The Role of *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* in The Community Development Planning of Minangkabau, Indonesia

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Abstract

Tungku Tigo Sajarangan holds a vital role in the deliberation process of the development in the Minangkabau community, regardless of the lack of synergy. This study aims to analyze and describe the position of this customary institution in the development planning of Bukik Batabuah Nagari in Candung District, Agam Regency, West Sumatra Province. The qualitative methods used in the data collection were semi-structured interview techniques comprising 20 informants, as well as field observations and documentation. Subsequently, the results showed that there was synergy from the perspective of individual and behavioral dimensions. Although this synergy was not observed from the position dimension, especially the Cadiak Pandai element, it can still be overcome by mutual control. Concerning the dimensions of the relationship with other parties, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan remains active and participates in providing recommendations and opinions. This activity was observed even though no village regulation came from the Bamus Nagari initiative in implementing the village administration. Consequently, it was concluded that Tungku Tigo Sajarangan has played an active role in the planning process for the development of Bukik Batabuah Nagari. Also, the research recommended that the leadership system should act as a civil society to participate consistently

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and supervise the policies of the Bukik Batabuah Nagari government, with good synergy and coordination between all related elements.

Keywords: Role Theory; Tungku Tigo Sajarangan; Nagari Development; Development Planning

Abstrak

Tungku Tigo Sajarangan memegang peran vital dalam proses musyawarah pembangunan di masyarakat Minangkabau, terlepas dari kurangnya sinergitas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan mendeskripsikan kedudukan lembaga adat tersebut dalam perencanaan pembangunan Nagari Bukik Batabuah di Kecamatan Candung, Kabupaten Agam, Provinsi Sumatera Barat. Metode kualitatif yang digunakan dalam pengumpulan data adalah teknik wawancara semi terstruktur kepada 20 informan, serta observasi lapangan dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya sinergi dari perspektif dimensi individu dan perilaku. Meskipun sinergi ini tidak dilihat dari dimensi kedudukan, khususnya unsur Cadiak Pandai, namun tetap dapat diatasi dengan saling mengontrol. Terkait dimensi relasi dengan pihak lain, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan tetap aktif dan turut serta memberikan rekomendasi serta opini. Kegiatan ini terpantau meski tidak ada peraturan desa yang berasal dari inisiatif Bamus Nagari dalam menjalankan pemerintahan desa. Dengan demikian, dapat disimpulkan bahwa Tungku Tigo Sajarangan berperan aktif dalam proses perencanaan pembangunan Nagari Bukik Batabuah. Selain itu, penelitian ini merekomendasikan agar sistem kepemimpinan yang berperan sebagai masyarakat sipil dapat berpartisipasi secara konsisten dan mengawasi kebijakan Pemerintah Nagari Bukik Batabuah, dengan sinergi dan koordinasi yang baik antar semua elemen terkait.

Kata Kunci: Teori Peran; Tungku Tigo Sajarangan; Pembangunan Nagari; Perencanaan Pembangunan

INTRODUCTION

West Sumatra Province has several social privileges evidenced by an intense matrilineal descent system (Pratama et al., 2017) in the Minangkabau tradition. This tradition, along with the adherence to Islamic teachings, gives birth to life practices based on customs and syara' or religion. Furthermore, these two elements encourage the practice of governance based on Nagari (Putra, 2008) with the motto Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah. This motto, which means "Custom based on religion, and religion based on Al-Qur'an," has become the framework for the Minangkabau philosophy (Fardius, 2017). The Nagari government system tries to unite customary (KAN) and departmental leadership through the Wali Nagari. This is a form of leadership dualism in a Nagari forum and is the lowest government structure of the West Sumatra province (Hidayat & Sidik, 2018). Therefore, it opens up a substantial opportunity for Tungku Tigo Sajarangan to execute a role in development again (Yulika, 2012). This policy was established by Regulation Number 9 of 2000 concerning Basic Provisions for Nagari by the regional government of West Sumatra Province. It applies to all cities or districts in West Sumatra, except for the Mentawai Islands Regency (Safitri, 2008), and aims to minimize the development

impact of globalization by the return of informal figure roles (Putra, 2008).

