

Concepts of Radicalism and Strategies

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**CONCEPTS OF RELIGIOUS RADICALISM AND STRATEGIC ROLES OF MINANGKABAU LOCAL CHIEFTAINS IN PREVENTING IT****Ismail**

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Abstract

The research aimed at describing how local chieftains in Minangkabau understand religious radicalism and the strategic role applied in preventing the growth of radicalism in West Sumatera. The research was conducted in three different places in West West Sumatera. They are Agam regency as a part of *Luhak Nan Tigo*. Padang Pariaman as a representative of *rantau* Minangkabau, and Pasaman regency as representative of north area in Minangkabau known as *darek kapalo rantau*. The data were obtained through observations, interviews, and focus group discussions (FGD). The triangulation model was used to validate the data to formulate a reliable conclusion. Referring to the research findings, it was concluded that the local chieftains, *niniak mamak* or the traditional clan leaders in West Sumatera understood what religious radicalism was. However, they could not state a certain definition for the intended term. According to them, those who were narrow-minded, textual, and selfish, easily blaming others who differed in opinions belonged to radicalism. Religious radicalism could be prevented by understanding what the Minangkabau adage meant, how the *adat basandi syara, syara' basandi kitabullah* managed people's life. Moreover, maintain and preserving the religious traditions such as *kbatam quran*, *Maulud Nabi*, and *batamat kaji* were also needed to be facilitated.

Keywords: Religious Radicalism, Local leadership, Local Chieftains, Traditions.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan tentang pemahaman elit adat Minangkabau tentang radikalisme agama dan peran strategis yang dimainkannya dalam penanggulangan radikalisme agama di Sumatera Barat. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Sumatera Barat khusus di Kabupaten Agam sebagai salah satu *Luhak nan Tuo* (termasuk dalam salah satu wilayah asal Minangkabau), Padang Pariaman, dipilih sebagai mewakili *rantau* Minangkabau (atau yang dikenal dengan sebutan *pasisia/pesisir* Minangkabau), dan Kabupaten Pasaman sebagai mewakili wilayah utara yang dikenal dalam adat Minangkabau sebagai wilayah ujuang *darek kapalo rantau*. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan observasi, wawancara, dan *focus group discussion* (FGD). Model triangulasi data dipakai untuk melakukan keroscek data untuk menghasilkan kesimpulan yang benar. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan kepemimpinan lokal di Sumatera Barat cukup memahami makna dari radikalisme agama. Hanya saja, mereka tidak mengemukakan definisi-definisi yang khusus tentang itu. Menurut mereka paham keagamaan yang sempit dan tekstual, merasa benar sendiri, dan suka menyalahkan atau membidahkan orang yang tidak sefaham dengan mereka



dapat digolongkan sebagai radikal. Radikalisme⁵ ma tersebut dapat ditanggulangi dengan memberikan pemahaman yang benar tentang adagium adat, Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah, Saya' mangato adat mamakai (ABS-SBK). Juga dengan mempertabankan tradisi-tradisi keagamaan seperti kbatam quran di Agama, Mauluk Nabi di Padang Pariaman, dan Batamat Kaji di Pasaman.

Kata Kunci: Radikalisme Agama, Kepemimpinan Lokal, Elit Adat.

Background

West Sumatera is a region that applies Minangkabau common laws. Its society believes in its culture and its religion.¹ It is reflected on their adage "Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK)".² Minangkabau traditional clan leaders (*niniak mamak, alim ulama, dan cadiak pandai*) refer their action on the adage that they have important roles in performing the cultures and the religion in the society.³

Seen from the religious aspect, people in West Sumatera are egalitarian. History notes that during the era of Islam development in Nusantara, West Sumatera was the center of its establishment.⁴ Although, there was a Sumatera revivalists' movement known as Paderi in West Sumatera, which was often regarded as Islamic radical movement by some experts, since the Marapalam consensus between the local chieftains and religious people, radicalism has never been a

phenomenon in West Sumatera.⁵ Yet, some current research shows that West Sumatera is included as a region exposed to radicalisms.⁶ Alchaidar, observing terrorism at Universitas Malikussaleh (UNIMAL) Aceh states that in West Sumatera, there are 3000 followers of radicalism, affiliated with ISIS, *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* and *Jamaah Ansharut Khilafah*. According to Al Chaidar, Ansharut Khilafah belongs to a radical group. Its members are found performing their practices hidden in Bukittinggi and Nias.⁷ Besides, it is believed that Padang, based on some research data, as the capital city of West Sumatera, is an intolerant city in Indonesia. It is the *Unit Kerja Presiden-Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila* and SETARA institute that reveals a list mentioning the most tolerant and intolerant cities in Indonesia in 2018. The data are published by referring to studies involving institutions and reliable resources. The most tolerant cities, relatively, according to the list are Manado, Pematang Siangtar, Salatiga, Singkawang, Tual, Binjai, Kotamobagu, Palu, Tebing Tinggi, and Surakarta. Meanwhile, the

¹ Ridha Hasnul Ulya and others, 'Cultural Manifestation in Superstition of Minangkabau Society' (Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan UNP, 2018), pp. 415-29 <<https://doi.org/10.29210/2018160>>.

² Dara Kartika Rahma, 'Adat Bersandi Syarak, Syarak Bersandi Kitabullah: Konstruksi Adat Dan Agama Dalam Hak Waris Masyarakat Matrilineal', *BUMI GENDER : Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak*, 2.1 (2017), 35 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/bumi.v2i1.718>>.

