



***NAGARI MADANI:***  
**Islamic Favoritism and Religious Freedom**  
**in Regional Development in West Sumatera,**  
**Indonesia**

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**Abstract:** The dominance of Islamism in West Sumatra has increasingly strengthened in the post-decentralization period, primarily through the implementation of regional government regulations with Sharia nuances. In contrast to previous studies about the relationship between *adat* (custom) and Sharia as Minangkabau identity, this study critically examines 1) the way Sharia-based custom is implemented by the *Nagari* government, which is the smallest unit of local government in West Sumatra; 2) its socio-political implications for religious freedom in the *Nagari*. This study takes the case of Agam Regency, which has explicitly issued Regent Regulation No. 74 of 2016 concerning the implementation of *Nagari Madani*. The regulation is a concrete step to realizing religious and traditional life in 82 *Nagari*, one of 16 sub-districts in the Religious District of West Sumatra. By applying the analytical framework of Grim and Finke on religious favoritism, this study shows that the *Nagari Madani* policy implemented in Agam Regency is a form of Islamic favoritism. This policy departs from the customary philosophy of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK), which presupposes that Islam is the primary and principal value for the life of all people in the West Sumatra region. Through the implementation of ABS-SBK, the spirit of Islamization of Minangkabau nature in the development of *Nagari* provides many conveniences for the majority of Muslims in developing Islamic teachings and accessing funding sources. However, this policy may exclude as fellow citizens who should have the same rights to practice their religion and access development facilities in the *Nagari*.

**Keywords:** Islamism; Religious favoritism; Minangkabau; *Nagari*; West Sumatra

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## Introduction

IN JULY 2022, an aphorism of Minangkabau custom - *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah* (custom is based on Sharia, Sharia is based on the Holy Book), commonly abbreviated as ABS-SBK, officially entered Indonesian positive law. Article 5 letter c of Law No. 17 of 2022 concerning West Sumatra Province states that "Minangkabau custom and culture are based on *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah* by the prevailing rules of the *adat salingka nagari*<sup>1</sup>." Guspardi Gaus (Member of Commission II of the DPR RI from the Electoral District of West Sumatra) explained that Minangkabau *adat* philosophy has been included in the law for the first time.<sup>2</sup> ABS-SBK, which was initially only an unwritten norm, was later used to regulate and control the administration of the government in West Sumatra. The inclusion of the ABS-SBK aphorism in the law can be seen as a thickening of Islamic identity (Sharia) into the Minangkabau customary structure and governance of West Sumatra, which was vibrant after the reformation in Indonesia. It can be seen from the development mission that must be implemented in the Long-Term Development Plan (RPJP) and the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) to Regional Regulations (Perda) with Sharia nuances.

Previous academic studies have shown that the collapse of Soeharto's New Order is an essential factor that shapes religious freedom and the relationship between the state and religion in Indonesia. Experts and observers such as Bagir,<sup>3</sup> Marshall,<sup>4</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> *Adat salingka nagari* is a custom that only applies in a *nagari* by generally accepted customary principles.

<sup>2</sup> Fakhruddin Arrazzi, "UU Provinsi Sumbar Disahkan, ABS-SBK Resmi Masuk Hukum Positif Indonesia", <https://padangkita.com/uu-provinsi-sumbar-disahkan-abs-sbk-resmi-masuk-hukum-positif-indonesia/>

<sup>3</sup> Zainal Abidin Bagir, "Advocacy for Religious Freedom in Democratizing Indonesia," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 12, no. 4 (2014): 27–39.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Marshall, "The Ambiguities of Religious Freedom in Indonesia," *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 16, no. 1 (2018): 85–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1433588>; Melissa Crouch, "Religious Regulations in Indonesia: Failing Vulnerable Groups," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 43, no. 2 (2009): 53–103.

Miichi & Kayane,<sup>5</sup> have recorded trends in which the state becomes more accommodating to the demands of the majority of religions, often by sacrificing minority religions. Other scholars like Mietzner and Muhtadi,<sup>6</sup> Sumaktoyo,<sup>7</sup> and Al Khanif,<sup>8</sup> Social and political changes that occurred after the fall of Soeharto have been documented, which led to an increase in mixing between the state and religion. Such conditions threaten the rights of Indonesian religious minority groups.

As for the context of West Sumatra, several studies have shown that the collapse of the New Order provided a dynamic new living space for affirming Minangkabau's identity in West Sumatra based on ABS-SBK. Huda,<sup>9</sup> Salim,<sup>10</sup> and Taufik,<sup>11</sup> identified that the local government uses the ABS-SBK claim as a ubiquitous affirmation. This claim justifies almost every political decision made at the provincial level and its derivatives. It was also expressed by Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann.<sup>12</sup> They said that the Reformasi period

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<sup>5</sup> Ken Miichi and Yuka Kayane, "The Politics of Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: The Shi'a Response to the Sampang Incidents of 2011-12," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, no. 1 (2020): 51-64, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2019.12>.

