Acculturation Coalesce Between Islamic Leadership with Minangkabau Local Wisdom

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Abstract  
The Minangkabau community has a long history of Islamic culture. This historical fact is assisted by the Minangkabau natural Tambo which contains philosophy, goals, ideals, normativity, regulations, and proverbs that presuppose consensus as to the goals of society. The purpose of this study, using the perspective of Jurgen Habermas, which is based on the theory of communicative action, the researcher is helped in studying the forms of deliberation from the democratic system of the Minangkabau natural society. Qualitative research is the research method used. The critical paradigm is the chosen solution. In this study, which is combined with the concepts of shari'a associated with communication theory, Habermas’ critical hermeneutic theory will be used. The results of this study show the discursive decision-making process in the Nagari, which is then questioned with the lareh dualism that gave birth to the Tuah sakato democracy. Then from a long study related to how the deliberation
process in the Minang realm has the potential to be epistemic in the post-secular era, the researchers also found that the IKM regional organizations as developers of these potentials were outside the realm and had an impact on the Minang realm itself. The results of this study can trigger further researchers to participate in cultural studies and human resources related to the importance of epistemic attitudes in the post-secular era.


Keywords: Islamic leadership; tuah sakato; Jurgen Habermas; Minangkabau

Introduction
The Minangkabau community has a strong cultural spirit, and incidentally, the culture in this society has a democratic style. This democratic style presupposes a society that has an ‘order’ for the benefit of the community. Findings obtained in Tambo Minangkabau contain historical, cultural, and normative, and regulative origins in the past of

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the Minangkabau people, which have relevance to the existence of the Minangkabau natural community to this day. The foundations of each Nagari do not escape the notions of dualism lareh or the schools of thought of two datuk as forming the system of the Minangkabau natural society.¹

It was then related to the post-secular era, which has become a spatiotemporal assumption for our view to study the cultural democracy of the Minangkabau natural community. Post-secular is a criticism of secularism that allows ethnoreligious ideas to move from the private space to appear on the public surface. The natural customs of the Minangkabau, although in a layman’s view it is only seen as a customary or cultural provision of a culture that is independent of religious ratios or doctrines and religious dogmas, it also tends religious faith in the customs of the Minang community. In a Tambo or a book containing legends, events, and even customary provisions, there is a strong tendency in it. It can be seen clearly how the roots of this custom find its point to be “Adat besandi syarak, syarak besandi Kitabullah” which literally means tradition with religious jointed, religion with Kitabullah jointed. This literally contains a religious meaning which means that the traditions in the Minangkabau world are connected or resting on the Islamic religion, and Islam itself is connected to the Book of Allah or the holy religious guidelines. This means that it can be concluded that the culture that exists in the Minangkabau community is based on religious faith.²

Although based on their religious faith, the Minangkabau people have a democratic culture on the other hand, which can be found in the proverbs in the Tambo, which often articulate urgency and even consensus as telos of deliberation as a means.³ In this cultural tradition,

³ Eny Christyawaty and Nenggih Susilowati, “Jejak Budaya Musyawarah, Bentuk Demokrasi Masyarakat Minangkabau,” Berkala Arkeologi Sangkhakala 13, no. 26

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there are two ratios, namely, the secular ratio and the religious ratio. This presupposes that the epistemic attitude of the Minangkabau people has long been occurring among themselves in their democratic traditions. The researcher aims to reveal the democratic appropriateness of the Minangkabau indigenous peoples related to their suitability in the post-secular era democracy. This study assumes the Minangkabau natural customs as the solidarity of the Minangkabau indigenous people to rationalize the lebenswelt of the world-life, which is being eroded by the colonization system. Organized and systematically distorted communication. Therefore, when a system with legal instruments justifies the existence and substance of the Minangkabau natural indigenous peoples, it will allow symbolic reproduction and social integration in a constantly rationalized Lebenswelt. In this study, the researcher will show how the dynamics of Tuah Sakato democracy then affect the deliberative Nagari government system.