This study is unique due to the roles of customary institutions in the implementation of the formal government system. Based on a sociocultural view, informal Nagari figures have an essential contribution to the development planning process that still takes into account the prevailing customs. Therefore, the socio-cultural structure of the Minangkabau community synergized with development in Nagari (Putra, 2008).

The leadership of the Bukik Batabuah Nagari government is assisted by Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, especially during the Nagari Musbang, also known Musyawarah as Pembangunan or Deliberation of development. Deliberation and consensus strive to solve various problems in Minangkabau. However, it is not uncommon for one of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan elements, particularly the Cadiak Pandai, to pay less attention to the advice of Alim Ulama and the social control from Ninik Mamak, especially in the current millennial era.

Besides, both Parik Paga Nagari, along with Kandung Bundo were insensitive and inactive and created opportunities for fraud in the Nagari government administration. This fraud particularly occurred in the financial sector and was related to the use of information technology and program targeting inaccuracies. One of the causes was a lack of understanding of the traditional philosophy of Adat Basandi Syara' and Syara' Basandi Kitabullah. This case was also proof of the poor coordination between Niniak Mamak, the Alim Ulama or religious scholars, and the Cadiak Pandai before, during, and after the implementation of development the planning deliberations. Another problem was the discontinuity of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, which hindered future development plans in Nagari. Based on preliminary information, Alim Ulama and Niniak Mamak often criticized this government during the deliberation (Nagari Secretary, personal communication, April 29, 2019). Although human development was the most important element in promoting "Nagari Membangun," and not "Membangun Nagari," the government's focal point was more concerned with infrastructure development planning.

The lack of separation between the Nagari administration in West Sumatra Province and culture has made the the Minangkabau research on customary institution Tungku Tigo Sajarangan attractive. Also, the function of each element can run properly if they understand and practice the traditional values and Islamic laws, as stated in the philosophy of Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (Kosasih, 2014). This study is expected to generate a new model from Putra's research related to the development village planning mechanism by involving all formal and informal elements. Putra described that the Tigo Sajarangan Furnace System integrates with the formal leadership at Nagari, while this system is a moral and social force at the district and provincial

levels. Consequently, they were asked for their opinions and suggestions in the implementation of development and regional policymaking (Putra, 2008).

Furthermore, the research by Zukriman and M.Saleh Lubis' examined the perceptions of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan reference group on Islamic bank products in West Pasaman. It resulted in the existence of a role in providing opinions for the products offered (Zukriman & M. Saleh Lubis, 2014). This result is similar to another research, which examined the existence of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's role on different topics, specifically about aspirations in handicraft creation (Andeska et al., 2017).

Subsequent research was compiled by Gani (2006) on "Tungku Tigo Sajarangan": Analysis of Group Communication Patterns in the Interaction of Government Leaders in West Sumatra. This study described and analyzed from the perspective of communication of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan leadership in Minangkabau. A study by Fatimah (2011) also elaborated on this leadership role from a historical perspective.

Meanwhile, Kurniawan et al. conducted research related to this leadership titled "The Effectiveness of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan Leadership in the Development of Kenagarian Lingkuang Aua in Nagari." The results of this study indicated that the effectiveness of this leadership in Nagari's development planning was not optimal, and several problems were

found. These issues include the lack of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's role in development planning from a physical perspective, and an absence of coordination with formal leaders, as well as the lack of contribution of thoughts, energy, and community responsibility (Kurniawan *et al.*, 2020).

The previous research listed above analyzed the existence of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's planning from various aspects. However, the contrast with this present study lies in the object, locus, and research method. This study focuses on the role of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan in Nagari development planning in Bukik Batabuah Nagari locus via analysis with the role concept indicator proposed by Biddle in 2013. It is also centered on the development deliberation process, which shows the optimal role of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan Furnace. Hence, it will give rise to a new Nagari development planning mechanism model that involves both formal and non-formal government elements, such as Tungku Tigo Sajarangan.

