

REINTERPRETATION OF THE TRADITIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF ADAT BASANDI SYARAK-SYARAK BASANDI KITABULLAH IN PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN WEST SUMATRA

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Abstract

This article elaborates on how the community, government, traditional leaders, and religious leaders interpret the ABS-SBK philosophy when implemented in local government practice. In addition, this article also explains the need for reinterpretation of the ABS-SBK value. It explains its relationship to implementing local government programs and activities in the APBD. This article is based on qualitative research conducted in two regions, namely Padang City and Limapuluh Kota Regency. This study interviewed several informants whose backgrounds were traditional leaders, religious leaders, bureaucrats, and informal leaders in the community. This article finds that the community and traditional leaders pay little attention to that this government program must refer to the ABS-SBK philosophy. The community and traditional leaders pay attention to traditional issues in the Nagari, especially regarding the problems of Sako and Pusako. This article emphasizes the need to reinterpret the ABS-SBK philosophy, especially from meaning, value, and institutionalization.

Keywords: Reinterpretation ; Program ; Development ; Values ; ABS-SBK Philosophy ; Minangkabau.

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengelaborasi bagaimana masyarakat, pemerintah, tokoh adat dan tokoh agama memaknai filosofi ABS-SBK ketika diimplementasikan dalam praktik pemerintahan daerah. Selain itu, artikel ini juga menjelaskan perlunya reinterpretasi nilai ABS-SBK dan menjelaskan hubungannya dengan pelaksanaan program dan kegiatan pemerintah daerah dalam APBD. Artikel ini bersumber dari hasil penelitian kualitatif yang dilaksanakan di dua daerah, yaitu Kota Padang dan Kabupaten Limapuluh Kota. Penelitian ini mewawancarai sejumlah informan yang berlatar belakang tokoh adat, tokoh agama, birokrat dan tokoh informal dalam masyarakat. Artikel ini menemukan bahwa masyarakat dan tokoh adat kurang memperhatikan bahwa program pemerintah ini harus mengacu pada filosofi ABS-SBK ini. Karena masyarakat dan tokoh adat lebih memperhatikan masalah adat yang ada di nagari khususnya mengenai masalah sako dan pusako. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini menekankan perlunya reinterpretasi filosofi ABS-SBK, terutama dari aspek makna, nilai, dan pelembagaan agar lebih praktis diterapkan oleh masyarakat dan pemerintah daerah.

Kata Kunci: Reinterpretasi ; Program, Pembangunan ; Nilai, Falsafah ABS-SBK ; Minangkabau.

1. INTRODUCTION

The transformation of traditional society into modern society often leaves serious problems. One of them is the shifting of traditional values which are the guiding principles of society because they adjust to the values of modernization and globalization (Chen & Ren, 2016). For some traditional leaders in the community, the traditional values that become guidelines for their lives are considered irrelevant and need to be adapted to changing times (Bock, B.B and Shortall, 2017). However, for some others, it turns out there are still many traditional communities that can transform their traditional values and adapt to the process of change that is taking place. One of them is the Minangkabau ethnic group in West Sumatra Province who up to now still practice the philosophy of Adat Basandi Syarak-Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (Custom based on religion) -Religion based on the Alqur'an) as an important element in the lives of its people who also change to become modern. This ABS-SBK philosophy serves as a guideline for Minangkabau ethnicity in their activities and interacting socially in their society and environment (Abidin, 2016) (Hakimy, 2016; Asrinaldi, 2017; Abidin, 2016). Even so, there is still an emerging debate about the ABS-SBK philosophy because it is considered only a slogan because it is increasingly difficult to find in community activities and the administration of regional government. Although in fact, the ABS-SBK philosophy is part of the local cultural values that are recognized for its existence in social and governmental activities in the Minangkabau ethnic life.

However, another problem arose in implementing this ABS-SBK philosophy. One of them is because the substance of its values is too general so that it is often interpreted differently by individuals in Minangkabau society. For example, in the practice of local governments that have difficulty translating the ABS-SBK philosophy into their programs and activities, even though it is the main mission in the West Sumatra Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMD) 2016-2021 (Asril & Yoserizal, 2019). Especially in reality, specific guidelines can be referenced to explain how the substance of the ABS-SBK philosophy is not yet available. Of course what is meant by this guideline is related to the codification of ABS-SBK philosophical values so that they can be understood by the community and the regional government. As a result, perceptions developed in the community, this ABS-SBK philosophy is just a slogan that is only spoken in traditional speeches and local government officials. Because the explanatory evidence that can explain the essence of the value of ABS-SBK philosophy is another slogan that considers these philosophical values to be understood in the conception of "alam takambang jadi guru" (Nature is developed into a teacher) (Abidin, 2016) That is, what can be learned from nature, that is real learning to be understood as values in the ABS-SBK philosophy (Asrinaldi, 2017) (Yoserizal, 2020). Of course these arguments have weaknesses. First, if it is understood it turns out there are no special values of the ABS-SBK philosophy because its essence cannot be distinguished from the general philosophy that is also known in other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Second, because there is no specific guideline related to the ABS-SBK value that can be referred