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Mietzner and Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation," *Asian Studies Review* 42, no. 3 (2018): 479-97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335>.

<sup>7</sup> Nathanael Gratius Sumaktoyo, "A Price for Democracy? Religious Legislation and Religious Discrimination in Post-Soeharto Indonesia," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 56, no. 1 (2020): 23-42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2019.1661354>.

<sup>8</sup> Al Khanif, *Religious Minorities, Islam and the Law* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

<sup>9</sup> Yasrul Huda, "Contesting Sharia: State Law, Decentralization and Minangkabau Custom" (Leiden University, 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Delmus Puneri Salim, "Islam, Politics and Identity in West Sumatera," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013): 96-118.

<sup>11</sup> Zulfan Taufik, "From Negative to Positive Peace: Strengthening the Role of Youth in Religious Peacebuilding in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra," *AKADEMIKA: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam; Vol 25 No 2 (2020)*, October 4, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v25i2.2132>.

<sup>12</sup> Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Ambivalent Identities: Decentralization and Minangkabau Political

represented a new period in identifying the Minangkabau people, marked by three interrelated developments: 1) the realignment of village government with the term "return to *Nagari*." *Nagari* is a traditional unit within the Minangkabau political organization; 2) this then triggered a review of the religious role of Islamic institutions and law under the slogan "return to *surau* (traditional mosque)"; 3) together, these developments provide new input to the debate about what it means to be Minangkabau in the multi-ethnic Indonesian state. In this context, the meaning of ABS-SBK and its ideological, religious, political, and legal dimensions are again hotly debated in the public sphere.

Given the limited attention of scholars, this article focuses on implementing the ABS-SBK praxis in civil society policies and its impact on diversity management. As far as our mapping goes, the existing studies only pay attention to the linkage of *adat* and Sharia in the Minangkabau globally and its implementation in Sharia-based regional regulations. This paper emphasizes the performance and impact of ABS-SBK at the *nagari* level as the smallest local government unit in managing religious diversity and freedom. Based on the expansion of the study toward a more implementable and critical direction, this article examines the *nagari* civil policy in Agam Regency by looking at how ABS-SBK is implemented and its impact on religious freedom through the perspective of Grim and Finke on religious favoritism.<sup>13</sup> To achieve this goal, we systematize three issues that form the narrative of this paper: 1) narrating the phenomenon and conceptualization of *adat* and Sharia linkages in Minangkabau nowadays, especially the role of the *nagari* as the smallest unit of local government in West Sumatra; 2) explaining the ABS-SBK narrative and its implementation through the *nagari* civil policy in Agam Regency;

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Communities," in *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, ed. Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 417–42; Franz von Benda-Beckmann and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Identity in Dispute: Law, Religion, and Identity in Minangkabau," *Asian Ethnicity* 13, no. 4 (2012): 341–58.

<sup>13</sup> Brian J. Grim and Roger Finke, "International Religion Index: Government Regulation, Government Favoritism, and Social Regulation of Religion," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 2 (2006): 1–41.

3) discussing the Islamic favoritism and discrimination against religious minorities as implications of the *Nagari Madani* policy in Agam Regency.

This study is based on primary data from regional regulations related to ABS-SBK and their implementation at the *nagari* level. One of the areas in West Sumatra that massively implements ABS-SBK at the *Nagari* level is the Agam Regency. This region has explicitly issued Regent Regulation No. 74 of 2016 concerning implementing *Nagari Madani*. The regulation is a concrete step to realizing religious and traditional life in 82 *Nagari* of 16 sub-districts. This study also uses data from interviews, the documents of *nagari madani*, and *adat salingka nagari* documents of several *nagari* in Agam Regency where there are non-Muslim residents such as *Nagari Biaro Gadang* (Ampek Angkek District) and *Nagari Tiku V Jorong* (Tanjung Mutiara District). This research begins by dissecting the formal rules related to the policies of the *nagari madani* and the *adat salingka nagari*, then proceeds with observations, interviews, and case studies in *nagari* with non-Muslim residents. The data findings are then linked to the concept of Islamic favoritism in managing religious diversity and religious freedom.

### ***Adat Submission Under Sharia in Minangkabau***

The Minangkabau, previously well known as the world's matrilineal society, has decreased its traditional role along with the Islamization process.<sup>14</sup> Azra noted that this pattern of relationship between *adat* and religion was achieved after a continuous Islamization process took place in Minangkabau society, especially with the introduction of new ideas in Islam brought by Minangkabau people who returned from Mecca, Medina, and Cairo. This renewal in Islamic belief and practice has created its

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<sup>14</sup> Mina Elfira, "Not Muslim, Not Minangkabau: Interreligious Marriage and Its Cultural Impact in Minangkabau Society," in *Muslim-Non-Muslim Marriage: Political and Cultural Contestation in Southeast Asia*, ed. Gavin W. Jones, Chee Heng Leng, and Maznah Mohamad (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 161–89; Taufik Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau," *Indonesia* 2 (October 1966): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350753>.

