

## The Construction of Negotiation for Social Harmony in Minangkabau West Sumatra Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

*Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups and also the name of their land in West Sumatra, Indonesia. To achieve harmonious life, Minangkabau people practice a negotiation tradition to solve problems and their interrelationship with other ethnic groups. Instead of a new invention, local elites have long-established this negotiation tradition since the declaration of adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah (the custom-built upon Islamic law, Islamic law built upon the Quran) as the identity of Minangkabau people. This declaration of identity resulted from the negotiation between local elites and religious elites in the past when they made reconciliation to build harmony together. Thus, the philosophy of adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah is a symbol rather than peace because it was formulated after the negotiation process between local and religious elites to end the conflict between them. This negotiation has brought the agreement that guarantees living side by side in harmony and building Minangkabau together. Eventually, the negotiation tradition becomes a daily practice for the Minangkabau community in making every decision and resolving problems in the community. If the decision-making or problem-solving is not carried out through negotiation, it often leads to disharmony in society. The negotiation tradition in the Minangkabau community is strengthened by joint meetings in determining and deciding various issues in which every party in the forum deliberate in creating a mutually acceptable agreement. Understandably, harmonious life can be achieved in a society when negotiation is widely practiced. In the Minangkabau community, the negotiation tradition does not come on its own, but local and religious elites have developed for a long time.*

*Keywords: Negotiation; Minangkabau community; adat elites; religious elites; harmony*

### ABSTRAK

*Minangkabau merupakan salah satu suku bangsa yang ada di Indonesia berada di Provinsi Sumatera Barat. Untuk kehidupan yang harmonis, masyarakatnya memiliki tradisi negosiasi dalam berbagai hal, tidak saja dalam menyelesaikan masalah tetapi juga dalam proses interelasi dengan etnik yang lainnya sehingga bisa hidup berdampingan dengan harmoni. Negosiasi ini tidak hanya terbentuk sekarang ini tetapi telah lama dibangun oleh elite-elite lokal, yaitu semenjak diikrarkannya adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah sebagai identitas Minangkabau. Ikarar identiti ini lahir dari negosiasi elite adat dengan agama pada masa lampau. Dimana elite adat dan elite agama berdamai untuk membangun keharmonian secara bersama. Jadi ikrar adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah ini merupakan simbol daripada perdamaian, karena ikrar ini muncul setelah kelompok elite adat dan kelompok elite agama bernegosiasi dalam suatu mesyuarat untuk mengakhiri konflik diantara mereka. Negosiasinya itu, melahirkan sebuah kesepakatan-kesepakatan yang menjamin hidup berdampingan dengan harmoni, sekaligus membangun Minangkabau secara bersama. Negosiasi itu pada akhirnya menjadi suatu keharusan dilakukan oleh masyarakat Minangkabau dalam membuat setiap keputusan dan juga dalam menyelesaikan permasalahan yang terjadi dalam masyarakat. Jika negosiasi itu tidak dilakukan dalam menentukan berbagai keperluan maka sering terjadi ketidakharmonian ditengah-tengah masyarakat. Negosiasi dalam masyarakat Minangkabau diperkuat oleh berlakunya tradisi mesyuarat bersama dalam menentukan dan memutuskan pelbagai hal. Dimana dalam mesyuarat itu adanya pihak-pihak yang berkomunikasi untuk mewujudkan kesepakatan yang dapat diterima secara bersama. Dapat difahami, bahawa keharmonian itu wujud dalam sebuah masyarakat apabila ada dibangun negosiasi. Dalam masyarakat Minangkabau negosiasi itu tidak datang dengan begitu sahaja, tetapi telah dibangun sejak lama oleh kelompok elite agama dan kelompok elite adatnya.*

*Kata Kunci: Negosiasi; identitas Minangkabau; kaum adat; kaum agam; harmonisasi*

## INTRODUCTION

The Minangkabau are an ethnic group in West Sumatra, Indonesia, who have a very dynamic social life with diverse political, economic, and educational backgrounds. Diversity in this community sometimes triggers conflict, but it can be resolved properly, so as to create harmonious stability in society. A harmonious life is built by the community culturally and structurally as well as externally and internally.

