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A cross-generational framing of Minangkabau culture: *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* by Hamka and *Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu* by J.S. Khairen

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Abstract *This study aims to analyze the cross-generational framing of Minangkabau culture as represented in the novels Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck by Buya Hamka and Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu by J.S. Khairen. The research is motivated by shifts in the representation of Minangkabau values, norms, traditions, and cultural identity reflected in literary works by authors from different generations. A descriptive qualitative approach is employed, utilizing perspectives from comparative literature and framing analysis. The data consist of words, sentences, dialogue, narratives, and events representing Minangkabau culture in both novels. The framing analysis focuses on how the authors select, highlight, and construct cultural aspects—such as the matrilineal kinship system, customs and marriage, family relationships, the tradition of merantau (migrating for opportunity), educational values, the entrepreneurial spirit, the poetic spirit, and the interplay between tradition and social change. The findings indicate that while both novels present Minangkabau culture as integral to the characters' lives and identity formation, they employ different framing strategies reflecting their respective eras and the authors' generations. Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck strongly emphasizes the conflict between custom, social status, love, and honor, whereas Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu portrays Minangkabau culture within the context of a more modern generation, particularly through experiences involving family, education, migration, and social mobility.*

Keywords: *framing, Minangkabau, comparative literature, novel*

INTRODUCTION

Cultural diversity serves as a fundamental identity for every nation amidst the rapid tide of globalization sweeping the world today. Each ethnic group possesses a way of life and philosophical traditions passed down through generations (Habel Nain Samongilailai & Aldrin Budi Utomo, 2024). Culture is not merely a symbol of past glory but also a primary foundation for shaping societal character within contemporary civilization. As a multicultural nation, Indonesia comprises various ethnic groups, each possessing a wealth of unique and diverse local wisdom. The Minangkabau are one of the largest ethnic groups in the archipelago, renowned for their strong matrilineal social structure and customary philosophy. This ethnic community steadfastly upholds life guidelines encapsulated in the noble philosophy: "Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah" (Khairunissa. et al., 2025; Romdhoni, 2026). This philosophy consistently governs the integration of religious values and traditional norms into every aspect of social interaction within the community.

Minangkabau culture undergoes a highly dynamic process of identity negotiation when confronted with the trends of modernity. The community has begun constructing new cultural framings as an adaptive mechanism to keep pace with rapid societal

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changes. These cultural framings regulate power dynamics, the tradition of *merantau* (migratory living), and practices of *musyawarah* (deliberation) to ensure their continued relevance in the contemporary context (Putri et al., 2026). This strategy of value-framing has proven effective in preserving the culture's existence without rejecting civilizational innovations from the external environment.

The transmission of Minangkabau customary knowledge is increasingly being eroded by factors associated with modernization and social change (Pertama et al., 2025). The greatest challenge currently faced is ensuring that the younger generation remains able to fully internalize the essence of these ancestral philosophies. The unfiltered flow of global information often introduces external ideologies that can gradually erode loyalty to the matrilineal structural system.

Previous studies have examined Minangkabau cultural dynamics from various social and cultural disciplinary perspectives. Research by (Ermanto et al., 2025; Rahmat et al., 2022, 2025; Sovia Firdaus et al., 2018) highlights the linguistic politeness of Minangkabau women, the *merantau* (migration) culture, and *rendang* as a signature Minangkabau dish. These studies have provided fundamental insights into how local cultural elements are actively preserved within the realms of the modern economy and tourism. Prior research has tended to limit its focus to the physical aspects of cultural preservation. Few qualitative studies have deeply explored how Minangkabau cultural framing is adaptively reproduced within the ecosystem of the *virtual nagari* (Putri et al., 2026). This empirical gap underscores the urgent need to explore the processes of cultural identity formation and negotiation within popular media social spaces (Zahra et al., 2026).