dynamics and conflicts in Minangkabau society.<sup>15</sup> Hamka even said that the reform movement in Minangkabau was the first reform movement in Indonesia. This area then plays a vital role in spreading the ideas of Islamic renewal to other regions.<sup>16</sup>

The stage and nature of the Islamization of Minangkabau can be traced to the changing aphorisms or customary sayings. The earliest aphorism that appeared before the arrival of Islam was "*adat basandi alur jo patut*". This aphorism means that *adat* refers to the habits and propriety that exist in society. After the presence of Islam, this principle was replaced by a new formulation: "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi dalil*". This aphorism shows that *adat* and Sharia can coexist. Each of them has a different foundation and runs separately. The next stage of Islamization is reflected in the aphorism: "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi adat*", in which this aphorism indicates the interdependence between *adat* and Islam. The most recent aphorism was further reformulated in the Padri War (1821-1838) as follows: "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah*". The final aphorism that was officially accepted by all Minangkabau elements clearly stated Islam's supremacy over *adat*.<sup>17</sup> These aphorisms describe the three stages in integrating *adat* and Islam in Minangkabau.

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<sup>15</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017), 3.

<sup>16</sup> Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1984); See also, for example, Busyro Busyro et al., "The Reinforcement of the 'Dowry for Groom' Tradition in Customary Marriages of West Sumatra's Pariaman Society," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (March 2023): 555–78, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.15872>; Ismail Ismail, Novi Hendri, and Putri Nurhakim, "Minangkabau's Doro Tradition: Coexistence of Customary Law and Islamic Law in Caning Punishment," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (March 2023): 579–601, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.15904>; Related issues for the Minangkabau's tradition beyond West Sumatra, see, for instance, Wardah Nuronyah and Bani Syarif Maula, "Muslim Women Adhering to Minangkabau's Bajapuik Tradition in Cirebon, West Java: Compromizing a Gendered Culture in Islamic Law," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 22, no. 2 (November 2022): 135–54, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i2.135-154>.

<sup>17</sup> Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 45–46.

The Minangkabau people believe in *adat* and Sharia as the main components that constitute the Minangkabau elements, while others are only enriching and complementary. Between the two, there has been an assimilation process that leads to an integral compound.<sup>18</sup> The assimilation method between *adat* and *syara'* has experienced long episodes of conflict and consensus and is still ongoing. This episodic relationship between *adat* and *syara'* can be seen from the affirmation of the *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* as the philosophy of life for the Minangkabau people, replacing the previous adages.<sup>19</sup> The agreement between the customary and religious groups in Bukit Marapalam, Luhak Tanah Datar, currently known as the Bukik Marapalam Oath, is said to have resulted in the ABS-SBK, which is a blend of *adat* and Islam.<sup>20</sup> With this consensus, the Minangkabau custom gradually adapts to Islamic teachings, both in faith and worship and in the area of *muamalah* (social relation). Even the ABS-SBK consensus is an affirmation that *adat* implements Islam. Therefore, it is not Minang custom if it is contrary to Islam. Azyumardi Azra said the ABS-SBK symbolized customary 'submission' under religious hegemony.<sup>21</sup>

When the Padri War ended in 1837, it was clear that the Padri Movement had yet to substantially change the Minangkabau social, cultural, and political structure. However, it is essential to

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<sup>18</sup>Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli, *Pertalian Adat & Syara'* (Tangerang Selatan: Ciputat Press, 2003). Muchtar Naim, "Konflik dan Konsensus antara Adat dan Syara' di Minangkabau", (paper presentation at the *Seminar Reaktualisasi Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*, ICMI Orwil Sumatera Barat, di Hotel Pusako, Bukittinggi, 22-23 Januari 2000), 3.

<sup>19</sup>Amir Syarifuddin, *Pelaksanaan Hukum Kewarisan Islam Dalam Lingkungan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1984); Zuriati, *Undang-Undang Minangkabau Dalam Perspektif Ulama Sufi* (Padang: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Andalas (Padang: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Andalas, 2007).

<sup>20</sup>Gusti Asnan, "Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau: Catatan Dari Peristiwa Bukik Marapalam," in *Ulama, Seni Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau* (Kotamadya Sawahlunto: MTQ ke-26 Porvinsi Sumatera Barat, 1995), 43–50.

