

STRATEGIC ROLES APLIED BY MINANGKABAU LOCAL LEADERS IN PREVENTING RELIGIOUS RADICALISM IN WEST SUMATRA

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Abstract

This paper examines the Minangkabau local leaders' understanding about religious radicalism and the strategic role it plays in preventing religious radicalism in West Sumatra. This study refutes previous studies that argue that areas with strong custom and religious traditions have a history of radicalism since the colonial era war, and the negative stigma this entails. It also refutes the latest findings that consider this area to be an intolerant area in Indonesia. By using a qualitative approach, the results of this study shows that the local leaders in West Sumatra understands radicalism as a narrow, textual understanding of religion, one that is rigid and prone to antagonizing people who do not share their understanding. The strategic role played by the Minangkabau traditional leadership in tackling radicalism is in the form of cultivating noble customary practices and religious values, maintaining religious traditions that contain the values of togetherness, tolerance, and mutual solidarity (*gotong royong*), and preserving the commemoration of Islamic holy days and other religious events.

Keywords: Religious Radicalism; Local leadership; 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 Sumatra Barat. Studi ini membantah stigma negatif melalui studi terdahulu bahwa daerah yang kuat tradisi adat dan agama mempunyai sejarah tumbuhnya radikalisme sejak Perang Paderi masa kolonial, sampai temuan terupdate yang menganggap bahwa daerah ini tidak toleran di Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kepemimpinan lokal di Sumatra Barat memahami radikalisme sebagai paham keagamaan yang sempit, tekstual, memulatkan pendapat mereka sendiri dan menyalahkan atau membid'ahkan orang yang tidak sefaham dengan mereka. Adapun peran strategis yang dimainkan oleh kepemimpinan adat Minangkabau dalam penanggulangan radikalisme adalah berupa penanaman nilai-nilai adat dan agama yang luhur, mempertabahkan tradisi-tradisi keagamaan yang memuat nilai-nilai kebersamaan, toleransi, gotong royong, dan menggiatkan acara-acara pengajian dan peringatan hari-hari besar Islam.

Kata Kunci: Radikalisme Agama; Kepemimpinan Lokal; Adat.

Background

West Sumatra is a region that applies Minangkabau customary laws. Its society believes in its culture and its religion.¹ This is reflected on their adage “*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK),” which

means “local custom is based on Islamic law, Islamic law is based on Divine Scripture.”² The Minangkabau traditional clan leaders (*niniak mamak, alim ulama, and cadiak pandai*) maintain the relevance and practice of this adage. Because

¹ Ridha Hasnul Ulya and others, ‘Cultural Manifestation in Superstition of Minangkabau Society’ (Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan UNP, 2018), pp. 422–29 <<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’, *BUANA GENDER: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak*, 2.1 (2017), 35 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/bg.v2i1.718>>.

of this, they play an important role in preserving culture and religion in Minangkabau society.³

Seen from the religious aspect, people in West Sumatra are egalitarian. History notes that when Islam was beginning to spread in Nusantara, West Sumatra was the center of its establishment.⁴ Although, there was a religious revivalists' movement known as the Padri movement in West Sumatra, which has been regarded as an Islamic radical movement by some experts, radicalism has never been a phenomenon in West Sumatra since the Marapalam consensus between the local chieftains and religious people.⁵

Although research specifically on the growth of religious radicalism among the Minangkabau people is yet to be carried out, some research shows that West Sumatra is a region that has been exposed to radical thought.⁶ Al Chaidar, observing terrorism at Universitas Malikussaleh (UNIMAL) Aceh states that in West Sumatra, there are 3000 followers of radical groups affiliated with ISIS, *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* and *Jamaah Ansharut Khilafah*. According to Al Chaidar, *Ansharut Khilafah* is a radical group. Its members are found carrying out their activities in secret in Bukittinggi and Nias.⁷ Furthermore, based on research conducted by the Presidential Task Force for the Guidance of the Pancasila Ideology (*Unit Kerja Presiden-Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila*) and SETARA Institute in 2018, the capital city of West Sumatra, Padang, is

classified as an intolerant city in Indonesia.⁸ Furthermore, the study finds that most tolerant cities in Indonesia are Manado, Pematang Siangtar, Salatiga, Singkawang, Tual, Binjai, Kotamobagu, Palu, Tebing Tinggi, and Surakarta. Meanwhile, the most intolerant cities are Jakarta, Banda Aceh, Bogor, Cilegon, Depok, Yogyakarta, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Padang, and Mataram.⁹

This data and the conclusion reached by the study was not easily accepted by people in Minangkabau, especially by the local leaders. This sentiment was expressed by Irfianda Abidin, one of the Minangkabau local leaders, who, along with leaders of 11 social organizations in West Sumatra, rejected the data presented by Alchaidar.¹⁰ Moreover, Saifullah, a professor in UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, also says that it is almost impossible that religious radicalism exists in West Sumatra. This is because people in West Sumatra still adhere to their adage, "*adat basandi syara, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK)." Saifullah also confirms that the *ninik mamak*, i.e., the local community leaders, have continually ensured that there is no chance for radicalism, terrorism, and even communism to grow in West Sumatra.¹¹ Nevertheless, this view is difficult to accept in the face of the aforementioned research data.