The role is influenced by both intrinsic and extrinsic social circumstances and is a form of behavior expected of a person in certain social situations (Kozier, 2008). According to Biddle, it is a series of formulas that limit the expected behaviors of certain position holders (Biddle, 2013).

Biddle divides terms in role theory into four groups (Shaw *et al.*, 2000). First is the people that take part in social interactions, which consists of the elements of the actor and target, and also the behavior that appears in interactions. This includes indicators, such as expectations about the role, norms, form of behavior, assessment, and sanctions. The third group is the position of people in behavior, where the concept indicators include shared traits, common behavior, and reactions of people to them. Finally, the relationship between people and behavior, which includes concept indicators, such as similarity criteria, degree of interdependence, and a combination of the degrees of these two indicators.

According to Nurcholis (2011), a village is an area inhabited by several residents that mutually interact based on kinship, political, social, economic, and security interests, and which, with growth, can become a legal community unit. Meanwhile, Kansil defined it as an area of legal unity, where people in power hold self-government and reside (Kansil, 2002).

Minangkabau leadership is known as Tungku Tigo Sajarangan and entails several elements. These elements include Alim *Ulama* or religious scholars, which refers to an individual with a high position, especially in fostering, maintaining, and controlling the faith and morals of the government and Nagari children (Ismawati, 2017). Another element is the Cadiak Pandai, which is an individual that is considered clever or an intellectual and has a role in society (Marpuah, 2014). This individual is in charge of providing solutions to problems in the community. The third element is the Ninik Mamak, a customary leader that understands the ins and outs of

Minangkabau custom. This individual has the art of motivating people, which is called *Anak kemenakan*, meaning "to achieve common goals" (Azwar *et al.*, 2018).

Development is a process of change for the better in all aspects of community life. Huraerah defined it as a process of changing the values in people's lives towards a better plan and sustainability for society welfare (Huraerah, 2008).

The theory used for the operationalization of the concept was the role theory by Biddle (2013). It was applied as a descriptive and evaluative framework for the actions and behaviors of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, including the Alim Ulama, Ninik Mamak, and Cadiak Pandai. Then, it was described, according to the social leadership positions they hold in the Minangkabau culture in Bukik Batabuah Nagari. These positions are determined by several social aspects, including the norms, demands, and rules in the Nagari environment. They are also determined by the role in planning the development of Bukik Batabuah Nagari.

This research is expected to improve previous studies and add novelty to scientific development, especially in Nagari. The purpose was to analyze and describe the role of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan in the Development Planning in Bukik Batabuah Nagari, Candung District, Agam Regency.

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METHODS

The research method used was descriptive qualitative with a deductive approach, where the thinking paradigm began from general statements to generate specific arguments (Sugiyono, 2019). Data collection was performed through semi-structured interview techniques, moderate observation, and review of related documentation. The researchers conducted the interviews with 20 informants consisting of the Head of District, Wali Nagari, Secretary, and the Head of Affairs, which comprised three people. It also included the Head of Section, also consisting of three people, and eleven members of the community comprising the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), and the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan. Then, the data analyzed were using the Triangulation Technique, while the validity was checked by emphasizing the internal validity test, external reliability, and objectivity validity (Burhan Bungin, 2006). The following is the scope of research operations. Table 1: Concept, Dimensions, and

Indicators

Concept	Dimen- sions	Indicators
The Role of Tungku Tigo	People in Role	a. Actor b. Target
Sajarangan in Minangkabau Community Development Planning Concept: The Role (Biddle, 2013)	Behavior In Role	 a. Expectations about roles b. Norm c. Behavior form in a role d. Assessment and Sanctions by Tungku Tigo Sajarangan
	Position and Behavior of People in Role	 a. Traits of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan b. The behavior of



Source: Biddle (2013)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In analyzing the research results, a related theoretical framework, which was the role concept proposed by Biddle in 2013, and scientific literature were used. The framework includes four dimensions, which are the person, and behavior in the role, the position dimension of the people's behavior in the role, alongside the relationship dimension of people and behavior. Meanwhile, these dimensions were explained in two sub-topics, which are the existence and the role of each Tungku Tigo Sajarangan element in Nagari government development.