<sup>21</sup>Azyumardi Azra, "Konsolidasi Kultural Suku Bangsa Minangkabau: Aktualisasi ABS-SBK di Tengah Tantangan Lokal, Nasional dan Global", dalam *Pedoman Pengamalan Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah; Syara' Mangato Adat Mamakai, Alam Takambang Jadi Guru* (Seminar Kebudayaan Minangkabau GEBU Minang di Padang, 12-13 Desember 2010), 7.

note that the Padri Movement succeeded in strengthening and increasing the influence of religion in the Minangkabau social system. It is mainly through the formulation of ABS-SBK, emphasizing the difference between syncretic *jahiliya* customs and Islamic customs, namely customs following Islamic teachings. Ideally, *adat* is then regarded as the true manifestation of religious laws. As a further consequence, the position of religious scholars and teachers has strengthened, and more and more religious schools have been established.<sup>22</sup>

In the political-cultural context, the fall of the New Order, which emerged the regional autonomy, represented a new period in identifying the Minangkabau people through the calls for "return to *Nagari*" and "return to *surau*." Those were two loud calls after the reformation, especially after the birth of Law No. 2 of 1999 concerning Regional Autonomy. It aligns with Salim's view that the relationship between Islam and Minangkabau identity only strengthened in the post-Soeharto era. In the 17th century, relations between Minangkabau and Malays influenced the acceptance of orthodox Islam introduced by reformist Muslims. Gradually, orthodoxy and later Wahhabism replaced most Sufism, which incidentally accommodated local beliefs. However, Islam, previously subordinated after independence and continued during the New Order era, only began to take a hegemonic position in the Minangkabau identity discourse after the reformation period.<sup>23</sup>

Starting from the reform faucet's openness, ABS-SBK, an unwritten norm, and law, then participates in controlling and regulating government administration in West Sumatra because it is recognized in government administration. Regional Regulation of West Sumatra Province Number 9 of 2000 concerning Basic Provisions for *Nagari* Government, which was later revised to become Regional Regulation of West Sumatra Province Number 7

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<sup>22</sup> Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis Dalam Transisi Dan Modernisasi*, 6; Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau."

<sup>23</sup>Salim, "Islam, Politics and Identity in West Sumatera"; Dedi Arsa, "Praktik Seksualitas Menyimpang Masyarakat Muslim-Minangkabau: Kajian Neo-Historisisme Terhadap Film Titian Serambut Dibelah Tujuh," *Jurnal Fuaduna: Jurnal Kajian Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 160, <https://doi.org/10.30983/fuaduna.v4i2.3406>.



of 2018, stated that "*Nagari* is a genealogical and historical Indigenous Law Community Unit, has boundaries in certain areas, has its assets, has the authority to choose its leaders by deliberation and regulates and manages the interests of the local community based on the philosophy and code of "*Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* and based on local origins and customs in the territory of West Sumatra Province".

ABS-SBK is also the leading spirit in the development mission that has to be carried out. This mission focuses on "enhancing a harmonious, religious, traditional and cultured way of life based on the ABS-SBK philosophy." Except for the Mentawai Islands Regency, 18 other regencies and cities in West Sumatra describe the mission contained in the RPJMD into government programs and activities. At its peak, the West Sumatra Provincial Government's ABS-SBK was not only used as a formal mission contained in the West Sumatra Provincial RPJMD but also had to be realistically realized in the daily life of the West Sumatran people. Therefore, in 2019, the book *Guidelines for the Practice of Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* was published as the official interpretation of the West Sumatra government and the primary reference for the values contained in the ABS-SBK. This moment made West Sumatra base its autonomy on the ABS-SBK philosophy and impacted the emergence of regional regulations with Sharia nuances. In his remarks on the book, Irwan Prayitno (the Governor of West Sumatra 2010-2021) also emphasized that it would be followed up with specific technical preparations for particular groups, equipped with appropriate modules and learning media.

The Provincial Government of West Sumatra, one of which, through the Department of Culture, takes a role in maintaining the understanding of values in ABS-SBK, continues to be preserved from generation to generation. The various programs include assisting 18 Pilot *Nagari* to prepare the *Nagari* Regulation "*Syara' Mangato, Adat Mamakai*", intending to implement ABS-SBK values starting from the *Nagari* level. The government also provides Local Content (Mulok) containing ABS-SBK material to be taught in schools that aims to make the Minangkabau generation aware of their historical roots and cultural identity. It will be collaborated

with the Regency/City Government to develop a single perception.<sup>24</sup>

### **Islamic Favoritism in The Development of *Nagari Madani***

One area in West Sumatra that massively implements ABS-SBK at the *nagari* level is Agam Regency, which has explicitly issued Regent Regulation No. 74 of 2016 concerning implementing *Nagari Madani*. In launching the implementation of the *Nagari Madani*, Indra Catri (Regent of Agam for the period 2010-2015 and 2015-2020) said that, in simple terms, the performance of the *Nagari Madani* Movement is an effort further to stimulate the spirit of "return to surau" and realize the understanding of ABS-SBK. The regulation is a concrete step to realizing the district's religious and traditional life in 82 *Nagari*.<sup>25</sup>

What the local government of Agam has done through the *nagari* civil policy can be called Islamic favoritism. The concept of Islamic favoritism refers to Grim and Finke's concept of religious favoritism. According to them, religious favoritism is "a favorable subsidy, privilege, support, or sanction granted by the state to a particular religion or a small group of religions." This favoritism can come in many forms. Like government regulations, subsidies can be a constitutional guarantee or result from the more capricious actions of administrative officials. The most obvious are special constitutional rights and financial subsidies supporting religious institutions. The less clear is the support of state institutions and administrators for religious teaching in state-supported schools and subsidies to service institutions run by religious groups.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Gemala Ranti (Head of the Culture Office of West Sumatra Province), *Interview*, September 3, 2021.