Culturally, social harmony in Minangkabau is influenced by the integration of traditional forces and religious elites, which have existed since the early 19th century (Azyumardi Azra, 2017). At that time, there were two major groups that represented the situation in religious life, namely the tuo group and the mudo group. The tuo group movement is more identical as an orthodox religious group, while the mudo group movement is more identified with a more reformist religious movement. These two groups often have disagreements, but can discuss their conflicts and differences without violence (Mami Nofrianti, M., & Jamal Mirdad, 2018). Structurally, the decentralized government dramatically affected social harmony in the egalitarian Minangkabau society. The decentralised government system has encouraged local elites in the regions to establish various policies, such as the issuance of regulations relating to public morality, Islamic dress codes, the obligation to memorize the Koran, and the establishment of Islamic charitable institutions (Yasrul Huda, 2013). Hadler (2010) states that reformist groups also play a role in the social dynamics of Minangkabau society by establishing schools, organizations, newspapers, and the like. They influenced various social conditions in Minangkabau through the birth of a local elite, who played a progressive role in the region.

The role of traditional and religious elites cannot be ignored in the process of establishing social harmony through negotiations in Minangkabau (Sidik Tono, M Roem Syibly, Amir Mu'allim, Ahmad Nurozi, & Muhammad Roy Purwanto. 2019). This negotiation can be seen in the Minangkabau traditional philosophy, namely the adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah. This philosophy has become the identity of the Minangkabau people to this day. It is a symbol of integrity between adat and religion, a symbol of cultural negotiation with belief, and a symbol of tolerance between adat and religious elites to create social harmony in society. Social harmony certainly does not appear by itself,

and in Minangkabau it was built by traditional and religious elites (Abd Aziz Rekan, Tengku Sarina Aini Tengku Kasim & Yusmini Md Yusoff. 2019). Lectures become a community tradition, which must be carried out in guiding the social life of the Minangkabau community.

To examine and analyse the construction of negotiations in Minangkabau society, qualitative research was conducted by collecting data through interviews with academics who have expertise in Minangkabau history, and with Minangkabau traditional leaders in several areas in West Sumatra. In addition, data was also collected from the literature on the relationship between adat and religious elites in Minangkabau.

## NEGOTIATION IN MINANGKABAU

Negotiation emerges as a contestation of two or more forces (Ury & Patton, 2020). In Minangkabau, it can be seen through the power of adat and religion which are separated from each other in terms of territory, ideology, and perspective. One adheres to traditional doctrines influenced by the power of the Minangkabau kingdom, while the other is influenced by religious teachings.

The elite of indigenous groups who first grew up and influenced the lives of the Minangkabau people were emotionally reluctant to accept the presence of religion in Minangkabau as one of the community reform movements. This reluctance gave rise to conflicts between adat groups and religious reformist groups, which characterised the development of Minangkabau society (Hadler, 2010). This situation was seen in the early days following the arrival of Islam in Minangkabau which was opposed by the traditional elite (Ihsan Sanusi, 2018). Before declaring the integrity between adat and religion, the two elite groups grew and developed partially, which led to conflict. The conflict is caused by the mutual defense of their egocentric principles and strengths. On the one hand, the religious elites want to spread religious teachings, while on the other hand, the traditional elites want to maintain the traditional ideology that they have passed down from generation to generation.

The egocentricity of indigenous elites has long been seen from the separation of two areas in Minangkabau, namely the darek (land) and rantau (diaspora) areas (Zaiyardam Zubir & Nurul Azizah Zayzda. 2017). These areas are separately governed by adat and by religious elites. Darek is a socio-cultural area where indigenous elites regulate the life

of the Minangkabau community. Minangkabau is a natural geological area that has a role as a center for customary development, identified by the existence of the capital of the Minangkabau kingdom in Pagaruyung. Darek is a fertile agricultural area with a highland typology, fertile and cool air.

