivyibatthun Wa Ghoffur Society”. In order to realize the happiness of life, both in the context of nation and state as well as in the context of society, such as the Minangkabau community is needed, first there is a basic law as a guide and rule of life and second there is good knowledge and understanding of the basic law to be practiced by community members in everyday life. Because without basic law and good appreciation and practice, the happiness of life as aspired will not be realized in reality.

In everyday life, people are always faced with culture, everyone sees, uses and sometimes even destroys the culture itself (Soekanto, 2004). According to Prof. Kuntjaraningrat (in Indonesian Cultural Mentality and Development), Adat is part of culture, namely the ideal form of culture. The ideal form of culture consists of cultural values, norms, laws and rules which are interrelated with each other into a system. So if it is connected to the Minangkabau community, then what is meant by Minangkabau Custom is the rules or actions and so on that have been commonly practiced by the Minangkabau community since time immemorial. One form of culture is the activity reflected in the function of “niniak mamak” which should be “children in the lap of nephews dibimbiang” now it has shifted so that there are some nephews who do not know their own mamak due to various factors. Culture plays an important role in human life because it guides actions and endeavors. Although the form of culture may change over time, its essence will remain (Koentjaraningrat, 1996).

In general, a mamak or uncle is a brother of the mother or a son of the mother's side of the family. Thus, nephews or kemenakan are the children of their sister or brother. The relationship between a nephew or niece and his or her mamak is also a natural descent or sasuku. The mamak is related to the mother therefore he is a descendant while the child of the mother herself is the descendant of her mother, thus the mamak and nephews or niece have a relationship of descent as well as tribe according to the mother's lineage (matrilineal).

Minangkabau custom teaches that a mamak or uncle is a man who is responsible for his male and female children from the matrilineal lineage (Rangkuto, 1978: 6). Thus a person has two protectors, namely: Mamak and Father. Anak dipangku kamanakan dibimbiang, anak dipangku jo pancarian kamanakan dibimbiang jo pusako. The child is taken care of with the search property, while the nephews/nieces are guided with the family heirloom property (Idrus Verry, 2017: 174). The purpose of taking care of children and guiding nephews is to become civilized humans as the forerunner of the formation of society and the nagari. A mamak will try with his ability according to the possibilities that exist in him to guide and protect his nephews or nephews and so does the father towards his son.

Every Minangkabau boy has two functions attached to him, namely as a father and as a mamak. As a mamak, he plays a role in guiding his nephews and nieces, maintaining and developing their inheritance, marrying their nephews and having the obligation to lead and be fully responsible for the safety of his sisters, children and nephews in customary affairs. If the nephews makes a mistake then the mamak will be embarrassed because the surrounding community will ask who the mamak is.

From the history of the development of Minangkabau society, Minangkabau society is based on matrilineal lineage, and the kinship relationship between children and their maternal brothers is called mamak- nephews kinship. Although the structure of Minangkabau society is based on matrilineal lineage, the one who holds power in the unit is always a male from the maternal line. However, this power is always based on deliberation, as the Minang proverb says “kamanan barajo ka mamak, mamak barajo ka mufakat”. This means that the children rule the mamak and the mamak rules the deliberation (Dt. Bandaro. 2004: 319).

The role of the mamak began to diminish in Jorong Tigo Tumpuak. Mamak functions more as a father in his wife's family. The position and role of a mamak has begun to change, for example in terms of education, economy, religion and customs, it should be the mamak who is responsible for education, economy, religion and customs, but now the role is more taken by the father. This of course changes from the role that should be more to the father because in the family in Minangkabau the role of a mamak is very important and very much needed. As a mamak, you must always know the development of your nephews.

According to Datuak Malin permato (65 years old) one of the problems that occur in Jorong Tigo Tumpuak is the problem of education, economy, religion and custom. One example of the problem of shifting mamak in jorong tigo tumpuak a mamak is less concerned about the economy and education of his niece initials GD (23 years old) which economic and educational conditions must be considered by the mamak in Minangkabau customs, such as asking the economic and educational conditions of the niece to what level, how the condition of the niece, what obstacles or problems occur in her education and the mamak does not ask this of his niece. In living the economic and educational problems of the nephews mamak has a very important function regarding the economy and education of his nephews apart from his parents in the economic and educational problems of the nephews.

Traditionally the mamak has the responsibility for the smooth running of the economy and education of the nephews. Currently, the role of mamak in the economic and educational problems of the kemenakan has begun to shift for various reasons. One of those reasons is because of the times. Nowadays, the position and function of mamak is no longer as it should be. In fact, not only the mamak, but also the kemenakan do not tell about their economic and educational problems. Another phenomenon is also evidence that the kinship relationship between mamak and kemenakan has begun to decline, such as the number of mamak who lack knowledge and their role and the number of mamak who

experience economic difficulties, resulting in mamak not being able to help with economic and educational problems of kemenakan, so that mamak cannot fulfill all the interests of kemenakan who are their responsibility as a mamak.