Religious radicalism and the measures to prevent and prevent it have become a hot issue in contemporary Indonesia. Prevention and

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

⁴ Sulastris Sulastris 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-2 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.

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

⁹ SETARA.

¹⁰ Haluan, '11 Ormas Di Sumbar Laporkan Pengamat Terorisme Al Chaidar Ke Polda', 2018.

¹¹ Suaramuhammadiyah, 'Pemuda Muhammadiyah Sumbar Tolak Ideologi Yang Bertentangan Dengan Bangsa Dan Agama' (suaramuhammadiyah.id, 2017).

deterrence of religious radicalism in Indonesia have been carried out by various methods. Either by utilizing contemporary facilities such as social media to re-promote local and social-cultural values. One way of preventing radicalism by using current technology is conceived by Yani Wijayanti, who used social media to spread the message.¹² The ease of access to social media allows for all kinds of information to spread easily, especially those that promote radical propaganda. For this reason, being aware of how information is presented and how radical propaganda spreads in the internet is required. Research addressing this very question has been conducted among students at State Religious Modern schools (Madrasah Aliyah Negeri) to build awareness of radicalism from an early age.¹³

Furthermore, Umi Sumbulah in 2017 revealed how the role of female and kinship organizations in Indonesia (PKK) is effective in warding off radicalism. Starting from the position that radicalism emerge in the context of a failing family life, as well as economic poverty and shallow understanding of religion and nationhood, the PKK runs a mentoring program to counteract the spread of radical ideas. Other efforts made to prevent radicalism are to strengthen economic resilience, health, education, social and cultural activities, and religious understanding in the family. By paying attention to these things, it is hoped that radicalism can be sufficiently suppressed from within the home.¹⁴

Counteracting radicalism by improving the family condition and the environment is also emphasized by Nispul Khoiri and Asmuni. In

their research (2020), Nispul Khoiri showed how radicalism in Indonesia continues to grow. It is also predicted that radicalization will eventually be difficult to suppress in a short time because this ideology can strengthen with the presence of a community of likeminded people. For this reason, Khoiri and Asmuni offer solutions to anticipate the spread and growth of community-based radicalism. They argue this must begin by instilling an awareness of the definition, history, action, and consequences of radicalism in every religious activity and community organization, both at the adult level and the youth level. By doing so, it is hoped that the growth of radicalism through the community can be anticipated in a good and polite way before radical ideas transform into radical acts.¹⁵

Furthermore, Sudjito (2018) emphasizes that despite the fact that every religious-based community organization registered in Indonesia still puts the Pancasila as the ideological basis of its organization and can tolerate fellow mass organizations with different ideologies, in reality, some elements within these mass organizations cannot tolerate the state-ideology of Pancasila. They even provoke other social organizations, disrespecting them and even disagreeing with the Pancasila. For this reason, it is the responsibility of every mass organization to reduce the radical views and attitudes of its members. For this reason, strengthening organizational values, Islam, and Pancasila must be carried out by every mass

¹² Yani Tri Wijayanti, 'Radicalism Prevention through Propaganda Awareness on Social Media', *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 5.1 (2020), 142 <<https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v5i1.501>>.

¹³ Wijayanti.

¹⁴ Umi Sumbulah, 'Preventing Radicalism by Family and Civil Society Organizations in Indonesia', *JSSH*, 27.1 (2019), 391-403 <http://www.pertanika2.upm.edu.my/regular_issues.p

[hp?jtype=3&journal=JSSH-27-1-3](http?jtype=3&journal=JSSH-27-1-3)> [accessed 24 November 2020].

¹⁵ Nispul Khoiri Khoiri and Asmuni Asmuni, 'The Patterns of Radicalism Anticipation Based on Community in Indonesia', *International Journal on Language, Research and Education Studies*, 4.1 (2020), 180-93 <<http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/ijres/article/view/7530>> [accessed 24 November 2020].

organization in Indonesia to prevent the spread of radicalism.¹⁶

Strengthening the relationship between religion culture is also one of the keys to countering radicalism. This was shown by Rachmat Kriyantono's research in 2019, which explored the relationship between religious activities that are integrated within local cultural values.¹⁷ He shows that those who are most vulnerable to radicalism are the ones that are most exposed to propaganda on social media and who has not experienced an integrated practice of religion and culture. On the other hand, people who carry out rituals and religious activities that are integrated with culture are less likely to succumb to radical propaganda from various media. This is proof that the integration of religion with culture must be maintained in order to ward off radicalism in Indonesia.¹⁸