³ A. M. Dt. Maruhun Batuah, *Hukum Adat Dan Adat Minangkabau: Luhak Nan Tiga Laras Nan Dua* (Bandung: Pustaka Aseli, 2008).

⁴ Sulastri Sulastri and others, 'Disemination Of Minangkabau Universal Leadership Values For Leaders And Prospective Leaders In Padang City', in *2nd Padang International Conference on Education, Economics, Business and Accounting (PICEEBA-2018)* (Atlantis Press, 2019) <<https://doi.org/10.2991/piceeba2-18.2019.78>>.

⁵ Zulkifli Zulkifli, 'Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli dan Kitab Klasiknya', *Turast : Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian*, 3.1 (2015), 83-98 <<https://doi.org/10.15548/turast.v3i1.377>>.

⁶ Welhendri Azwar, 'The Resistance of Local Wisdom towards Radicalism: The Study of The Tarekat Community of West Sumatra, Indonesia', *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 26.1 (2018), 75-102.

⁷ Haluan, 'Terkait 3000 Teroris Di Sumbar, Al Chaidar Kumpulkan Data Sejak Tahun 2000', *Harian Haluan*, August 2018 <<https://www.harianhaluan.com/news/detail/70985/terkait-3000-teroris-di-sumbar-al-chaidar-kumpulkan-data-sejak-tahun-2000>> [accessed 4 April 2020].



most intolerant cities, according to the list, relatively are Jakarta, Banda Aceh, Bogor, Cilegon, Depok, Yogyakarta, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Padang, and Mataram.⁸

The previous data are not easily accepted by people in Minangkabau, especially by the local Chieftains. It is Irfianda Abidin, one of the Minangkabau local chieftains joining the 11 society organizations in West Sumatera who rejects the data revealed by Alchaidar.⁹ Moreover, Saifullah, a professor in UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, also says that it is almost impossible that religious radicalism exists in West Sumatera. It is because people in West Sumatera still refer to their adage *adat basandi syara, syara' basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK). Saifullah also confirms that *Ninik Mamak* as the local chieftain ensures that there is no chance for radicalism, terrorism, and communism to grow in West Sumatera.¹⁰

Therefore, this research aims at describing how local chieftains in Minangkabau understand religious radicalism in West Sumatera and the strategic roles applied by them to prevent its growth.

Religious Radicalism

⁸ SETARA, 'Ringkasan Eksekutif Indeks Kota Toleran (2018)', 2018

<https://drive.google.com/file/u/1/d/1SR3-7tWpb16QpylydHBnm8eLiqEPjHp/view?usp=sharing&usp=embed_facebook> [accessed 4 April 2020].

⁹ Halian, '11 Ormas Di Sumbar Laporkan Pengamat Terorisme Al Chaidar Ke Polda', 2018 <<https://www.harianhaluan.com/news/detail/70993/11-ormas-di-sumbar-laporkan-pengamat-terorisme-al-chaidar-ke-polda>> [accessed 4 April 2020].

¹⁰ Suaramuhammadiyah, 'Pemuda Muhammadiyah Sumbar Tolak Ideologi Yang Bertentangan Dengan Bangsa Dan Agama' (suaramuhammadiyah.id, 2017) <<http://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2017/08/02/pemuda-muhammadiyah-sumbar-tolak-ideologi-yang-bertentangan-dengan-bangsa-dan-agama/>> [accessed 4 April 2020].

Radicalism intends to make drastic changes.¹¹ In Arabic, radicalism is explained using a few terms; *al-Unf*, *at-Tataruf*, dan *al-Ghuluww*.¹² *Al-Unf* is violent actions used illegally to obtrude and impose opinions.¹³ *At-Tataruf* is derived from *al-Tarf* meaning tip or edge. It is used to refer to a position which is on the edge.¹⁴ Thus, the word denotes radical, extreme, and exaggerate. In short, *at-Tataruf al-Dini* means all exaggerated actions in performing religion. It is the opposite word of *al-Wasath* (moderate) that designates good and commendable.¹⁵

Based on the previous meanings, it is possible to say that radicalism is a belief that belongs to a person or group meaning to make drastic changes in the aspects of social, politics using violence and extreme actions.¹⁶ Furthermore, radicalism is established on its exclusive paradigm, rigid, restricted, and extremist, and militarist.¹⁷

¹¹ Richard Grusin, 'Radical Mediation', *Critical Inquiry*, 42.1 (2015), 124–48 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/682998>>.

¹² David W. Montgomery and John Heathershaw, 'Islam, Secularism and Danger: A Reconsideration of the Link between Religiosity, Radicalism and Rebellion in Central Asia', *Religion, State and Society*, 44.3 (2016), 192–218 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2016.1220177>>.

¹³ Dede Rodin, 'Islam Dan Radikalisme: Telaah Atas Ayat-Ayat "Kekerasan" Dalam Al-Qur'an', *ADDIN*, 10.1 (2016), 29–60 <<https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.1128>>.

¹⁴ Abdul Karim, *Pengembangan Kosakata Bahasa Arab Berbasis Anti Radikalisme Melalui Buku Saku Mahasiswa Program Studi Bahasa Arab Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram*, *El-Tsaqafah: Jurnal Jurusan PBA*, 2018, XVII.

