

Salafi Movement in Minangkabau Community: The Multicultural Education and Local Wisdom

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ABSTRACT:

This article aimed to respond to multiculturalism based on local wisdom and the Salafi movement in Minangkabau to stem Islamophobia. Through a phenomenological and analytical approach, the various issues were considered originating from the intellectual unrest and the Minangkabau community in a contextual-interpretative form. This study obtained interesting findings, namely that multicultural local wisdom in addition to being accommodative, integrative, and showing mutually reinforcing relationships, is also lending to the social, intellectual, and emotional behavior of the Minangkabau community, and can stem Islamophobia. Meanwhile, Salafi groups, which are pro-religion minus custom, have an exclusive, dichotomous, and textual view, do not create multicultural attitudes, and often lead to anti-Islamic sentiments. This article established the argument that the analysis of multicultural local wisdom can present social situations and provided an analogy to an open and dynamic situation in a more comprehensive manner; the link between the two is represented through an unlimited wealth of local wisdom treasures. These findings also showed that the contextualization of local wisdom to stem Islamophobia has been working without friction. Conversely, new movements that have emerged recently, such as Salafi, can become a multicultural threat. Therefore, it is imperative to reaffirm ABS-SBK through its instruments, which in turn can provide answers to current problems.

Keywords: Salafi movements, Islamophobia, local wisdom, Minangkabau, multiculturalism

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1. Introduction

Sumatra Barat, as a province with a population with multiple religions, ethnicities, and cultures, has an important role in the integrity of the Indonesian nation. It implements Regional Autonomy referring to the Regional Regulation of Sumatra Barat Province Number 2 of 2007 concerning the Principles of Nagari Government, which was stipulated to harmonize religions and customs in community life inherent in the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syarak-Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK). This philosophy is a form of identity and becomes a reference in

every activity, initiative, and creativity, so that its role is not only oriented to the past, but far into the future to explain and answer cultural phenomena and challenges, and can even stem hatred or sentiment towards Islam. The actualization of Islamic teachings with customs is patterned in "*bi al-hikmah wa al-mau'izhah al-hasanah*", which means to remain dynamic and flexible to become the main attraction of traditional functionaries and to strengthen the Islamic bases in Minangkabau. Recently, there have been challenges in the form of banning the 2019 Christmas celebration in Dharmasraya by the local community [1], and requests for

the removal of the “*Kitab Suci Injil Minangkabau*” application by the Governor [2]. In addition, based on data on Religious Harmony (KUB 2019) from 34 provinces, Sumatra Barat has the lowest score (64.4) from the national average of 78.83 (with a range of 0-100) [3]. This fact does not match the philosophy saying that adat and religion are harmoniously integrated.

Amid the expressive Minangkabau society [4], a shift has emerged due to the presence of the Islamic modernity implemented by the Salafi movement through various media preaching in mosques, mushalla, educational institutions, campus da'wah institutions, television, radio, websites, newsletters, and others, covering various regions of Sumatra Barat such as the cities of Padang, Pariaman, Payakumbuh, Dharmasraya, Bukittinggi, Solok, Padang Panjang, Agam, Pesisir Selatan, Sijunjung, Batusangkar, and Pasaman Barat [5]. These activities reflect the massive Salafi movement in Sumatra Barat so that the Islamic trend, which has been based on multiculturalism based on local culture in Minangkabau, has changed.

So far, studies on multiculturalism based on local wisdom and movements in stemming Islamophobia in Minangkabau tend to look at three perspectives, namely, *first*, studies on the emergence of religious and cultural friction that look at the cultural facts of a society's reality [6], [7], [8], [9]; *secondly*, studies looking at moral violations rooted in culture and religion [10], [11], [12], [13], [14] and, *thirdly*, studies on the upheavals that arise as a reaction to regulation seen from the context of the structures that surround it [15], [16], [17]. Of the three tendencies, it appears that the studies that have been carried out tend to see religious and cultural conflicts as conceptual-materialistic facts, paying less attention to the contextual dimension. Based on these considerations, to stem Islamophobia in

Minangkabau through local wisdom and the Salafi movement, a contextual approach that is not merely normative is needed.

