

CUSTOMARY DELIBERATION IN CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC LAW: EXAMINING THE IMPLEMENTATION SYSTEM OF WEST MALALAK KENAGARIAN IN INDONESIAN *FIKIH* AND *SIYASAH DUSTURIYAH*

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Abstract

Purpose - This research analyzes the Nagari system of governance in West Sumatra as an independent customary law system rooted in family and blood relations. In addition, it examines the respect for this system in its day, including by the Dutch colonial government, and its impact on modern regulation. Contemporary Islamic law is also examined in supporting or criticizing this system, particularly concerning justice, deliberation, and leadership.

Methods - This research uses a qualitative method with an empirical juridical approach and descriptive analysis. Data were collected through direct observation and recording of social and legal phenomena in Nagari communities.

Findings - The results showed that West Sumatra is a village-based customary law society with a unique organizational structure now regulated in Law No. 6 of 2014. The democratic system of the Minangkabau Nagari Community has the disadvantage of being hereditary, which can inhibit more inclusive leadership dynamics. Its political structure tends to be paternalistic, influencing patterns of governance and decision-making.

Contribution/Limitation - This research helps to understand the dynamics of the Nagari government system in the context of customary law and the challenges of modernization. In addition, it examines the relevance of this system to contemporary Islamic legal principles, particularly in social justice, leadership transparency, and community participation. However, this research is limited to analysis in West Sumatra and does not include comparisons with other regions.

Originality/Value - This research provides insight into the sustainability of the Nagari government system in the face of modern regulations and social dynamics, as well as its relevance in contemporary Islamic law.

Keywords: Legal System; Nagari; Siyasa Dusturiyah.

Abstrak

Tujuan - Penelitian ini menganalisis sistem pemerintahan Nagari di Sumatera Barat sebagai sistem hukum adat independen yang berakar pada hubungan keluarga dan darah. Selain itu, penelitian ini mengkaji penghormatan terhadap sistem ini pada zamannya, termasuk oleh pemerintah kolonial Belanda, serta dampaknya terhadap

regulasi modern. Hukum Islam kontemporer juga dikaji dalam mendukung atau mengkritisi sistem ini, khususnya terkait keadilan, musyawarah, dan kepemimpinan.

Metode - Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan yuridis empiris dan analisis deskriptif. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi langsung serta pencatatan fenomena sosial dan hukum di masyarakat Nagari.

Temuan - Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Sumatera Barat merupakan masyarakat hukum adat berbasis desa dengan struktur organisasi unik yang kini diatur dalam Undang-Undang No. 6 Tahun 2014. Sistem demokrasi masyarakat Kenagarian Minangkabau memiliki kelemahan karena bersifat turun-temurun, yang dapat menghambat dinamika kepemimpinan yang lebih inklusif. Struktur politiknya cenderung paternalistik, memengaruhi pola pemerintahan dan pengambilan keputusan.

Kontribusi/Keterbatasan - Penelitian ini membantu memahami dinamika sistem pemerintahan Nagari dalam konteks hukum adat dan tantangan modernisasi. Selain itu, dikaji relevansi sistem ini dengan prinsip hukum Islam kontemporer, khususnya dalam aspek keadilan sosial, transparansi kepemimpinan, dan partisipasi masyarakat. Namun, penelitian ini terbatas pada analisis di Sumatera Barat dan belum mencakup perbandingan dengan daerah lain.

Keaslian/Nilai - Penelitian ini memberikan wawasan tentang keberlanjutan sistem pemerintahan Nagari dalam menghadapi regulasi dan dinamika sosial modern, serta relevansinya dalam hukum Islam kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: Sistem Pemerintahan; Kenagarian; Siyasa Dusturiyah

INTRODUCTION

According to Article 206 of Law No. 32/2004 on Villages, "Government affairs that fall under the authority of the village are based on the right of origin," the small republic of *Nagari* was given this nickname by the Dutch colonizers at that time because of its community-based governance system (Taufik & Taufik, 2023). *Nagari* is a small republic with a democratic system of government that includes legislative, executive, and judicial bodies (Abdullah, 1966). *Nagari* is a homogeneous collection of diverse social and cultural groups. Due to the strong emphasis on blood and family ties among *Nagari* communities in Minangkabau, quality neighborhoods and kinship were prevalent (Ismail et al., 2023). The autonomous *nagari* system of government, characterized by strong blood and family ties, had developed into a powerful and respected structure, especially among the Dutch. To establish

a *nagari* in social life, having a *surau* and a *balai adat* (traditional hall) (Nurdin, 2022). For Minangkabau society, these two elements represent the fusion of two social norms: "*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*" (religion based on the Qur'an) and secular society (Fitri et al., 2019).