¹⁵ Gubara Said Hassan, 'Radical Islam/Islamic Radicalism: Towards a Theoretical Framing', *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 12 (2015), 1–4.

¹⁶ Mochamad Thoyyib, 'Radikalisme Islam Indonesia', *TA'LIM : Jurnal Studi Pendidikan Islam*, 1.1 (2018), 90–105 <<https://doi.org/10.29062/ta'lim.v1i1.636>>.

¹⁷ Farhaan Wali, *Radicalism Unveiled* (Rutledge, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2014.903675>>.



Religion views radicalism as an overpowering belief. Its followers tend to be fanatic that possibly leads to performing violent acts to actualize what they believe to be true, and others must accept.¹⁸ Radicalism can also mean religious acts contradicting the *syariat*. It is performed to change social situations by violating religious rules.¹⁹

Referring to the previous context, it is understood that radicalism is a religious act that intends to make drastic changes in social life through violence.²⁰

Many factors are instigating religious radicalism, such as economic, social, and cultural and political factors, national and global which tend to be unfair.²¹ Yusuf al-Qardawi confirms that the dominant factor is the inability to understand religion. Islam is only understood partially. Al-Quran as the main source of Islamic teachings always provides knowledge that meets the current contexts and situations.²²

In line with al-Qardhawi, Azyumardi Azra says that two factors are influencing the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. The first factor is the internal factor of Muslims. There are certain religious irrelevances made by the Muslims due to the secularism affecting the

authenticity of Islam and being rigid in understanding the religious concepts.²³ Furthermore, many of them tend to reject social changes and become frustrated in dealing with global changes. Many Muslims show overlong reactions to global issues that modern concepts such as democracy, human rights are seen as western products that they decline radically.²⁴

The second factor is the Muslim external factor; the government restrained Muslims during the *Orde Baru* era is believed to evoke Islam radicalism. A leadership crisis after *Orde Baru* drove Muslims to implement the *Syariah* Islam by force as solutions for the crisis.²⁵ The movement provoked Islam radicalism, and Islam was made to be the resolution for weak enforcement of laws especially to overcome cases related to Muslims.²⁶

Furthermore, Nafi, notes that one of the factors evoking radicalism was the advancement of transnational in Indonesia in 2010. Based on the research done by Litbang (a research and development institution), it is found that there are many religious transnational movements in Indonesia, such as *Salafi*, *Syi'ah*, *Jama'ah*

¹⁸ Fatkhul Mufid, 'Radikalisme Islam Dalam Perspektif Epistemologi', *ADDIN*, 10.1 (2016), 61 <<https://doi.org/10.21043/addi.v10i1.1129>>.

¹⁹ Agustinus Wisnu Dewantara, 'Radikalisme Agama Dalam Konteks Indonesia Yang Agamis Dan Berpancasila', *JPAK: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Kajian*, 19.1 (2019), 1–14 <<https://doi.org/10.34150/jpak.v19i1.222>>.

²⁰ Ahdar Ahdar, 'Tinjauan Kritis Dan Menyeluruh Terhadap Fundamentalisme Dan Radikalisme Islam Masa Kini', *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan*, 10.1 (2017), 19–36 <<https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v10i1.582>>.

²¹ Hasani Ahmad Said and Fathurrahman Rauf, 'Radikalisme Agama Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam', *Al-Adalah*, 12.1 (2015), 593–610 <<https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v12i1.238>>.

²² Yusuf Al-Qaradhawiy, *Al-Shahwah Al-Islamiyah Baina Al-Juhud Wa Al-Thasharruf* (Cairo: Bayt al-Taqwa, 1989).

²³ Sukron Mamun, 'Tablighi Jamaat, An Islam Revivalist Movement and Radicalism Issues', *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies*, 5.2 (2019), 145 <https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v5i2.1098>.

²⁴ Ahmad Asrori, 'Radikalisme Di Indonesia: Antara Historitas Dan Antropisitas', *KALAM*, 9.2 (2017), 253 <<https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v9i2.331>>.

²⁵ Donny Syofyan, 'Some Notes on Religion Radicalization and Terrorism in Indonesia', *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies*, 2.2 (2016), 133 <https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v2i2.111>.

²⁶ A Faiz Yunus, 'Radikalisme, Liberalisme Dan Terorisme: Pengaruhnya Terhadap Agama Islam', *Jurnal Online Studi Al-Qur An*, 13.1 (2017), 76–94 <<https://doi.org/10.21009/jsq.013.1.06>>.



