



NAGARI MINANGKABAU: THE STUDY OF INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS IN WEST SUMATRA, INDONESIA

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Abstract

Nagari as government and customary institutions in West Sumatra is torn between the interests of the government system and the importance of maintaining the fundamental values in the community. Various government regulations regarding the village or Nagari generate new questions, the loss of the community's identity and local wisdom of Nagari as an autonomous and independent society. This study aims to explore and describe the Nagari system of government, as a social system of indigenous peoples of Minangkabau that combine the state government system with the adat system of local customary institutions. The study was conducted with qualitative methods, using in-depth interviews with the community leaders as well as some observations related to the dynamics of its social community in addition to literature study. This study found that Nagari as Minangkabau community social unity has a sacred local wisdom from the community's comprehensive thinking, and natural conditions. With its history, Nagari grows as an autonomous region where the community manages the social and natural resources potential independently. The Institutional system of Nagari is a combination between the state, custom, and religion, which is combined in the framework of *tungku tigo sajarangan*, *tali tigo sapilin*, the government, *ninieka mamak*, and religious scholars. The social system that emerged from the wisdom of "reading" nature, as the strength of the Minangkabau community, made Nagari be one of the regions in Indonesia which are called by the Netherlands as "the Small Republic".

Keywords: Nagari, Adat Customary Institution, Indigenous Peoples, Small Republic

I. INTRODUCTION

Nagari is the lowest government units in West Sumatra and is a group of Minangkabau community living based on its customary rules with their customary rights such as *Ulayat* rights, the right of the history of the origin of Minangkabau which is older than Sumatra. The uniqueness of Nagari is not only from the historical aspect but also from the wealth of culture. This reinforces the Nagari as the core of Minangkabau. If Nagari discontinued existing, then Minangkabau would cease to exist and would be wiped off from the territorial map of the Indonesian state and the cultural map of the nation.

Nagari became more popular in the era of regional autonomy since 1999, which in practice took the system to "baliak ka Nagari" based on the "surau". It is popular not only on the local arena but also draws attention on a global scale where indigenous cultural values can be introduced and understood in the international scene as a heritage culture that can boost the national culture in the midst of globalization (Widyanti, 2015, p. 160).

Nagari as the region nomenclature is the lowest government administration, in practice it obscures the function of "regulating" and what emerges is the function of "controlling", it is obfuscating the function

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of Nagari as a genealogical area of Minangkabau customary government. The understanding of the Nagari from the political perspective is understood as areas inhabited Minangkabau tribe, and Nagari from a cultural perspective is the genealogical region of the Minangkabau subculture, formerly run by the Minangkabau adat customary government.

The phenomenon of the obscuring the function of between the customary Nagari and Nagari in government policy of "baliak ka Nagari" as a strategy for the implementation of regional autonomy in West Sumatra invited various discussions. Not only because the implementation is not well thought of. The study on the Adat institution as a study by Astuti (2009, pp. 130–131), revealed that the implementation of return to the Nagari and support of the regional government of West Sumatra to Minangkabau culture still seems to be weak. Another study is by Hanani & Aziz (2009, pp. 81–94) emphasized the dualism of the local government and the central government in the decentralization and the centralization policy and its impact on the indigenous institutions. The centralization policy weakened the values of indigenous peoples and the presence of decentralization gives the energy to strengthen the value of indigenous institutions that was distorted by the centralization policy of the New Order government.

The ineffectiveness of the implementation of "baliak ka Nagari" can be seen from the political will of the regional government (West Sumatra) towards Minangkabau was more towards formal matters concerning the interests of power and politics: (1) in the formation of the Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (LKAAM) a Minangkabau adat institution, deliberately steer the institutions to be a political means, (2) the previous elimination of the Nagari, (3) The return to Nagari as a regional autonomy system, (4) the relocation of the status of customary lands with the reason of investment, (5) expansion of regional autonomy, (6) expansion and others, but less attention to Hawari a more substantial matters called. Astuti & Kolopaking (2009, pp. 153–172) stated that there was a dilemma in changing the village into Nagari, both in the cultural institutional aspects, the governance of Nagari and Minangkabau social system of. This is what is called as a half-hearted Policy and the degradation of Minangkabau culture.