<sup>25</sup>Ikhwan, "Nagari Madani di Agam Resmi Diluncurkan", <http://www.kabarsubar.com/berita/nagari-madani-di-agam-resmi-diluncurkan/>; MC Kab Agam, "Kita Wujudkan Kehidupan Beragama Dan Beradat", accessed from <https://infopublik.id/kategori/nusantara/225274/kita-wujudkan-kehidupan-beragama-dan-beradat>

<sup>26</sup> Grim and Finke, "International Religion Index: Government Regulation, Government Favoritism, and Social Regulation of Religion."

As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has been recognized as a tolerant and pluralistic country.<sup>27</sup> Some say Indonesians practice a more moderate and peaceful Islam than their Middle Eastern counterparts, particularly regarding minority rights.<sup>28</sup> Pancasila has defined Indonesia as a monotheistic religious state, which provides the government with the necessary tools to force non-theistic, polytheistic, and non-monotheistic religions to modify their theological beliefs to be accepted as recognized or official religions. Pancasila also justifies the existence of favoritism for certain religions that are considered compatible with this ideology.<sup>29</sup>

In line with the spirit promoted at the Province of West Sumatra level, the management of *nagari* in the Agam Regency is carried out with the enthusiasm of uniformity based on Islamic teachings. Although most of the people in Agam are Muslims of Minangkabau ethnicity, there are still non-Muslim residents in some of the *nagari*. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency, the Muslim population is 528,084 people, which includes 4,431 people of Protestants, 381 people of Catholics, 5 people of Hindus, and 10 people of Buddhists. It means the Muslim population reaches 99.1%, while the non-Muslim population is only 0.9%.<sup>30</sup>

Regent Regulation No. 74 of 2016 Article 1 explains that *Nagari Madani* is a religious or Islamic *Nagari* that is highly civilized and advanced based on the values, norms, laws, and *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah, syara' mangato adat mamakai*, a society based on Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*), respecting

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<sup>27</sup> Andy Fuller, "Religious Freedom in Indonesia: Curious Cases of Dialogues, Fatwās and Laws," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 5, no. 1 (2011): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.1.1-16>.

<sup>28</sup> James B Hoesterey, "Is Indonesia a Model for the Arab Spring? Islam, Democracy, and Diplomacy," *Review of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 2 (2013): 157–65, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2151348100058043>.

<sup>29</sup> Abdul Mu'ti and Ahmad Najib Burhani, "The Limits of Religious Freedom in Indonesia: With Reference to the First Pillar Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa of Pancasila," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, no. 1 (2019): 111–34, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v9i1.111-134>.

<sup>30</sup>BPS Kabupaten Agam, *Kabupaten Agam dalam Angka 2021* (Agam: BPS Kabupaten Agam, 2021), 195

differences, being democratic and open (inclusive), as well as cooperation and kinship. The purpose of *Nagari Madani* is to realize the understanding and practice of Islamic values and the values of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK) to realize the character of civil society.<sup>31</sup> The objectives of *Nagari Madani* are as follows: 1) optimizing informal education, especially the Qur'an (read, understand, practice, memorize); 2) increasing the role of the mosque/*surau* as the center of community social life; 3) implementing of protection for villages and *nagari* communities; 4) increased sense of social care, *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, kinship and cooperation; 5) application of customs, arts, culture and sports under the philosophy of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK); 6) increasing the participation of community institutions and organizations; 7) increasing individual and social piety.<sup>32</sup>

For each of the seven goals above, there are several strategies to achieve them as follows:

No	Purposes	Strategies
1	Optimizing informal education, especially the Qur'an	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Reduction of blind reading and writing of the Qur'an</li> <li>b. Increasing the number of memorizers of the Qur'an</li> <li>c. Availability of Qur'an house/house of <i>tahfiz</i></li> <li>d. The implementation of maghrib <i>mengaji</i> (reciting the Qur'an)</li> <li>e. The performance of <i>khatam</i> Qur'an/MTQ in the <i>nagari</i></li> <li>f. Achievement of GER (Gross Participation Rate) at the TPA/MDA level</li> </ol>
2	Increasing the role of the mosque/ <i>surau</i> as the centre of community social life	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The implementation of the five daily prayers in congregation at the mosque/<i>surau</i></li> <li>b. Improvement and development of TPQ/TPA facilities and infrastructure (availability of permanent teachers, teachers who have received training, meet the standard curriculum, and have teachers with competency A {based on the classification of the Ministry of Religion of Agam Regency})</li> <li>c. Organizing the celebration of Islamic holidays</li> <li>d. Organizing youth mosque/<i>surau</i> activities and Fajr</li> </ol>

<sup>31</sup>Article 2, Regent Regulation of Agam No. 74 of 2016.