Jorong Nagari Malalak Barat is located in West Sumatra Province, more precisely in Malalak District, Agam Regency. Among the valleys around Mount Singgalang, this *nagari* is included in it (Astuti, 2010). Four jorongs - North Bantiang Street, Central Bantiang Street, South Bantiang Street, and Jorong Hulu Banda - comprise an area of 22.40 square kilometers that make up Nagari Malalak Barat. Of the 2,360 people who call Nagari Malalak Barat home, 1,180% are men and 11% are women. Malalak Sub-district, Agam Regency, has 8682 people, consisting of 4252 men and 4430 women. One

puskesmas and one auxiliary Health Center serve 17 Posyandu (Integrated Service Post) in the Malalak sub-district, Agam district. The sub-district also has three health posts. There are 20 Mosques and 41 Mushalas in Malalak sub-district, Agam district (Syawqi et al., 2025).

The Nagari government structure evolves, affecting each period's management style (Yuskar et al., 2024). Theoretically, the first type of legal entity, the village government, existed before the arrival of the Dutch (Syaridufin, 1975). The ancient version of this legal entity in West Sumatra was known as Nagari, and included Niniak Mamak, family *karapatan*, tribal *karapatan*, and *tuo rapat*. A harmonious, stable, progressive society was born from the existing nagari order (Taufik & Taufik, 2023). Once an autonomous body, the Nagari Customary Council (KAN) is the administrative, legislative, and judicial body for each Nagari. The following groups are used to elect KAN members: youth, *Jorong*, *Alim Ulama*, *Cadiak Pandai*, *Bundo Kanduang* (representing Minagkabau women leaders), and *Ninik Mamak* (Taufik & Taufik, 2023).

Administratively, KAN membership is formalized through a Regent decree. Although nominally adopting the village model, the West Sumatra government continues implementing it under the Nagari method (Refdina et al., 2020). Although not all aspects of the Nagari governance system, including "*Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*" and "*Tali Tigo*

Sapilin," are functioning properly, this is done to ensure that assistance provided by the center through the village assistance program can continue to flow (Tegnan, 2015). By implementing the Nagari system, the province can continue to maintain government stability and pretend to follow the village model. Although Nagari independence is no longer a valid concept, the Nagari governance system still exists. Despite the existence of laws and regulations governing local governments below, such as Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government and West Sumatra Regional Regulation No. 2/2007 on the Principles of the Village Government System, and interference from governments above, such as sub-district, district, and provincial governments, the village government system is still running (Yuskar et al., 2024). However, there have been some changes in values due to global influences. On the other hand, the *nagari* form of government has effectively decentralized power in Indonesia and improved the surrounding areas. Therefore, research on the *nagari* system is of interest.

Although this study has many similarities with previous studies, crucial differences must be made between them in terms of theory, methodology, and data collection procedures. Research that is relevant to this study. Researcher Mellyza Susanti Susanti examines the importance of village life in West Sumatra, focusing on

the people who live there (Susanti, 2014). Furthermore, I Wayan Ruma's research discusses the rules and laws governing village governance. A refreshingly new perspective from this paper is that village-level systems such as the *nagari* can influence the mindset of the community just as the mindset and behavior of the community can influence the *nagari* system (Runa, 2017). In addition, Fahrur Razi examines the powers of the village head and the structure of village governance, which is based on Article 18 and Article 103 of Law No. 6 on Villages (Razi, 2020).

Similarly, Donny Michael's research explains the implementation of the village system in West Sumatra Province. The village governance system is implemented based on the culture and local wisdom of the community, which is further strengthened by legislation on villages (Michael, 2016). Finally, Ahmad Kosasih, in his research, explains the form of *nagari* in the philosophy of the Minang community. According to him, *nagari* is not only in terms of its local wisdom and the philosophy of the leadership of the village head who maintains local wisdom but also analyzes the aspect of making decisions based on deliberation. Therefore, this study aims to revive the discussion about the village government system by incorporating local wisdom and the perspective of *siyasa dusturiyah*.