to in part of the guidelines, the local government has difficulty referring to what values can be converted into development programs. Likewise the people will find it difficult to adopt. Especially if there are certain individuals or groups of individuals who want to explore this philosophy, they will also find it difficult to understand the essence of the ABS-SBK philosophy.

This article emphasizes the need for clear efforts from stakeholders to reinterpret the meaning, value and institutionalization of ABS-SBK philosophy so that it can help communities and the government implement these values. Moreover, in the RPJMD document as the basis for implementing development, the ABS-SBK philosophy is the main mission. In this mission it was stated that people's lives were harmonious, religious, civilized and cultured based on the ABS-SBK philosophy. But in reality, the development carried out by regional governments at every level of government has not been able to link the substance of ABS-SBK's philosophy. It can be said that many programs and development activities implemented are not aimed directly at describing the substance of the values contained in the ABS-SBK philosophy. Therefore, this article argues that a reinterpretation of the ABS-SBK value needs to be done so that it can be a solution in solving development problems that are in line with the social and cultural dynamics of society without denying the ongoing modernization process.

Traditional Values in Development

The transformation of people's lives from traditional to modern in many countries does not always go the same way. For example, the transformation that took place in the communities of African countries, clearly would be different from the transformation that took place in the communities in Asia. At least this can be seen from their traditional values that enable them to transform into modern. Especially in the process of transforming traditional values into modern, there is a dominant role for the government. For example, this can be seen from the orientation of the modernization process carried out by the government which determines what the development impacts will be if it is associated with the traditional values of the community (Shaozheva, N.A & Thagazitov, 2018). Therefore adjustments are needed so that traditional values in the culture of the local community are not eroded by the modernization process. Moreover, the value believed by a community is important, especially helping them behave and act in their environment (Ellerman, 2006). Basically, individuals need a system of values, ethics, beliefs, norms to behave to interpret existing situations so that they can be understood together through cultural interactions (Hood & Koberg, 1994). Even this interaction of norms and ethics is the driving factor for ongoing change in society. For example, the ethics of Protestant-Calvinists make their society more productive to engage in the world of work to build businesses in a secular world through accumulated wealth to invest. Whether it is realized or not the process of capital accumulation is what drives the emergence of modern capitalism that developed in Europe. This study conducted by Weber is one of the important things to understand the system of values,

norms and beliefs in society that transform society into this modern civilization (Weber, 2002).

However, from another perspective, not a few governments in developing countries try to "engineer" these traditional values so they can become catalysts in the moderation process that is carried out. In this way, traditional values also change dramatically so that they impact on the system of values and morals of the people. Zhuang, Yao & Li's research (2019) found that there were influences of tourists who came to world heritage villages in China such as Zili, Majianglong and Jin Jiangli villages which helped change the values, norms and identity of local villagers. This situation is a dilemma faced by many governments in countries that still have a strong influence on traditional values in their lives.

Actually, the socio-cultural value of the community in traditional communities, besides being an identity, also becomes a handle in dealing with the changes that take place around them. Through these socio-cultural values, traditional communities can position themselves for ongoing changes. Therefore, in the process of globalization that is happening today, the socio-cultural values of traditional societies are still recognized, especially as a barrier to the entry of global values (Shaozheva, N.A & Thagazitov, 2018). Even so, traditional societies also try to harmonize the traditional values that they practice with the value of globalization so that people can carry out their daily habits. However, the value of globalization clearly has a strong influence on the change of a society to become modern. Not a few, community groups began to lose their identity when modernization took place, but they did not harmonize with these traditional values and norms (Shaozheva, N.A & Thagazitov, 2018) (Zhuang et al., 2019).