<sup>32</sup>Article 3, Regent Regulation of Agam No. 74 of 2016.

		education (mosque/ <i>nagari surau</i> )
		e. Organizing <i>majelis taklim</i> (religious assembly) activities
		f. Organizing socio-religious empowerment (through the provision of compensation to the disadvantaged, poor, and orphans) in mosques/ <i>surau</i>
		g. Organizing socio-economic empowerment activities for <i>Zakat</i> Collecting Units (UPZ, Sharia cooperatives, BMTs, etc.) in mosques/ <i>surau</i>
		h. Improvement of supporting facilities and infrastructure for access to clean water, sanitation, road access and lighting to mosques in good condition and mosque/ <i>surau</i> libraries
		i. Establishment of a complete mosque/ <i>surau</i> management and have an annual activity plan.
3	Implementing protection for villages and <i>nagari</i> communities	a. Decrease in drug abuse cases b. Supervision of liquor circulation c. Decreasing cases of promiscuity/immorality/pornography/pornoaction d. Decrease in gambling cases e. Decreasing crime rate
4	Increasing the sense of social care, <i>ukhuwah Islamiyah</i> , kinship and cooperation	a. Decreasing divorce rate b. Elimination of acts of domestic violence and violence against children c. The development of cooperation d. Decrease in the number of children dropping out of school due to economic factors e. Reduction in the number of low-income families f. Development of activities or forums that increase brotherhood within the <i>nagari</i> g. Increasing the role and participation of the overseas community
5	Applying customs, arts, culture, and sports following the <i>Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah</i> (ABS SBK) philosophy.	a. Increasing the existence of <i>ninik mamak</i> b. Increased capacity of <i>ninik mamak</i> c. Increased capacity of <i>ampek jinih/imam khatik suku</i> d. Development of cultural arts programs/activities following ABS-SBK e. Development of community sports programs/activities that do not conflict with ABS-SBK
6	Increasing participation	a. Increased participation of <i>Nagari</i> Cutomary Organization (KAN)

	of community institutions and organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>b. Increasing the participation of the Indonesian <i>Nagari</i> Ulema Council</li> <li>c. Increased participation of Bundo Kandung and Women's Organizations</li> <li>d. Increasing the participation of Youth Organizations</li> <li>e. Increased participation of Religious Organizations</li> </ul>
7	Increasing individual and social piety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Increasing the number of worshipers for the morning prayer</li> <li>b. Increasing the number of sacrificial animals</li> <li>c. Increasing the amount of <i>Zakat</i>, <i>Infaq</i>, and Alms</li> <li>d. Development of a culture of dress according to religious law</li> <li>e. Development of Islamic symbols</li> <li>f. Development of a clean environment for citizen participation</li> </ul>

To ensure that the *Nagari Madani* program can be appropriately implemented, the Regional Government of Agam annually evaluates the *Nagari Madani* Movement. It is written in Regent Regulation No. 74 of 2016 Article 7, in which this evaluation is carried out by the Evaluation Team determined by the Decree of the Regent. The team's assessment results are translated into a score per indicator obtained from the goals and strategies above. Values 0 to 85 are categorized as *Nagari Madani* Level I; Values 86 to 110 are categorized as *Nagari Madani* Level II; Values 111 to 130 are categorized as *Nagari Madani* Level III; Values 131 to 170 are categorized as *Nagari Madani* Level IV, and Values 171 to 215 are categorized as *Nagari Madani* Level V.<sup>33</sup> Based on the assessment team's measurements in 2017, 38 *nagari* were at level I, 28 at level II, and 16 at level III. Meanwhile, *nagari* has yet to succeed at level IV and V. However, in 2018, the assessment results showed a significant increase where as many as 13 *nagari* reached level IV and one *nagari* at level V. In 2019, it increased again so that 37 *nagari* were at level IV and eight *nagari* were at level V.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Article 10, Regent Regulation of Agam No. 74 of 2016.

<sup>34</sup>Sumbar Fokus, "4 Tahun Nagari Madani, Begini Perkembangan Pengamalan ABS-SBK di Masyara'at Agam", <https://www.sumbarfokus.com/berita-4-tahun-nagari-madani-begini-perkembangan-pengamalan-absbk-di-masyara'at-agam.html>

Article 5 Regent Regulation No.74 of 2016 stated that the application of the *Nagari Madani* Movement is based on the *Return to Surau* Principle: (a) Physical or *Zahir*. All mosques/*surau*/mushalla in the villages are again bustling and enlivened with all their functions as a means of social life for the community, both as a center for worship and education, from *da'wah*, socio-religious, socio-economic, and others; (b) reviving the substance of *surau* education as the content of character education for *nagari* children in an integrated and sustainable manner, both in spiritual intelligence, emotional and social intelligence, intellectual intelligence and kinesthetic intelligence.