This research analyzes the Nagari system of governance in West Sumatra as an independent customary law

system rooted in family and blood relations. In addition, it examines the respect for this system in its time, including by the Dutch colonial government, as well as its impact on modern regulations. Contemporary Islamic law is also examined in supporting or criticizing this system, particularly concerning justice, deliberation, and leadership.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative study. The data is analyzed using a descriptive methodology informed by an empirical juridical framework. Methods such as documentation, interviews, and literature review were used to collect the data. Documents linked through the village, interviews, and findings from observations were the primary data sources. Publications written by lawyers and scholarly publications on local government were secondary data sources.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Local Wisdom System of West Malalak Kenagarian

Geography determines the cultural diversity of a region, and cultural differences become more complex with the region's size. About 300 different ethnic groups, each with a unique language, religion, and way of life, inhabit the area between Irian Island and the tip of Sumatra. In Nagari Minang, the most important aspect is the genealogical factor, often known as

blood relations (Tegnan, 2015). This is no ordinary Javanese hamlet; the regional aspect makes a difference. When contrasted with the national atmosphere, Nagari Minang is more tribal. Minang also does not ignore the region, although *nagari* is a component of a distinctive culture.

The term "local wisdom" refers to human knowledge based on ethical principles and longstanding methodologies and practices. The value of local wisdom cannot be overstated. It is important to hold on to local knowledge because it is a product of previous civilizations (Nofiardi, 2022). Despite its local nature, this knowledge can be applied to everyone. Some experts may claim that George Herbert Mead laid the foundation of Symbolic Interactionism before anyone else. However, this idea first appeared within the framework of interpretive sociology, namely in the theory of social action proposed by the famous philosopher and sociologist Max Weber.

As a reflection of this local expertise, community traditions evolve in response to socio-economic changes; these customs often revolve around maintaining the performing arts traditions of the population. Local wisdom on cultural arts is displayed in customs such as *Randai*, *Saluang*, *Rabab*, and dance performances and in various arts associated with marriage rituals, penghulu selection, and *honoring honored* visitors (Helfi et al., 2021). Studying the Minangkabau people and their

environment and behavior can shed light on local knowledge within the framework of the core value orientation of the Minangkabau tribe. Other traditional knowledge about the cultural values of the Minangkabau people is often conveyed through symbolic journeys about their place in nature and their social and cultural environment, such as *mamangan*, *pituah*, *petitih*, and *petuah* (Alhadi et al., 2024). They can utilize them to gain insight into their guiding principles by observing their actions (Susanti, 2014).

West Sumatra's customary law communities have a structure different from other communities in Indonesia, focusing on rights of origin. Indigenous peoples have existed in Indonesia even before the country's independence. Indigenous peoples have established their governance systems and institutions. In addition, their social systems are governed by customs derived from their traditions. As a result of the unique practices of indigenous peoples, many customary systems have emerged. The phrase *adaik salingka* Nagari illustrates how the rules in one *nagari* can differ from another because of these differences. Law No. 6/2014, which directly regulates villages, and Law No. 22/1999, which grants autonomy to villages, have given birth to the Nagari Government, replacing the previous village government system in West Sumatra. Most Minangkabau people consider themselves as Nagari, which is reflected in their way of life.

Agam Regency Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2007 is the foundation for the Nagari Government. This regulation outlines the functions and duties of the *Jorong* Head, Village Head, Village Secretary, Heads of Government, Development, Social and Community Affairs, Finance and Assets, and Treasurer. The *nagari*-level government is responsible for managing development and providing public services, and this structure ensures this (Zakir, 2021). Physical growth, social health, and the governance of *nagari* assets must be well balanced, and each chief executive is responsible for their respective areas.