Rahmawati (2019) emphasizes that the integration of cultural values can be a strong internal asset to prevent and counteract religious radicalism. She argues that the local cultural values of Gorontalo such as *buyula*, *dolobupa*, and others, which contain the values of cooperation, deliberation, tolerance, character education, obedience to customs, nationalism, and adherence to Islam, is able to prevent the spread of radical ideas among the Gorontalo people. By exploring the values of nationalism and religion in these traditional activities, it is clear that the local cultures of Indonesia can be a basis for anticipating and preventing the entry of religious radicalism.¹⁹

In line with Rahmawati, Mahmudin (2018) conducted research on religion, radicalism and

nationalism from the perspective of the local wisdom of the people of South Sulawesi. He explains that in the context their customs, three things need to be done in countering radicalism: respecting differences, being open-minded, and maintaining *Ashame* traditions as a local wisdom. In conclusion, it is emphasized that local wisdom extracted from local traditions can be a first step to preventing the spread of radicalism.²⁰

In the province of West Sumatra, as the holder of administrative rights for the Minangkabau area, many customary and cultural values can be used as local wisdom in warding off radicalism. One of them is in the philosophy of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (i.e., "custom is based on Islamic law, Islamic law is based on Divine Scripture"), which is an ancient wisdom of the Minangkabau people. This philosophy shows how best to integrate customs, culture, and religion within the state. However, as previously shown by Alchaidar, West Sumatra seems to be one of the areas that are allegedly exposed to high levels of radical religious propaganda and activities.

Even though Sefriyono's research (2018) does not explained in detail the existence of radicalism in West Sumatra, he does touch upon the role of religious integration in local culture as exemplified by the Syatariyyah Sufi brotherhood (tarekat) in Padang Pariaman, West Sumatra. He explains that the integration of Minangkabau customary values with the practice of the Tarekat Syathariyyah in the

¹⁶ Sudjito Sudjito, Hendro Muhaimin, and Agung Saras Sri Widodo, 'Pancasila and Radicalism: Pancasila Enculturation Strategies as Radical Movement Preventions', *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum*, 18.1 (2018), 69 <<https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2018.18.1.1686>>.

¹⁷ Rachmat Kriyantono, 'Counteracting Radicalism with Cultural Communication in Religious Practices', *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 6.11 (2019), 83-92 <<https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.610.7341>>.

¹⁸ Kriyantono.

¹⁹ Rahmawati Rahmawati, Muh. Rusli, and Kasim Yahiji, 'Actualization of Local Wisdom in Anticipating Radicalism of Religion In Gorontalo Indonesia', *KALAM*, 12.2 (2019), 327-52 <<https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v12i2.2676>>.

²⁰ Mahmuddin Mahmuddin, 'Religion, Radicalism and National Character: In Perspective of South Sulawesi Local Wisdom', *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 18.2 (2018), 201 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v18i2.1481>>.

region was able to reduce and even prevent the growth of radical ideologies.²¹

This research seeks to reveal how the Minangkabau leadership elites responded to radical ideas that has plagued West Sumatra, while at the same time exploring how they envisioned the integration of local custom and religion. As such, study is different from the studies mentioned above.

The study was conducted based on field research. The objects of study are the Minangkabau local leaders in West Sumatra. The data were collected through observations and interviews done with the local chieftains which were chosen by using direct sampling method. Therefore, this research aims at describing how local leaders in Minangkabau understand religious radicalism in West Sumatra and the strategies they enact to prevent its growth.

Religious Radicalism

Radicalism intends to make drastic changes.²² In Arabic, radicalism is explained using a few terms; *al-unf*, *at-tatarruf*, dan *al-ghulum*.²³ *Al-unf* is violent actions used illegally to obtrude and impose opinions.²⁴ *Al-tatarruf* is

derived from *al-tarf* meaning tip or edge. It is used to refer to a position that is on the edge.²⁵ Thus, the word denotes what is radical, extreme, and exaggerated. In short, *al-tatarruf al-dini* means all exaggerated actions in performing religion. It is the opposite word of *al-wasat* (moderate), which designates the good and commendable.²⁶

Based on the previous meanings, it is possible to say that radicalism is a belief that belongs to a person or group that intends to drastic changes in society and politics using violence and extreme actions.²⁷ Furthermore, radicalism is established on its exclusivist paradigm, as well as a rigid, restricted, extremist, and militarist outlook.²⁸

Religion views radicalism as an over-dominating form of belief. Its followers tend to be fanatic, which has led to the justification of violent acts to attain what they believe to be the true goal that others must accept.²⁹ Radicalism can also mean religious acts that contradict Islamic law (*shari'ah*). It is performed to change social situations by violating religious rules.³⁰

Referring to the previous context, it is understood that radicalism is a religious act that

²¹ Sefriyono Sefriyono and Mukhibat Mukhibat, 'Preventing Religious Radicalism Based on Local Wisdom: Interrelation of Tarekat, Adat, and Local Authority in Padang Pariaman, West Sumatera, Indonesia', *SOSIOHUMANIKA*, 11.1 (2018), 1–18 <<https://doi.org/10.2121/SOSIOHUMANIKA.V11I1.999>>.