The purpose of this study was to describe the Shifting Function of Mamak in the Implementation of Minangkabau Customs in the Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak Community Lintau Buo District.

2. Methodology

This type of research according to Sugiyono (2015: 16) Qualitative research method is one type of research used to examine the condition of natural objects based on phenomena, where the researcher is the key instrument, sampling of data sources is done by (snowball sampling), namely the technique of sampling data sources, which at first the number is small, gradually becomes large. This is done because of the small number of data sources that have not been able to provide satisfactory data, then look for other people to be used as data sources. Thus the number of data source samples will be even greater, like a snowball rolling, gradually becoming large.

As for this research using a qualitative approach with descriptive methods, where the results of this research will be described and poured with sentences and words based on the facts that occur in the field of research. This research will be conducted in Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak Kecamatan Lintau Buo. The informants in this study were (5) people, namely 3 Mamak and 2 nephews. The data analysis technique in this research is qualitative by collecting data, reducing data, retrieving data and drawing conclusions.

3. Results and Discussion

Function/Role of a Mamak in Socio-Economic Situation

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (Purwadarminto, 1982: 13), the term “shift” means transition, movement, or replacement. Social change will experience progress (progress) if society can master technology and the use of technological discoveries changes opinions and judgments through a new philosophy of life and social change will experience regression (regress) if humans are immersed in the problems they face and cannot take an attitude or decision towards new circumstances into that situation, frustration occurs (Hafizah, 2019).

Social change will progress if people can take advantage of technology and utilize these technological advances to change opinions and judgments through a new philosophy of life. However, social change can regress when individuals are overwhelmed by challenges and are unable to take a stand or make decisions about new situations, leading to frustration (Syamsir, 2003: 124) In other words, social change occurs as a result of community initiatives that respond to the

needs of people's lives along with the development of society at that time (Syani, 1994: 167). Mamak as a Minangkabau man must inevitably fulfill two roles. First as a mamak in his mother's house and second as urang sumando in his wife's house. Women are the holders of heirloom property and men are directly the owners of power over heirloom property as stated in the traditional saying "harua ninik descends to mamak, ari descends to nephews". (Amir Syarifudin, 1984:190).

The role and responsibility of the mamak has been in all fields of life, especially socio-economics. This is the reason for the authority of the mamak in front of the kemenyan and the reason for the dependence on the mamak. However, at the present time, the nephews are more dependent on their fathers than their mothers. Mothers have gradually relinquished their responsibility for the socio-economic life of their nephews. In the economic function of the mamak now he no longer fully guides the nephews, the mamak now only asks questions without any help from the head of the Kemenakan. So that the kemenakan think rationally the presence or absence of a mamak will not help us as kemenakan, it's useless to ask mamak for advice. It's better to sell online so you can fulfill your daily needs. So now the kemenakan can and are good at doing business through online media. Unlike the mamak in the past, if the mamak was successful or unsuccessful economically, the nephews were still the responsibility of the mamak and helped guide the nephews..

The discussion above is in line with the results of research conducted by Irwan et al (2022) with the title Analysis of Changes and Family Functions in Minangkabau Society that now the situation and conditions with the development and pattern of thinking of life are changing. Family life is not as complete as it used to be, where humans begin to do and run their own lives with increasingly rapid technological tools.

The Function/Role of a Mamak in the State of Education

Education is an invaluable foundation for human development, a necessity that transcends borders and cultural boundaries, including in the community of Jorong Tigo Tampuak Nagari Taluak. This commitment to learning is evident from the community's hard work, as many families strive to provide their children with the highest education possible.

In the education of female nieces and nephews, the wisdom provided by the mamak includes not only the pursuit of education, but also the essential preparation for receiving inheritance and preserving lineage, which includes the art of building a harmonious household. Similarly, for male nephews and nieces, this guidance includes fostering their education in ways that empower them to uphold and manage their inheritance, equipping them to assume the mamak's important role as leader in their home, their paruik and the wider tribal community (Syarifudin, 1984). In the past, the role of the mamak went beyond mere family ties; it included the important responsibility of instilling ethical values, regulating eating habits and even providing financial support for the

education of their nieces and nephews. However, in today's society, the responsibility of education has shifted almost exclusively to parents and teachers. As a result, when a child misbehaves, it is not the reputation of the mamak that is in question, but that of the parents.