Along with the governance framework of the *nagari* system, the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN) plays an important role. KAN has a unique responsibility to preserve tradition. The traditional aspects of KAN include *pucuk adat*, *datuak kaampek suku*, *penghulu andiko*, *urang ampek jinih*, and *manti nagari*, as stated in West Sumatra Regional regulation No. 7/2018 as well as Regional regulation No. 2/2007 (Afrizal, 2003). The purpose of the KAN is to maintain the traditions passed down over the years and to resolve customary disputes, especially those involving *sako* and *pusako*, which are customary property rights.

Genealogy and territorial factors shape the legal structure of Nagari. In a Nagari, there are at least four tribes. However, ideally, we can conclude that within a Nagari, there are at least two

tribes because one tribe can't live there as tribes have an exogamous function. Minangkabau society originally consisted of four indigenous tribes: Bodi, Caniago, Koto, and Piliang. To maintain the order of the customary law community, KAN always obeys the applicable regulations in carrying out its duties and activities (Afwadi, 2010). KAN has many tasks to accomplish as a Nagari government institution, especially for the youth it serves.

Contribution of Kenagarian to Village Government

Minangkabau people lived their lives according to a democratic model based on the idea of equality. Pagaruyung served as the center of government for the Minangkabau kings during the democratic system. Within the Indonesian government structure, there is a separate customary government known as the Minangkabau government. The Indonesian government's politics and policies continue to impact it, especially in terms of the implementation of village governance. In the context of Minangkabau culture, this approach is highly ineffective due to the erosion of the function of *Adat* leaders by the times and state politics. Democracy, focused on institutions such as village governance, is a product of this trend (Batubara, 2004). A second opportunity for the Minangkabau people to establish their democratic form of government

has arisen with the Regional Autonomy Law.

Bodi Chaniago and Koto Piliang exemplify how *nagari* governance in Minangkabau evolved to incorporate democratic principles. By establishing a two-way street between the *mamak* and his *kinsmen*, Bodi Chaniago shows how democracy works. You can't compare Penghulu to that. In addition, Bodi Chaniago also thinks that agreement and discussion are the most important things in life. *Koto Piliang's* disagreement with democracy is shown by the Penghulu's indirect interaction with his people (Putra & Supanggah, 2018).

These two forms influence the daily lives of the Minangkabau people. The *Koto Piliang* system and the *bodi caniago* system are also sometimes used. Depending on the nature of the problem, all these factors are modified. Although both foundations adhere to certain ideals, they have different contexts. Democracy is still routinely practiced in Minangkabau. However, local leaders remain in office even after national and local elections. Given the importance of traditional leaders, West Sumatra is an ideal location for elections in Indonesia. Although there were some obstacles, the electoral process was largely uneventful.

Minangkabau leadership has demonstrated dynamic leadership characteristics by addressing the concerns of the indigenous people (Trinanda, 2022). The level of maturity of Minangkabau leaders is visible here. Democracy and Minangkabau culture

get along well. Both historically and culturally, Minangkabau traditional knowledge is the beginning of it all. Every Indigenous person is of equal standing, as seen from the proverb sitting equally low, not equally high, which means "sitting equally low, standing equally high". (Aromatica, 2018). As a result, everyone's thoughts should be considered when making decisions. Regardless, Minang culture is tolerant of many points of view. For example, consider the following: a young person is expected to learn from his uncle, his uncle looks up to the Penghulu, and there is a universally recognized rule that supersedes the Penghulu.

However, contrary to what is expected of an absolute monarch, the Minangkabau tradition also allows criticism of the king. In other words, the king cannot access the infallible truth. According to this traditional Minangkabau proverb, "*Kamanakan barajou mamak, mamak barajo panghulu, panghulu marajo kamufakat, mufakat barajo ka nan bana, bana manuruik alua and patuik,*" this is true (Rahmad, 2017). The meaning is that a customary leader or village head is listened to and led by the truth. This is because Minangkabau customs and culture have evolved, and certain traditions that were once considered inappropriate have been replaced by more modern ones (Dwi, 2022). Leadership and popular movements are the two main causes of revolutions (Gardbaum, 2017).