The purpose of this paper was to complete the shortcomings of the studies of contradictions between religions and cultures that tended to see contradictions in physical and materialistic facts. Besides, it specifically examined multiculturalism based on local wisdom and the Salafi movement in stemming Islamophobia in Minangkabau being social practice in everyday life. Three questions could be formulated: *first*, how can multiculturalism based on local wisdom and the Salafi movement in Minangkabau stem Islamophobia? This question is related to the multicultural application based on local wisdom and the role of Salafi in Minangkabau in stemming Islamophobia. *Secondly*, what are the causes of Islamophobia in Minangkabau? This is closely related to the actualization of the Salafi movement. *Thirdly*, how does multiculturalism based on local wisdom in Minangkabau have implications for the benefit of the people and religion? These three questions will provide a thorough understanding of the relationship between structure and culture in society.

This paper was based on three arguments: *first*, multicultural contextualization based on local wisdom and the role of Salafi in stemming Islamophobia in Minangkabau; *secondly*, the actualization of the Salafi movement to stem Islamophobia due to the consideration of social changes taking place in Minangkabau; and, *thirdly*, multiculturalism based on local wisdom and Salafi movement in Minangkabau is harmoniously being a force for the achievement of a prosperous life following religious and customary guidance. This means that religion and custom would guarantee changes for the contextual-responsive progress of the ummah.

2. Literature Review

Local wisdom is a term that is interpreted as a style of community life which is based on a culture that is born and develops from the community based on beliefs, customs, and values that are internalized in individuals so that they are living in every behavior [18]. Clifford Geertz stated, “...*local wisdom is part of a culture. Local wisdom is traditional culture elements that are deeply rooted in human life and community that related to human resources, sources of culture, economic, security and laws. Local wisdom can be viewed as a tradition related to farming activities, livestock, building house, etc*” [19]. In the era of globalization, according to Sobhi TAWIL, real efforts are needed, such as in the form of education based on local wisdom or by developing globally-oriented education [20]. Meanwhile, Robinson divided local wisdom into two: internal local wisdom, which is abstract, as a way of life and external local wisdom in the form of behavior [21]. Therefore, local wisdom is a result of harmonious interaction between thoughts and feelings having been passed down from generation to generation and can be elaborated through intellectual, emotional, and spiritual aspects, as reflected in the Minangkabau customary philosophy of *Syarak Mangato-Adat Mamakai* (SM-AM) as a result of the implementation of ABS-SBK, which describes the strong belief of the Minangkabau people in Islam [22], [23]. Substantially, local wisdom in the Minangkabau community means the ability to take positive, good, and beneficial attitudes and actions by avoiding negative impacts. Even, through local wisdom, local interests can be realized to maintain identity bottom-up, empower society, reduce conflict, respond to change, build local excellence, and conserve nature and the environment.

The construction of Islam in Minangkabau with scriptualism shows its existence through

the Salafi da'wah route. There is no agreement on when the Salafi movement started to exist in Minangkabau, even though the embryo was in the Paderi era, which was a representation of the Wahabi group movement. According to its figures in Sumatra Barat, the Salafi's birth in 1998 was spearheaded by Medina graduates, including Ali Musri. There are two Salafi models in Sumatra Barat that are difficult to distinguish because of their different methods of da'wah, namely the Sururi Salafi group, which is always contrasted with the hard Salafi. Sururi is attributed to Muhammad bin Surur al-Nayef Zainal Abididn, whose manhaj was the Muslim Brotherhood thoughts, based on Hasan al-Bana's thoughts. In siyasah (political practices) they join the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), so they are subject to the rules of the political party game, namely democracy. They do preaching “hizbiyah” or in groups [24], [25], [26]. The Hard Salafi, when practice da'wah based on democratic elections, they decide to abstain. Even so, they still obey the elected president.