The descriptions related to how the tuah sakato democracy will be correlated with the eyes of the famous German philosopher, namely, Jurgen Habermas with his thoughts related to social action, reflection, and its legitimacy, which form the formation of an 'epistemic attitude' in the two-level concept of the post-secular era

**Communicative Action and Strategic Action**

Communicative action is true dialogue and purely social in nature by two or more speakers and listeners who reciprocally and simultaneously put forward not one but three validity claims. Habermas suggests that when an actor or subject as a listener accepts a communicative act, an agreement occurs at least two issues who speak and act for an agreement only if it reaches three levels. As a forum for achieving mutual understanding, speech acts play a role: to construct and refresh the relationship between the two parties, where the speaker establishes a connection with something in the world of a valid (social)

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order, then to represent situations and events in which the speaker establish a relationship with an existing condition, and lastly, to present experience, namely to present himself in which the speaker shows a connection with something in the subjective world that he is entitled to enter.

Methods
Qualitative research is the type of research used. A critical paradigm is a solution chosen. In this research, which is coupled with sharia concepts linked to communication theory, the critical hermeneutic theory of Habermas will be used. The data forms and sources used in this research are secondary data. Primary sources of data include test findings and previous studies that are deemed significant in this review. Accurate and systematic information is required to properly interpret the current data such that the results of the analysis collected can identify the object under review. Literature analysis and internet search are the studies used in this report. Literature analysis is a method of data collection using references to research from books, journals, documents, articles, and laws and regulations. Searching on the Internet is a form of Data collection by Internet search. The data analysis methodology was carried out in three phases: data reduction, presentation of data, and concluding.

Results
Comprehensibility Claims of Jurgen Habermas in Tambo Minangkabau
Claims of validity, claims of comprehensiveness, or claims of compassion are the results of subjective claims. These objective and normative claims are expressed simultaneously by the subject of speech acts in naive or reflective conversations. If raised in a reflective or discourse, its claims can be questioned through argumentative means.

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By looking at the contents of Tambo Minangkabau, there are argumentative devices regarding these three claims.\(^5\)

The objective world or objective claim, which is a component or prerequisite for validity, presupposes the natural truth of the situation of the conditions of an objectified reality. In the Minang proverb written in Tambo Minangkabau, a proverb can be found, namely: Alam takambang becomes a teacher. This proverb has a literal meaning in Indonesian, namely “the developing world becomes a teacher”. The adage *Alam Takambang jadi guru* is essentially a saying so that we can learn from natural phenomena and take meaning from these natural phenomena. Nature was created not only to be used but also to serve as a source of learning in everyday life.\(^6\)

The normative world or normative claims concerning the accuracy of a claim or claims are norms of daily life practice. This claim is from the Minangkabau Tambo, and we can find a saying that reads: *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*, which literally means custom with *sharia* jointed, *sharia* jointed *Kitabullah* meaning a religious foundation and religion support the *Kitabullah* supported Minangkabau natural customs.\(^7\)

The subjective world or subjective claim as a speaker must be honest and by what is said.\(^8\) Every individual who is able and willing to fulfill this claim of validity in a discourse means that he has acted rationally. Many Minangkabau proverbs also assume this in Tambo Minangkabau, which at the same time presupposes the subject as a reflection of norms and nature can be seen in the greatness of the Minangkabau nature. Namely, humans must have freedom of heart,


body, place, and nature. These allow the subject to be honest in speech act situations. Tambo Minangkabau also noted related infrastructure for its decision-making still in the process to this day, such as Balai, which is used to place arguments to test the validity of a claim. The three claims of cultural phenomena above explain how the epistemic attitude of the Minangkabau people is assumed.

**Discursive Decision Making in Nagari**

*Nagari* is an administrative area in the province of West Sumatra, which is equivalent to the term *Luarah* or village in other provinces in Indonesia. *Nagari* is a community unit formed to manage the community based on their origins and customs, which are recognized and respected in the government system of the Republic of Indonesia. *Nagari* is formed from a collection of several *Jurong* with the same ideals in terms of administrative boundaries. The *Nagari* system in West Sumatra existed long before Indonesia’s independence. In the past, the *Nagari* was assembled into a unit that formed the Pagaruyung Kingdom. Even the *Nagari* itself had most likely been present long before the first king of Pagaruyung founded the kingdom. Then *Nagari* also has a socio-economic character in addition to its cultural history, which is so historical. It can be seen in the preparation of complete units such as political structures, law enforcement agencies, and the need for infrastructures that must be equipped, such as mosques, traditional halls, and rice fields.