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*Tabligh, Ikbwanul Muslimin (IM), and Hizbut Tabrir Indonesia (HTI).*²⁷

The Local Chieftains and Its Leadership in West Sumatera

West Sumatera is a province that applies Minangkabau laws. The region covers West Sumatera, a part of Riau province, and a part of Jambi province. Negeri Sembilan in Malaysia is also influenced by the culture of Minangkabau.²⁸

Kinship in Minangkabau society covers the relationship between the individual, the relationship between individual and family, and the relationship between a family and another family.²⁹ The relationship makes Minangkabau as collective society having high togetherness.³⁰ Kinship is about how a family is related. Therefore, the Minangkabau kinship is a relationship between every individual in Minangkabau that creates a unit or a group.³¹

Kinship in Minangkabau means to build togetherness. Kinship in Minangkabau makes the relationship between individual and family

close and strong.³² People in Minangkabau are matriarchy. If a child is born in Minangkabau, the baby takes his or her mother clan, for instance, if a mother is *Caniago*, then her children are *Caniago* also. The relationship occurs between a mother and her children refer to the matrilineal system.³³

The authority system in Minangkabau is known as *lareh*. This system was triggered by two Minangkabau figures *Datuak Katamanggungan* and *Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang*.³⁴ *Lareh* by *Datuak Katamanggungan* is called *keclarasan Koto Piliang* and *lareh* by *Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang* is called *keclarasan Bodi Caniago*. Both terms are compatible.³⁵

Although there are two systems developed in Minangkabau, both adhere to the same principle; democracy which is based on agreement. Besides, both have the same elements, they are *pengbulu, alim ulama, dan cadiak pandai* (local chieftains). They are commonly known as *tungku tigo sajarangan*.³⁶

Pengbulu means beginning, the tip-point, the leader. *Pengbulu* is one of the local chieftains. *Pengbulu* who is chosen by its clan

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²⁷ Nafi Muthohirin, 'Radikalisme Islam Dan Pergerakannya Di Media Sosial', *Afkaruna*, 11.2 (2015), 240–59
<<https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis.2015.0050.240-259>>.

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²⁸ Jonaidi Jonaidi, 'Kajian Hukum Terhadap Kedudukan Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat Minangkabau Di Sumatera Barat', *LEX ET SOCIETATIS*, 6.1 (2018)
<<https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/index.php/lexetsocietatis/article/view/3877>> [accessed 4 April 2020].

²⁹ Misnal Munir, 'Sistem Kekerabatan Dalam Kebudayaan Minangkabau: Perspektif Aliran Filsafat Strukturalisme Jean Claude Levi-Strauss', *Jurnal Filsafat*, 25.1 (2016), 1
<<https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.12612>>.

³⁰ Rahman Malik, 'Ikatan Kekerabatan Etnis Minangkabau Dalam Melestarikan Nilai Budaya Minangkabau Di Perantauan Sebagai Wujud Warga Negara', *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi*, 5.2 (2016), 17–27
<<https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v5i2.18102>>.

³¹ N F N Suryami, 'Konsep Kepemimpinan Dalam Tambo Minangkabau', *Kandai*, 10.2 (2017), 203–15
<<https://doi.org/10.26499/JK.V10I2.323>>.

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³² Indah Adi Putri, 'Jaringan Kekerabatan Matrilineal Sebagai Modal Sosial Perempuan Caleg Dalam Pemilu 2014', *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 19.2 (2018), 167
<<https://doi.org/10.25077/jaisb.v19.n2.p167-178.2017>>.

³³ Ike Revit, Rovika Trioclarise, and Fahmi Gunawan, 'Matrilineal System and The Activity of Women Trafficking In West Sumatera', in *2nd International Conference on Education, Science, and Technology (ICEST 2017)* (Atlantis Press, 2017)
<<https://doi.org/10.2991/icest-17.2017.33>>.

³⁴ Mina Elfira, 'Model Kepemimpinan Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Di Minangkabau Dan Bugis', in *Prosiding The 5th International Conference on Indonesian Studies: Ethnicity and Globalization* (Jakarta, 2015), pp. 15–26.

³⁵ Misnal Munir, 'The Values of Leadership Principles in Minangkabau Proverbs', in *Semantic Scholar* (semanticscholar.org, 2019), pp. 774–81
<<https://doi.org/10.5220/0007551207740781>>.

³⁶ Siti Fatimah, 'Kepemimpinan Tradisional Masyarakat Minangkabau Pada Masa Pendudukan Jepang', *Tingkap*, 7.1 (2011), 75–88.



should be mature, knowledgeable, virtuous, polite, friendly, and modest.³⁷ *Pengbulu* is the role model of the youth, as Minangkabau common saying states “*Nan kuriak iyolah kundi nan merab iyolah sago. Nan baiak iyolah budi nan indab iyolah baso*”.

The position of *pengbulu* in each *nagari* (region) is not the same. *Nagari* that applies *bodi caniago* places their *pengbulu* in equal position, as how they say “*duduak samo randab, tagak samo tinggi*”. Meanwhile, *nagari* that applies *koto piliang* has different position of their *pengbulu*. It is signed by the bridge of their *rumah gadang* (traditional house).³⁸

Pengbulu has important roles in Minangkabau society. *Pengbulu* are the leader of the clan, the local chieftains who are selected by their clans; “*Maangkek pangbulu sakoto kaum, maangkek rajo sakoto alam, manuruik adat salingka nagari*”. *Pengbulu* protects the member of its clan, they are the judges that solve problems between the members of their clan, and their people expect them to lead their lives.³⁹

Alim Ulama is the Minangkabau local chieftains that manage religious issues, they are religious people. *Alim ulama* is one of the leadership elements beside *niniak mamak* and *cadiak pandai* in Minangkabau culture. The three manage religion, politics and authority, and economics within

³⁷ Suryami.

³⁸ Mursal Mursal and Bayu Tri Cahya, ‘Optimizing the Development of Islamic Financial Institutions in West Sumatera: Role of *L. Wisdom Analysis of Tungku Tigo Sajaringan*’, *Equilibrium: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, 7.1 (2019), 183 <<https://doi.org/10.291043/equilibrium.v7i1.5257>>.