The confusion on Nagari institution appears on the emergence of the overlapping public institutions such as Badan Musyawarah (Bamus), Majelis Ulama Nagari (MUNA), Majelis Musyawarah Adat and Syarak (MAMAS). Due to its overlapping functions and it creates horizontal conflicts with the existing Karapatan Adat Nagari (KAN) as traditional nagari. institutions KAN as consultative institutions are

a representation of the group of tribes or families, its members already cover various elements on the new institutions formed, as '*alim ulama* (religious scholars, ulama, *malin*, *qadhi*, *tuangku*, and other religious leaders), *cadiak pandai* (scholars), *bundo kanduang* (of the oldest women in indigenous peoples) etc. Conflicts also occur between Wali Nagari as a government with KAN. The move of "Baliak ka Nagari" as the form of regional autonomy, showed some paradox. (1) During the occupation of the Netherlands, Nagari essentially and substantially worked, no intervention, the Nagari affairs was handled entirely by *niniek mamak*, and the religion was handed by the ulama, the new version of Nagari is merely a label, and (2) On the implementation of the old Law 5/1979 and Regional Regulation of West Sumatera No. 13/1983 the village has one Nagari and the adat institutions exist. However, in the era of regional autonomy implementation of Law No. 22/1999 as amended by Law No. 32/ 2004, Law No. 08/2005, West Sumatera Regulation No. 09/2000 as amended by Regulation No. 02/2007, the Nagari was "broken" into several new Nagari ("enlargement" of the main Nagari). The enlargement of the Nagari is a "ticking bomb". Social conflict will appear to control the Nagari's assets such as *Tanah Ulayat* (the customary land owned by the existing Nagari), markets and others.

The concept of "Baliak ka Nagari" or the enlargement of Nagari is a policy. Jonah (2008) stated that the problem is not only in the context of the policy but includes the policy system, namely: (1) the policy itself, (2) policy environment, and (3) the implementor. A policy is not only the be an underlying reason behind a case, but it may also lie on the implementor of the policy. This means that the implementor of a policy is often the problem. The implementation "Baliak ka Nagari" is no exception calls to break Nagari by labelling it "enlargement" emerged. That fact raises a big question, when the policy was issued, i.e. who will be benefited and who will be disadvantaged, whether the policy indicated a blaming the victim mentality (social injustice). The issue in West Sumatra is the fact that Nagari is torn between the "ideal genealogist" and the "territorial" concept Ideally, the move should preserve the Nagari integrity, identity, and sustainability. But what happens is the contrary. Nagari is disintegrating, threatening the identity and its sustainability especially as Minangkabau subculture with the enlargement of the regional regulations that are not supportive of the Nagari and Minangkabau culture.

This study to explore and describe the Minangkabau traditional institutional system, both as *limbago adat*, as well as a government institution in the state system of government. We

hope that this study will become a reference in the implementation of "Nagari pilot project" by the Provincial Government of West Sumatera, as a follow up from the regional Regulation No. 7 of 2018 on Nagari. In the next section, this article will describe about; (1) the history of the formation of Nagari, historical perspective the formation of Nagari and indigenous system that regulates the formation of a Nagari, (2) institutional system Nagari based from the local wisdom of Minangkabau community in its social order and the governance and functional relationship between the existing institutions, (3) the democratic system as the characteristic of Minangkabau community known as the "*kato mupakaek*", who did not know the voting system in the decision making, and (4) the Nagari as an autonomous and independent region (*adat salingka nagari*), both in terms of governance, resource management and social system that governed the public life of nagari in the framework of traditional systems of Minangkabau (*adat nan sabatang panjang*).

II. METHOD

The study on "Nagari Minangkabau: The study of this indigenous institution in West Sumatra, Indonesia is a study of the social institutional phenomenon known as Nagari Minangkabau which is caused by the social and political dynamics. Nagari has the moral and institutional dimension and is the basis of the formation of community groups who are bound by the religious and cultural awareness that formed the social system and the Minangkabau community character as a cultural identity.