A. The Existence of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan

Based on the dimension of the people in the role, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan consists of three (3) actors, namely Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama and Cadiak Pandai.

Niniak Mamak is also known as Penghulu and Datuak. This individual is a customary leader that maintains, guards, supervises, manages, and performs the intricacies of the customs. He is the leader and protector of his people or their descendants

throughout tradition (Datuk Mangkuto Basa, 2000).

Niniak Mamak in Bukik Batabuah is known as *Hindu Nan Tengah Limo Puluh Angku Tigo Baleh*. In the grouping, the Niniak Mamak is based on the nature of what is called the grouping of the gadang tribe, which include:

Table 2. Gadang Tribe Grouping

No	Tribe	Total
1	Gadang Koto Padanglanggundi Tribe	6 clans
2	Gadang Koto Surau Tribe	6 clans
3	Gadang Pisang Dilurah Tribe	6 clans
4	Gadang Pisang Kandanglaweh	6 clans
	Tribe	
5	Gadang Tujuah Buahparuik Tribe	7 clans
6	Gadang Tigoalua Tribe	4 clans
7	Gadang Sikumbang Jantan Tribe	5 clans
8	Gadang Sikumbang Silubuak Tribe	5 clans

Source: Wali Nagari Materials in the Competency Assessment at the Provincial Level of West Sumatra, 2020

According to the Alim Ulama Bukik Batabuah Nagari (Alim Ulama Bukik Batabuah, personal communication, September 25, 2019), Ulama is part of the leadership process in West Sumatra that is in charge of fostering the ummah. It is limited to spiritual viewpoints and all life aspects. including the political, economic, sociocultural, intellectual, and emotional aspects that have Islamic nuances. Some come from Nagari children that do not live in Nagari Batabuah but foster friendship with other Nagari, which are called Ulama Nagari. Hence, they continue to participate in solving problems in Nagari Batabuah with Islamic syara' or religion.

Also, there are the Cadiak Pandai elements, which are a group of people that are highly regarded and qualified in terms of knowledge, making the community always believe in what they say and do. They are intelligent people that can solve complex problems and have professional skills to support their economic life. In Minangkabau, they are also assigned to draft laws or make regulations.

The next indicator of the person in the role dimension is the target. Consequently, the target of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's role in the of development planning Bukik Batabuah Nagari is success in all fields, both through formal and non-formal processes. This corresponds with the results of the research conducted by Putra (2008) that the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan system integrates with formal leadership. It refers to the moral and social forces that are asked for their opinions and suggestions in the implementation of development planning and regional policymaking at the district and provincial levels. However, the entire development process starting from planning, the implementation of development, to the evaluation that will be performed by Nagari, is determined by deliberation to reach consensus by involving all the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan elements.

B. The Role of Each Tigo Sajarangan
 Furnace Element in Nagari
 Government Development

The role of each Tungku Tigo Sajarangan element in the development of the Nagari government can be observed in several dimensions.

These dimensions are behavior in the role, position, and behavior of people in the role, as well as the relationship of people and behavior.

The dimension of behavior consists of indicators of expectations about the role, norms, and forms of behavior, as well as assessments and sanctions by the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan. In the Minangkabau customs, a solution to a new problem must be sought by conducting deliberations. With the Cadiak Pandai element, the leadership of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan can accommodate all changes and globalization, along with the advantageous development of information technology in the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. It is also the hope of the Bukik Batabuah Nagari people regarding the role of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan in solving problems related to the influence of current developments. These developments implemented are with the consideration of Alim Ulama, which refers to the Al-Quran, hadith, and even the fatwa of the ulama. Conversely, Niniak Mamak provides a view of Minangkabau customs, which follow the philosophy of Islam.