However, not a few values, norms and beliefs of a community need to be reinterpreted considering the changes that took place around them turned out to be no longer in line with custom and developing culture. This situation is indeed a dilemma because people have to adjust their existing habits to the ongoing environmental changes. The concept of acculturation is a concept that is related to the reinterpretation of traditional values and cultural communities with environmental changes that accompany people's lives (Hood & Koberg, 1994). Acculturation is also part of individual efforts to accommodate new values to be part of the values of a society, but does not eliminate their original values. Usually this acculturation occurs in communities in developing countries that still adhere to their traditional values and practice them in daily activities. Even development programs carried out by the government will get support as long as they are compatible with the cultural values that live in the community. There is a lot of evidence that shows that by following the values and beliefs that apply in society, the government gets community support when the development program is implemented. In fact, this support was obtained from local leaders who mobilized community participation in the name of mutual interests. Therefore it is not surprising that both the government and the private sector will approach traditional leaders in order to succeed in the development programs implemented. Although, in some cases, these traditional leaders gained personal

benefits, both legal and illegal from the legitimacy they had when mobilizing their communities for government and private interests (Leonard, 2019).

Reinterpretation of Traditional Values

In fact, not all of these traditional values are in accordance with the modernization that took place through the development process. One of the social impacts of the development was a shift in the traditional values of local people who discovered "new values" as a result of ongoing development. Even the resulting development will invite new people to come to an area and interact with local residents. This interaction brings new culture as a result of the acculturation process of the local community's culture with the culture of immigrants. However, not all cultural values of immigrant communities can be accepted by the local community. Vice versa, not all local cultures are in accordance with development programs and activities, both those carried out by the government and the private sector. Therefore, it is often found, the government or the private sector will approach local leaders so that the development programs implemented can be implemented and receive community support (Molden et al., 2017).

Not a few local communities reinterpret their traditional values to change their perspectives on the entry of new cultures, without having to eliminate their original values, norms and identities. This pragmatic strategy in society is deliberately carried out to benefit from development carried out by the government or the private sector. This reinterpretation of traditional values is not done intentionally, but goes on simply because of the influence of external values that bring positive effects to the cultural values of the local community. With the acceptance of this new cultural value by elites and the local community, it also proves that the local elite and traditional society are actually reinterpreting their traditional values (Yoserizal, 2020). From this interpretation process, social change also occurs, namely that the community no longer refers only to one source of value, but because the results of development have implications for the emergence of new values. Even this social change also causes the ongoing interpretation of the socio-cultural values of the local community.

2. METHOD

This research is a field research using a qualitative descriptive approach that has the strength of a comprehensive analysis and reports of specific events carried out by individuals or groups of individuals. To collect data, researchers used semi-structured interviews to informants to focus the discussion in accordance with the research problem. This semi-structured interview is not rigid with the interview material on the questions that have been made by the researcher only, but also the freedom is given to the informant to convey his views related to the problem being asked. Therefore, the questions compiled are open-ended interviews in order to obtain comprehensive information regarding the problem under study. Even so, the research question still

refers to the existence of ABS-SBK philosophy in implementing development in West Sumatra.

The informants in this study were selected based on the main criteria, namely those who were personally or institutionally directly involved in implementing the ABS-SBK philosophy. They are from the background of the elements of Tungku Tigo Sajaringan in the Nagari, such as alim ulama, cerdik pandai and ninik mamak, plus bundo kanduang. In addition, the research informants also had a background as bureaucratic officials in the local government, community leaders who sat in the Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau, Kerapatan Adat Nagari, and the nagari government. For Padang City the data collection was conducted in April 2019 until July 2019 with 12 informants. Meanwhile, for the Limapuluh Kota Regency this research was conducted from July 2019 to September 2019 by interviewing as many as 9 informants from various backgrounds in order to obtain an overview of the research assumptions that need to be explained in this study.

The city of Padang is the capital of West Sumatra Province with a population of 927,168 people (BPS, 2018). The city of Padang is one of the most developed urban areas compared to other cities and regencies in West Sumatra. Although the city of Padang is an urban area, especially in the border area with other regency. In this suburb, Nagari still lives with functions that are adapted to urban characteristics. There are two regions that have characteristics of peripheral communities whose people still recognize the cultural values in Nagari as locations that need to be studied, especially in seeing the implementation of the ABS-SBK philosophy, namely Koto Tengah Sub-district has a population of 189,791 people with an area of 232,25 km² or 33.42% of the total area of the city of Padang. Besides that, Pauh Sub-district has a population of 71,965 with an area of 146.26 km² reaching 21.05% of the total area of the City of Padang. The two nagari in the city of Padang differ in their settings from the nagari in the regency which is specifically regulated by the Provincial Regulation of West Sumatra No.7 of 2018 concerning the traditional nagari. Even though both of these sub-districts have nagari, the lowest implementation of day-to-day governance remains with the kelurahan government. While the practice of tourism in these two sub-districts is more about the implementation of traditional and cultural functions. Koto Tengah sub-district has 13 sub-districts and Pauh sub-district has 9 villages to provide public services to the community.