Over time, the *Nagari* conception, rooted in the proverbial foundations of deliberation, has become increasingly democratic in its development. Previously in 1914 when the *Nagari* ordinance was issued on the pretext of obtaining an orderly bureaucratic system. This has an impact on the position of the *Nagari Wali*, also experiencing democratization with the implication that the *Wali Nagari* or head of the *Nagari* is no longer assigned to his nephew but must be appointed by

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deliberation to reach a consensus or through democratic procedures. Over time this conception could be accepted as part of the *adat* in Minangkabau society.\(^\text{10}\)

The *Nagari* government found a vacuum because of the issuance of Perda No. 50/GP/1950 regarding forming an autonomous region that eliminates the role of the *Nagari*. Then it was added in 1951 when Mohammad Natsir suspended the DPR for Central Sumatra Province, which also covered the West Sumatra region and resulted in the unclear status of the existence of the village level representative council.\(^\text{11}\)

Then came the Village Head, who had a government administration style in Java on August 1, 1983, as a substitute for the loss or absence of power from *Nagari* and *Kepalo Nagari*. However, the *Nagari* is still maintained as a traditional institution. Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 13 of 1983 regulates *Nagari Adat Kerapatan* (KAN) in each old village. However, KAN does not have formal power.\(^\text{12}\)

Then from all the dialectics that have been passed along with the passage of time gave birth to changes in the national political flow which revived the spirit of the people of West Sumatra to return to running the *Nagari* government system. Along with regional autonomy in 2001, the term *Nagari* government is again used to replace the village government term used previously in the district government system, while *Nagari* in the city government system is still as before, namely not as part of the regional government.

On the pretext of increasing efficiency and effectiveness in running the regional government, Law no. 2004 regarding local government to replace Law no. 1999, which is considered obsolete and not following the state administration systematics as well as the


\(^{11}\) SK Gubernur/GP/1950

developing conditions as well as the demands of the implementation of regional government. Therefore, law no. In 2004, it was hoped that a regional government could regulate and manage its government affairs according to the principles of autonomy and co-administration. And as a follow-up to this law, Government Regulation Number 72 of 2005 concerning villages was issued, which emphasizes the basic principles as the basis for regulating regional diversity, which means that the term village can be adapted to the origin and socio-cultural conditions of the local community.

The government still respects the value system that applies to the local community; however, they must still observe the shared value system in the life of the nation and state within the framework the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The last one was continued with West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning Nagari. In Perda No.7 of 2018, there are several changes, such as changes from the Badan Musyawarah (Bamus) being changed to Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), which consists of community leaders (Datuk, Alim Ulama, Cadiak Pandai) and other community leaders. There are still pros and cons related to this latest regional regulation because of differences in views according to adat and institutional substance. However, the socialization process is still being continued repeatedly to find a point of agreement from each debate. All the follow-ups to the law impact the socio-cultural values of the Minangkabau natural community in the social life of the Minangkabau natural community itself.

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Historically, the Minangkabau community has had deliberative decision-making in a democratic system. Everything starts, of course, from how the normative provisions are agreed upon by the Minangkabau customary members. The taking of this normative decision is assisted by an institution known as KAN or the density of Nagari members. They consist of Chiefs or ancestors from each tribe, Manti who came from intellectual circles (ingenious clever), Malin from among the alim ulama, and dubalang who are in charge of maintaining security and safety citizens. Apart from monitoring the performance of the Kapalo Nagari, this institution is also a channel for the aspirations of the community, which means that it allows decision-making starting from conversations that lead to community consensus.16

This normative decision-making begins with a reflection of the communicative action of the community, which questions the validity of the speech act subject. Normative decision-making occurs at the KAN or the density of adat Nagari, which has the task of overseeing the implementation of Nagari governance by Kapalo Nagari and has the following functions. Compiling Nagari regulations with Kapalo Nagari and discussing and agreeing on the draft Nagari regulations concerning Nagari revenue and expenditure budgets and Nagari adat densities also have the authority. The choosing and appointing Kapalo Nagari by deliberation and consensus, channeling the aspirations of the Nagari people, supervising the implementation of Nagari customs and culture, holding accountability for the performance of Nagari Government to Kapalo Nagari, and preserving the traditional and cultural values according to the Adat Salingka Nagar.17

Then in making this decision, it can be seen that the existing consensus arises from the argumentative attitudes of the internal members questioning three claims that were stated simultaneously.