The Rantau area is very different from the Darek. Sociologically, the rantau is an area far from the territory of customary authority (Djokosurjo. 2001). Geographically, they are located on the coast and in the lowlands. The difference between the two fields can be seen in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. Differences between Rantau and Darek

Aspect	Darek	Rantau
Typology	Highland area	Coastal and Lowland area
Distance from power	Near	Far
Symbolization	Adat	Religion
Authority	Adat elites	Religious elites
Influence	Adat	Islam
Livelihood	Farming	Trade

Source: Analyzed from various literature

The rulers of the two regions (Darek and Rantau) are also a source of conflict in Minangkabau, so negotiations are needed between them (Yanti Mulia Roza, 2020). Overseas as a transportation area is a metropolis area that is open to the arrival of traders from all over the world. As a metropolitan area

located on a strategic sea coast, this area is not only a transit point for traders but also an area for the *Mubaligh* to spread religious teachings, especially Islam. The typology between the two can be seen in table 2 below:

TABLE 2. Typology of Rantau and Darek

Typology of <i>Darek</i> Area	Typology of <i>Rantau</i> Area
Located near the center of Minangkabau kingdom on the fertile highland	Located far from the center of Minangkabau kingdom on the seacoast or lowland
More influenced by the royal system especially in areas nearest to the kingdom	More influenced by Islam
Oriented to the culture and tradition of the kingdom	Oriented to the system and tradition of Islam

Source: Analyzed from various literature and Interview with historians

The separation of the two regions has made them run independently based on their respective ideologies. Darek had the ideology of the power of adat, while Rantau with the ideology of the power of religion. This has led to a situation where it is not uncommon for people in some coastal areas to be resistant to adherents of Islam, because the development of Islam is considered a threat to people with customary ideological power (Kahn, JS, 1993). At that time, the traditional elite received support from the local kingdom, while the religious elite did not receive strong support because it was far from the centre of the kingdom.

This division of the rantau and darek territories proves that the religious and customary elites in Minangkabau build power in their own way, but can be united through a negotiation process. This process can be seen from the agreement made by the two elite groups in a joint deliberation known as

the “Musyawarah Bukit Marapalam”, in the Bukit Marapalam Sumpah Satie (Holy Oath) in 1837. This oath gave birth to the Minangkabau philosophy of adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, which later became the identity of the Minangkabau community (Aulia Rahmad. 2011). This oath is mentioned in historical records as peace between adat and religious elites in Minangkabau (Piki Setri Pernantah, Sariyatun & Warto. 2018).

The negotiations are carried out by conducting deliberation, to get an agreement that can be accepted by both parties (Ruhaizah Abdul Ghani & Jaffary Awang, 2020). The consideration between the adat elite and the religious elite became the main reference in building social harmony in Minangkabau because this deliberation succeeded in reconciling them. Negotiation has also become jargon and is contained in proverbs that reflect the daily life of the Minangkabau people, as stated in the principle,

bulek aie di pambuluah, bulek kato dek mufakat (agreements can be reached through deliberation and consensus). This is because deliberation can solve problems such as maelo rambuik di tapuang (pulling hair from flour). These principles have become a tradition of the Minangkabau people in solving problems that arise in the community.

In Minangkabau history, negotiations were reached when the adat elite and the religious elite united because each maintained its existence to avoid conflict. Hadler (2008) describes endless disputes in Minangkabau, such as conflicts between adat and religious groups. However, the dispute was resolved through deliberation, so that the community remained dynamic.