This study used qualitative methods, and phenomenologist approach was used in the analysis of institutional dynamics of Nagari in West Sumatra. Descriptive research is intended as an exploration and clarification attempt on a phenomenon or social reality, in this case, related to the dynamics of institutional of Nagari in West Sumatra. According to the opinion of Whitney in Nazir (1988, pp. 63–64), a descriptive approach is research to examine problems in society, and the various phenomena which occur in the community in certain situations, including the relationship, activities, attitude, view and ongoing processes and its influence from a phenomenon. Phenomenologist method as explained Alfred Schutz in Holstein & Gubrium (2009, p. 336) is the effort to explain the actions and thoughts of the community by describing the reality that appears to be "real" for everyone, it describes the true meaning of the society toward reality. In this context, the study was conducted to interpret and explain the dynamics of Nagari West Sumatra. A variety of the phenomenon in the Nagari life was

summarized and then interpreted to understand and the experience of the community to live the life of *ba nagari*. Because each individual interacts with their existing knowledge, then each person would interprets their experience, understand the other individual, acquire intersubjective understanding, and then do the action (Hardiman, 2015, pp. 103–108).

Interviews were conducted to gather important information on Nagari with the leaders of the adat community. In-depth interview was conducted to find a complete and comprehensive understanding of the progress and dynamics of Nagari as limbago indigenous peoples. While some observation was conducted related to the dynamics of social community Nagari the observations were made regarding the dynamics of the development of Nagari. For example, public understanding about the existence of Nagari, in the past, and in the present. An observation was done to complete the information on some of the of the data obtained through the interview to obtain the complete understanding of Nagari Institution.

The selection of the key sources (key informers) on each area of study was based on the consideration of the reliability of the source as the main source of information. The selection of the key sources was based on the depth of their knowledge on the required information, also based on their ability to provide information regarding other sources needed for the study. The next sources were determined using the snowball technique. Information obtained from key sources were the basis and guide to determine the other community leaders or other sources that can provide additional information as required. This process is repeated until the interview process is exhausted. This means that when the information obtained is no longer is something new and tend to be repeated, then the interview process is considered complete (Azwar, 2018, p. 84).

Data Analysis in this study is conducted through several stages; first, the data obtained through observation and interview was completed, compared and tested with other information from other sources, books, other documents, and related studies, then classified into several categories. Second, the Characteristics of each category was then being determined. Third, the categories were then connected between one another, to create a proposition. Fourth, the propositions were then linked to one another to get a final understanding of the Nagari Institution.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. The History of the Establishment of Nagari: Inclusiveness Versus Expansions

The Nagari community in Minangkabau *mulo dibuek* (started to be established) from *paruik*, *jurai*, tribes, village, and nagari, related with a new un-inhabited land/area. In the beginning, *taratak* was established, then *taratak* was promoted to a village. The village then developed into *Koto*. *Koto* as the center region of the villages and other villages joined and agreed to become the center of the area, the new Nagari was born. This means that a Nagari is to be created. Nagari is not meant to be divided. Nagari started from the search for new land because the living space (*lebensraum*) was already too small. There was no land build a new house, no longer be enough rice fields for the tribe (*paruik* the tribes). Then *Tunganai* (the oldest brothers) followed by some of his family in one tribe or more search for new land. They parted with their original village, left their relatives of the same *paruik* or *suku*. In the new land, they plant, build rice fields and houses. For a note *Taratak*, *Dusun*, *Koto* is not the structure of Nagari but the process of the development of the region toward the formation of a new village as the main area of Nagari. The structure of the region of Nagari is *kampung* (*korong/jorong*) and Nagari.

If traced more historically, from the research result Hanani & Aziz (2009, p. 83), the pro-cons extension of Nagari in equalizing it with our concept of a village in other areas outside of Minangkabau. The presence of the village government administration in local communities is seen as the beginning of the collapse of local traditions in Indonesia. This fact is seen from first, the village government administration has eliminated the concept of local government based on the tradition of society. Second, the village government administration has eliminated the local institutions that have been instrumental in building the social order of the local community. Third, with the loss of those elements, the presence of village government created cultural conflicts in local areas. The Centralized Policy in many ways was harmful to the regional society. The impacted social, political economy and culture in the area. The Trigger of conflicts in the indigenous communities often because of centralization injustice, which then created movements of the disintegration of the nation. Currently, Decentralization was hoped to be able to rescue the local tradition by local communities themselves.

The centralization and decentralization, involving a top-down development concept of the

past (Old Order), in the reform era new the term called "the implementation of decentralization with the idea of empowerment". In this era, the existence of community participation from the bottom was recognized and it allows the freedom to move from the bottom up (Amalia & Syawie, 2015, pp. 176–178; Muhi, 2011, p. 2). The empowerment of village-based with all the value that resulted from in it become important discourse because Indonesia until now still dominant will village society. Sociologically, villagers are very close to their cultural values (Nasrul, 2013, p. 102).