The descriptions regarding the regulations and implementation of *Nagari Madani* in the Agam Regency above show how the state has favored Islam as the religion of most of its population. Islamic groups receive various subsidies, privileges, and support from the state. It starts with implementing Islamic education programs (both formal and informal), financial donations that directly support Islamic institutions such as mosques, and implementing Islamic-based standards of individual and social truth.

### **Discrimination against Religious Minority Groups in *Nagari Madani***

Two fundamental tenets of international human rights law are equality before the law and the prohibition against discrimination. Any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference that aims to impede or neutralize the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise of all rights and freedoms by all people equally is forbidden by the nondiscrimination principle. It is not necessary to provide evidence of discriminatory intent. Legislation and policies that may be textually neutral but are interpreted in a way that leads to discrimination are referred to as "purpose or effect." Discrimination is forbidden by international human rights law, both directly and indirectly.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> United Nation, *Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation* (New York and Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2010), 8.

This section examines discrimination against religious minority groups as an impact of Islamic favoritism through *Nagari Madani* in Agam Regency, especially in *Nagari*, whose residents are non-Muslims as a religious minority group. The two *nagari* used as case examples are: 1) *Nagari* Biaro Gadang, Ampek Angkek District; 2) *Nagari* Tiku V Jorong and Tanjung Mutiara District. At *Nagari* Biaro Gadang, the non-Muslim population is 390 people (4.8%) of the total population of 8,099 people.<sup>36</sup> and at *Nagari* Tiku V Jorong, the non-Muslim population is 14.6% of the total population of 9,493 people;<sup>37</sup>

The non-Muslim community in *Nagari* Biaro Gadang is Protestant and Catholic. The majority are immigrants from the Nias and Batak tribes. Only a few came from others. They live in segregated housing known as Simbolon Housing. The limited land in Bukittinggi City caused these non-Muslim residents to target suburban areas, which later developed into a settlement known as the Kampung Ranah area. The Ranah area was initially created by a developer named Simbolon, popularly known as Simbolon I Housing and Simbolon II Housing. To anticipate the increasing number of non-Muslim immigrants in the area, there was a verbal appeal from the community not to sell land to non-Muslims.<sup>38</sup>

“The restriction of non-Muslim residents domiciled in the Minangkabau customary area is a form of accumulated citizen protests against non-Muslims who are far from mutually agreed universal values such as an unclean environment, drug abuse, promiscuity, and holding religious activities secretly. It also includes the dress style that does not follow

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<sup>36</sup>BPS Kabupaten Agam, *Kecamatan Ampek Angkek dalam Angka 2020* (Agam: BPS Kabupaten Agam, 2021), 64.

<sup>37</sup>BPS Kabupaten Agam, *Kecamatan Tanjung Mutiara dalam Angka 2019* (Agam: BPS Kabupaten Agam, 2021), 85.

<sup>38</sup> Helfi, “‘Bank Gelap’ Di Kota Bukittinggi: Resistensi Ekonomi Masyarakat Urban Minangkabau Dalam Menghadapi Pelaku Ekonomi Etnik Lain,” *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 103–15, [https://doi.org/10.30983/islam\\_realitas.v1i2.2](https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v1i2.2); Helfi Helfi et al., “Portraying ‘Village Regulations’ among Urban Community in Campago Guguak Bulek Nagari, Mandiangin Koto Selayan, Bukittinggi, West Sumatra,” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 16, no. 1 (2021): 27–56, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v16i1.4340>.



traditional values whose spirit is from Islam with the *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* philosophy."<sup>39</sup>

Parallel things also occur in the *Nagari* Tiku V Jorong. Based on the *ninik mamak* (Minangkabau traditional leaders) rules in the *Nagari* Customary Organization (KAN), non-Muslims are not allowed to own property rights, have permanent houses, and establish churches as places of worship. Migrants from outside *Nagari* Tiku V Jorong who want to own land and permanent dwellings must meet the following requirements: be Muslim, understand Minangkabau customs, and obey the customary rules of *Nagari* Tiku V Jorong, Tanjung Mutiara District, Agam Regency. The Minangkabau people think that if the Nias Ethnic is pitied, they will destroy the *Nagari* because the ethnic groups living in the *Nagari* gamble, get drunk, and eat pork.<sup>40</sup> The prohibition on the domicile of non-Muslims in the Minangkabau area is a form of accumulated protest by residents against non-Muslims. Muslim groups see non-Muslims as far from universal Islamic values, such as an unclean environment, drug abuse, promiscuity, and the implementation of religious activities in secret. In addition, non-Muslims are also judged to frequently wear clothing that does not follow traditional values and the spirit of Islam with the customary philosophy of ABS-SBK. This situation is increasingly escalated with regulations related to *Nagari Madani*, which the government officially implements.