Until now, negotiations are still used in solving problems that exist in Minangkabau society. It even extends to broader aspects, such as recognizing other ethnicities in Minangkabau in the midst of the Minangkabau majority. Such negotiations are called malakok or cultural approaches. At least this negotiation was carried out by the Nias ethnic group in West Sumatra, so as to create a harmonious relationship between ethnic groups through this negotiation. Andri Ashadi, (2018) and Sefriyono (2015) also found a similar model in cultural bargaining between ethnicity and religion among the Nias people who came to Minangkabau. Malakok is increasingly being practiced as a negotiation model that can accommodate diversity in Minangkabau, as well as show a tolerant attitude towards understanding ethnic minorities as a minority immigrant group.

Thus, negotiations have become an inseparable part of the social life of the Minangkabau community. This negotiation is a solution in integrating one group with another, and they can live together because the agreement includes filling in the customs through the agreed terms. Making adat is the practice of giving gifts, such as money or objects, as a sign of an alliance between two or more tribes who have this relationship.

Negotiation is one of the needs of the Minangkabau community in building social harmony. Any problem can be solved through negotiation. In the development of the negotiation process in Minangkabau, it is seen that in both groups, there are negotiating agents who have a crucial role in the negotiation process, which are the elites of the two groups. For that reason, every decision must go through the legitimacy of these elites. The legality of the adat and religious elites

is very important in any negotiation process. This group is believed to be wise and experienced in making decisions and policies, as confirmed by the tradition of ninik mamak nan arif bijaksana (wise religious and customary leaders).

#### CONTRIBUTION OF NEGOTIATION IN RESOLVING CONFLICT IN MINANGKABAU

The negotiations carried out by the two elites have contributed to creating an attitude of tolerance in the Minangkabau community, especially in a tolerant religious attitude. Since then, there has been a gradual process of acculturation, not only socially but also geographically and governmental. This acculturation process resulted in tolerance between the two groups and became the basis for tolerance of the Minangkabau community as a whole.

In addition, the negotiations that occurred gave birth to a new identity in the community. Negotiations of the Islamic religious elite as a new religion and the customary elite in Minangkabau led to the birth of the Minangkabau identity which was marked by an agreement on integrity between adat and religion as stated in the adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah (Edi Utama. 2002). A long process of identity formation was carried out through a cultural approach designed by reformers, especially ulama, so that Islamic teachings could quickly influence the social conditions of society.

The construction of identity negotiations in Minangkabau and its influence on the realization of tolerance can be seen from several processes of integrity and acceptance of Islam in Minangkabau, including the transition from traditional ideology to Islam without being opposed by the kingdom. Therefore, Islam is rapidly replacing the religion of the Minangkabau ancestors. This is evidence that negotiations have influenced the formation of a tolerance base in Minangkabau.

Silfia Hanani (2006) states that the fundamental change after the entry of Islam in Minangkabau was the creation of a customary and religious unity that was built through mutual understanding between the two groups. This has united the two typologies of power in the two areas in Minangkabau, namely the customary area and the area of religious authority, namely the darek and rantau areas. The Darek region has a cultural typology and strongly adheres to tradition. It is even called the "superpower area" in the Minangkabau tradition. On the other hand, the typology of the overseas region is a religious area, where Islam spreads.

Darek is the natural geological area of Minangkabau, where the center of adat developed, marked by the establishment of the capital city of the Minangkabau kingdom at Pagaruyung. These customary territories were established in three areas: Luhak Nan Tuo, Agam, and Fifty Cities (Abdul A'la. 2008). Luhak Nan tuo is the oldest luhak, and became the center of the Minangkabau kingdom, with Pagaruyung as the capital city ruled by the first king named Adityawarman.

At first, the king's power was absolute, and adat became a source of energy so that adat identity became a strong force in Minangkabau society. The traditional elites received recognition from the kingdom or government. This can be seen from the structural system in the royal government prior to negotiations between traditional and religious elites through the Satie Bukit Marapalam Oath. At that time, the King arranged everything. There is no king who regulates customary affairs and kings who help with religious affairs (Muhammad Yudhis Febriansyah. 2014).