In the dynamics of inclusiveness and historical expansion of the Nagari especially after the paradigm of centralization of the government, the Minangkabau community saw the way to return to the original culture with all the challenges in the midst of social change. As explained Vel & Bedner (2015, p. 495). Minangkabau community always interprets it as new opportunities to return to the past to what may appear as the classic government structure of Nagari. The four main factors about this condition is the strength of the indigenous institution; durability of the existing structure despite the efforts of the central government in fragmenting the Nagari administratively; the strong support from the local community to help restore the nagari; and support from higher levels of government and religious leaders in the social structure of the Minangkabau community.

B. The Reign of Nagari Adat

The existence of customary law communities in Indonesia (ICRAF, LATIN, & P3AE-UI, 2001, p. 3), basically, in practice was reviewed in some study for example. according to the study by Vollenhoven, far before the independence there are 19 regions of customary law, namely area (1) Aceh, (2) Gayo, Alas, Batak and Nias, (3) Minangkabau, Mentawai, (4) South Sumatra, Raja Enggano, (5) Malay, (6), Bangka Belitung, (7) Kalimantan, (8) Minahasa, (9) Gorontalo, (10) Toraja, (11) South Sulawesi, (12) Ternate Islands, (13) Maluku, (14) West Irian, (15), Timor Islands (16) Bali, Lombok, (17) Central Java, East Java, Madura, (18) Solo, Yogyakarta, (19) West Java, Jakarta. Then in the explanation of Chapter VI of the constitution stated that the territory of Indonesia there are more or less 250 *Zelfbestuurende land-schappen* and *Volksgemeenschappen*, such as a village in Java and Bali, Nagari in Minangkabau, *Dusun* and *Marga* in Palembang and etc. These are the original institutions and therefore can be considered as a region which was special.

The government of Nagari Adat formerly known by the term Wali Nagari and *panghulu* (and *datuak*) based on KN (Kerapatan Nagari). Currently,

the KN was now called KAN (Kerapatan Adat Nagari). But KAN was no longer has the elements of the government. The one with the elements of the government is the Bamus (Badan Musyawarah) Nagari in accordance with the Regional Regulation of West Sumatera Number 2 of 2007. The election of the Wali Nagari held by Bamus selected by all the citizens of Nagari in a modern Western democracy process. Before, Wali Nagari was selected by consensus without voting in discussions of *datuak* and *panghulu* in KN. Currently, KAN was no longer charged to elect the Wali Nagari, even in carrying out their functions. KAN was only regarded as a cultural organization (*paguyuban*) which is no longer charged to govern the child of the Nagari (the people).

The base of KAN, as *limbago* in the Minang institutional system, is *panghulu (datuak)* as an element of the government of Nagari adat Minangkabau. In Nagari, *panghulu* is a pillar of the government. Wali Nagari was selected from *panghulu*, therefore have a very important role and is honored. *Panghulu* role is from the sociological perspective, for they have a strong position, able to implement various social activities. This *Panghulu* followed because of their authority and charms. *Panghulu (Datuak)* always took one step ahead and one branch higher has a strong position in the community. *Panghulu tagak di pintu adat* honored as *nan gadang basa batuah*.

In their role as the element of the nagari adat government, *panghulu* assisted by *malin* (from elements of the religious scholar, the *ulama*). *Malin* where *bamufti* (to whom an edict is requested). *Malin nan tagak di pintu syarak*, honored as *suluah bendang* in nagari and their functions are similar to a minister of religion in a country. Similarly, *panghulu* resolve disputes helped *manti* (from elements the scholars, the *cadiak*). *Manti tagak di pintu susah*, respected expert in solving *silang sangketo anak nagari, tahu ereng jo gendeng, mauleh indak mangasan*. This *Manti* in a country has a similar function as the minister of justice, assisted by a *dubalang*. The position of *Dubalang tagak di pintu mati*, serves as the securing civil commotion, *batuhuak ja baparang*, is similar to the position of the minister of defense and security. *Panghulu, Malin, and Manti* are the leaders in the government of Nagari, strengthened with *rajo tigo selo*, namely *rajo adat (datuak)*, *rajo ibadat (ulama)*, and *rajo nature (government)*. The Integrity of the Minang institutional system created the dynamics and harmony Minangkabau community in the running social function, political and religious life. In this context, indeed the cultural and religious system does appear to be intertwined in almost all cultural communities in Indonesia, for example on the Bugis

community (Wekke, 2013, p. 33), the adat position in Bugis has a unique position. There are two patterns that appear for the interaction between culture and religion, in the form of a dialogue and integration. In the Javanese culture, for example, Islam and the culture took the pattern dialogue, while in Malay it took the form of integration. While in Minang the acculturation is more on the law system either in the religion matter or on the daily social life.