To address this gap, this qualitative research employs a phenomenological approach centered on the subjective experiences of the actors involved. The methodological design explores in detail the interpretation of meaning, empirical experiences, and individual strategies for reframing culture. Practically, the study's results contribute to cultural preservation efforts. The findings help frame methods for transmitting traditional values in ways that are more relevant to Millennial and Centennial generations. Ultimately, the cultural context here points toward the goal of human enlightenment, where the concept of culture is understood in terms of temporal evolution (Setyaningrum, 2002).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Comparative Literature

Literary works, both in the form of modern writing and oral tradition, are a reflection of the social and cultural reality of a society. Through literary works, communal values, beliefs, and norms are inherited and communicated from one generation to another. This interaction between text and cultural context creates a rich space in which the identity of a community group is formed, maintained, or even reconstructed. In this context, literature functions not only as entertainment but also as a medium for noble inheritance, recording traces of human civilization and the philosophy of life. Framing Minang culture through the lens of Comparative Literature Theory provides an academic basis for how narratives and societal values are formed and represented.

Comparative literature is a scientific discipline that examines literature and cultural expressions beyond the boundaries of language, ethnicity, and scientific discipline. Comparative literature is the study of literature comparing two or more literary works (Prakasa et al., 2024). Comparative literary research can use any literary approach, including a literary sociology approach (Amalia & Qomariyah, 2020). The sociological elements in literary works naturally arise from the author's social influence, as the author lives in society (Siswanto et al., 2022). Sociology deals with processes of social change that occur either gradually or revolutionarily. Apart from that, sociology is not about objective social facts but rather the subjective way individuals experience these social facts (Faruk, 2012).

In the Indonesian cultural context, this discipline is used to identify parallelism (parallelism), differences (contrast), and the roots of the representation of inter-ethnic identity through texts, oral traditions (folklore), proverbs, and works of art that are part of that society. Every literary work creates order, organizes, and gives unity to its raw material. In practice, the term "comparative literature" encompasses other fields of study and issues. First, this term is used to study oral literature, especially folklore and its migration, and how and when it entered more artistic literary writing. Second, the term comparative literature encompasses the study of relationships among two or more literatures. Third, the term comparative literature is equated with comprehensive literary studies (Wellek, 2014).

Cultural Framing

This study of the framing of Minang culture across generations in literary works provides a strong theoretical basis: cultural values undergo a dynamic process of framing as times and generations change. The framing theory developed by Robert N. Entman emphasizes that the media shapes social reality through the process of selecting and emphasizing specific aspects of an event (Adde et al., 2025). Within this framework, framing involves four key elements: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending solutions. Entman explains that framing functions by highlighting certain aspects of reality and placing them within a context that elicits specific interpretations (Entman, 1993; Sunarto & Laili Zulfa, 2025). In this study, framing is employed to examine the words, sentences, dialogue, narratives, and events that represent Minangkabau culture in both novels. The framing analysis focuses on how the authors select, highlight, and construct cultural aspects—such as the matrilineal kinship system, customs and marriage, family relationships, the practice of *merantau* (migrating), educational values, and the interplay between tradition and social change.

The Concept of Comparative Literature in Cultural Framing

To analyze cultural framing, this theory relies on two concepts. First, Literary Sociology: Analyzing how the social structure, history, and geography of a society are reflected directly in the cultural texts they produce and use to frame themselves. Second, Representation: Examining how a community group frames its identity through the instruments of language and stories. Practical steps in determining the framing focus are as follows, define cultural entity, use the Entman Model framing analysis, identify protrusions, and pay attention to the context of the times.

METHOD

One approach to understanding how these cultural values are constructed in texts is through framing theory. Data analysis was carried out using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model. Cultural framing refers to the process of selecting and highlighting certain aspects of a culture to make them more prominent, easier to understand, and more resonant with the audience. This approach has been used in the academic world, for example, to examine Minang cultural framing across generations by comparing the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* by Hamka *and Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu* by J.S. Khairen.