²² Richard Grusin, 'Radical Mediation', *Critical Inquiry*, 42.1 (2015), 124–48 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/682998>>.

²³ 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/https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2016.1220177>>.

²⁴ Dede Rodin, 'Islam Dan Radikalisme: Telaah Atas Ayat-Ayat "Kekerasan" Dalam Al-Qur'an', *Addin*, 10.1 (2016), 29–60 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.11128>>.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ Gubara Said Hassan, 'Radical Islam/Islamic Radicalism: Towards a Theoretical Framing', *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 12 (2015), 1–4.

²⁷ Mochamad Thooyib, 'Radikalisme Islam Indonesia', *TALIM: Jurnal Studi Pendidikan Islam*, 1.1 (2018), 90–105 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29062/ta'lim.v1i1.636>>.

²⁸ Farhaan Wali, *Radicalism Unveiled* (Rutledge, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2014.903675>>.

²⁹ Fatkhul Mufid, 'Radikalisme Islam Dalam Perspektif Epistemologi', *ADDIN*, 10.1 (2016), 61 <<https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v10i1.1129>>.

³⁰ Agustinus Wisnu Dewantara, 'Radikalisme Agama Dalam Konteks Indonesia Yang Agamis Dan Berpancasila', *JPAK: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Katolik*, 19.1 (2019), 1–14 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.34150/jpak.v19i1.222>>.

intends to make drastic changes in social and political life through violence.³¹

Many factors instigate religious radicalism, such as economic, social, and cultural and political factors. National and global issues which are viewed as acting against the well-being of Muslims are also factors that lead to radicalization.³² Yusuf al-Qardawi, one of the greatest world Islamic Scholar, confirms that the dominant factor is the inability to properly understand religion. He argues that when understood properly, the Quran, as the main source of Islamic teachings, always provides knowledge that meets the current contexts and situations.³³

In line with al-Qardhawi, Azyumardi Azra argues that two factors influence the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. The first factor is the internal factor of Muslims. Indonesian Muslim complain that secularism subverts authentic Islamic belief and practices. Because of this opposition, many Muslims embrace a rigid approach to understanding religious concepts.³⁴ Furthermore, many of them tend to reject social changes and become frustrated when dealing with global changes. Many Muslims show overblown reactions to global issues, and regard modern political concepts such as democracy, human rights as essentially Western products that they must oppose.³⁵

The second factor is the external factor. During the New Order era, the Suharto regime restricted the political activities of Muslims. This is believed to have sown the seeds for Islamic radicalism in Indonesia. The leadership crisis that followed the fall of the *Orde Baru* drove Muslims to implement the *Shari'ah* by force as a solution for the crisis.³⁶ This movement led to Islamic radicalism.³⁷

Furthermore, Nafi notes that one of the factors that led to the emergence of radicalism was the advancement of radical groups 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 *Jama'ah Tabligh*, *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (IM), and *Hizbut Tabrir Indonesia* (HTI).³⁸

The Local Leaders and Their Leadership in West Sumatra

Minangkabau covers West Sumatra, a part of Riau province, and a part of Jambi province. Negeri Sembilan in Malaysia is also influenced by the culture of Minangkabau.³⁹

Although there are two systems developed in Minangkabau, both adhere to the same principle: democracy which is based on consensus. Furthermore, both consist of the same participants, which are the *pengbulu*, *alim*

³¹ 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>>.

³² 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>>.

³³ Yusuf Al-Qaradhawiy, *Al-Shahwah Al-Islamiyah Baina Al-Juhud Wa Al-Thasharruf* (Cairo: Bayt al-Taqwa, 1989).

³⁴ Sukron Mamun, 'Tablighi Jamaat, An Islamic 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>.

³⁵ Ahmad Asrori, 'Radikalisme Di Indonesia: Antara Historisitas Dan Antropisitas', *KALAM*, 9.2 (2017), 253 <<https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v9i2.331>>.

³⁶ Donny Syofyan, 'Some Notes on Religious 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>.

³⁷ 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>>.

³⁸ Nafi Muthohirin, 'Radikalisme Islam Dan Pergerakannya Di Media Sosial', *Afkaruna*, 11.2 (2015), 240–59 <<https://doi.org/10.18196/aaijis.2015.0050.240-259>>.