The foursome *Panghulu, Malin, Manti, and Dubalang*, is called by *nan-4 jinih*. *Urang nan-4 jinih* are assisted by *urang jinih nan-4* namely: *imam, bilal, khatib, and qadhi*. *Urang jinih nan-4* are coordinated by *Malin* in the matter of religion, as can be seen in Figure 1.

Panghulu with their assistants (*urang nan-4 jinih* and *urang jinih nan-4*) in the implementation of the government role of Nagari, especially in judging the dispute of adat, hold to the adat rules and laws with *alua jo patuik* (with the proper way).

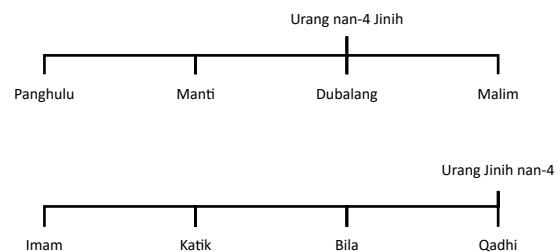


Figure 1. Urang nan-4 Jinih dan Jinih nan-4

C. High Institutions of Nagari: *Tungku Tigo Sajaringan*

In the system of government of Nagari adat Minangkabau, the institutional System of *Tali Tigo Sapilin* dan *Tungku Tigo Sajaringan* (TTS the TTS) located in the institution of KN - now KAN) is similar with those of Trias Politika namely executive, legislative and executive. TTS - TTS is run by three lords, namely; *panghulu* (the leader *niniekmamak pemangku adat*), *ulama* (religious scholar) and *cadiak* (scholars, bureaucrats, politician, scholars and all the profession).

Tungku on the TTS as a strong corner on the position of the triangle, and ropes on TTS strapping strong in its *kesepilinan*, in Minang, means that in implementing *syara'* with adat by the government of Nagari, they are guided by a strong system, figuratively like a cord with triple ropes entwined. This system guide is run by the three lords of the *tungku tigo sajaringan* dan *tali tigo sapilin*. There are three type of guides, namely; (1) *anggo tanggo* which functions like the deed of establishment in an

organization (2) *alua jo patuik* which function as law, (3) *raso-pareso* (taste-check) which function as the Law in Minang way of life (Yunus, 2011, pp. 13–23). These three bases are found in the old saying as follows:

Badasar ka anggo tanggo (Based to the deed of establishment)

Baundang ka alua jo patuik (Regulated with a proper way)

Bahukum ka raso jo pareso (Guided by feeling and mind)

Raso tumbuhan di dado (feelings grow in the heart)

Pareso tumbuhan di kapalo (Pareso grows in the head)

This mechanism is *tungku tigo sajarangan* dan *tali tigo sapilin* system. While the implementor is the three lord: (1) *ninieki mamak*, (2) *'alim ulama* and (3) *cadiak pandai*. Their main tasks and functions are: (1) *'alim ulama* on the function of issuing *fatwas*/edicts, (2) *ninieki mamak* on the function of to command the community (*anak kamanakan*) to carry out the *fatwa*, and (3) *cadiak pandai* to carefully examine whether *fatwas* that are implemented (as a policy) creates benefit or harm the community (*anak kamanakan*). In short, the main tasks and functions of the implementor of *tungku tigo sajarangan* and *tali tigo sapilin* are shown in the saying: *fatwa pada ulama*, *parentah pada ninieki mamak*, and *teliti pada cadiak pandai*. *Tali tigo sapilin* means that the Minangkabau community in the social life is bound by the three rules that run in parallel, namely the law of the state, of customary law and religious law (Islam).