To compare the implementation of the ABS-SBK philosophy, Limapuluh Kota Regency is also a research area because it is in a regency that carries out cultural values in the Nagari. Based on the Provincial Regulation (Perda) No.2 of 2007 concerning the main points of the nagari and revised government with Provincial Regulation No.7 of 2018 concerning adat nagari, almost all regencies in West Sumatra Province carry out nagari government functions. Limapuluh Kota Regency has an area of 3,354.30 km² with a population of around 376,072 people (BPS, 2018). To assist in the implementation of regional government duties, 79 nagari functioned as the lowest government unit. Since the implementation of regional autonomy based on Law No.22

of 1999 and finally amended by Law No.23 of 2014 concerning regional government, the activities of the religious organization have developed. Therefore, in order to understand how this reinterpretation of the ABS-SBK philosophy takes place, the religious activities in the regency also need to be studied.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Indifference to ABS-SBK Values

In the society of developing countries, the process of administering government does not fully receive attention. This is because people tend to ignore what the government does because their attention is focused on meeting their daily needs. If the government program is not directly related to the interests of the community, then they tend to let the program be implemented that way. On the other hand, government officials also have limitations in designing development programs that are oriented towards solving community problems. The development program implemented by the government is actually not just implementing the planned development program. Moreover, the implementation of development programs carried out by the government also contains values that are in line with public beliefs. In this context there is also a philosophy of development that is taken into consideration in carrying out development. Usually this philosophy develops in society, especially those related to how society can do development to help itself (Ellerman, 2006).

For some people, this philosophy of development is actually a part of their daily lives. For example, the Minangkabau ethnicity made natural philosophy as a teacher for their lives. The philosophy of alam takambang jadi guru is represented in the life view of the Minangkabau ethnic group known as Adat Basandi Syarak-Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK) (Abidin, 2016). However, the ABS-SBK philosophy is understood by the Minangkabau ethnicity not specifically, but is generally understood. The interpretation of this philosophy is very open because of the substance value of ABS-SBK, by some cultural figures describing of adat nan sabana adat (truth is customs). These truth is customs are nothing but the laws of Allah SWT which are believed by the Minangkabau as their main guide to life as Muslims. This Sunatullah is the basis for constructing the ABS-SBK philosophy in the Minangkabau ethnic life (Personal interview with AA Dt. Bigorahun Chairperson of the LKAAM of Limapuluh Kota Regency, 15 July 2018).

The ABS-SBK philosophy has long been known in the life of the Minangkabau people. However, in its implementation, the regional government is indeed rather "difficult" to translate it into programs and development activities. Not only that, the understanding related to the ABS-SBK philosophy is also variously understood by traditional leaders, the government and the community. Even the understanding made by the people who practice the ABS-SBK philosophy is very dependent on the situation. This is because of the wide scope of ABS-SBK philosophy and the absence of guidelines related to these values. Therefore, people have difficulty interpreting the

substance of the ABS-SBK value in the reality they face. Likewise, related to the ABS-SBK values that have not been codified into the guidelines that can be learned by the public, especially those from outside the Minangkabau ethnic group, it becomes a problem that needs attention (Asrinaldi, 2017). Even though the philosophy that became the reference, this ABS-SBK must be changed into a written form. This aspect is clearly not owned by the local government or customary and syara' institutions in West Sumatra.

Another problem that is also related to the implementation of the ABS-SBK philosophy is the low commitment of the regional government officials to link the ABS-SBK values with the development program. As Inglehart explained that values, norms, beliefs have an important role to play in encouraging people to respond to the social changes that surround them. The attitude followed by action can support the change process and can also reject the change. Thus, values, norms and beliefs are the determinants of the change process that goes from traditional values to modern values (Inglehart, R. & Baker, 2000). Especially in the process of modernization that occurs in a nation state, it clearly starts with the development process in the community carried out by the government. As long as the development carried out is in accordance with the community's social and cultural value system, the development activities will be supported. Instead the community will not participate, if the development carried out is not in line with the social and cultural systems that develop in the community.