³⁹ Jonaidi Jonaidi, 'Kajian Hukum Terhadap Kedudukan Tanah Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat Minangkabau Di Sumatera Barat', *LEX ET SOCIETATIS*, 6.1 (2018).

ulama, dan cadiak pandai (local chieftains). They are commonly known as *tungku tigo sajarangan*.⁴⁰

First, *Penghulu*. *Penghulu* means beginning, the tipping-point, the leader. *Penghulu* is one of the local chieftains. *Penghulu* who is chosen by its clan should be mature, knowledgeable, virtuous, polite, friendly, and modest.⁴¹ *Penghulu* is the role model of the youth, as how Minangkabau common saying states “*Nan kuriak iyolah kundi nan merah iyolah sago. Nan baiak iyolah budi nan indah iyolah baso.*”

The position of *penghulu* in each *nagari* (region) is not the same. *Nagari* that applies *bodi caniago* places their *penghulu* in equal position, as they say “*duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggo?*”. Meanwhile, *nagari* that applies *koto piliang* has a different position to that of their *penghulu*.⁴²

Penghulu plays an important role in Minangkabau society. *Penghulu* are the leader of the clan; they are local chieftains who are selected by their clans: “*Maangkek panghulu sakoto kaum, maangkek rajo sakoto alam, manuruik adat salingka nagari.*” *Penghulu* 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 community.⁴³

Second, *alim ulama*. *Alim ulama* is the Minangkabau local chieftains that manage religious issues; they are the local religious authorities. *Alim ulama* is one of the leadership elements beside *niniak mamak* and *cadiak*

pandai in Minangkabau culture. The three manage religion, politics, and economics within the *nagari*. They are commonly known as *tungku tigo sajarangan*.⁴⁴

Alim ulama in Minangkabau society governs the religious aspects or *syarak* aspects of life while *penghulu* or *niniak mamak* oversee culture. The existence of *alim ulama* in Minangkabau society is important. It is mentioned in their adage “*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah.*” The role of *alim ulama* is to make decisions for the community on matters that have to do with religion through guidance of the Qur’an and Hadith. *Alim ulama* also gives considerations to *penghulu* to make conclusion related to religious matters. The considerations are given, without having to be asked previously by the *penghulu*.⁴⁵

The position of *alim ulama* is different from that of *Penghulu*. *Penghulu* is inherited from generation to generation. This does not happen to *alim ulama*. In Minangkabau, there is the common saying that “*kaateh indak bapucuk, kabawah indak baurek.*” Therefore, if an *alim ulama* in a *nagari* passes away, the position is replaced by a person who understands religion and its teachings comprehensively.⁴⁶

Alim ulama is in charge of guiding the people and answering questions they have pertaining to matters of faith and morality. *Alim ulama* is also the one who exemplifies what it means to abide by Islamic teachings. *Alim ulama*

⁴⁰ Siti Fatimah, ‘Kepemimpinan Tradisional Masyarakat Minangkabau Pada Masa Pendudukan Jepang’, *Tingkap*, 7.1 (2011), 75–88.

⁴¹ N F N Suryami, ‘Konsep Kepemimpinan Dalam Tambo Minangkabau’, *Kandai*, 10.2 (2017), 203–15 <<https://doi.org/10.26499/JK.V10I2.323>>.

⁴² Mursal Mursal and Bayu Tri Cahya, ‘Optimizing the Development of Islamic Financial Institutions in West Sumatera: Role of Local Wisdom Analysis of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan’, *Equilibrium: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, 7.1 (2019), 183 <<https://doi.org/10.21043/equilibrium.v7i1.5257>>.

⁴³ Niko Andeska, ‘Tungku Tigo Sajarangan Pada Era Globalisasi Dan Visualisasi Dalam Kriya Seni’, *Bervadik: Jurnal Pengkajian Dan Penciptaan Seni*, 4.2 (2017), 173.

⁴⁴ 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>>.

⁴⁵ Busyro Busyro, ‘Peranan Lembaga Keagamaan Lokal Dalam Melahirkan Dan Mengawal Fatwa Keagamaan (Studi Terhadap Peran Majelis Ulama Nagari Guguk 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>.

⁴⁶ 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>>.

also has the responsibility of teaching the youth (*kapanyuluah anak kamanakan*), so that they remain in the right path. He teaches what is lawful (*halal*) and what is forbidden (*haram*) according to Islamic law (*tampek batanyo halal jo haram*) and offers advice and guidance legitimate courses of action that can be enacted in society (*sarato sah jo batal*).⁴⁷

Third is *cadiak pandai*. *Cadiak pandai* in a *nagari* are figures who are regarded as knowledgeable. *Cadiak pandai* can always find solutions for every problem faced by society.⁴⁸

The position of *Cadiak pandai* is similar to the position of *alim ulama* and *penghulu*. Yet, it is a position that is not inherited. *Cadiak pandai* is in charge of social regulations. *Cadiak pandai* is responsible for guiding people in their social lives.⁴⁹