In addition to having the appearance and religious identity that they have so far, they also have an exclusive religious style in their social attitudes: they are more comfortable hanging out with fellow Salafi manhaj. This can be seen from the study forums and congregation activities at the mosque which were attended only by their groups. The exclusivity of their religious understanding is also influenced by truth claims that consider their teachings to be the truest, free from heresy, to be the purest Ahlu Sunnah Waljamaah, and even they are proud to follow Salafi teachings [27]. Concerning this view, it turns out that the Salafi movement groups are considered to have an important role in the religious upheaval of the Minangkabau people, and maintain their identity amid intervention, even playing a significant role in efforts to launch a movement-based recruitment strategy

and influence public policy in Sumatra Barat to date.

At the end of 1990, political activists, in search of sympathizers, launched the concept of anti-Islamic sentiment. The Runnymede Trust's 1997 report "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" was used by the media as a term for propaganda. Islamophobia, in addition to being widely used in oral and written media, also refers to dissociative-destructive relationships in physical and non-physical forms as a threat of mental terror. The popularity of this term increased after the WTC crash on September 11, 2001, in New York City and Washington D.C. [28], [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]. Indonesia itself, which has a Muslim majority population, has also been affected by the development of anti-Islamic sentiment in the form of concerns caused by the bombings in Bali, Solo, Jakarta, and other places [34]–[36].

This sentiment was, at the same time, the Government's main agenda for monitoring the movement of Islamic mass organizations in various regions including Sumatra Barat because mass organizations acting in the name of Islam experienced significant growth and development with a change in expression from being friendly and tolerant then turning into frightening and militant. Of course, problems would arise in the form of differences in expressing the Islamism of these mass organizations which tend to dominate changes in social, religious, and political life in the form of aspirations for the formality of Islamic law. This fact has received a negative assessment of Islam, so that, according to Deliar Noer, more and more terms would be put forward, such as militant Islam, radical Islam, fundamental Islam, liberal Islam, extreme Islam, political Islam (the opposite of cultural Islam), exclusive Islam, and substantive Islam [37]. Such Islamic hard-line Islamic organizations might also develop in West Sumatra with all their thoughts and movements. In areas that adhere to the ABS-SBK philosophy,

Muslim groups in West Sumatra should be quite selective in accepting and developing understandings or thoughts and movements that are contrary to Islam.

3. METHOD

Multiculturalism based on local wisdom and the Salafi movement was chosen as the subject of research due to the consideration of the emergence of the issue of Islamophobia in Minangkabau which has caused unrest among intellectuals and the general public. There were pros and cons in society when the issue was used as a stigma, resulting in a unique community response in structuring people's lives. The implementation of local wisdom and the Salafi movement was used as a reference and focus of this study to see and examine multiculturalism in Minangkabau.

This research was qualitative, to produce descriptive data related to multiculturalism based on local wisdom and the Salafi movement in Minangkabau to respond to Islamophobia. The data used consisted of primary data obtained through observations, interviews, and documentation categorized through a phenomenological approach and content analysis. Interviews were conducted with ulama and traditional leaders to see events in community life that were not documented. Observations were made to see the phenomena and activities of the community, in the form of ideologies, patterns, and multicultural strategies, and Salafi movements in Minangkabau. The documentation study explored written documents containing religious and customary values [38], [39]. Besides, secondary data was used in the form of documents having epistemological, functional, conditional, and social values that have a relationship with local wisdom and the Salafi movement in Minangkabau.

The data obtained through the two methods above were analyzed using contextual-

interpretative methods and comparative analysis by looking at the current Minangkabau social context. The analysis was carried out through the stages of reducing data obtained from interviews and documents, namely the categorization and coding process. The analysis process was then carried out by displaying the data and verifying them for interpretation and conclusion.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Multiculturalism and Salafi Movement in Minangkabau

Multiculturalism based on local wisdom could be observed through the process of Minang cultural heritage with its philosophy of ABS-SBK and SM-AM. Minangkabau has a very strong local tradition which is difficult to separate from religion, which is seen in the integration of adat with religion. Likewise, religion is also harmonized in universal values, namely divine values, humanity, brotherhood, unity, democracy, and manners or *raso pareso*. These six values become the Concept of World View (PDPH) so that it is the core of Minangkabau custom (*Adat Nan Sabana Adat*) which influences attitudes and associations known as *Adat nan Diadatan* and *Adat nan Teradat*.