However, after negotiations, there was a very significant change in the royal system by establishing a customary king and an assistant king of religion, known as the adat king and the king of worship, respectively. The system of government changed from an absolute monarchy led by one king to a triumvirate led by a king and two equal assistants known as *rajo tigo selo* (kings who sit in three). *Rajo Tigo Selo* means dividing responsibility into custom and religion (Silfia Hanani, 2002).

Both the traditional king and the king of worship are responsible for solving problems in the community, utilising negotiations and deliberation to seek consensus as agents for building harmony in Minangkabau society. This problem should be solved by applying the principle of pulling hair in flour. This cultural negotiation is often implied in solving problems in West Sumatra. Today, the government also applies it in every policy-making related to regional development, so that the actions taken will not be a program that is forced on the community but based on the needs of the local community.

However, during the New Order (1966-1998) with a centralized system of government, development programs were based on the uniformity of central government programs. So that negotiations on the implementation of development with the community are not carried out much. People become passive because they only accept

government programs (Silfia Hanani & Rahimah Abdul Aziz. 2009).

This kind of development process sometimes creates conflict in the community. Various resistances emerged from the community, such as resistance from indigenous peoples against development policies that ignored the existence of customary lands, thus disturbing the social harmony of the community (Tutin Fatimah & Hengki Andora. 2010). Disrupted social harmony due to unilateral interests in this development became one of the problems that dominated the New Order era in Minangkabau. This is because, in addition to the emergence of conflicts due to actions that are not negotiated with the community, the policy also brings little benefit in improving the welfare of the community, so that development programs are neglected and are not beneficial to the interests of the community.

After the reform government system replaced the centralised New Order government, the people of West Sumatra, who were generally ethnic Minangkabau, agreed to return to their local government system called the Nagari government system because with this system they could practice negotiating with autonomy in determining various interests, including determining development.

Awareness of renegotiation is developed in solving various problems. The strengthening of institutions that play an important role in conducting negotiations is carried out, such as re-establishing the nagari government system, restoring the function of traditional and religious groups in negotiations. According to the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020) in West Sumatra, 803 nagari have been formed, each of which has a negotiation construction by strengthening the role of traditional and religious elites in solving problems within the nagari. Each of these nagari has strengthened the supporting elements of the negotiation tradition, such as increasing the role of traditional and religious elites, so that each nagari has formed the Nagari Adat Density (KAN) as the initiator of negotiations to resolve community problems.

As a decision-making philosophy of the Minangkabau community, many terms have emerged for the word 'negotiation', the most popular of which are the saying, *nagari barajo ka mufakat*, *mufakat barajo ke nan bana* (nagari obeys negotiations, negotiations acknowledge the truth). Regional regulations grow and develop because of these negotiations, such as the Nagari Regulations

(PN), which were drafted and negotiated together. Many local regulations have emerged to protect the local community, so that problem solving was initially carried out with local regulations, which became easier with the existence of these nagari regulations.

In short, the construction of negotiations in Minangkabau society has been built since the time of the Minangkabau kingdom. The negotiation tradition is strongly influenced by the strength or weakness of the roles of the elements that function in the process, such as the adat and religious elites and the nagari government. If these elements have a weak position, negotiations will not be built to build social harmony.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF NEGOTIATION IN THIS CURRENT TIME

Negotiations, which affect the customary structure and leadership in Minangkabau, directly or indirectly affect the resolution of conflicts in West Sumatra. For example, some religious disputes were resolved through deliberation through joint deliberation involving two groups of adat elites and religious elites. At least it can be seen in the early days of the re-establishment of the nagari government in West Sumatra after the fall of the New Order government.

The Nagari government also made the two elites part of the government structure just like during the Minangkabau kingdom. The inclusion of traditional and religious elites strengthens the nagari government system so that every problem is resolved through deliberation. Then, the existence of institutions that play a role in negotiating was again empowered, such as the Balai Kerapatan Adat Dalam Nagari as a place to conduct formal negotiations within the nagari.