Based on indicators of the norms, Niniak Mamak plays а role in maintaining the values of the Minangkabau culture. This leader also reminds Alim Ulama and Cadiak Pandai of the unwritten customary norms and values in the Bukik Batabuah Nagari Government policies. Meanwhile, Alim Ulama synergizes customary values, as well as the implementation of village governance with Islamic religious

norms under the Minangkabau culture's philosophy of "Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah."

The form of behavior in the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's role is a mouthpiece for the village community to convey the Nagari deliberation activities to the government. Apart from Putra (2008), Gani (2006) also conducted research explained that the group communication patterns in the interaction of government leaders. However, the results of this present study have several differences in communication patterns from the research by Gani and Putra. The development mechanism (Plh Wali Bukik Batabuah Nagari, personal communication, October 11, 2019), which comes from below and is driven by the Bukik Batabuah Nagari community, described can be as follows:

Figure 1. planning mechanism in the nagari



Sources: Putra Research Model (processed by researchers), 2020

The mechanism can be explained through several steps. First, the deliberation of this development planning begins with an internal meeting of the Nagari Consultative Body, also known as Bamus Nagari. This meeting compiles all proposed development programs of the tribes in each jorong in Bukik Batabuah Nagari. It corresponds with the hopes and needs of the community, including physical infrastructure, economic, socio-cultural, and human resource developments. The results of the consensus agreement on development proposals or programs are then conveyed in the deliberation or MUSBANG.

In the second step, the formulation results become the basis for the development implementation. The results, which present as development planning, are conveyed to all elements involved in the deliberation. Therefore, Nagari directs the planning, at least one year ahead, until the implementation is executed by the government and the Nagari Community Empowerment Institute (LPMN).

The third step involves the collection of potential migrants scattered in several regions while the government and the community empowerment institutions perform their responsibilities. For this reason, organizations of nomads were formed in each area.

Then, the results of the MUSBANG formulation are submitted to the nomads' organization and subdistricts for inclusion in the Regional Development Coordination Meeting (RAKORBANG), both at the sub-district and district levels.

Finally, supervision of the Bukik Batabuah Nagari development implementation is performed by elements of the Nagari community and the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, which are members of the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN).

assessment and sanction The indicators explain that Tungku Tigo Sajarangan and KAN provide advice and direction regarding violations or problems related to customary norms, religion, and the implementation of the village government. These suggestions and directions come from Niniak Mamak through the views of Minangkabau customs, Alim Ulama with Islamic religious norms, and Cadiak Pandai via statutory regulations. Therefore, the existence of supervision in the social life in Nagari Bukik Batabuh supports each other.

The next dimension are the position and behavior of people in roles. It consists of indicators of traits and behaviors owned by Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, as well as community reactions.

The characteristics that must be possessed by Niniak Mamak are shiddiq, which means truth and honesty, because all problems are handed over to this leader. Also, tabligh is another characteristic, which means to convey orders and prohibitions that must be known and practiced by the people. Amanah, which refers to trust, honesty, truthfulness, straightforwardness, and not being deceitful or hypocritical, as

well as fathanah, which means being knowledgeable and intelligent, are other characteristics (Putra, 2008). Meanwhile, the Ulama play a larger role in building faith, piety, and even morals. Alim Ulama is like a light emanating from a torch flame to help the Nagari people to know the concepts of halal and haram, rights and falsehood, as well as what is permissible and prohibited. Conversely, the Cadiak Pandai element has leadership characteristics that analyze and solve problems with knowledge. Giving sanctions for a problem or violation is based on the applicable laws and regulations. Hence, this leader must know attitudes, ethics, as well as behaviors, and be clever in solving problems with proper analysis based on laws and regulations.

Although the response from the community to the role of Tigo Sajarangan Furnace in the development process was very positive, and the results exceeded what was originally planned, some persons oppose it. Besides, a discrepancy also exists between the elements in the Tigo Sajarangan Furnace, especially with the clever Cadiak. However, they can still control and remind one other.