³⁹ Niko Andeska, ‘Tungku Tigo Sajaringan Pada Era Globalisasi Dan Visualisasi Dalam Kriya Seni’, *Bercadik: Jurnal Ilmiah Dan Penciptaan Seni*, 4.2 (2017), 173 <<http://journal.isi-padangpanjang.ac.id/index.php/Bercadik/article/view/571>> [accessed 5 April 2020].

the *nagari*. They are commonly known as *tali tigo sapilin* or *tungku tigo sajarangan*.⁴⁰

Alim Ulama in Minangkabau society governs religious aspect or *syara'* while *Pengbulu* or *Niniak Mamak* oversee culture. The existence of *alim ulama* in Minangkabau society is important. It is mentioned in their adage “*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah*”. The position of *alim Ulama* as the leader is to make decisions which refer to the al-Quran and hadiths. *Alim Ulama* also give considerations to *Pengbulu* to make conclusion related to the religious aspect. The considerations are given, without having to be asked previously by the *Pengbulu*.⁴¹

The position of *Alim Ulama* is different from that of *Pengbulu*. *Pengbulu* is inherited from generation to generation. This does not happen to *Alim Ulama*. In Minangkabau common saying, it is said “*kaateb indak bapucuk, kabawab indak baurek*”. Therefore, if *Alim Ulama* in a *Nagari* passes away, the position is replaced by a person who understands religion and its teachings comprehensively.⁴²

Alim Ulama is in charge of helping and answering questions from society referring to the knowledge that he has. *Alim Ulama* is also said the one who enlightens and models how

⁴⁰ Yayan Hidayat, Iwan Ismi Febriyanto, and Mahalli Hatim Nadzir, ‘Transformasi Dan Dualisme Kelembagaan Dalam Pemerintah Adat Minang: Studi Terhadap Nagari Pariangan, Sumatera Barat’, *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 2.2 (2017), 227 <<https://doi.org/10.15294/jpi.v2i2.9021>>.

⁴¹ Busyro Busyro, ‘Peranan Lembaga Keagamaan Lokal Dalam Melahirkan Dan Mengawal Fatwa Keagamaan (Studi Terhadap Peran Majelis Ulama Nagari Guguak Tabek Sarajo Kecamatan IV Koto Kabupaten Agam)’, *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies*, 1.1 (2015), 83–94 <https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v1i1.9>.

⁴² Nadia Nur Indrawati, ‘Peran Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi (1860-1916 M) Dalam Islamisasi Nusantara’, *Jurnal Tamaddun*, 1.1 (2016), 177–200 <<https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v1i1.940>>.



to live based on Islamic teachings. *Alim Ulama* is also responsible to teach the youth (*kepanyuluab anak kamanakan*), so that they can stay in the right path, *Alim Ulama* teach which one is allowed (halal) which one is forbidden (haram) (*tampek batanyo halal jo haram*) provides advice and opinions about legitimate and invalidated things that can be done by the society (*sarato sab jo batal*).⁴³

Cadiak pandai in a *Nagari* is people who are regarded as knowledgeable. *Cadiak pandai* can always find solutions for every problem faced by society.⁴⁴

The position of *Cadiak Pandai* is similar to the position of *Alim Ulama* and *Penghulu*. Yet, its position is not inherited from a generation to another generation. *Cadiak pandai* is in charge of regulations. *Cadiak pandai* is responsible to guide the society in living their life.⁴⁵

Besides *Penghulu*, *Alim Ulama* and *Cadiak Pandai*, in Minangkabau, people also refer to the leadership of *Bundo Kandung*. *Bundo Kandung* is a non-formal leader for the women in the *nagari*. Her leadership is supported by her people in Minangkabau.⁴⁶

⁴³ Welhendri Azwar and others, 'Nagari Minangkabau: The Study of Indigenous Institutions in West Sumatra, Indonesia', *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 10.2 (2018), 231–39
<<https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.10.2018.231-239>>.

⁴⁴ Sulastri Sulastri, Chichi Andriani, and Yuki Fitria, 'Sosialisasi Dan Pelatihan Kepemimpinan Minangkabau Universal Untuk Pemuda Di Kelurahan Pasie Nan Tigo Kecamatan Koto Tengah Kota Padang', *UNES Journal of Community Service*, 3.2 (2018), 062
<<https://doi.org/10.31933/ujcs.3.2.062-069.2018>>.

⁴⁵ Noni Febriana and Robby Dharma, 'Reunderstanding and Reconstructing the Form of Folk Belief Statements in Minangkabau Society', in *International Conference on Language, Literature, and Education (ICLLE 2018)* (Atlantis Press, 2018)
<<https://doi.org/10.2991/iclle-18.2018.81>>.

⁴⁶ Sri Yunarti, 'Pemberdayaan Lembaga Bundo Kandung Di Nagari Melalui Kebijakan Pembangunan Yang Responsif Gender', *Kafa`ah: Journal of Gender Studies*, 7.2 (2017), 221
<<https://doi.org/10.15548/jk.v7i2.178>>.