Whenever there is a social and religious problem, negotiation becomes an option to resolve it. Phrases indicating negotiation have become popular, such as *mufakaik* (deliberation), *barundiang* (negotiation), *baiyo batido* (cooperation) and so on.

Negotiations are carried out to reach an agreement to resolve problems and determine policies, so that each policy must go through a negotiation process, including policies in determining development. In other words, development is carried out based on the legitimacy of negotiations between various parties. This negotiation can be seen from the Nagari Development Consultation as a negotiation between the community and the government in implementing regional development. The development programme

is not forced but is realized based on the results of negotiations between the community and the government. Therefore, development carried out in the community avoids conflict and waste, so it is very helpful because it follows the needs of the community which are known from the negotiation process.

Negotiations also unify perceptions, so that they can also influence the collective growth of ethnic groups across generations. This collectivity is also seen in community participation for the benefit of something such as collectivity in carrying out certain provisions with mutual awareness, collectivity in carrying out rules such as in the covid-19 pandemic. The Nagari community in Minangkabau conducts negotiations to protect their territory from the virus, such as the negotiation of the Nagari Mamaga from Covid-19 (protecting the Nagari from Covid-19). These negotiations were carried out not only with people in the nagari but also with those in the diaspora. The regulations negotiated, among others, prohibit residents from outside the nagari from returning to their villages during holidays during the pandemic. This prohibition was agreed. It describes negotiation as a collective consciousness for the people.

Through negotiations, the Minangkabau people also encourage the tradition of deliberation. This tradition of deliberation also supports the birth of democratic behaviour among the people, so that negotiations also have an impact on the political aspect. Thus, government policies, starting from the nagari level to higher levels, are not produced unilaterally but are mutually beneficial.

The Minangkabau people have learned from the ideological conflict between religion and adat, so that these two sections have developed strategically to create harmony and harmonisation in the community. The biggest impact of negotiations between adat and religious identities has been to erode intolerance in Minangkabau society. This situation affects the socio-cultural development of Minangkabau which is in harmony with Islam, which sometimes seems strange. There are several implications that arise after customs and religion build peace, one of which is the formation of a harmonious Minangkabau. Based on this identity, the Minangkabau people can unite to give birth to political, economic, and social movements. For example, the birth of traditional religious movements that united against colonialism, such as the Imam Bonjol movement to challenge Dutch colonialism in Minangkabau.

Customs and religions can live in harmony and no longer show their own selfishness but are subject to the consensus of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitaullah*. Neither side shows superiority and inferiority. Both comfortably and harmoniously carry out their functions and responsibilities. This can be seen throughout the history of the Wahhabism movement in Minangkabau between the *adat* elite and the religious elite.

The implications of these negotiations are reinforced in the current Nagari government. This can be seen from the nagari government system that collaborates with modern and local systems. The nagari government system always places the elites of these two parts in a series of nagari organizations. The two elites always cooperate in various matters concerning the nagari issue, including in terms of policymaking. The negotiations between the two elites have implications not only for harmonious relations between the two but also for the wider social conditions of Minangkabau society. This is because *adat* and religious elites are the two forces that design social harmony and harmony. The people are very obedient to these two elites. Therefore, realizing the harmony of these two elites is very important. This can be analyzed through the meaning of the Tigo Sarangan furnace or Tigo sapilin rope. Symbolically, people's lives are regulated through *adat*, *adat* elites, religious elites, and intellectuals.

In the social system of Minangkabau society, although it is a democratic society, the social order in Minangkabau is determined by the harmony of the relations between the elites. The social system is declared *janieh aie* upstream, taming fish in muaro. That is, if the elites negotiate and do not conflict with each other, then the community will live in prosperity.