The manifestation of multicultural life has been reflected in religious harmony, where Muslims reach 97.78%, Protestants 1.23%, Catholics 0.97%, Hindus 0.04%, and Buddhists 0.25% in various areas of Sumatra Barat with many places of worship in the form of 4,820 mosques, 10,479 Mushalla (Surau), 130 Protestant churches, 121 Protestant houses of worship, 46 Catholic churches, 61 houses of Catholic worship, 5 Buddhist monasteries, and 1 unit 1 of Temple, all of which live side by side in harmony [40]. However, there was still a misunderstanding in this context, where there was a ban on the construction of places of worship and even the prohibition of carrying out worship in four areas, namely in the city of

Bukittinggi, Sijunjung Regency, Pesisir Selatan Regency, and Dharmasraya Regency. In the case of Nagari Sikabau, Dharmasraya, there was a ban on the implementation of the 2019 Christmas and 2020 New Year celebrations [1], [41].

As a transnational community [42], Salafi is based on religion, not on state. Its movement played a role in fortifying the people of Sumatra Barat and received a positive response from the community with the presence of studies at the Nurul Islam, Babussalam, Marhamah, Jihad, Istiqomah, Baitul Ihsan, Nurus Sakinah, Tanjung Sabar, Nurul Ilmi, Baiturrahman, and el-Hakim mosques located in the city of Padang. Mujahidin, Nurul Huda, Baitul Makmur Pariaman, Alfurqan Maahad Islami, Baitul Rahman Mushalla in Payakumbuh. Taqwa Mosque in Dharmasraya, Raudhatul Jannah, Jamiek Padang Luar, Safinatullah, and Jamiek Agung Tengah Sawah in Bukittinggi and Islamic center, an-Nur, and al-Mukhlisin Mushalla in Solok. Zamma Mosque and Mushalla Islamiah in Padang Panjang, Bayur Grand Mosque in Agam, Darul Hasanah Mosque, Nurul Ikhlas, Muslimin Mushalla on Pesisir Selatan, Nurul Ihsan Mushalla in Sijunjung, Sumanik Grand Mosque in Batusangkar, al-Jihad Mosque in Pasaman Barat [5]. Furthermore, there are also Salafi educational institutions, such as the Dar el-Iman Islamic center of Sumatra Barat in the city of Padang that operates at the primary and secondary levels (TKIT, SDIT, SMPIT, SMADIBS, and the Dar el-Iman Islamic Tahfiz boarding school) [43]. They do da'wah through the Surau TV channel, 101.9 MHz Pasaman FM Radio, and the Dar el-Iman website, all of which deal a lot about the da'wah of salafi scholars [5]. In addition to preaching towards the community, Salafi also has channels among millennials through campuses as often found at campus da'wah institutions in Sumatra Barat. Such activities are quite important in stemming Islamophobia in Sumatra Barat.

4.2. The Islamophobia factors in Minangkabau

Community behavior is considered as a foundation in religious practice that occupies a strategic position. Every social behavior has implications for changes in the ummah that are in line with demands. This behavior becomes a constant reference in ensuring social order. However, changes can occur on certain factors. Multiculturalism finds two main factors that determine the change in the views of the multicultural Minangkabau people. The first one is internal factors, both in adat and religion in Minangkabau. Factors in adat are found in cultural or behavioral changes in Minangkabau. Akidah (tauhid) in the application of cultural customs of the Minang people faces many problems [22]. Some practices of worship of the Minang people describe the phenomena; they prioritize the traditional events Manjalang Mintuo over prayer. This is one of the phenomena of "custom does not change; what changes is the culture/behavior of people in Minangkabau". Any custom changes against Islam will be no longer the Minangkabau custom but be the custom of the Minang people who no longer refer to the Minangkabau custom which is basandi Islam (syara').