Besides *penghulu*, *alim ulama* and *cadiak pandai*, in Minangkabau, people also refer to the leadership of *bundo kanduang*. *Bundo kanduang* is a non-formal leader for the women in the *nagari*. Her leadership is supported by her people in Minangkabau.⁵⁰

Bundo Kanduang is not a position based on a formal election. This figure appears among Minangkabau women spontaneously. *Bundo Kanduang* is trustworthy. Her authority comes from the matriarchal system of the Minangkabau people where the house, treasure and economic sources are given to women.⁵¹

Niniak mamak, *alim ulama* and *cadiak pandai* are commonly known as *tungku tigo sajarangan*; they are the local chieftains of Minangkabau.⁵² Ideally, *tungku tigo sajarangan* are meant to work together to create harmony and strong stability in society, to apply the cultural and religious values, and to support the development of *nagari* (region).

Local Leader Understanding of Religious Radicalism in West Sumatra

Besides formal leadership by the provincial governor, Minangkabau acknowledges *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, and *cadiak pandai* as local leaders. They are responsible for Minangkabau society. They lead people in Minangkabau based on the common saying, “*anak ndak barubah, kamanakan indak balain*.”

Furthermore, West Sumatra or Minangkabau is known by its famous adage, “*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, syarak mangato adat mamakai, alam takambang jadi guru*.” The adage explains that Islamic values and Minangkabau traditions cannot be separated, and the leaders base their decisions on it. Therefore, whenever local leaders attempt to understand the idea of religious radicalism, they always have in mind this famous adage of Minangkabau society.

West Sumatra is not in the red zone of radicalism. Andi Intan Dulung (2016) states

⁴⁷ 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>>.

⁴⁸ Sulastris Sulastris, Chichi Andriani, and Yuki Fitria, ‘Sosialisasi Dan Pelatihan Kepemimpinan Minangkabau Universal Untuk Pemuda Di Kelurahan Pasie Nan Tigo Kecamatan Koto Tangah Kota Padang’, *UNES Journal of Community Service*, 3.2 (2018), 062 <<https://doi.org/10.31933/ujcs.3.2.062-069.2018>>.

⁴⁹ 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>>.

⁵⁰ Sri Yunarti, ‘Pemberdayaan Lembaga Bundo Kanduang 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>>.

⁵¹ Amaliatulwalidain, ‘Dinamika Representasi Peran Politik Bundo Kanduang 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>>.

⁵² Fery 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.

that there are 12 regions in Indonesia that are red zones of terrorism. They are Central Java, Aceh, Jakarta, Banten, West Java, East Java, East Kalimantan, North Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, South-east Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, and Bali. However, in the history of radicalism in Indonesia, West Sumatra was exposed to radicalism during the Padri Movement. However, Dubin argues that the Padri movement, 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 does not always occur at the global scale. Radicalism can be on a local scale where its threat levels differ.

According to Azra, the Padri movement began as a moderate reformation movement led by Tuanku Nan Tuo and his students in Koto Tuo, Agam region. During the late 1800s, the Padri movement gained more strength especially when Haji Miskin in Pandai Sikek Tanah Datar region, Haji Sumanik in Sumanik, also in Tanah Datar, and Haji Piobang in Payakumbuh returned from Mecca after performing the Hajj. During that time, Mecca was strongly influenced by Wahhabi teachings. It is known for its aggressive attempts at purifying Islamic practice. The main teachings of the Padri movement are similar to those of the Wahhabi. They oppose religious innovations (*bid'ah*), superstition (*khurafat*), the use of tobacco and silk, and other common practices.

Husnul Fikri, a *ninik mamak* and *alim ulama* in Nagari Cingkariang, states that radicalism was growing in his region, one that had a narrow and very textual religious understanding. Those who hold to these beliefs is regarded as people who are obstinate about their version of truth and who often anathemize those who have different opinions.

They understand religion on a surface level without trying to see the *nash* contained in its teachings. For example, they believe that *keburuj* refers preeminently to holy war. Thus when it comes to performing the *keburuj*, they would immediately participate without considering the effects this may have to their family when they leave their homes. According to Fikri, performing such religious acts is part of a radical mindset.

In line with this, Alwi, a figure of Muhammadiyah Agam states that radicalism exists in Nagari Cingkariang. It is mostly found when religious discourses convey a harsh and arrogant content. It is said to be radicalism because it is contrary to the values of the Minangkabau people who apply different rules of speaking. The words used should be wise and thoughtful, not harsh and provocative.⁵³

Marjohan said, "in Pasaman Regency there is a potential for religious radicalism. It is because people in Pasaman tend to be fanatical about their teachers. Being fanatical with respect to teachers tend to lead to cultish practices that may trigger radicalism. In Pasaman, the number of the elderly and the youth is balanced. The elderly are represented by Sufi groups (*tarekat*), while the youth usually affiliate themselves to the modernist and non-Sufi Muhammadiyah.⁵⁴

In Padang Pariaman, radicalism is also found in the form of speeches delivered by some Islamic scholars. The radicals would criticize how religion is performed by the local community. It is commonly known that many religious practices performed in Padang Pariaman are different from those in other regions in West Sumatra. For example, they celebrate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad for months in Ulakan. Their community sees it as a tradition only, not a part of religious acts. The Muslim scholars who criticize this practice are not physically punished or hated by the local

⁵³ Alwi, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, November 2019).