After finding a normative consensus of reflective communicative action in the grounding discourse, Kapalo Nagari as the executive transforms communicative action into strategic action for determining the means to achieve this goal, as evidenced by the authority of Kapalo Nagari itself. Leading the administration of Nagari government, appointed and dismissed the Nagari apparatus, held the power of Nagari financial and asset management, established Nagari Regulations, established the Nagari income and expenditure budget, fostered the life of the Nagari community, developed peace and order in the community and fostered, preserved and developed life socio-culture and customs of the Nagari people. And also has a duty to the government, carry out development, public services, community development, and empowerment of the Nagari community. Therefore, discussions in the realm of Kapalo Nagari or after KAN’s normative rulings. Kapalo Nagari is no longer discussing aspirations but focusing on how the aspirations that have been formed in KAN can be accommodated strategically or executed, such as village development or matters related to the objective nature of Nagari. It means that strategic actions in the pragmatic discourse of the Kapalo Nagari and its instruments are legitimized from the results of the KAN decision as to the highest decision, which is normative in nature.¹⁸

There is also a discourse of application in Nagari whose implementation is shown by the existence and essence of the Nagari customary court which has the task of resolving Sako and pusako disputes in a Bajanjang naiak batanggo manner through the peace process, settlement of customary civil cases through deliberation, and consensus-based on the agreement in assembly sessions. Kerapatan Adat Nagari, which is a “kato putuih” to be guided by judicial institutions, imposes customary sanctions on community members who violate Customary Law by the provisions of the Salingka Nagari Adat.

Democracy Tuah Sakato: Cultural Democracy in Minangkabau Natural Customs

After discovering sequentially how the deliberation process of demarcation in Nagari, the realm of Minang, we will enter the foundation of democratic thought in practice in Nagari, which actually comes from two opposing philosophies. This discussion becomes important because in studying a dialectic of democracy in Nagari, it is actually filled with dialectics of dualism. The Minang community calls it a lareh or flow in societal philosophical thought in the Minang realm. Lareh itself means “flow”, which refers to a system of how a person organizes the life of his community. In the context of the Minangkabau community, the word lareh is often used to refer to the two predecessors of the Minangkabau community, namely Datuk Katamenggungan and Datuk Prapatiah Nan Sabatang.19

This two datuak previously tried to divide the Minangkabau waliyah fairly and evenly into two different systems, according to their respective schools of thought. These two adat lareh, which are now known as lareh Koto Piliang, were developed by Datuk Katamenggungan, where the political system is applied lareh it tends to use the manitiak pattern of ateh (dripping from above), which means


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that things are structured vertically (top-bottom). While the second lareh, namely Bodi Caniago, was developed by Datuak Prapatih Nan Sabatang, which applies a political system with a mambusek pattern from the earth (gushing from the earth or from below), which means that everything is structured horizontally (left-right). These two areas tend to show contrasting differences with each other. The always competing pattern between the two larehs has persisted in the struggle for political power throughout Minangkabau. In fact, the existence of the lareh adat with all its dynamics has influenced the social system of the Minangkabau community as a whole, which is reflected in the socio-political system and transforms into various activities of the socio-cultural, legal, economic, and political life of the people.20

Then what about deliberative democracy in the village that was discussed earlier? Is it still possible to be deliberative when it is also found that the persistence of this lareh dualism is because each village will apply its form of government following one of these lareh customs, namely through the Adat Salingka Nagari? This means that each Nagari will expressly declare itself a follower of the Koto Piliang sect or lareh or adherents of the Bodi Caniago sect.21

The transformation of the lareh adat dualism in people’s lives, on the one hand, has made the Minangkabau people always show their “restless” nature, which ultimately creates certain social pathologies and even creates a mental disturbance. But on the other hand, it shows its own dynamics. This is because there is a tendency for the potential for competition to be overcome by the community. This means that in the Minangkabau community itself.