The religious factor also arises because of the existence of a puritanized movement that is often contrary to adat, anti-social, or exclusive. This movement is anti-thesis of the multicultural form that Minangkabau people have embraced, such as the Salafi movement. Salafi people are found in various activities. In general, they did not mingle with other congregations coming from different groups. In the invitation of the *baralek*, they would not attend if there was a music event because they thought that music is *bid'ah* and *haram*. They also think that the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday, Nuzul Qur'an, and Israk Mikraj, including the commemoration of heretical independence day, are *bid'ah* [44]. They view that such Minangkabau cultures are

against the Sunnah. Case in point, in Payakumbuh, a Salafi person refused to become a *datuk* because of his loyalty to understanding his teachings.

Secondly, external factors outside Islam; the author found intolerance between ethnicities, religions, and cultures. In Sumatra Barat, there have been several cases of prohibitions on the construction of houses of worship for Christians and on the celebration of Christmas and New Year 2020 [1]. In 2016, there was also the reluctance of the local government to open the door to franchise businesses such as Alfamart and Indomaret [45]. In 2013, there was also a rejection of the construction of a Siloam hospital because they thought they were carrying a Christian mission [46], [47]. As a result, general public suspicion about Islamophobia in Minangkabau emerged.

From these two factors, it appears that the emergence of Islamophobia in Minangkabau was not only based on the consideration of local culture which is the identity of its people and also the trans-national Islamic groups that emerged recently but also has broad implications for the emergence of suspicion and sentiments of ethnic, religious, and other cultural sentiments in viewing Islam in Minangkabau.

4.3. Implications for the Benefit of the People and the Religiosity

Minang customs and Islam live in harmony. But customs and religion have a strong foundation from religious texts and tambo in accordance with "*Adat Bersandi Alur dan Patut*", which after Islam came, turned into "*adat bersandi alur, syarak bersandi dalil*". Islam, which is actually "*Adat Basandi Syara-Syara Basandi Kitabullah*", concludes and converts Minangkabau nature to Islam, as the results of the Sufi Tarekat's works with its tolerance of traditional thinking and usage that, sometimes, contradicts the strict utilitarianism of Islamic practice. The presence of Islam has

enriched Minangkabau customs, instead of replacing them. There is no intervention between religion and custom; they reinforce each other.

In the customary order, it should be in line with Minangkabau local wisdom which is a necessity with an important agenda for strengthening multicultural local wisdom through revitalizing traditional values and *syara'* and strengthening their implementation in community dynamics, as well as strengthening the role of *ninik-mamak*, customary institutions, and community empowerment to return the *nagari* to its custom. In customary relations, this is regulated through Law no. 5 of 1979. There is uniformity with the concept of village government. After issuing Law no. 22 of 1999 in conjunction with Law no. 32 of 2004, the Regional Government of West Sumatra Province issued Perda No. 9 of 2000, with the *Nagari* government system, where the administration of the *nagari* government includes the supra political structure, namely *Wali Nagari* (as the executive) and *Dewan Perwakilan Anak Nagari* (as a legislative) [48].

In addition to the form of the revitalization of customary values and *syara'*, it is necessary to strengthen them. Another important agenda is a cultural approach to the Salafi group to understand the relationship between the consensus of custom and religion and the fusion of ideas that have not been manifested in the group so that similar strengthening can be carried out as well. The form of understanding that has been used as the basis for seeing that there is a difference between "me" who is a Salafi and "them" as another group can fuse so that the paradigm that Salafis are an exclusive group can be abandoned by Minangkabau people who appreciate multiculturalism.