The implication is the Islamization of culture and every social order of society. As also affirmed by Afrizal, with ABS-SBK, the membership of the *Nagari* community is no longer based only on matrilineal (from the maternal line) but must also be Muslim. Therefore, only Muslims can become members of the *Nagari* community and become Minangkabau. If a Minangkabau leaves Islam (*murtad*), he will be excluded from the membership of the *Nagari* and Minangkabau communities, as happened in *Nagari*

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<sup>39</sup> Helifi (Nagari Biaro Gadang Muslim Community), *Interview*, July 11, 2022.

<sup>40</sup> Robi Mitra, *Adaptasi Sosial Budaya Etnis Nias di Minangkabau: Studi Kasus Etnis Nias di Nagari Tiku V Jorong, Kecamatan Tanjung Mutiara, Kab. Agam* (Skripsi Universitas Andalas, 2019), 4.

Lubuk Basung.<sup>41</sup> However, this non-Muslim minority group is also trying to adapt to the customs of Minangkabau Muslim society, even if they have to sacrifice their beliefs. According to Priest Hentje, although they were under pressure from ABS-SBK, they struggled to adapt to the conditions.

“My daughter, who attends a public high school, is forced to wear a headscarf because of an unwritten obligation. Even with the ID card, my daughter still wears the headscarf because she was still a high school student when making the ID card. I still hold the principle that where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld”.<sup>42</sup>

This tendency to differentiate then forms an 'us' group, or what can be referred to as an ingroup, and a 'them' group or outgroup. Our group or ingroup, if related to Islam, are those who share the same religion or, in this case, are fellow Muslims. Meanwhile, their group or outgroup can be equated with those with different religions or commonly referred to as non-Muslims. This categorization often biases group members' attitudes towards their ingroup and outgroup. Bias can be interpreted as a misperception in assessing or judging a particular group. This bias encourages someone to be more inclined towards one specific group when wanting to provide benefits or a positive attitude. If the tendency is to give more positive attitudes to the ingroup (maximum ingroup benefit), then this behavior can be called ingroup favoritism.

Conversely, if the provision of benefits and positive attitudes tend to be more towards the outgroup, then it can be called outgroup favoritism behavior. In a different term, Bourchier calls it 'religious nationalism.' A term to describe the state (in the context of this article, regional governments) that plays an active role in

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<sup>41</sup> Afrizal, “Tatanan Masyarakat Dan Multikulturalisme: Analisis Sosiologis Terhadap Konflik Dalam Masyarakat Minangkabau Yang Plural,” in *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru: Kearifan Lokal Minangkabau Untuk Keragaman, Kebangsaan Dan Kemanusiaan*, ed. Dkk. Ahmad Nurcholish (Jakarta: Yayasan Cahaya Guru, 2016), 12–14.

<sup>42</sup>Hentje (Priest of Bethel Church Indonesia at Agam Regency), *Interview*, July 11, 2022.

enforcing mainstream religious and cultural norms while limiting the expression of ideas that are considered contrary to these mainstream norms.<sup>43</sup>

Globally, religious nationalism is becoming more vital in Indonesia and many other nations, serving as the primary foundation for identity and mobilization. The ideas of pluralist constitutional governance, which are generally seen as vital to fostering peaceful cohabitation, are threatened by religious nationalism, especially in Asia. The trend of state and religious borders coming together against "cross-sectoral divisions," which can weaken centrifugal tendencies in pluralistic societies, is worrisome. Hence, the rejection of ethnic, religious, cultural, and even legal plurality is the leading cause of religious nationalism in the pluralistic Asian context.<sup>44</sup> This affects religious groups' freedoms significantly, especially those of minorities and minorities within dominant religious groups.

## Conclusion

The results of this study show that the *Nagari Madani* policy implemented in Agam Regency is a form of Islamic favoritism. This policy departs from the customary philosophy of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK), which presupposes that Islam is the primary and principal value for the life of all people in the West Sumatra region. *Nagari*, based on ABS-SBK, has resulted in discrimination against non-Muslim minorities. The spirit of Islamization of Minangkabau nature through the implementation of ABS-SBK in the development of *Nagari* provides many conveniences for the majority of Muslims in developing Islamic teachings and accessing funding sources. However, this policy also excludes non-Muslim minorities as fellow citizens who should have the same rights to practice their religion and access

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<sup>43</sup> David M. Bouchier, "Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 49, no. 5 (2019): 713–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1590620>.

<sup>44</sup> Jaelyn Neo and Brett G. Scharffs, "Religious Nationalism and Religious Freedom in Asia: Mapping Regional Trends in a Global Phenomenon," *Asian Journal of Law and Society* 8, no. 1 (2021): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2020.53>.

development facilities in the *Nagari*. The findings of this article strengthen previous studies that underline the state's role as a determinant factor in religious discrimination. The state is also the leading actor in religious politics and discrimination in terms of maintaining relations and alliances with religious communities, as well as adopting certain religious symbols or values.

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