Learning from the history of the Minangkabau ethnic group during the New Order era, especially the emergence of centralized policies from the government such as the transformation of nagari to village forms that were not in accordance with the social system and Minangkabau ethnic culture became a serious problem. Not only for development itself, but also for the social system of Minangkabau ethnic culture (Manan, 1995). The enactment of Law No.5/1979 concerning villages became the basis of policy for the uniformed central government to administer the lowest government in Indonesia. No exception in West Sumatra, the enactment of this law destroyed the social and cultural values of the community because the transformation of nagari into a village (Kahin, 2005). As a result, community participation in Nagari declined when the implementation of programs and development was carried out by the government (Manan, 1995). This issue is a serious problem in the Minangkabau ethnic group whose impact can still be seen today. For example, the diminishing function of KAN in organizing nagari government is limited to institutions that maintain customs in the Nagari.

Actually the implementation of the ABS-SBK philosophy can be seen symbolically in the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) document of West Sumatra Province. Almost all local governments in West Sumatra make the ABS-SBK philosophy one of the missions that are realized in development. However, at the level of implementation, many obstacles were discovered when the regional government tried to explain the value of ABS-SBK into the development program. These development programs and activities are not only identified from the community in

stages through the implementation of development planning meetings (Musrenbang), but also from the related SKPD strategic plans. Moreover, if referring to Permendagri No.86 / 2017 concerning Procedures for Planning, Regional Development Control and Evaluation, Procedures for Evaluating the Draft Regional Regulations concerning Regional Long-Term Development Plans and Regional Medium-Term Development Plans, and Procedures for Changing Regional Long-Term Development Plans , Regional Medium-Term Development Plans, and Regional Government Work Plans, especially Article 110 stated that the strategic plan of the regional apparatus must include problem analysis and strategic analysis. Of course, if this is a concern, the ABS-SBK philosophy will be translated into strategic issues in the preparation of SKPD programs and activities. However, this has not been implemented because of the limited knowledge and low awareness of the local government apparatus to describe the values, norms and beliefs that exist in the ABS-SBK philosophy.

Another obstacle in implementing the ABS-SBK philosophy is the shift in understanding of individuals or groups of individuals related to the nature of the ABS-SBK philosophy. The indication of the shift in the ABS-SBK philosophy can be seen from the following. First, the Minangkabau ethnic group has begun to ignore the values of the ABS-SBK philosophy because of the influence of global values. These global values have an impact on changes in the social system and Minangkabau ethnic culture. Actually this phenomenon does not only occur in Minangkabau ethnic groups. Even young people still do not understand the ABS-SBK philosophy. However, because their daily lives are influenced by Minangkabau cultural values, their curiosity about ABS-SBK also arises. However, their knowledge of ABS-SBK is only a slogan and their knowledge of its implementation is difficult to find. As explained in the following interview.

“This ABS-SBK philosophy is more seen as a normative concept that is difficult to find in everyday reality. Therefore, for young people who are of great curiosity, there needs to be a real example so that they can understand what the ABS-SBK philosophy is like. If not, then the younger generation tends to understand the value of ABS-SBK only as a part of customary orders or traditional customs only (Personal Interview with Hidwan Reta, Head of Limapuluh Kota District Cultural Service).”

According to Magu, globalization has changed the foundation of the local values that are unwittingly integrated into the global value system (Magus, 2015). Not only in the lives of urban people, the global value order also enters the nagari in the province of West Sumatra which is the basis for the development of the social values of the Minangkabau ethnic culture. In addition, the ABS-SBK philosophy is also often seen as something normative and not implemented in government practice. As a result, the local government also found it difficult to describe the philosophy known in this community into the development program. Therefore the community also has difficulty finding whether these development programs and activities are in line with or not with the ABS-SBK philosophy. Even though the values, norms and beliefs of the local community can

actually help the government implement regional development programs. This is the second indication of the problem that can be seen in West Sumatra Province.

The third indication of the shift in the values of the ABS-SBK philosophy is the emergence of polemics related to the existence of this philosophy among Minangkabau ethnic leaders. This polemic related to the history of ABS-SBK became a philosophy up to its implementation in people's lives. For example, from a historical aspect, there was a debate among Minangkabau ethnic scientists and figures who stated that the ABS-SBK philosophy began to be known since the end of the Paderi War in the Minangkabau area involving traditional leaders and ulama and ended with the making of the Bukit Marapalam agreement (Amran, 1981). However, from other versions, this ABS-SBK philosophy actually existed long before Dutch colonial conquest of the Minangkabau region. The ABS-SBK philosophy, especially related to adat nan sabana adat, becomes the essence of ABS-SBK, also known as the phrase "alam takambang jadi guru" (Amran, 1981). To this day the polemic is still found in the community, which also influences how the ABS-SBK practices.