D. Democracy and Political System Nagari

The political system in Minang culture is visible in all aspects of life. It put deliberation for the consensus above else. The representative democracy (consultative/representatives) system of the Nagari is carried out in the form of representatives of the tribes in the Nagari which represents *manuruik alua jo patuik*, which are *ninieki mamak*, *'alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, *bundo kandung* and *rang mudo* (youth). Each of the Nagari in Minangkabau has their own mechanism in implementing the deliberation system, known as *adat nan salingka nagari*.

In the system of succession and the election of *panghulu/datuak/rajo*, for example, there is already a strong system. The succession of *panghulu* was started from the candidacy of the selection and *palewaan* (inaugural). In every election the *panghulu* was selected in the deliberation of *limbago suku*, by *mamak* of every *paruik* after the candidates earn the approval of the oldest *mandeh* (mother) in *limbago paruik*, it marked the strong matrilineal kinship

system. The selection was made by: (1) *mati nan batungkek budi* means because the debt of gratitude, after the *datuak*, died the clothes was promptly changed, (2) live *bakarilaan*, which means *datuak* already feel that *datuak* may not able any more to perform the duty due to age and or other reasons, willingly relinquish the position to those earning the approval of *kerapatan mandeh* and *mamak* (3) *pusako balipek nan bakambang*, also called *sikumbang jati*, i.e. the chosen which have long been suspended, because it has not yet been obtained the agreement or because the unavailability of candidates, (4) *dialiah duduk dikisa tagak*, which means the enlargement of the *panghulu* because the number of the community is enlarged, (5) *padi sarumpun nan basibak*, this means that the new *panghulu* is elected and will wear the old *panghulu* degree (Yunus, 2011, pp. 28–29).

The succession of *panghulu/datuak* was conducted by a “deliberation for concession” process is a representative’s system, it is the substance of democracy in Minang culture. This is different from democracy, democracy relies on votes, where a bigger voice would overrule the lesser voice democracy uses pressure, therefore democracy like the concept of thug wrapped in an academic concept. Most intellectuals and politicians memorize the definition of democracy but having a problem when applying them. While deliberation for consensus is substantially more powerful than democracy. A decision in deliberation for consensus according to the custom of Minangkabau was made with the process of *mampalegakan paretongan* (taking turns to hear the opinion of the member), then talks is solidified, in *Kali Elo jo mufakat* (the decision is reached by consensus), it was not made based on the majority of votes. In practice, the deliberation is in stages, first started from small chambers (limited) with a limited representative, second, the deliberation result from the small chambers were brought to the great chambers (plenary session) with the larger members present in accordance with the level of its representations, usually it would already be easy to get the consensus, just need to make it official and there is no fighting in the process.

The “deliberation for consensus” system from the Minangkabau adat, indisputably adopted by Pancasila, i.e. on the fourth principle “democracy is guided by the wisdom in the unanimity deliberation of the representatives”. The strength of this consultation also becomes law. The deliberation for consensus is based on the *alua jo patuik*. *Alua jo patuik* is “law” in the Minangkabau adat, held by *ninieki mamak*. The source of the religious leader guidance in *anggo tanggo*. Justice is mentioned as the “*raso jo pareso*”, as the laws that executed with