This research uses a qualitative approach, employing analytical descriptive methods, to examine cultural construction in two literary works from different eras (Creswell, 2003). Researchers act as key instruments who conduct in-depth readings of texts to discover patterns of cultural representation. Through this approach, shifts in or continuity of values between generations can be mapped systematically and interpreted. The initial step is to identify the framing elements that represent the work ethic, traditions, and social relations in the two texts.

The data collection technique was carried out through a literature study using listening and note-taking techniques for both primary data sources. Primary data consist of text fragments, dialogue, and narratives containing cultural content from novels by Hamka and J.S. Khairen. Researchers conduct repeated readings (close reading) to mark linguistic units that reflect specific cultural framings. In addition, secondary data were collected from the supporting literature, such as scientific journals and textbooks, relevant to literary sociology. Data validity is maintained through theoretical triangulation and increased observational persistence during the text identification process. This ensures that the data collected is truly representative in answering the problem of differences in cultural frames across generations. The first stage is data reduction, in which the researcher sorts texts relevant to the cross-generational cultural focus. Next, the data is presented as a comparison matrix to show how each author defines cultural issues.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Results

The application of comparative literary theory and Robert N. Entman's framing theory can be achieved by comparing the cultural elements—such as proverbs, language, and customs—that serve as the basis for framing within the Minangkabau ethnic group. Although both *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck* by Hamka and *Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu* by J.S. Khairen are rooted in Minangkabau culture, they frame cultural conflict from two entirely different dimensions and eras. Hamka frames the Minangkabau context through the lens of ideological clashes—involving custom, lineage, and rationality—during the 1930s, whereas J.S. Khairen frames it through the lens of economic realities and social class mobility in the era of modern transition.

This study identified six categories of Minangkabau cultural elements in both novels: proverbs, language, custom, education, cultural character, and setting. These elements were analyzed using Entman's four framing functions (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation) and compared across the two novels.

Proverbs

Proverbs appear only in Hamka's *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck*, in three instances (Hamka, 2024, pp. 5, 8, 15).

> *Nan sehasta, nan sejengkal, dan setampok sebuah jari* (Hamka, 2024, p.5)
> Those the size of a forearm, those the size of a handspan, and those the width of a palm.

They frame adat as an established rule system: ancestral property (*harta pusaka*) cannot be transferred arbitrarily, poverty weakens kinship ties, and a person's goodness is remembered after death. No proverbs were found in Khairen's *Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu*, so this element is not comparable between the two novels.

Language

Both novels use Minangkabau expressions to build their setting. Hamka uses terms that carry social positions and structures, such as *parewa* and *orang semanda*, the latter describing the weak position of the husband in a matrilineal family (Hamka, 2024, pp. 121, 136).

> *Parewa* (Hamka, 2024, p.136)
> *Parewa*, is a group in Minangkabau who do not want to disturb their families, their life consists of gambling, etc.

> *Galodo* (Khairen, 2023, p.122)
> Flash floods

Khairen uses everyday address and kinship terms, such as *waang*, *aden*, and *bako*, along with *galodo* (Khairen, 2023, pp. 6, 10, 22, 122). Language in Hamka thus frames social structure, while in Khairen it frames everyday family life.

Custom (Adat)

Custom is the dominant element in Hamka's novel (13 data points) and appears only once in Khairen's. In Hamka, adat is framed as the *problem*: the matrilineal lineage system, the authority of the *mamak*, inheritance rules, and clan origins determine a person's social legitimacy.

> *Harta seorang ayah, yang sedianya akan turun kepada anaknya, dirampas, dibagi dengan nama "adat" kepada kemenakannya*. (Hamka, 2024, p. 66)
> A father's assets, which were meant to pass to his own child, were seized and—in the name of *adat*—distributed among his nephews and nieces.