The basic thing that is feared from the polemic is the public's indifference to the ABS-SBK philosophy. This ignorance can actually be seen from the behavior of the Minangkabau people who no longer care about the cultural value system found in the Nagari. The slogan "adat salingka nagari" which confirms the existence of recognized customary law is not fully a concern of the community. For example, in the implementation of development in the Nagari, which of course refers to the nagari regulations that must be used as references. However, the nagari regulation alone is not enough because it must be harmonized with the customs in the Nagari. Because in the implementation of development, besides bringing social change, it also has negative impacts that need to be minimized. This is where the social and cultural system is needed in the ABS-SBK philosophy.

The public's indifference to ABS-SBK values also has an impact on the orientation of the nagari development program. Especially since the grant of the Village Fund by the central government through the State Budget (APBN) since 2015, various developments have been successfully implemented. However, the development carried out continues to be oriented towards physical development and has not touched non-physical development. Actually this non-physical development is directly related to the strengthening of the ABS-SBK value. From this aspect, it can be seen that the people in Nagari also do not pay attention to strengthening the socio-cultural values of the community that can be seen in the ABS-SBK philosophy.

Moreover, in Nagari it has also been preoccupied with the issue of sako and pusako which are symbols of nagari sovereignty. In the context of sako, for example, the people in Nagari carry out their customs in order to uphold religious rules. Each tribe in the Nagari recognizes the authority of their traditional leaders, especially for children of nephews. Unfortunately, not all tribal leaders in Nagari use the power in their hands to pay attention to the ABS-SBK philosophy in the activities in the nagari. Many traditional values in the Nagari have shifted and are no longer in accordance with

the original form known in petatah-petitih or mamangan adat. For example, the position of Sumando in the rumah gadang (custom house) and the relationship between the child and uncle (mamak dan kemenakan) who are in a dilemma position when dealing with his father has changed. Meanwhile, in the aspect of Pusako which is related to the economic sovereignty of the tribe in the Nagari, it is also missing from the ABS-SBK philosophy. Although in the aspect of the pusako, tribal leaders can associate with the ABS-SBK philosophy, especially in the implementation of development carried out by the nagari government.

The same thing happened to the local government in making its programs and activities. Even though, the ABS-SBK philosophy is the basis of the development contained in the RPJMD mission, but in the elaboration it is also not of particular concern to the Regional Government Work Unit (SKPD). Even in the preparation of SKPD strategic plans and SKPD work plans, solving development problems offered to the public tends to be physical rather than in the framework of reaffirming the system of social and cultural values in the community. What this local government is doing reinforces the "indifference" of the local government to this ABS-SBK philosophy. Of course there will be an impact on local governments when ignoring the values of ABS-SBK as a philosophy of development.

Reinterpretation of ABS-SBK Values

Local governments and communities have not yet utilized the ABS-SBK philosophy in implementing programs and development activities in West Sumatra. Even the ABS-SBK philosophy has also been abandoned as a guide in people's lives. This situation was exacerbated by the low commitment of the regional government to implement development programs and activities carried out. Indeed, the practice of ABS-SBK philosophy is more associated with the implementation of traditional processions in the Nagari than as a philosophy that protects the actions and actions of the community and the government. The ABS-SBK philosophy tends to be the normative knowledge of the Minangkabau ethnic group — although not all of them can understand well, and very rarely really are implemented in daily life. The proof, the increasing number of crimes and immoral acts of the community, especially in many regions illustrates that the ABS-SBK values have not been embedded in the Minangkabau ethnicity. Even though the essence of ABS-SBK philosophy is the integration of divine and human values that become the legitimacy of the customs and ethnic culture of Minangkabau (Hakimy, 2001)(Asril & Yoserizal, 2019).

Many people mentioned that the ABS-SBK values were very normative so that it became one of the reasons why it was difficult for regional governments to implement these values into their programs and activities. Therefore, reinterpreting the philosophy of ABS-SBK is important so that the elaboration in people's lives and the administration of government can be done. The reinterpretation of the ABS-SBK philosophy does not only concern the meaning, but also the substance of syara' and custom values that can be practiced by the Minangkabau community. This interpretation is an attempt to place

the ABS-SBK philosophy, especially in the administration of government. Because, it is the regional government that has the authority to strengthen the ABS-SBK philosophy formally, rather than the indigenous people. Moreover, with the existence of the "adat salingka nagari" law, it affected the scope of the application of the ABS-SBK philosophy. Therefore the role of the regional government along with traditional leaders initiating the reinterpretation of ABS-SBK values through the application of regional regulations will reinforce the existence of the ABS-SBK philosophy.