In the past, in terms of education, the mamak had a commitment to try to learn and ensure the education of the kemenakan as evidenced by the hard efforts of a mamak, because many families and mamak strive to provide the highest possible education to their children and kemenakan. However, now many nephews do not have the funds to continue school due to economic constraints, so they are forced not to continue their education, therefore the function of the mamak in mamak education is not able to fully finance all the needs of the nephews plus the mamak pays less attention to the nephews. Finally, the nephew tried to do business online in order to meet the needs for survival.

Handayani & Indah (2018) with the title *Shifting the Role of Ninik Mamak in the Minang Kabau Community in the Era of Modernization* that ninik mamak is responsible for the education of their children, namely how to get along, provide knowledge about customs, teach about religion, about skills and households. Like the daily life of the ninik mamak's children, they must not get out of the lines outlined by the ninik mamak.

Function/Role of a Mamak State of Religion

A mamak also functions in the field of religion, where the mamak must teach the kemenakan about the Koran and hadith so that life is happy in the world and in the hereafter. Mamak will also ask their nephews, especially men, to go to kesurau or bamalam kasurau which serves to increase knowledge for themselves and their children in the future, because male nephews will return to be mamak for the next generation. That is the importance of the role of a maamak in religion. Therefore, the customary rules adopted by the Minangkabau people are firmly rooted in the teachings of Islam which is the main foundation. Thus, Islam characterizes the Minangkabau identity. Thus, someone who lives in Minangkabau and does not adhere to Islam cannot be considered a member of the Minangkabau tribe (Amir.B, 1984: 53).

In conclusion, the role of a mamak in the religious realm is to provide wisdom and guidance to his kinsmen, instilling in them a clear understanding of what is good and what is not. In doing so, he ensures that his kinsmen accept and abide by the principles of Islamic law. The discussion above is in line with the results of research conducted by Hafizah (2019) with the title *Shifting the Function of Mamak Kandung in the Implementation of Minangkabau Customs* that the function of mamak in the religious field is that as a mamak must be able to teach his kemen what is good and what is not good so that his kemennya obey the Islamic religious law.

The people of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak used to be a devout Muslim community, deeply rooted in their long-established traditions of religious

belief. The rules that govern life in Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak are closely intertwined with Islamic teachings. In this context, the role of the mamak is very important; he acts as a protector and role model for his nieces and nephews, guiding them in practicing religion and ensuring their adherence to religion. However, due to the increasing demands on mamak's time and busy schedules, the responsibility for instilling religious values in their own nieces and nephews has largely fallen to parents and teachers at school.

In the past, when there were activities in the mosque or mushollah, the mamak picked up the nephews at home so that the nephews participated when there were big activities and filled the mosque prayer places. But today that function is not so run by a mamak. Because the nephews are seen as having learned religion through online media. In the past, sometimes the mamak had to intervene. But nowadays, learning religion such as reciting the Koran, the nephews utilize the media, through YouTube, TikTok and so on.

Function/Role of a Mamak Customary Circumstances

The term “adat” has its roots in Arabic, meaning a persistent practice or habit. In the Indonesian context, “adat” is often conflated with “istiadat,” which also comes from Arabic, implying both custom and tradition. When these two concepts come together, particularly in Minangkabau culture, they embody the regulatory framework that governs social interactions, guiding how individuals relate to each other and to society at large. This rich variety of adat reflects the deep social values and principles that shape the Minangkabau way of life (Syarifudin, 1984:140).

In Minangkabau culture, customs predate the advent of Islam; however, the legal framework governing society is largely based on Islamic principles, intricately woven with elements of customary law. This harmonious coexistence signifies that long-established traditions continue to flourish, provided that they enhance the well-being of the community and reduce potential harm, whether in the form of hardship, misery or moral degeneration.

The customs of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak are firmly rooted in Islamic law, or sharia, which serves as a guiding principle in all aspects of life in the community. The citizens of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak are committed to upholding sharia, integrating it into their customary practices and regulations. Every decree established in this vibrant community harmonizes harmoniously with Islamic teachings. For example, dress standards reflect the values of modesty and modesty emphasized in Islam, which mandates that individuals dress in a way that respects these sacred principles. In the community of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak, dressing modestly and covering one's body in accordance with Islamic teachings is not just a rule but a cherished tradition that embodies their faith and identity. A shift in the realm of adat, mamak should have a deep understanding of the customs that govern Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak. Unfortunately, the current condition shows a sad reality: more mamak do not know these important customs than

those who master them. As a result, the important role of the mamak is not fulfilled as it should be.

Marriage is an inherent need of all living beings. One of its main purposes is to form a family that will produce offspring to continue the lineage. Marriage functions as a contract or bond between a man and a woman that aims to achieve the happiness of family life, which is characterized by a sense of peace and love (Hamid, 2005: 38). In Minangkabau culture, the most desirable form of marriage is between close relatives, such as marriage between children and nephews. This type of marriage is referred to as "pulang kemamak" and "pulang kabako." "Pulang kemamak" means marrying the daughter of the mamak, while "pulang kabako" means marrying the niece of the father (Amir B, 1984:56).