> *Malam itu, semua saudara Zenna yang laki-laki, serta mamak-mamaknya (paman) berkumpul. Mereka membahas tentang seseorang yang ingin meminang Zenna*. (Khairen, 2023, p.26)

That evening, all of Zenna's male siblings and uncles gathered. They discussed a man who wished to ask for Zenna's hand in marriage.

The *causal interpretation* is the rigidity of adat, and the *moral evaluation* is critical, since adat is shown to marginalize those without clan and to seize a father's property for his nephews and nieces (Hamka, 2024, pp. 61, 66). In Khairen, the *mamak* appears only as part of family deliberation over Zenna's marriage proposal (Khairen, 2023, p. 26), so custom is background rather than the center of conflict.

Education

Both novels frame education as a form of change, but with different causes. In Hamka, women's access to education emerges from the spread of learning and religious progress, even against the wishes of the elders (Hamka, 2024, p. 25).

Meskipun adat masih kuat, namun gelora pelajaran dan kemajuan agama yang telah berpengaruh di Sumatera Barat, tidak juga melepaskan rumah adat yang kukuh itu dari cengkeramannya. Meskipun kehendak dari mamak yang tua-tua hendak menahan juga anak kemenakan yang perempuan menuntut ilmu, namun halangan itu sudah percuma saja. Gadis-gadis seisi rumah itu, yang selama ini turun sekali sejum'at diiringkan dayang-dayang banyak, sekarang telah mengepit kitab, melilitkan selendang pula, pergi menuntut ilmu. Ada yang ke Ladang Lawas, ada yang ke Gunung, dan ada juga yang ke Padang Panjang.(Hamka, 2024, p.25)
Even though custom is still strong, the surge of learning and religious progress that has had an influence in West Sumatra has not released this strong traditional house from its grip. Even though the wishes of the elders were to prevent their nieces and nephews from studying, this obstacle was useless. The girls in the house, who had previously come down once a Friday accompanied by many ladies-in-waiting, now had books under their arms, wrapped in shawls, and went to study. Some went to Ladang Lawas, some went to Gunung, and some went to Padang Panjang.

Waktu berlalu, ujian Sipenmaru pun datang. (Khairen, 2023, p.27)
As time passed, the Sipenmaru exam arrived.

In Khairen, education is framed as a way out of poverty: Zenna passes the *Sipenmaru* but must withdraw for financial reasons, then works to retake the exam and cover her tuition (Khairen, 2023, p. 27).

Cultural Character

Four traits appear: polygamy, entrepreneurial spirit, poetic spirit, and migration (*merantau*). Polygamy is framed critically in both novels, as a practice that goes unpunished for those with noble titles in Hamka and as a source of family hardship in Khairen.

Daripada bekerja di bawah tangan orang lain, lebih suka dia mengeluarkan dan membuka perusahaan sendiri. (Hamka, 2024, p.176)
Rather than working for someone else, he preferred to launch and run his own company.

Ikut ke pasar. Dagang. Sudah hendak lulus kan kalian berdua? Kita cari kayu manis untuk eskpor. Sudah bujang begini cari uang saja bingung. Bapak tak pernah sekolah, tapi tak pernah kelaparan.(Khairen, 2023, p.64)
Come along to the market. To trade. You two are about to graduate, aren't you? We'll look for cinnamon for export. You're grown young men now, yet you're at a loss for how to earn money. I never went to school, but I never went hungry.

The entrepreneurial spirit is framed differently. In Hamka it is a personal life goal, an independence from working under others (Hamka, 2024, p. 176). In Khairen it is a survival strategy, shown through the father's trading and the children's work since childhood (Khairen, 2023, pp. 64–71). The poetic spirit is present in both through writing and competitions, while *merantau* appears in the data only in Hamka.

Setting

Both novels use Mount Singgalang and Mount Marapi/Merapi as the physical background of Minangkabau life (Hamka, 2024, p. 17; Khairen, 2023, pp. 3, 5). This is the only element framed identically in both.