Reinterpretation of the ABS-SBK philosophy should be related to the operationalization of the ABS-SBK philosophy in people's lives. Moreover, the ABS-SBK philosophy is specifically not found in the form of codifying values into specific manuals that can be learned. Some of the sources of ABS-SBK philosophy are only believed to come from petatah petitih, mamangan adat and traditional leader speeches contain wisdom to be guided. Meanwhile, if the ABS-SBK philosophy is understood as part of the meaning of "takambang jadi guru, syarak mangato adat mamakai" certainly needs to be interpreted by each individual ethnic Minangkabau. Unfortunately, the interpretations made by each individual tend to be subjective according to their respective knowledge and experience. This aspect is a problem in interpreting the ABS-SBK philosophy into the development programs and activities (Asrinaldi, 2017).

Therefore, reinterpretation related to the ABS-SBK philosophy needs to be seen in three perspectives, namely meaning, value and institutionalization. These three needs to be developed so that the translation of the ABS-SBK value is in line with the present context, especially in modern culture due to globalization. The aim is for the implementation of the ABS-SBK philosophy to be carried out in the practice of government and community life. First, what must be done is to reinterpret the meaning of ABS-SBK itself. As explained above, the ABS-SBK philosophy has very broad dimensions and scope to be understood. Moreover, generally the leaders in Minangkabau assert that the ABS-SBK philosophy is basically a derivative of "adat nan sabana adat" practiced by the Minangkabau ethnic group. "Adat Nan Sabana Adat" are none other than the words of Allah SWT contained in the Qur'an. The laws of Allah SWT that can be read by humans in the surrounding natural environment become the essence of the ABS-SBK. This derivative of the essence of "Adat Nan Diadatkan" is interpreted into reality by Datuk Ketumanggungan and Datuk Perpatih Nan Sabatang into the essence of "Adat Nan Diadatkan". For example, the customs of the Minangkabau people must recognize that the lineage follows the matrilineal lineage. Of course many other examples are relevant to this dimension. In short, if this essence is removed, then the Minangkabau is lost. This interpretation of "Adat Nan Diadatkan" is also to be implemented into the essence of "Adat Nan Teradat". This is what enriches the repertoire of ABS-SBK philosophy because the implementation of " Adat Nan Teradat " can be seen in the nagari (Dt. Sanggoeno Diradjo, 2018).

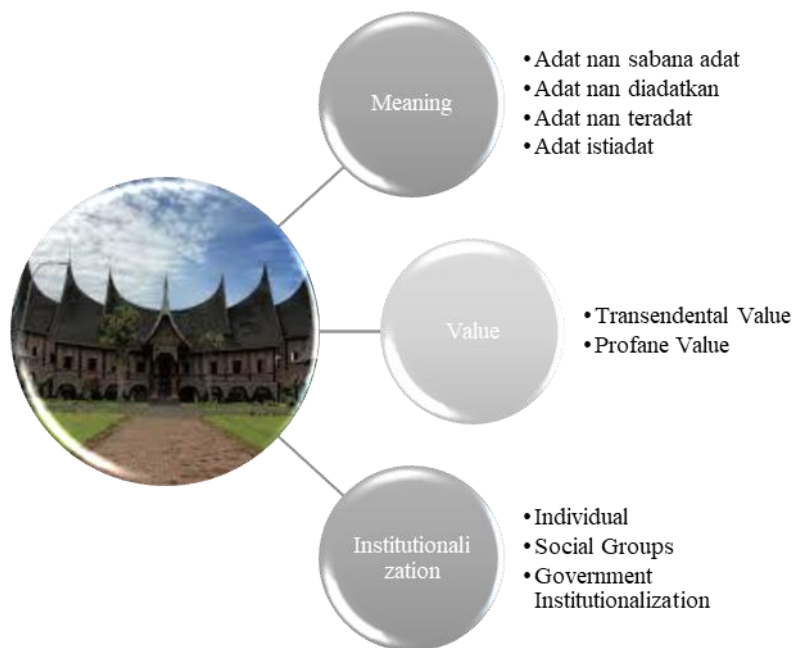
Unfortunately, the wealth of values contained in the ABS-SBK philosophy is at the same time a weakness, especially when it comes to administering regional government, namely implementing development programs. Moreover, in each nagari

also has their own customs and culture which also influence the interpretation of the Minangkabau custom. Because in Nagari there are also habits of society that even become unwritten laws and at any time can change at any time. This aspect also needs to be reinterpreted because it is related to customs that are practiced in each village. Of course reinterpreting the values in each dimension of Minangkabau ethnic custom needs to be done so that the meaning of ABS-SBK can be practiced in people's lives (Abidin, 2016).