From the dialectic of the two lareh or streams above, it actually became the embryo of the birth of the magic of sakato democracy. Tuah sakato democracy is democratic teaching that is open in nature, and its truth must be able to withstand the test, and if it is straightforward

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withholding judgment, if it is fair, it withholds the appeal. For that, there is already a standard which in customary law is called; size and term. The dialectic results that give birth to the level of adat and the terms of consensus in *tuah sakato* democracy enable the Minangkabau community even though there are differences in views or binary opposition regarding the two *lareh* to enable the consensus to be achieved.\(^{22}\) This is consistent with the radical democracy of Jürgen Habermas.

Then the researcher found that there were certain cultural values that we are able to synthesize these differences so that the potential for conflicts that would cause disharmony in the community could be muted into something that was harmonious. This means that dualism itself is a presupposition of a mutually-testing demonstration of rationality to achieve ‘mutual understanding’. The researcher also found that there was no prohibition if a *Nagari* chose one of the two *lareh*. This is because, although there are differences in political systems, both of them still have the same customary basis regarding consensus.\(^{23}\) The basic consensus of the Minangkabau natural customs is the potential for an epistemic attitude to be formed.\(^{24}\)

The basis for this consensus is also the argument for our findings, namely a separate *lareh* apart from the other dualism of *lareh*, which is called long *lareh*. It has a moderate attitude by aggregating the proverbial, *sawah gadang satampang baniah, luhak nan tigo makanan, baragiah indak bacaraian* (large rice fields only like seeds, third-person food, giving to each other and not divorcing); which is then added to the


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proverb *Tuah sakato, cilako basilang* (*tuah sekata, cross-harm*). Those become the motto of the community in the *Minang* realm or even overseas which is justified by the saying of, *aia bulek in pambulu, bulek kato ka mufakat* (round water in a vessel, round word in consensus). The role of the long *lareh* has a good influence in creating harmony among potential conflicts of the dualism of *lareh*.

From the dynamics of this dualism, it suggests that in the end, in every village, there tends to be a process of taking the existing *lareh* customs through ethnic groups with the actors in it. This is what causes the difference between two competitive *lareh* and one *lareh* as a mediator in Minangkabau, which in fact forms its own dynamic in each *Nagari*, namely the custom that “splits into two (dualism)” but remains in one unified whole. Deliberation for consensus as the main tool in his life is not only used to solve various problems encountered in life, but also to plan and carry out various activities that they need together.

From these findings, it can be seen that the Minangkabau community should be able to participate in the course of post-secular democracy because it does not give a place for sentimentality to speak but emphasizes more on rationality, taking over the communication of community members in finding consensus. Dialectic dualism is still presumed to be a communicative act that ‘tests each other’ before reaching a consensus, as stated by Habermas. The claims of validity must be tested or questioned again by argumentative means to reach a rational consensus.

The existence of these two *lareh* and norms that apply to the Minangkabau community proves that the rationality of the community is

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Minangkabau community’s decision-making, in addition to not giving place to sentimentality but also does not eliminate the doctrinal content of the culture so that it allows the spirituality of the culture not only to collapse or be confined in their private space-each but can also exist in the public sphere with an epistemic or reflective attitude. The philosophy of *tuah sakato* democracy is not only used in the Minang realm, but also this philosophy is always echoed as a motto for those who are overseas, of course in the form of social groups or communities.  

**Minangkabau Family Ties: Democratic Cultural Organization in The Post-Secular Era**

The Minang family association or abbreviated as IKM was established on August 6, 2016, as a result of deliberations with the Minang community, which represent districts or cities throughout West Sumatra and the Minangkabau Family Association overseas. In its statute, the IKM has the Pancasila Principle, and the IKM also enlivens the noble values and culture of the Minangkabau natural community. In accordance with the previous discussion regarding deliberation and democratic dialectics in the Minang realm for their potential to participate in the post-secular era, this discussion serves as justification that this regional-based IKM organization can be a sustainable rationalization instrument in increasing the potential for the democratic culture of the Minangkabau indigenous people in the face or attend to this post-secular era democracy. This organization consists of Minang nomads who have had new glasses in looking at the socio-cultural reality, which has changed their perspective on seeing claims of comprehensibility. Different perspectives related to *Alam Takambang, Tambo Minangkabau* normative provisions and their subjective experiences in claiming honesty.