Tabel 1. Comparison Based on Entman's Framing Functions

Framing Function	***Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck* (Hamka)**	***Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu* (Khairen)**
Problem definition	Adat, lineage, and clan origin as barriers to personal legitimacy and love	Structural poverty as a barrier to education and family welfare
Causal interpretation	Rigid adat and the matrilineal inheritance system	Economic hardship and limited family income
Moral evaluation	Critical of the injustice of adat toward the outcast	Appreciative of parental sacrifice and perseverance
Treatment recommendation	*Merantau* and intellectual pursuit as ways to seek self-validation	Education, trade, and work as ways to improve the family's condition

In sum, both novels draw as present on the same cultural base but frame it differently: Hamka frames Minangkabau culture as an ideological conflict between individual and *adat* in the 1930s, while Khairen frames it as an economic and class-mobility struggle in the modern era.

Discussion

The findings show (table 1) that both novels use the same cultural base, Minangkabau culture, but frame it differently. The difference lies in what each author defines as the central problem, what causes it, how it is evaluated, and what solution is offered, reflecting the era in which each novel was written. Custom as the problem versus economy as the problem. In *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck by Hamka*, the

problem is defined through adat: matrilineal lineage, the authority of the *mamak*, inheritance rules, and clan origin determine a person's legitimacy (Hamka, 2024, pp. 4, 60–61, 66). The proverbs reinforce this frame by presenting adat as an established rule system and by showing how poverty weakens kinship ties (Hamka, 2024, pp. 5, 8). The evaluation is critical, particularly toward the exclusion of those without clan, represented by Zainuddin. In *Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu by J.S. Khairen*, adat no longer drives the conflict and appears only as family deliberation (Khairen, 2023, p. 26). The problem shifts to economic hardship, evident in the father's struggle as a trader and in Zenna's withdrawal from university for financial reasons (Khairen, 2023, pp. 27, 64).

Education and entrepreneurship as different treatments. The two novels also differ in the solutions they frame. In Hamka, education arrives alongside the spread of learning and religious progress and begins to loosen adat's hold, even against the elders' wishes (Hamka, 2024, p. 25). Entrepreneurship and writing appear as self-realization, a choice to work independently rather than under others (Hamka, 2024, pp. 175–176). In Khairen, education becomes a route out of poverty, and entrepreneurship becomes a survival strategy, as seen in Zenna's work to retake the exam and in Asrul's and his sibling's trading since childhood (Khairen, 2023, pp. 64–71). *Merantau* follows the same pattern: a response to rejection by adat in Hamka, an economic necessity in Khairen.

The comparison shows both continuity and transformation in how Minangkabau cultural values are framed across generations. Hamka frames culture as an ideological conflict between the individual and adat, while Khairen frames it as an economic struggle and a pursuit of social mobility. In this sense, literature functions not only as a medium of cultural representation but also as a space where cultural identity is reconstructed and negotiated as times change.

Conclusion

This study shows that *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck* by Hamka and *Dompet Ayah Sepatu Ibu* by J.S. Khairen draw on the same Minangkabau cultural base but frame it through different problems, causes, moral evaluations, and solutions. These differences reflect the eras and generations of their authors. Using Entman's four framing functions, Hamka defines the central problem as *adat*. Matrilineal descent, the authority of the *mamak*, inheritance rules, and clan origin determine a person's social legitimacy, and the narrative judges this rigidity critically, especially in its exclusion of those without clan. Khairen shifts the problem to structural poverty. *Adat* recedes into the background as family deliberation, while economic hardship limits education and family welfare. The narrative appreciates parental sacrifice and perseverance. Minangkabau identity thus persists while its framing shifts from an ideological conflict between individual and *adat* to an economic struggle for social mobility. Literature therefore functions not only as a mirror of culture but also as a space where cultural identity is selected, reconstructed, and renegotiated across generations. These findings are limited to the two novels analyzed and should be read as indicative of a tendency, not a generalization about all generational works.

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