The last dimension is the relationship between the people and behavior with the indicators of similarity criteria, interdependence degree, as well as a combination of both indicators. None of the elements of the Tungku Togi Sajarangan consider themselves as higher than others, that is, the three elements stand equal. This is according to the Minangkabau

customary adage, tagak samo tinggi, duduak samo ranah, which means "standing at the same height, sitting at the same low." It denotes that Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama, and Cadiak Pandai are all at an equal position. Hence, they have the same right to express their opinions, according to their respective expertise, both at internal and at Bamus Bukik Batabuah Nagari activity meetings.

The degree of interdependence between Tungku Tigo Sajarangan with the Bukik Batabuah and the village community, as well as the relationship between one element and another, are very close. Also, the linkages with the Nagari government system are visible from the role of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan in the development planning process. Although no Nagari regulation comes from the Bamus Nagari's initiative, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan is active and participates in providing suggestions and opinions for the jorong in Nagarai Bukik Batabuah. Each element of society, the Nagari government, and the Tungku Tigo similar Sajarangan have criteria, according to their respective portions duties. Consequently, and the realization the of good and independent Bukik Batabuah Nagari government, along with the creation of effective governance is due to mutual support and cooperation between elements.

C. Obstacles in Implementing the Roles of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan

Another intriguing finding in this study was the several obstacles affecting the roles of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan elements, which was also discovered in research by Kurniawan et al. It provided an analysis of several problems, including the lack of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan's role in the Nagari development planning from a physical perspective. Other problems are an absence of coordination between the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan elements and the formal leaders, as well as a lack of contribution of thoughts, energy, and community responsibility towards development. Furthermore, the analysis of this research found the causative factors for the less optimal roles of the elements. These factors include the existence of several obstacles related to the Niniak Mamak element, including age, indications to prioritize personal and/or group interests, as well as limited education. The age factor is highly influential since the state initiated by Niniak Mamak is no longer following the development priorities in Bukik Batabuah Nagari. Also, indications of the prioritization of personal and/or group interests were discovered. Some of these leaders prioritize their original jorong instead of contributing to a broader level, i.e., as Bukik Batabuah Nagari. Furthermore, the strong experience owned by the majority of Niniak Mamak is not comparable to their formal education level. Most of these leaders only attain upper secondary level education, and this affects their view of the Nagari,

which must be supported by qualified science.

Another factor is that the role of Alim Ulama in Bukik Batabuah Nagari is quite difficult due to the easy access to articles and videos from YouTube. Hence, some people consider the perspective of the Alim Ulama as conventional and deem themselves as more correct since they obtained all their materials from the internet. Consequently, people do not wholly and fully consider the advice given by the Alim Ulama.

The third factor concerns the dual role of the Cadiak Pandai, which involves the provision of a scientific perspective and the function as a government official. This duality occurs as most of these leaders become government employees, either as civil servants or contract workers. Hence, they are faced with two choices at every traditional event, to either be present as the Cadiak Pandai or as a government employee. The absence of Cadiak Pandai in several traditional events shows the lack of this role in developing Bukik Batabuah Nagari.

CONCLUSION

The roles of Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, which includes the Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama, and the Cadiak Pandai, are considered active in the development planning process of Bukik Batabuah Nagari. This participation transpired through the submission of suggestions and opinions at the internal meeting of the Bamus Nagari. However, the existence of each element is more visible their in

respective jorong, compared to the integration at the Bukik Batabuah Nagari level. In organizing the MUSBANG, deliberation or development programs or proposals from the clans or tribes in each jorong in Bukik Batabuah Nagari are collected. These proposals include physical, economic, socio-cultural, and human resource development. Additionally, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan provides input, advice, and direction related to problems in the fields of the Nagari government, community development, and empowerment, according to their respective portions and expertise. The Niniak Mamak provides input based on a customary perspective, the Alim Ulama from a religious one through reference to the Al-Qur'an and Hadith, while the Cadiak Pandai's opinion is from science. Fortunately, the lack of synergy between the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan elements is still considered reasonable and internally resolvable by communication promoting and coordination at the right time and with the ideal conditions.

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