In terms of customs, the function of the mamak is evident, especially in the marriage custom. There are only five kinds of side dishes that can be served for the marriage custom: sambal randang, sambal rabuak, sambal paragede, sambal ayam, gulai kakek. The traditional foods are turmeric rice, lamang, fried banana, pinyaram, kalamai. According to what has been determined, it is not allowed to serve food and side dishes during the traditional marriage. However, this is still violated by the kemenakan, sometimes there are still those who add types of side dishes because they are afraid of shortages due to the large number of guests present. Furthermore, for marriage customs it is not allowed to use a thermos to put rice, it must be served using a plate one by one and the rice is added using a larger plate. As for the others, the use of buffet dishes is prohibited by custom. Therefore, it is clear that the function of the mamak in marriage customs has begun to gradually fade along with the development of technology and the times so that the mamak does not give warnings or admonish their nephews so that the customs in this marriage are gradually abandoned.

The discussion above is in line with the results of research conducted by Umar et al (2022) with the title *The Role of Ninik Mamak, Mamak and Kemenakan in Minangkabau* that in this custom the mamak has a great influence on his uncle, if his uncle violates a custom then the mamak will advise him, but if he still violates it, he will be punished based on customary law.

4. Conclusion

Based on the results of research that has been conducted on the Shifting Functions of Mamak in the Implementation of Minangkabau Customs in the Community of Jorong Tigo Tumpuak Nagari Taluak, Lintau Buo District, there is a shift in the form of progress (progress) as well as a setback (regress), it can be concluded that first, the economic function of mamak in Minangkabau customs is to support, look after and help nephews and nieces to grow up to be healthy and happy in the world hereafter. A mamak will pay attention to his nephews and provide the best for his nephews. In the economic function of the mamak now no longer fully guides the nephews, the mamak now only asks

questions without any real participation assistance from the mamak to the nephews. So that the nephews think rationally the presence or absence of a mamak will not fully participate in the nephews, the nephews cannot put much hope in the mamak. Most of the nephews prefer their own way of life in entrepreneurship or odd jobs rather than depending on the mamak. So now the nephews are good at doing business such as using online media. Unlike the mamak in the past, if the mamak was successful or unsuccessful economically, the nephews were still the responsibility of the mamak and helped guide the nephews.

The second shift in the function of education used to be in terms of education in the past mamak gave advice on how the nephews were enthusiastic in pursuing knowledge and if there were obstacles in the educational process mamak would find a way out. Mamak have a commitment to advancing their nephews so that they try to study and ensure the education of their nephews and it is always evident from the hard efforts of a mamak, because many families and mamak strive to provide the highest possible education to their children and nephews. However, now many nephews do not have the funds to continue school due to economic constraints, so they are forced not to continue their education, therefore the function of the mamak in mamak education is not able to fully finance all the needs of the nephews plus the mamak pays less attention to the nephews. Finally, the nephew tries to work anything like doing business online in order to meet the needs for survival.

Likewise the third function, in terms of religion, in the past a mamak's attention was to pick up the nephew at home so that the nephew participated when there were major activities and filled the places of worship praying in the mosque/surau. Mamak will teach nephews about the Koran and Hadith so that life is happy in the world and the hereafter. Now such a function is not so carried out by a mamak. Because the nephews are considered to have learned religion through online media. In the past, sometimes the mamak had to intervene. But nowadays, learning religion such as reciting the Koran, the nephews utilize the media, through YouTube, TikTok and so on.

The fourth shift, in terms of customs, is the function of the mamak, especially in the marriage custom at the time of the wedding celebration, the function of the mamak is to say that there are only five kinds of side dishes that can be served for the marriage custom, namely: sambal randang, sambal rabuang, sambal paragede, sambal ayam, fish curry. The traditional foods are turmeric rice, lamang, fried banana, pinyaram, kalamai. According to what has been determined, it is not allowed to serve food and side dishes during the traditional marriage. At this time it is still violated by the nephews, sometimes there are still those who add types of side dishes because they are afraid of shortages due to the large number of guests present. Furthermore, for marriage customs, it is not allowed to use a thermos to put rice, it must be served using a plate one by one and the rice is added using a larger plate. As for the others, the use of buffet dishes is prohibited by custom. Based on the description above, it is clear that the function of the mamak in marriage customs has begun to gradually fade

along with the development of technology and the times so that the mamak does not warn or admonish the nephews so that the customary provisions in this marriage are gradually abandoned.

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