⁵⁴ Marjohan, 'Interview' (Pasaman, August 2019).

community. Usually, people would simple no longer invite them to lead religious activities or deliver religious speeches.⁵⁵

Referring to the previous explanation, it can be said that the local chieftains in West Sumatra understand that religious radicalism is a narrow understanding of religious values. Moreover, some local chieftains believe that radicalism is triggered by fanatics, especially those that are fanatical about their teachers.

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

Religious radicalism is understood by the local chieftains in West Sumatra in various ways. However, yet they all have significant influence in preventing and overcoming issues related to religious radicalism in West Sumatra. These are: First, the local chieftains are responsible for the education of children in their respective *nagari* about religious and cultural values. As stated by an informant in Nagari Cingkariang, Banuhampu Regency, District of Agam, Hasnal Dt. Rajo Endah: “Minangkabau adheres to the philosophy of *adat*, *adat basandi syarak*, *syarak basandi Kitabullah*.” As discussed above, this statement explains that in Minangkabau, Islam and culture cannot be separated. Meanwhile, in *adat*, there are teachings about deliberation, consensus, tolerance, brotherhood, togetherness. It is impossible for people who are well-rooted in their local customs and religion to be influenced by radical ideas.⁵⁶

This can be seen in the Cingkariang region. There, every clan is taught how to understand and apply the values of Islam and their local culture. In the case of the Simabua, Pisang, and Jirek clans, for instance, they usually learn Islamic teachings and cultural beliefs by inviting

their local chieftains to their gatherings. The *alim ulama* teaches them about Islam, while *niniak mamak* teaches them about Minangkabau cultures.

Although these activities are not meant to specifically prevent radicalism, according to H. Rafli Dt. Bandaro Tuo, by providing society with the knowledge of Islamic teachings and cultural believes, the issues surrounding religious radicalism are indirectly dealt with in a proper way.⁵⁷

The second role is to encourage the community to perform religious traditions such as celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad or *Maulud Nabi*, as has been the custoom of the 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: spanning the three months of Rabiul Awal, Rabiul Akhir, and Jumadil Awal. The celebration is conducted by almost all the mosques in Padang Bintungan. During the celebration, a tradition known as *Malamang* is performed. The community must perform the *Malamang* ritual during the *Maulud Nabi* month. In some regions, the tradition is also done when someone was passed away. It is done on day 7, day 40, and day 100 after the death.

For the community of Padang Bintungan, *Maulud Nabi* and its *Malamang* tradition contain deep cultural meanings. They strengthen the bond between each family member. Furthermore, there are two other important rituals, known as *Makan Bajamba* (a tradition where people eat together from the same big plate) and *Badoncek* (asking for charity). These rituals are also performed during the *Maulud Nabi*. The tradition is meant to build a sense of togetherness, to encourage habits of mutual

⁵⁵ Syafril Dt. Rajo Magek, ‘Interview’ (Padang Pariaman, November 2019).

⁵⁶ Hasnal Dt. Rajo Endah, interview, Cingkariang, 21 October 2019).

⁵⁷ Rafli Dt. Bandaro Tuo, ‘Interview’ (Cingkariang, November 2019).

help and sharing. From the practice of *Badoncek*, society can obtain money that they can then use to support the development of their *Nagari*, such as building a mosque.⁵⁸ According to the local chieftains of Padang Bintungan, ensuring that people maintain the local traditions strengthens their cultural bond and prevent the chance of religious radicalism from growing among them.

In Agam, there is a religious tradition known as *Khatam al-Quran* (a celebration for those who have finished reciting the Qur'an). In Cingkariang Banuhampu, this celebration has been performed for years. Although it is held by a certain *orong* only (i.e., a smaller section of the region), the celebration, in form of cavalcade, is performed around the region. The celebration is usually done after the holy days of Eid Fitr or after Eidul Adha. The children who have finished reciting the Qur'an in their mosques would wear nice clothing and form a parade around their *Nagari*. Usually, the *orong* was responsible to hold the activities, but in the last two years, it is the region that has organized the event.⁵⁹

Since it is a celebration, many people are involved. They are *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, and *bundo kanduang*, along with the local community in the region. The children walk together around the region accompanied by their family who is responsible for holding an umbrella, covering the children from the Sun's heat. Each family whose children are involved in the *Khatam al-Quran* ceremony invites relatives to come to their house to have a feast. The relatives usually give money to the children who perform *Khatam al-Quran*. If the relatives are from their father's family, the children are usually given a chicken or money equal to the price of a chicken.