Strong control over the people will still be relied upon by Minangkabau leadership, even with reform. Even *dilatak*, or the appointment of an unfit village head, is postponed until the candidate is ready to lead his nephew's children. As a result, in modern Minangkabau society, democracy is rampant (Utama, 2017). Imagine that the election of the *Wali Nagari* is done with the institutional density of *Ninik Mamak* consisting of community representatives. The need to defend the rights of others and the preservation of personal freedom are two principles of democracy. The cornerstone of Minangkabau society is a strong sense of *gotong royong*, which demonstrates this. Although they may be in different locations, all Minangkabau people are treated equally. Under this premise, Indigenous Minangkabau people can voice their opinions and concerns to Adat leaders (Siagian et al., 2024).

Women are also allowed to be part of the decision-making process. The presence of female representatives in the Nagari Customs density is evidence of this. The phrase "*bundo kanduang*" is important in the Minangkabau family structure. Women can take part in family finances according to Minangkabau inheritance laws. This exemplifies the importance of democracy. This idea also suggests that representation is seen from a social perspective, where representatives are judged according to their social role in society (Khoban, 2021).

The next indicator of equality is the concept that regulates property division between heirlooms (*pusako*). In contrast to *pusako*, which is composed of tangible and intangible assets, including land, rice fields, dwellings, and traditional clothing and equipment, *sako* is a customary right inherited from the *Mamak* to his nephew (Sabri, 2012). The current scenario in Minangkabau is characterized by a lack of hierarchy and an emphasis on agreement in all areas of life. As the Minangkabau voting method is still a mystery, consensus plays an important role in the discussion process. This democratic process that leads to mutual agreement requires the active involvement of every citizen (Siagian et al., 2024). As a result, the decision-making process is considered higher. Thus, the leadership system of the Indigenous Minangkabau community will inevitably show features of indirect democracy. Decisions are made in publicly recognized locations by institutions representing each social class in the Indigenous community, and everyone has an equal say in the process.

Indonesia has yet to achieve full democracy, even though Minangkabau, one of its home regions, has a strong democratic tradition. The colonial system and the poor national state have hampered democracy. Modern democratic systems built by the founding fathers, including guided democracy and the New Order, have also been influenced by authoritarian

regimes (Harisnawati et al., 2018). Because it must conform to the prevailing cultural norms and government structure, the basic idea of democracy rooted in mining democracy cannot emerge. Article 1 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution states that sovereignty is vested in the people and exercised following the Constitution, which is related to the concept of democracy in Indonesia. The sovereignty of the people must be properly guarded because it has begun to deviate from its ideal form (Eko, 2021). This finding suggests, if nothing else, that factions seeking political dominance have not made useful use of popular sovereignty.

On the other hand, when viewed ideologically, the concept of popular sovereignty in Minangkabau is different from the national electoral system (Budi Astuti & M. Kolopaking, 2009). It is also employed as a representative (representing the government) today; however, using both forms is commonplace in Indonesia. To explore the local values derived from Indonesia's old traditions, Jimly Asshiddiqie argues that discussing constitutional law derived from adat is very important. Customs and laws are the source of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. According to Muhammad Yamin, the foundation of the state is built on customary values because these values distinguish the nation from other nations. Modern nations associate the idea of separation of powers with the

kingdoms of the archipelago, such as Indonesia, which existed long before the country's independence.

The *manti*, *malin*, and *dubalang* must support the Penghulu in his leadership role in Nagari, while the Penghulu is in charge of policy making. Certain traits are possessed by Minangkabau leaders that indicate the character of an ideal leader (Arsil et al., 2022). Leaders should be in front of the group in terms of tradition, religion, and law. The president no longer plays the role of a religious leader or arbiter in national disputes; his solemn duty is to lead the nation (Angga & Latupono, 2020). Thus, the Minangkabau Nagari has long dominated under the Constitution. Customary law is the foundation of democratic governance (Sunarti et al., 2024). The Nagari government is usually stable because its leaders do not act arbitrarily when carrying out their responsibilities.

Application of Local Wisdom of West Malalak Kenagarian: Contribution and Review of Siyasa Dusturiyah

Proponents of community customary law claim that the younger generation is less familiar with the conventions, which has sparked controversy (Marzuki, 2021). They are also seen as lacking respect for their ancestors, who have worked hard to maintain their beliefs for future generations (Hasyim, 2020). Many parents go to great lengths to maintain the custom. On the other hand, some argue that adhering to adaptations

wastes time and that customary laws do not contribute to modern development (Yusdani et al., 2023). If the situation requires it, customs should be revised and updated accordingly. Two competing schools of thought that demand the continued presence of customs.