In the cultural aspect, it can be seen from the dynamics of Minangkabau culture, where there is no cultural vacuum in building the social world and society. This cultural dynamics according to Dove (1998) is local wisdom that can help people who have a culture to build a life based on equality, not coercion. This can be seen from the wisdom of the Minangkabau community in producing legal products, policies, and so on, which are always based on this negotiable process. The negotiation process also built two architectural cultures as symbols of *adat* and religion. Even in the conditions for the establishment of the nagari, it is stated that these two things must be in the nagari. Those two things are *surau* and *karapatan adat*. *Surau* is a place of religious power and customary *karapatan*

is customary power. At the same time, each place is also used as a place for negotiation in the form of deliberation. Each place has a unique shape.

With the concept of negotiations going well, the democratic system can be applied to governance in West Sumatra. This can be seen from the election of the head of the Nagari who was appointed through a democratic system.

The implications of negotiations on the political aspect can be seen from the customary policies in the Nagari which are based on deliberation and mutual agreement. This political aspect, in Minangkabau society, was created to realise policies based on contracts, not from coercion. If a policy or other provision appears outside the deliberation process, it will face extraordinary challenges from the community and at the same time from the elite. This can be seen from the various rejections made by the Minangkabau community towards several top-down decisions, such as removing the village government into a nagari government. Even recently, there have been frequent rejections of the establishment of the Siloam Hospital in West Sumatra, which was strongly opposed by the community even though it had been given permission by the government. Even the rejection developed into religious intolerance.

Tolerance broadly means acceptance of diversity in the concept of humanity. But in a narrower picture, tolerance is interpreted as more dominant in the study of religious differences (Wan Ahmad Fauzi Wan Husain, Anisah Che Ngah & Mohamed Anwar Omar Din. 2017). Customary and religious negotiations lay the groundwork for the meaning of diversity. Customs and beliefs can understand the differences between the two elites and can negotiate them. The negotiations that were built by these two groups brought social dynamics that were essential in creating harmony in Minangkabau. Islam is present not as a tool for continuous conflict, but as a sense of peace and even to fill the void.

That can happen if the *adat* and religious elites in Minangkabau are integrated. The integration process is passed through negotiations, not by violence or militarism that leads to conflict. Ting-Toomey (1999) says that speaking can build a new sense of understanding and identity in this context. This can be seen in the Minangkabau community where the cultural, social, and religious identity of the Minangkabau community has been built through traditional and spiritual approaches that are not mutually exclusive. It is inviolable and has become a cultural value in Minangkabau society.

Customary negotiations and religious elites can be an asset of tolerance to understand differences. Gandhi points out that differences are beneficial with patience or a way to come to terms with differences. In this context, it is clear that consensus is the leader of the community itself, assuming that if the leader is peaceful, then the community will be at peace.

### CONCLUSION

Negotiations have taken place in Minangkabau in several stages. This is in line with the entry of Islam in Minangkabau. However, these talks built Minangkabau culture and identity, marked by the approval of the adat basandi syarak, the syarak basin in Kitabullah that reflects the negotiation between adat and religion. After this statement, there was a very good chance in the Minangkabau kingdom.

Minangkabau political leadership was built on three powers in which the king who controlled Minangkabau appointed two new kings, the adat king, and the religious king, with duties and responsibilities according to their given names. The ruling kings in Minangkabau converted to Islam. The change in the royal government system was a form of acculturation and widespread acceptance of Islam in Minangkabau. Acceptance of Islam in Minangkabau seemed to fill the cultural void seen in the refinement of the government system in the kingdom, which was followed by the nagari as the lowest government in Minangkabau. Culturally and geographically, the Minangkabau region is no longer subject to the power of authority between adat and religion known as overseas and darek with their own identity.

Therefore, the driving force behind identity negotiations in Minangkabau is the influence of Islamization driven by religion. Islamization is carried out with a cultural and elite approach. This approach reconstructs understanding through negotiations involving indigenous peoples and religions so that Islam can be accepted more broadly and adapt to adat.

The implications of these negotiations are reinforced in the current Nagari government. This can be seen from the nagari government system that collaborates modern design with the locality. Both elites always have dealings and building negotiations. Policies raised in the nagari are the result of the negotiations undertaken by the two elites.

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