Bundo Kandung is not a position based on a formal election. The figure of *bundo kanduang* appears among Minangkabau women spontaneously. *Bundo Kandung* is trustworthy. She obtains by referring to the matriarchy system where the house, treasure and economic sources are given to women.⁴⁷

Niniak Mamak, *Alim Ulama* and *Cadiak Pandai* are commonly known as *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*, that they are the local chieftains of Minangkabau.⁴⁸ Philosophically, *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* are meant to work together to create harmony and strong stability in society, to apply the cultural and religious values to support the development of *Nagari* (region).

Local Chieftains Understanding of Religious Radicalism in West Sumatera

West Sumatera is a province that applies Minangkabau traditions. Besides formal leadership by the governor, Minangkabau acknowledges *Niniak Mamak*, *Alim Ulama*, and *Cadiak Pandai* as the local leaders. They are responsible for Minangkabau society. They lead people in Minangkabau objectively as how its common saying says *anak ndak barubab, kamanakan indak balain*.

Besides, West Sumatera or Minangkabau is known as its adage *Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, syarak mangato adat mamakai, alam takambang jadi guru*. The adage explains that Islam values and Minangkabau traditions cannot be separated and the leaders

⁴⁷ Amaliatulwalidain, 'Dinamika Representasi Peran Politik Bundo Kandung Dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Nagari Moderen Dari Representasi Substantif Menuju Representasi Formal Deskriptif', *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik*, 1.1 (2016)
<<https://doi.org/10.36982/jpg.v1i1.692>>.

⁴⁸ Yury Kurniawan, M. Fachri Adnan, and Zikri Alhadi, 'Efektivitas Kepemimpinan Tungku Tigo Sajarangan Dalam Pembangunan Nagari Di Kenagarian Lingsuang Aua', *Ranah Research : Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, 2.2 (2020), 123–31
<<https://ranahresearch.com/index.php/R2J/article/view/245>> [accessed 4 April 2020].



base their decisions on it. Therefore, when they mean to understand the concept of religious radicalism, they refer to the adage as the Minangkabau philosophy.

West Sumatera is not the red zone of radicalism. In 2016, Andi Intan states 12 regions that are the red zone of terrorism. They are Jawa Tengah, Aceh, Jakarta, Banten, Jawa Barat, Jawa Timur, Kalimantan Timur, Kalimantan Utara, Sulawesi Selatan, Sulawesi Tenggara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Bali.⁴⁹

In the history of radicalism in Indonesia, West Sumatera was exposed to radicalism during the Padri Movement. However, Dubin, a foreign researcher in West Sumatera, states that Paderi which is often related to radicalism in Minangkabau, never dominated the region because its movement did not influence the matrilineal culture.

According to Azyumardi Azra, radicalism is not always within the global scale or regional. Radicalism can be on a local scale where its threatening level differs. In West Sumatera, exposure to radicalism is low and so is its threatening level.⁵⁰

According to Azra, Padri Movement, which is related to the radicalism in Minangkabau is started by the moderate renewal developed by *Tuanke Nan Tuo* and his students in *Koto Tuo*, Agam region. During the last 18s, the Padri Movement was getting stronger especially when Haji Miskin in Pandai Sikek Tanah Datar region, Haji Sumanik di Sumanik, also in Tanah Datar, dan Haji Piobang in Payakumbuh returned from Mekkah after performing Hajj. Mekah, during that time, was strongly influenced by the Wahabi teachings. It is known for its

⁴⁹ Kompas, 'Ini 12 Daerah yang Masuk Zona Merah Terorisme', *Kompas Cyber Media*, 2020 <<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/06/01/07410011/Ini.12.Daerah.yang.Masuk.Zona.Merah.Terorisme>> [accessed 4 April 2020].

⁵⁰ Azyumardi Azra, 'Memahami Radikalisme', in *Islam Radikal Di Sumatera Barat Pasca Orde Baru 1998-2012* (Tangerang: LSIP, 2015), p. iv.

strong refinement for Islam. The main teachings of Paderi are similar to those of Wahabi. They oppose *bid'ab*, *keburafat*, the use of tobacco and silk.⁵¹

In Agam, one of the bases of Paderi Movement where *Tuanke Nan Renceh* from Kamang as its figure, the influence of radicalism was not found. According to Hasnal Dt. Rajo Endah, a researcher from Nagari Cingkariang Agam, there is no radicalism in Agam since Minangkabau people refer to its adage where Islam and traditions cannot be separated. As how traditions manage, they acknowledge discussion, forum, and tolerance in their decision making. These people who strongly believe the religious and cultural values cannot be influenced by radicalism.⁵²

In line with that, Zul Azmi Khatib, a religious figure in Nagari Cingkariang says that there was no radicalism in West Sumatera. How its people believe their adage, that there is no separation between the Islamic teachings and local culture of traditions makes the society respect for differences. Children in Minangkabau are taught to apply Islam values, such as praying, reciting al-Quran, and fasting. They are also taught politeness, respect for elders, affections for Youngers, and make friends of the same age.⁵³

Different from the previous opinions, Husnul Fikri, a *Niniak Mamak* and *Alim Ulama* in Nagari Cingkariang, admits that there is radicalism in Cingkariang but in terms of textual understanding only. Radicalism is defined as people who strongly assume what they believe to be true and they blame those who have different opinions. They

⁵¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional Dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003).

⁵² Zul Azmi, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, 15 October 2019).