A new paradigm that also needs to be built is the strengthening of local wisdom that has become an icon of Minangkabau as ABS-SBK by providing opportunities for *Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau* (LKAAM) in districts/cities to reinforce their authority and position as a customary law community unit that has the right to regulate and manage their household by maintaining the applicable customary rules based on the ABS-SBK philosophy. Thus, the strategy democratically played in Minangkabau based on the *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* and *Tali Tigo Sapilin* (TTS-TTS) can be realized.

The implication of multicultural application based on Minangkabau local wisdom is carried out by applying the ABS-SBK values for the preservation of customary and religious values towards a society that is prosperous and peaceful. Furthermore, regeneration needs to be carried out through equipping all elements of customary and *syara'* stakeholders. This provision can be done through informal education, namely through active interaction between the old and the young people through, for example, pieces of advice in the form of *petitih* proverbs in *palanta* forums, *surau*, or *baralek* events and theatrical arts and, even, through non-formal education in the form of training, workshop, or upgrading in a structured manner.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Islamophobia: Local Wisdom and the Salafi Movement in Minangkabau

In Minangkabau, multicultural local wisdom has become an ideological character or a strongly held community view of life. Strictly speaking, the Minangkabau traditional values, which are based on Islam have never changed; only Minang people and their behavior change in line with global developments and influences. Likewise, local wisdom, which contains universal values, is still adhered to and lives on because of the principle of

timeless wisdom. “*Dek paneh dak lapuk dek ujan*” still exists to be a role model and guide in the life structure in Minangkabau. These values are abstract in the life of individuals, families, and communities. Therefore, universal values in the context of Minangkabau in practice such as respecting differences with tolerance or *raso pareso* as the saying “*Raso dibao naiak, pareso dibao turun. Raso dari ati ka kapalo, pareso dari kapalo ka alam nyato*” means that Minangkabau people, both in terms of words and actions, must balance the harmony between intellectual and emotional.

Apart from the formal form that is manifested in the daily behavior shown by the Minangkabau people, the harmony between customs and religions regarding tolerance among human beings can be seen in QS Al-Israk 17:70 which means “And We have certainly honored the children of Adam and carried them on the land and sea and provided for them of the good things and preferred them over much of what We have created, with [definite] preference”. This is stated in the adage “*Nan pandai tampek batanyo, Nan tahu tampek baguru, Nan kayo tampek batenggang, Nan cadiaak bao barundiang*”. Respect for fellow human beings is shown as a form of local wisdom to meet the demands and needs of the benefit of the present. This is triggered by the community’s concern that if someone does something that does not follow adat guidelines, he will be banished as long as the custom, namely, as a social sanction, not given the title *pusako* and so on.

In general, the Salafi movement in Minangkabau has a target of changing *bid’ah* behavior by carrying out *da’wah* to purify religious teachings that have been in contact with custom. Apart from having these mainstream differences, Salafis are seen as strange and less accepted by the community, so they do not have social relations with Tarekat and Nahdatul Ulama groups in Sumatra Barat.

The frame of preaching that is packaged, usually *tabligh*, which has a vision of “purifying the faith, spreading the *sunnah*” is launched by local intellectual figures who completed their studies in Medina, Saudi Arabia and Yemen such as Muhammad Elvi Syam and Ali Musri, who often conduct studies in various cities in Sumatra Barat, and is supported by various *da’wah* media (such as mosques, educational institutions, electronic media, television, websites, magazines, and newsletters). The phenomenon of Salafi teachings in response to the development of custom in the Minangkabau community, such as the *yasinan*, *suluak*, *talqin* traditions, *Manigo hari*, seven days until *manyaratuih* are seen as *bid’ah* or prohibited because they are not in accordance with the Prophet’s *sunnah*. Therefore, their teachings contrast with the local wisdom of Minangkabau, which should be more flexible and dynamic.