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However, this organization does not have the intention of securing Minangkabau natural customs, but this organization allows the Minangkabau community of nature to be epistemic in the post-secular era. This can be seen from how the attitude of IKM, which relies on the Minangkabau philosophy related to customs, faith, ethnicity, and others, as well as on the basis of Pancasila and participating in progressive developments. This is reflected in the results of their consensus, which gave birth to social assistance activities, economic improvement, and the preservation of Minangkabau culture others by nomads.

Discussion

From those results, it can be concluded that Minangkabau natural customs and tuah sakato democracy have their place in upholding democracy in the post-secular era. Because in addition to not giving room to the sentimentality of democracy, Tuah Sakato also gives room for cultural doctrine in rational discussions in reaching an agreement. In addition to subjects that are ready to agree, these subjects are also made possible by Minangkabau customs and laws that discuss objective and normative conditions to provide grounding for the subjects of speech acts in discussion forums.30

They were assisted by provincial and regional executives who then produce policies to provide spaces for cultures that have succeeded in behaving epistemically in the public sphere, thus bringing the Minangkabau natural community to live to reproduce its symbols in their life-world. What the provincial or local governments are doing is efforts to rationalize Lebenswelt.31 Lebenswelt presupposes the occurrence of solidarity of a rational society that continuously reproduces symbols.32 The Minang community has many intellectual

30 F. Budi Hardiman, Ruang Publik: Melacak “Partisipasi Demokratis” dari Polis Sampai Cyberspace (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010).
figures who have rational communication skills with critical thoughts, such as the Indonesian national heroes who are descendants of the Minangkabau; Syahrir, Hatta, Yamin, Haji Agus Salim, etc. They have rational arguments which they argue at the national level regarding the direction of the Indonesian nation. They cannot be separated from their ratio, which is rooted in Minangkabau natural customs, which have proverbs related to so many consensus deliberations and have been often used as basic ideas from the principles or the basis of the thinking of the characters. They presuppose that the Minangkabau nature, in addition to upholding the consensus of the Minang people, also never forgets the customs which their ancestors have formulated. They can be seen from how the transformation of lareh dualism still exists today.33

Indeed, the main focus of this post-secular is that secular rationality and sacredness of religiosity can coexist on earth, but what needs to be researched. The religions in Indonesia are often identified with the area that has a certain majority as this study. The natural customs Minangkabau, which has Islamic priorities and even some contents of customary law and historical aspects of padri warfare, emphasize the Islamic character in the Minang community, which creates a basic consensus adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah. The purpose of this research is also to examine how rational discourses in West Sumatra that animate and rationalize its lebenswelt and reflect the dialectic between ethno-religiosity and secularism can be the first steps related to subsequent rationalizations.34

Results of the analysis, the debate of two lareh or sects, is the forerunner of the birth of the lucky sakato democracy. Democratic teaching that is open and truthful must be able to stand the test, and if it is straight, it holds back judgment; if it is fair, it withholds appeal. The dialectic results that gave birth to the level of adat and the provisions of consensus in the Tuah Sakato democracy made it possible for the

Minangkabau community, even though there were differences of opinion or binary opposition the two lareh, to allow the consensus to be achieved. This is following the radical democracy of Jürgen Habermas.

Then the researchers found certain cultural values that we are able to synthesize these differences so that potential conflicts that would cause disharmony in society could be muted into something harmonious. The researcher also found that there is no prohibition if a Nagari chooses one of the two lareh. Because even though there are differences in political systems, both of them still have the same customary basis regarding consensus. The basic consensus of Minangkabau natural customs is the potential for epistemic attitudes to be formed. The role of the long lareh has a good influence on creating harmony between potential conflicts of lareh dualism.

**Conclusion**

The researcher’s suggestion leads to how the rationality of the Minang community was increasingly sharpened or trained. All Minangkabau natural communities can reflect on their argumentation material into questionable claims. They can become a reflection or an example for other indigenous peoples in acting to be more ready to defend their cultures to remain to exist in the post-secular era for the fundamental rationalization of lebenswelt.

The presence of the Minangkabau regional organization is very helpful for potentials with an epistemic attitude and learning from the Minangkabau people from their readiness in the post-secular era.

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