⁵³ Azmi.



understand religion on its surface level without trying to see *the nash* contained in its values. For example, they believe that *keburuj* is a holy war, therefore when it comes to performing the *keburuj*, they directly do it without considering the after-effects that their family will get when they leave. According to Fikri, performing such religious acts belongs to radicalism.⁵⁴

In line with that, Alwi, a figure of Muhammadiyah Agam states that radicalism exists in Nagari Cingkariang. It is mostly found in a religious speech given where the words used are harsh and arrogant. It is said to be radicalism because it is contrary to values owned by Minangkabau people who apply different rules of speaking; the words used should be wise and thoughtful, not harsh and provocative.⁵⁵

In Pasaman, another region that had been exposed to Paderi movement is said to be free from radicalism. It is impossible radicalism may exist there since the society of Nagari Limo Koto Bonjol region perform both culture and religion in a good way.⁵⁶

Different from the previous explanation, Marjohan said that there is no radicalism in Pasaman yet. However, the region is potentially exposed to the action. It is because people in Pasaman tend to be teacher fanatics. Being fanatic to teachers leads to a practice of cult that may trigger radicalism. In Pasaman, the number of the elderly and the youth is balanced. The elderly are represented by *tarekat*, while the youth belongs to Muhammadiyah.⁵⁷

Furthermore, in Padang Pariaman, radicalism has never been found. Even if there is, it is in the form of a speech delivered

by some Islamic scholars. They are used to criticizing how religion is performed there. It is commonly known that many religious practices performed in Padang Pariaman are different from those in other regions in West Sumatera. For example, they celebrate the birth of Prophet Muhammad for months in Ulakan. Its society sees it as a tradition only, not a part of religious acts. The Islamic scholars who criticize this practice are not physically punished or hated by society. Usually, people will never invite them again to lead religious activities or deliver a religious speech.⁵⁸

Abdul Shomad, one of the well-known Islamic scholars has ever been invited to deliver his religious speech in Nagari Padang Bintungan. The society was excited about welcoming him. It seems that he can make some adjustments and adapt to the tradition where he has to give a speech. He honors Sjech Burhanuddin Ulakan, a person that society of Ulakan also honors.⁵⁹

Referring to the previous explanation, it can be said that the local chieftains in West Sumatera understand religious radicalism. However, they do not provide certain definitions of the term. Many of them see radicalism as violent acts related to religious practices. Therefore, they conclude that there is no radicalism in West Sumatera. Some others said that radicalism is a narrow understanding of religious values and a tendency to be very textual. Moreover, some local chieftains believe that radicalism is triggered by fanatics, such as being fanatics to certain teachers.

The Strategic Roles of Local Chieftains in Preventing Religious Radicalism in West Sumatera

⁵⁴ Husnul Fikri, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, 28 November 2019).

⁵⁵ Alwi, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, 28 November 2019).

⁵⁶ Habibullah, 'Interview' (Pasaman, 19 August 2019).

⁵⁷ Marjohan, 'Interview' (Pasaman, 20 August 2019).

⁵⁸ Syafril Dt. Rajo Magek, 'Interview' (Padang Pariaman, 29 November 2019).

⁵⁹ Dt. Rajo Magek.



How religious radicalism is meant by the local chieftains in West Sumatera is somehow varied, yet they hold significant roles in preventing and overcoming issues related to religious radicalism in West Sumatera, they are:

First, the local chieftains are responsible to educate the children in their *Nagari* about religious and cultural values, like how it is done in Cingkariang region. There, every clan is taught how to understand and apply the values of Islam and their culture. The examples of the clans are, Simabua, Pisang, dan Jirek. They usually learn Islamic teachings and cultural beliefs by inviting their local chieftains to their gathering. The *Alim Ulama* teaches them about Islam, while *Niniak Mamak* teaches them about Minangkabau cultures.

Although the activities are not meant to prevent the issues about radicalism, according to H. Rafli Dt. Bandaro Tuo, by providing society with the knowledge of Islamic teaching and cultural believes, the issues about religious radicalism may somehow be averted.⁶⁰

The second role is to encourage the society to perform religious traditions such as celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad or *Maulud Nabi* as how it is done by people in *Nagari* Padang Bintungan Padang Pariaman region. For them, the month when the Prophet Muhammad was born is a special month. Therefore, the celebration can last quite long; 3 months, during Rabiul Awal, Rabiul Akhir, and Jumadil Awal. The celebration is conducted almost by all mosques in Padang Bintungan. During the celebration, a tradition known as *Malamang* is performed. The society has to do *Malamang* during the month's *Maulud Nabi*. In some regions, the tradition is also done when someone was passed away. It is

⁶⁰ Rafli Dt. Bandaro Tuo, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, 12 November 2019).

done on day 7, day 40, and day 100 after the death.

Maulud Nabi, and its *Malamang* tradition, for the society of Padang Bintungan, contains essential meanings. It is to strengthen the bond between each member of the family. Moreover, the other two traditions are known as *Makan Bajamba* (a tradition where people eat together from the same big plate) and *badoncek* (asking for charity) can be found during *mauled nabi*. The tradition is meant to build a sense of togetherness, to encourage sharing habits. From the practice of *badoncek*, society can obtain money that they can use to support the development of their *Nagari*, such as building the mosque.⁶¹ According to the local chieftains of Padang Bintungan, how people maintain the traditions strengthens their cultures and prevent the chance of religious radicalism growing and developing among them.