Customary practices are important in the behavior of the Minangkabau people because they are always monitored by *peraturan nagari melekat* and *hidup salingka nagari*. Such a term is described as the “*adat salingka nagari*” which was made based on the decision of the *nagari* deliberation and is required to comply with the “*adat nan dia adatkan*” provisions by the village. In addition to being formal provisions, it also regulates community relations between ones with people who are older, equal, and smaller in the words “*mandaki, malereng, mandata, manurun*”. This also applies to people of different ethnicities, religions, and cultures. Finally, the internalization of mutual respect has become a hereditary habit, such as village regulations on Peace and Order (*Tamtib*), curfew rules for teenagers and schoolchildren, *kambali ka surau* activities, *magrib mangaji*, and others. Meanwhile, internal factors in Salafi activities which have an exclusive understanding so far play a role in the variety of social behavior of

its adherents in Sumatra Barat. Salafi teachings originating from Islamic ideas in the Middle East, which bring new understanding, give rise to a dichotomous impression of multicultural local wisdom that has existed in Minangkabau.

Several recent cases, such as the prohibition of Christmas worship and the construction of places of worship and other cases have had a negative impact on other faiths and have even raised concerns about how to live side by side in diversity. This in turn created a negative stigma against Muslims, who have so far been considered a peaceful religion side by side with different beliefs and ethnicities. Apart from the existence of ABS-SBK which is used as a force to ward off Islamophobia, there are also claims that become a necessity that Minang people are Muslims. This implication is at the root of the conflicts that never end, especially when it is reported that people with Minangkabau ethnicity have become apostates, such as Yanuardi Koto from Lubuk Basung, Akmal Sani from Lima Puluh Kota, and Sofyan from Batusangkar. In Minangkabau, it is very difficult to justify the occurrence in a family of different religions [49]. Likewise in socio-economic practice, suspicions continue to be raised against one another as if the establishment of a learning center is said to be a form of mission to spread other religious beliefs.

Custom and Islam should be present to provide insights that make the Minangkabau people more open and dynamic; open to renewing the existing condition which is shown by the richness of Minangkabau cultural treasures. Behaviors that can sustain wealth such as the role of *Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau* (LKAAM) and *ninik-mamak* and as vital objects for the integration of religion and local wisdom have been strengthened, both in the form of empowerment and program development which have become the attention of the government and traditional institutions, many *ninik-mamak*

experience similar recognition. The realization of the *ninik-mamak* program which is carried out to ward off Islamophobia is carried out by disseminating ABS-SBK to children and nephews through local art *sambah-manyambah*, *tabuik* culture in Pariaman, *rabana* and promoting the culture of wearing *basiba* brackets for Minangkabau women, then formatting the feature enrichment program -features in mosques with traditional ornaments such as the Grand Mosque of Sumatra Barat, the Tuo Kayu Jao mosque in Solok, the Gadang Balai Nan Dua Payakumbuh mosque, the Asasi mosque in Padang Panjang. These are forms of realization of the role of how to empower the community to return the *nagari* to custom and religion at the same time.

6. CONCLUSION

This study found that what has been presumed that multiculturalism based on local wisdom in Minangkabau can stem Islamophobia and contribute to the delivery of a model is incorrect and, conversely, there is no reason to claim that the Salafi movement has helped to stem it. This study differed from previous research by showing that the Salafi movement does not lead to multicultural tolerance. Then the factors of social change that surround it have triggered the birth of anti-cultural attitudes that lead to sentiment.

The use of the method in this research has made it possible to understand the process of local wisdom in Minangkabau more comprehensively than the existing understanding; even contextually local wisdom is also relevant to the social realities of the Minangkabau community. On the other hand, the Salafi movement does not show *Husnuzhann* (good attitude) to change.

This study only looked at multiculturalism based on local wisdom and Salafi movements in stemming Islamophobia in Minangkabau so that it ignored other ideologies and movements. Based on this, it is suggested that there is a need for

research that specifically analyzes the ideology and other movements that exist in Minangkabau. This paper only looked at multiculturalism based on local wisdom and Salafi movements in stemming Islamophobia in Minangkabau so that it does not have the power to map ideologies and other broader movements. This paper suggested the need for a comparative study of ideologies and other movements involving various mass organizations.

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