The *Khatam al-Quran*, according to Angku Datuak Bandaro Tuo, a *penghulu* in Cingkariang,

is a ritual that must be preserved. It contains deep religious and cultural values. If both values are well-maintained, it is difficult for religious radicalism to grow in their *Nagari*.⁶⁰

A similar tradition can also be found in Pasaman. It is called *Batamat Kaji*. Although *Batamat Kaji* and *Khatam al-Quran* are the same ritual, they are different in performance. In other Minangkabau regions, the celebration is usually done when children finish their primary education. However, for people in Pasaman, *Nagari Limo Koto*, the celebration of *Batamat Kaji* is performed when a wedding takes place. The procession is before the wedding reception. The local chieftains are also invited to join the celebration.⁶¹

In Pasaman, *Limo Koto*, it is necessary that the family of the bride, called *sipangka alek*, have a special wedding reception for *niniak mamak*. The reception for *niniak mamak* is done after *isyah* (night) prayer and lasts up to midnight. *Niniak mamak* do not attend the reception because it is the local community members who attend it. *Niniak mamak* attends the reception wearing traditional dresses. They are responsible for introducing the bride or the groom to their new family. Therefore, it is evident that the local chieftains in that *Nagari* are usually well-acquainted with the bride and groom and their respective families.⁶² Moreover, *batamat kaji* is the main agenda in the *niniak mamak* reception. The bride and the groom are asked to recite the Qur'an in the presence of the *niniak mamak*.

This tradition has been preserved from generation to generation. It is meant to anticipate the possibility that the children in that region are unable to recite the Qur'an. In order to avoid feeling ashamed when they have to recite the Qur'an in the presence of *niniak mamak* and their local community during their marriage, both bride and groom would make

⁵⁸ Dt. Rajo Magek.

⁵⁹ Dt. Bandaro Tuo.

⁶⁰ Dt. Bandaro Tuo.

⁶¹ Marjohan.

⁶² Marjohan.

sure that their recitation is fluent. Because of this, the *batamat kaji* is an important agenda during the wedding.

If the bride and groom cannot recite the Qur'an, this is known as *sumbang pancaliakan*. In this case, the couple are not allowed to sit in their seats. It is uncommon for people in this *Nagari* to see someone who cannot recite the Qur'an.

This tradition encourages the local community to learn Islam in a deeper way. It is part of their cultural norm. They have a high motivation to study Islamic values from the Qur'an. Because the people of Pasaman maintain this value, they are able to steer away from the influence of radical religious ideologies.⁶³

The third role of the local chieftains is to stimulate religious discussion for the society, especially, during Islamic celebration days. *Alim ulama* as the local chieftains are responsible for encouraging the community to keep learning about Islam by actively attending religious discussion done mostly in mosques. Their presence in the discussion helps the people to understand that radicalism does not belong to Islamic teachings. The society is then well-trained to filter new issues coming to them. In *Nagari Cingkariang*, there was once an Islamic scholar who delivered a speech that was widely viewed as radical. However, because the community was already aware of such issues, they were not influenced.⁶⁴

In Pasaman, Marjohan says that in almost every *orong* of the region, Qur'an recitation is regularly performed. The event is attended by all members of the community. Thus it functions as a filter from radicalism.⁶⁵ Islamic celebration days, such as the Lunar new year and *Maulud Nabi* are usually done in mosques, or a halls. Other Islamic activities that can function as

filters of radicalism, according to Fatmawarnaini, a *bundo kanduang* in Cingkariang are MTQ, and *Tabligh Akbar*.⁶⁶

Conclusion

Based on the research findings, it is concluded that the local chieftains understand the concept of religious radicalism. This is identified it as practices that are based on a narrow understanding of religion, very textual based, and anathemizing others who have different opinions.

Therefore, they felt it was necessary to continue to preserve practices that could prevent acts of religious radicalism in West Sumatra. Based on our analysis of the interviews, it can conclude that some possible courses of action to prevent religious radicalism are: firstly, to provide the cultivation of noble customs and religious values. This include inculcating the importance of respecting differences of opinion and staying away from all forms of violence. Secondly, maintaining religious traditions that contain the values of togetherness, tolerance and cooperation (*gotoroyong*), such as *Khatam al-Quran* in the Agam Regency, *Maulid Nabi* in Padang Pariaman, and *Batamat Kaji*. Third, to activate recitation events and commemoration of Islamic holidays.

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⁶³ Habibullah, 'Interview' (Pasaman, August 2019).

⁶⁴ Fatmawarnaini, 'Interview' (Cingkariang, October 2019).

⁶⁵ Marjohan.

⁶⁶ Fatmawarnaini.

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