Islamic law scholars reached a consensus: Islamic law can be based on general and specific *Sahih urf* (Syatar et al., 2023). For example, according to Yusuf Qardawi, Islamic law must always be actualized. The reason is that society and life itself are in a constant state of flux. The "solver" for every human dilemma is *urf*, meaning Islamic law applies everywhere and at all times (Rauf, 2013). The main objective is to avoid becoming too thin while maintaining its superiority (Taufiq et al., 2024). The application of customary law following *maslahah* is a central element of Islamic law, provided that the custom does not undermine the fundamental foundations of religion (Mahfudin & Moufan Dinatul Firdaus, 2022).

One branch of politics, known as *siyasaah dusturiyah*, focuses on administrating Sharia law and principles; politics is concerned with controlling society (Mahmad Robbi et al., 2024). This shows that the basic laws of Islam, "*shari'ah*," are found in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet regarding worship, creed, *muamalah*, ethics, and more (Kosasih et al., 2024). In line with Allah's decree in the Qur'an Surah Al-Imran verse 159 regarding this

matter, the principle of deliberation must be prioritized over *fiqh siyasah* in all decisions taken for the good of the general public (Mulia et al., 2024).

فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ...

"...and consult with them in that matter..." (Web, 2023)

People from the Minang tribe are renowned for their commitment to social equality and their reputation as an egalitarian culture. When making choices or collaborating, they also like to talk about it with each other. This is in line with the ideals taught in Islam, as Allah states in Surah Al-Imran verse 159.

فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ ۗ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظًا
الْقَلْبِ لَأَنفَضُوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ ۗ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ

وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ ۗ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ
فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ

"(It is) by the mercy of Allah that you are gentle with them. They would have withdrawn from around you if you had been harsh and harsh-hearted. So forgive them, ask forgiveness for them, and consult with them. Then, when you have made up your mind, put your trust in Allah. Verily, Allah loves those who put their trust in Him."

Based on the *siyasaah dusturiyah* analysis, the *nagari* government is a consensus-based democracy with a paternalistic leadership style due to strong genetic ties among *nagari* officials (Rois et al., 2024). Minangkabau people view the kinship system as prioritizing benefits by preventing leadership conflicts, so they maintain it to maintain

social and political stability (Mukhlis et al., 2024). However, the government's implementation of the kinship system does not reflect a conceptually complete democracy (Rusyidi, 2023).

CONCLUSION

West Sumatra is home to a cohesive indigenous population that has maintained its unique arrangements based on its native rights. Long before Indonesia's independence, there were indigenous peoples. Traditional communities of Indigenous Peoples manage their social systems according to their long-established practices. For the transition to Nagari governance, the village administration system in West Sumatra has been modified, building on the autonomy opportunities afforded by Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, lasting until Law No. 6 of 2014, which regulates villages in particular. A representation of the communal pattern of existence and life, Nagari is the largest unit of the Minangkabau community assembly.

The relevance of democracy in Minangkabau to the lives of its people is clear, as is its adherence to Indonesian democracy, especially concerning the ideal of equality. As the center of Minangkabau society, Pagaruyung was where democratic governance was practiced. The Minangkabau government has always been bound by political and policy changes in Indonesia, especially in the introduction of nagari government, an independent

customary government within the Indonesian government system. This program was detrimental to the Minangkabau people, whose traditional leaders were marginalized and whose democratic leadership was based on customary institutions such as village government. However, Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Autonomy gave the Minangkabau people a second chance to establish their democratic government.

Adat Basandi Syarak, number three For generations, Minangkabau people have relied on the saying Syarak Basandi Kitabullah as the foundation of their ideas about social life. The author argues that syarak refers to the Islamic legal system that emerged after Minangkabau society had adat, and kitabullah refers to the Qur'an, the foundational text of Islam. "*Adat basandi Alua jo Patuik*" should be the guiding principle of Minangkabau life. *Patuik* refers to what is following common sense and the sophistication of the mind, while *alua* refers to the general flow or law. To uphold justice and prevent conflicts among fellow citizens, the Minang people should be able to put everything in its place. This will allow them to live in harmony and peace.

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