Second, reinterpretation also needs to be done on the values contained in the ABS-SBK philosophy which is believed to be the way of life of the Minangkabau ethnic group in West Sumatra. The problem that is the question of the Minangkabau people is what is the value of the ABS-SBK? Because if you consider that the ABS-SBK philosophy is in the concept of "Alam Takambang Jadi Guru", then other ethnic groups in Indonesia will also have the same principles, moreover those ethnic groups are also adherents of Islamic teachings. Therefore, the values in the ABS-SBK philosophy need to be grouped into two forms of interpretation so that they can be understood by the community, that is, interpretations related to the nature (transcendental value), namely those that are syariah as the main values of ABS-SBK. The next interpretation is related to mortality (profane value), namely the translation into attitudes of behavior and actions in everyday life both held by the government and society. The fact is that this aspect is not of the concern of ninik mamak, alim ulama dan cerdik pandai in Minangkabau who is the main element in the implementation of the Minangkabau culture and customs known as the *Tungku tigo sajarangan-Tali tigo sapilin*.

Third, another aspect of reinterpretation to embody the ABS-SBK philosophy is the institutionalization dimension. This dimension of institutionalization is related to the process of instilling values, norms and beliefs as Minangkabau people who understand adat in four forms as described above. The cultivation of values, norms and beliefs as Minangkabau people must be carried out in organizations, social systems, government institutions in West Sumatra and even the Minangkabau community as a whole. In addition, the internalization of these values, norms and beliefs is accompanied by efforts to renew the commitment of Minangkabau individuals and groups to implement them. So reinterpretation related to this will reinforce the ABS-SBK philosophy, not only in people's lives as individuals who are responsible to themselves, but also social groups in their environment. Meanwhile, for government institutions, such as regional governments both provincial and regency / city, this commitment results in the implementation of development programs and activities that refer to the development of ABS-SBK values that guide the lives of Minangkabau people.

Figure 1. Interpretation Perspectives on ABS-SBK philosophy



4. CONCLUSION

This article finds that the ABS-SBK philosophy, which is recognized as the Minangkabau ethnic life guide, has not been fully implemented by the community or the regional government. This ABS-SBK philosophy tends to be understood only as a slogan that is repeated in speeches of local government officials and traditional leaders. This happens because the ABS-SBK value is still absurd because of its broad scope and scope so that it tends to be delivered normatively so that it is difficult for the community to implement it in attitudes, behaviors and actions. In addition, the essence of ABS-SBK values that cannot be guided by the community is because there is no codification of ABS-SBK values into books or documents that can be used as guidelines. Not only that, local governments in West Sumatra also have difficulty translating regional development programs and activities if they have to refer to the ABS-SBK philosophy because of the absence of these guidelines.

In this article, it has also been explained the importance of reinterpreting the ABS-SBK philosophy which is a guideline for Minangkabau ethnic life. This reinterpretation does not only bring benefits to strengthening public confidence in the nature of "Adat Nan Sabana Adat" which is the essence of the ABS-SBK philosophy. But also on the meaning of the ABS-SBK value as a transcendent value as well as profane for the life of the Minangkabau people. Another important thing that is also important in reinterpreting the ABS-SBK philosophy is how to institutionalize this philosophy so that it creates new commitments to the customs and culture of Minangkabau that are increasingly shifting due to the strong penetration of global

values. This reality is relevant because the ABS-SBK philosophy that has been understood by the people tends to be different because there is no guideline that explicitly covers the substance of the ABS-SBK value. Likewise, local governments are overwhelmed by what the local government mission means to place the ABS-SBK philosophy as the basis for implementing each regional development program and activity in the Province of West Sumatra.

This article also confirms that development programs implemented in the community, if not referring to the traditional values and culture of the local community, will have an impact on failure. This has been proven so far, especially in the implementation of village development carried out by the regional government in West Sumatra during the New Order regime. Government policies that change the lowest form of government from nagari to village. This change is very contrary to the habits of the Minangkabau people who are used to the nagari. Nagari allows people to participate because of their values that are in accordance with the culture of their community. While with the village, the implementation of government programs did not get the full support of the community. Therefore, by paying attention to the nature and values of adat and Minangkabau culture in a transcendent and profane manner as contained in the ABS-SBK philosophy, development programs and activities will receive full community support.[]

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