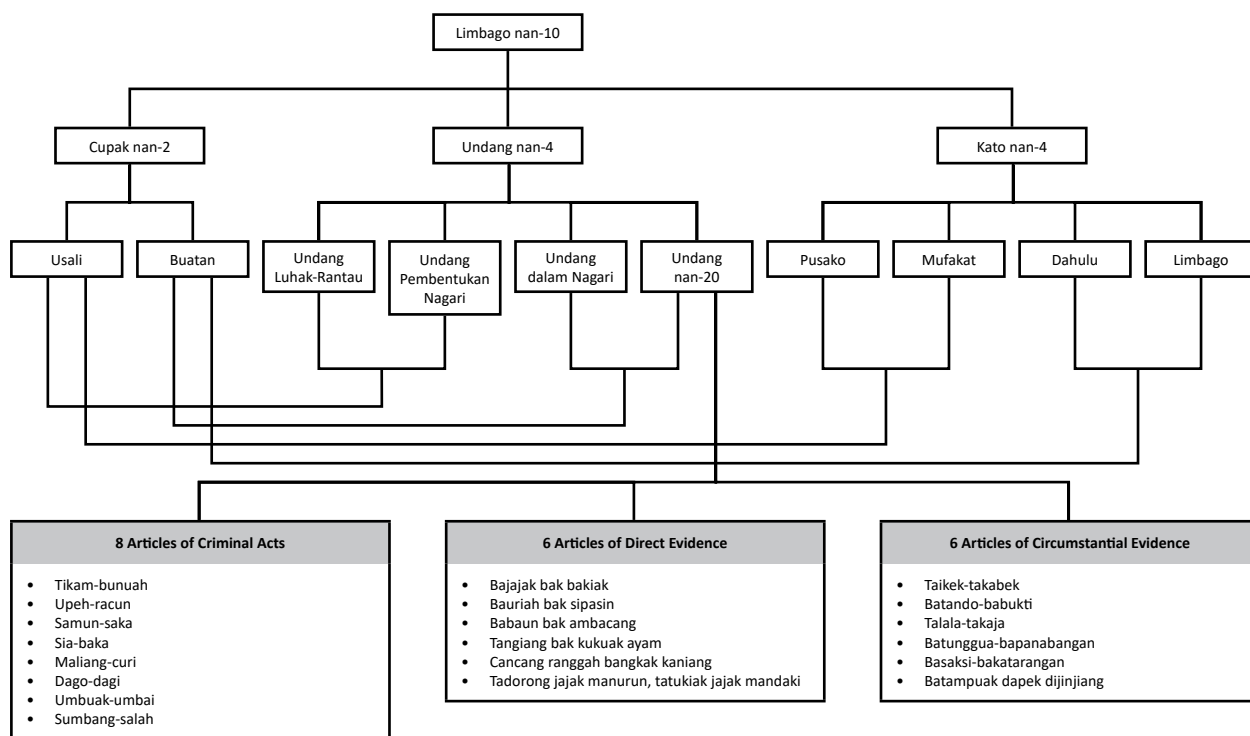


Figure 2. Minangkabau Customary Law Structure

research by the *cadiak pandai* (scholars). The Adat law does not merely depend on *niniek mamak*, *ulama*, and *cadiak pandai* but is the responsibility of all parts of the community. The structure of the Adat law of Minangkabau gathered from interview and documentations searches, can be seen in Figure 2

Minang customary law throughout history effectively regulates Minangkabau people in their lives.

They are subject to the regulation and the offender will be given a custom sanction by his community, being branded uncultured, isolated in social activities, not being regarded as an equal, cast off afar and hung high without a rope, it stung and felt painful. This means that ones who violate the law lose their rights in the society to be appreciated and respected. Therefore, the adat law was compiled by the minang community to ensure the security and welfare of the community and therefore they ashamed to transgress it. If the adat law is enacted informally in the settlement of disputes by indigenous peoples, it will certainly help and ease the task of the police investigations, it will also help the prosecutors and judges in court. Therefore, in the making of the state law, the cultural roots of including aspects of customary law Minang should not be ignored. It should reflect the synthetic elements of Minang culture (religion and adat) and the national law.

E. The Sovereignty of Nagari: *Adat Salingka Nagari*

In the discourse of decentralization, basically, the independence and the challenges of a village is depending on the capability of preparing the village governments personnel's capabilities and to search for potential financial resources (Herry, 2015, pp. 748-749). This challenge becomes an interesting discourse in creating the ideal sovereignty and autonomy of the village community. For indigenous peoples, the sovereignty is important not only it shows the social capital but also the existence of the indigenous community itself. In Minangkabau society, the sovereignty of Nagari Minang was already established in their custom. The nucleus of its sovereignty is the sovereignty of the people (*anak kamanakan in limbago kampung/kaum*). The power was in the hands of the people. The powers of the Adat Government (*panghulu/datuak/rajo*) lies on the people. Thus, the election of *panghulu/datuak* conducted by "*sakato kaum*", approved by *mandeh* (the oldest mother in *limbago paruik* institutions). Election of a *rajo* (king) in Minang conducted by '*sakato alam*'. The point is the approval of the people. Therefore, decision making done by consultation carried out with representative's system, exactly as the mandate contained in Pancasila way of life the people of Indonesia.