In Agam, there is a religious tradition known as *Khatam al-Quran* (a celebration for those who have finished reciting al-Quran). In Cingkariang Banuhampu, the celebration has been performed for years. Although it is held by certain *jorong* only (smaller part of the region), the celebration, in form of cavalcade, is done around the region. The celebration is usually done after Eid Fitr or after Eidul Adha. The children who have finished reciting al-Quran in their mosque, being well-dressed up, walk in a parade going around their *Nagari*. Usually, *jorong* was responsible to hold the activities, but for the last two years, it is the region that has organized the event.⁶²

Since it is a celebration, many people are involved. They are *niniak Mamak, alim ulama, cadiak pandai, dan bundo kanduang* along with the society in the region. The children walk together around the region accompanied by their family who is responsible to hold an umbrella, covering the children from the sun's

⁶¹ Dt. Rajo Magek.

⁶² Dt. Bandaro Tuo.



heat. Each family whose children are doing the *kbatam al-Quran* invites relatives to come to their house to have a feast. The relatives usually give money to the children who perform *kbatam Quran*. If the relatives are their father's family, the children are usually given a chicken or money equals to the price of a chicken.

The *kbatam Quran* according to Angku Datuak Bandaro Tuo, a *Pengbuhu* in Cingkariang, is necessary to be preserved. It contains religious and cultural values. If both values are well-maintained, it is difficult for religious radicalism to grow in their *Nagari*.⁶³

A similar tradition can also be found in Pasaman. It is called *Batamat Kaji*. Although definitions of *batamat kaji* and *kbatam al-Quran* are the same, they are somehow different in the process of celebrating it. In other Minangkabau regions, the celebration is usually done when children finish their primary education, it is when they are about to be high school students (junior level). However, for people in Pasaman, *Nagari Limo Koto*, the celebration of *batamat kaji* is done when there is a marriage. The procession is before the wedding reception. The local chieftains are also invited to join the celebration.⁶⁴

In Pasaman, *Limo Koto*, it is necessary that the family of the bride called *Sipangka alek* have special wedding reception invitation for *Niniak Mamak*. The reception for *Niniak Mamak* is done after *isya* prayer and lasts up to midnight. *Niniak mamak* do not attend the reception as how the society attends it. *Niniak mamak* attends the reception wearing traditional dresses. They are responsible to introduce the bride or the groom to their new family. Therefore, the local chieftains in that *Nagari* know them.⁶⁵ Moreover, *Batamat kaji* is the main agenda in the *Niniak*

Mamak reception. The bride and the groom are asked to recite al-Qur'an in the presence of the *Niniak Mamak*.

The tradition has been performed through generations. It is to anticipate the possibility that the children in that region are unable to recite the al-Quran. One of the reasons is to avoid feeling ashamed when they have to recite the al-Quran in the presence of *niniak Mamak* and society during their marriage. Because *batamat kaji* is an important agenda in the wedding.

The family of the bride and the groom cannot settle wedding seats for the bride and groom if during the *niniak mamak* reception, such a problem exists. It is known as *sumbang pancaliakan*, when bride and groom cannot recite the al-Quran. If the seats are settled already, they will be covered by a cloth, thus the bride and the groom cannot seat there. It is uncommon for people in this *Nagari* to see someone who cannot recite al-Quran.

This tradition somehow encourages its society to learn Islam. It is part of their regulation. They have a high motivation to study Islamic values from the al-Quran. How people in Pasaman maintain this value keep them away from the issues of radicalism.⁶⁶

The third role of the local chieftains is to stimulate religious discussion for the society, especially, during Islam celebration days. *Alim Ulama* as the local chieftains are responsible to encourage the society to keep learning about Islam by actively attending religious discussion done mostly in mosques. Their presence in the discussion helps them to understand that radicalism does not belong to Islamic teachings. The society is then well-trained to filter new issues coming to them. There was once, in *Nagari Cingkariang*, an Islamic scholar delivered his speech, seen from his method of delivering the speech and also the content of the speech, what he was

⁶³ Dt. Bandaro Tuo.

⁶⁴ Marjohan.

⁶⁵ Marjohan.

⁶⁶ Habibullah.



trying to tell belonged to radicalism. Yet, since the society has been aware of such issues, they were not influenced.⁶⁷

In Pasaman, Marjohan says, almost in every *orong* of the region, al-Quran recitation is regularly performed. The agenda is attended by all people that it functions as a filter for radicalism.⁶⁸ Islam celebration days, such as Islam new year, and *Maulud Nabi* are usually done in mosques, or a hall. Other islamic activities that can be function as filter of radicalism, according to Fatmawarnaini, a *Bundo Kanduang* in Cingkarian are MTQ, and *Tabligh Akbar*.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Local chieftains in West Sumatera have been aware of religious radicalism. According to them, a narrow understanding of religion, being very textual, blaming others who have different opinions can be said as radicalism practices.

To prevent radicalism, the local chieftains have significant and strategic roles. The roles are performing activities that can help society to understand religious and cultural values, maintaining religious traditions as a way to avert radicalism, such as *Khatam Quran*, *Maulud Nabi* and *Batamat Kaji*, and also to actively stimulate religious discussion among the society. These activities strengthen the society that they cannot be exposed to radicalism.

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⁶⁷ Fatmawarnaini, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, 10 October 2019).

⁶⁸ Marjohan.

⁶⁹ Fatmawarnaini.

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