Such a value is the social capital that resulted from the local wisdom. Social Capital is not only considered a kind of physical relationship network

between the belief (trust), network, working relationship, and cooperation put forward by many experts in developed countries. But it is also a kind of cultural values (Pranadji, 2006, p. 180), who acknowledge the existence of a stable and durable system in the local community. The modern system of democracy that put the power on people, was already part of the value of Minangkabau egalitarianism community. Therefore, the power in Minang hinges on the strength of the people. The leader in the Adat Government of Minang (*panghulu/datuak/rajo*) cannot rule badly and mistreat the people. *Petatah* (adage) Minang already stated that the power of *panghulu/datuak/rajo* in the adat government is not unlimited. Their power is limited as per Minang saying, figuratively only walk "one step ahead", figuratively like "one branch higher" when climbing the trees, meaning that not too distance/far from the people. If the government made a mistake, the people can immediately remind them, since the government is not so far from the people. Even they can be sanctioned, just like the people, impressing very egalitarian.

The egalitarian trait is stated in a Minang saying; *kamanakan jo mamak mamak barajo, barajo jo panghulu*. This means *kamanakan*, *mamak*, and *panghulu* all have a someone to answer to if they make a mistake. As the leader, the *mamak/panghulu/datuak/rajo* are on the top structure, but their strength is on the law and justice that they disburse. As stated in a Minang saying; *rajo adil rajo disambah, rajo zalim rajo disanggah*. Therefore, the mandate *bundo kanduang* teaches, if later you became *rajo*, *di laur awak disambah orang, di batin awak menyambah orang*. This means *rajo (panghulu/datuak)* could not harm the people but must provide the people with the gift of justice.

With the sovereignty of the people, *niniekmamak* (headed *panghulu/datuak/rajo/pucuk adat*) as top leader was given a strong position as the solver of all issues in the community. *Niniekmamak* is the leader in the Minang community. Leadership is the ability and the art of a leader to motivate and coordinate personnel or group in implementing the main function and duty, the authority and responsibility to achieve a common goal. *Niniekmamak* possesses the art in motivating the community (*anak kamanakan*) to achieve the common goal together. They command the attraction, attractive and firm in managing and securing the criticism.

The strength of their leadership is said as strong as the "*kayu gadang di tangah koto*". It was seen as a large, sturdy wood that nurtures and protect the entire community interests. Leaders is seen figuratively as *kayu gadang*, they have a noble character, never angry, even when they are

injured a *tuneh* (young shoot) would grow, a new generation that will replace him, even if the "*kayu gadang tampek basanda*" (the place where rests your worries) is collapsed and died.

IV. CONCLUSION

Nagari in Minangkabau is a cultural and historical heritage (world heritage). The strength and uniqueness of Nagari are on; (1) the matrilineal system, that raise the status and dignity of women, (2) have the philosophy of ABS-SBK with *syara' mangato-adat mamakai* commitment that entrusted the strengthening of cultural and religious values in a balanced manner, (3) has a strong natural philosophy, and solidify the characteristic of Minang people that is able to "read the nature" as a guide in speaking and conducting themselves. A Fair public policy is needed to preserve the Nagari. To be precise, regulation must provide opportunities and facilitation of Nagari in an attempt to preserve and pass the values and its history to the next generation in addition to consolidate the conservation program and the inheritance of the culture.

At the regional level is important to issue a regional regulation which strengthen indigenous institutions to revitalize the values of indigenous peoples in the Nagari system of government as the lowest government structure The Nagari that also perform its function to maintain and preserve the values of indigenous peoples in the concept of *tungku tigo sajarangan, tali tigo sapilin*. Which means Nagari governance that is supported by three indigenous *limbago* institutions simultaneously. Just like three furnaces which support a container. The furnace is, *niniekmamak* (ruler), '*alim ulama* (religious scholar) and the government that in the customary norms is called *rajo adat, rajo ibadat, and rajo alam*. This system is governed by three law *tali tigo spilin* which are *tali adat* (the customary law), *tali syara'* (the religious law), and *tali undang* (the state law). The representative democracy system who adhered to the principle of amicable deliberation to reach a decision is the soul of Nagari that would able to minimize the conflict in all the process of leadership.

Therefore, the Regional Regulation that does not empower the indigenous institutions has to be revised. The current regional government on Nagari marginalized the indigenous peoples. Indigenous institutions are made powerless, for example, KAN is lessened by equating it with 4 institutions such as *lembaga pemuda* in Nagari, *lembaga ulama* Nagari, *lembaga bundo kanduang*, and *lembaga cadik pandai* Nagari. Whereas in the KAN all those elements already exist.

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