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# Social Construction of Minangkabau Islam: Analysis of the Basandi Syarak Custom in the Perspective of the Sacred Canopy of Peter L. Berger

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## Abstract

This study analyzes the social construction of the relationship between adat (custom) and Islam in Minangkabau society through Peter L. Berger's Sacred Canopy theory. The Minangkabau philosophy of Adat Basandi Syarak–Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS–SBK) is understood as a system of values in which Islam serves as a sacred canopy, providing moral legitimacy to the matrilineal structure of adat. The study aims to explain how the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization of adat and Islamic values shape and sustain ABS–SBK as a social meaning system. Employing a qualitative socio-religious approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, document studies, and participant observation in several nagari (villages) in West Sumatra. The findings reveal that ABS–SBK functions as a mechanism of social integration through three dialectical stages: (1) the externalization of Islamic values into customary practices; (2) the objectivation of these values through institutions such as the Kerapatan Adat Nagari and the dual authority of penghulu (traditional leaders); and (3) the internalization of adat–syarak values into the collective consciousness of the Minangkabau people. Case studies of inheritance, communal land (tanah ulayat), marriage, and leadership demonstrate that ABS–SBK is not a fixed normative doctrine but a dynamic field of negotiation between customary and religious norms. In conclusion, ABS–SBK operates as a sacred canopy that preserves social stability while enabling adaptive responses to modern transformations.

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*Penelitian ini menganalisis konstruksi sosial hubungan antara adat dan Islam dalam masyarakat Minangkabau melalui perspektif teori Sacred Canopy Peter L. Berger. Adat Basandi Syarak–Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS–SBK) dipahami sebagai sistem nilai yang menempatkan Islam sebagai kanopi sakral yang memberikan legitimasi moral terhadap struktur adat matrilineal. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana proses eksternalisasi, objektivasi, dan internalisasi nilai-nilai*

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*adat dan syarak membentuk serta mempertahankan ABS–SBK sebagai struktur makna sosial. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif sosio-religius dengan teknik wawancara mendalam, studi dokumen, dan observasi partisipan di beberapa nagari di Sumatera Barat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ABS–SBK berfungsi sebagai mekanisme integrasi sosial melalui tiga tahap dialektika konstruksi sosial: (1) eksternalisasi nilai Islam ke dalam praktik adat; (2) objektivasi melalui lembaga adat seperti Kerapatan Adat Nagari dan peran ganda penghulu; serta (3) internalisasi nilai adat-syarak ke dalam kesadaran kolektif masyarakat. Studi kasus mengenai pusako tinggi, tanah ulayat, perkawinan, dan otoritas penghulu memperlihatkan bahwa ABS–SBK bukan sistem normatif yang kaku, melainkan arena negosiasi yang dinamis antara nilai adat dan ajaran Islam. Kesimpulannya, ABS–SBK berfungsi sebagai kanopi sakral yang menjaga stabilitas sosial sekaligus memungkinkan adaptasi terhadap perubahan modern.*

**Keywords:** Minangkabau; adat Basandi Syarak; social construction; Peter L. Berger; sacred canopy.

## Introduction

The Minangkabau are one of the most influential indigenous communities in Indonesia, distinguished by the coexistence of a matrilineal kinship system and Islamic values. This distinctive socio-cultural configuration has generated an ongoing process of negotiation between customary norms (adat) and Islamic principles, particularly in shaping social relations, family structures, and cultural practices. While the Minangkabau principle of adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah (custom founded upon Islamic law, and Islamic law founded upon the Qur'an) reflects an effort to harmonize these two normative systems, their intersection may also produce tensions and transformations as Minangkabau society responds to changing social, religious, and cultural contexts. Understanding how these competing or complementary values are negotiated is therefore essential for examining the contemporary dynamics of Minangkabau society.

This integration is reflected in the Minangkabau philosophical principle *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK), which articulates the normative relationship between *adat* (customary law) and Islamic principles. The formulation of this principle is closely associated with the historical process of Islamization and the subsequent negotiation between Islamic teachings and established Minangkabau customary practices. Scholarly accounts indicate that

the nineteenth century was an important period in the intensification of Islamic influence and the reconfiguration of the relationship between *adat* and Islam in Minangkabau society (Huda, 2010; Armi & Azhari, 2025). Rather than representing a simple replacement of customary norms by Islamic principles, this process involved ongoing contestation, adaptation, and accommodation between the two normative systems.

In Minangkabau society, *adat* and Islam are closely intertwined in shaping social norms, ethical values, and everyday practices. This relationship is reflected in the philosophical principle *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK), which positions Islamic principles and Minangkabau customary values as mutually informing sources of social and moral guidance. Studies of Minangkabau society have demonstrated that Islamic ethical norms are embedded in customary practices and continue to influence everyday decision-making, social relations, and community life (Huda, 2010; Firmansyah, 2016; Akbar et al., 2026). Thus, rather than functioning as entirely separate normative systems, *adat* and Islam constitute an interconnected framework through which Minangkabau communities negotiate moral values and social conduct, although their relationship has also involved processes of adaptation, contestation, and reinterpretation.

The principles embodied in Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK) are not static doctrines but constitute a dynamic normative framework through which Minangkabau communities continually negotiate the relationship between customary values and Islamic principles. Earlier scholarship has emphasized that this relationship emerged through historical processes of accommodation and contestation involving religious scholars, traditional leaders, and broader community actors (Simon, 2014; Huda, 2010). More recent studies further demonstrate that ABS-SBK continues to be reinterpreted in response to contemporary social contexts, including traditional leadership, family and marriage practices, education, economic activities, and community governance (Akbar et al., 2026; Aulya & Ananda, 2026; Permata et al., 2026; Suryadi & Jamil, 2026). These studies suggest that the interaction between adat and Islam is best understood not as a fixed synthesis, but as an ongoing process of negotiation in

which established customary norms and Islamic values are adapted to changing social realities. This perspective provides an important basis for examining how the interaction between adat and Islamic values is manifested in the specific social phenomenon investigated in the present study.

From the perspective of the Sociology of Religion, the interaction between *adat* and *sharak* in Minangkabau society can be understood as a process through which religious and customary meanings are produced, legitimized, and reproduced in everyday social life. This perspective is particularly relevant to the present study because the relationship between *adat* and Islam is not merely a matter of theological compatibility, but also involves the continuous construction of shared norms, values, and social practices by religious authorities, traditional leaders, and community members. Berger and Luckmann's theory of the social construction of reality provides a useful framework for examining this process through the mechanisms of externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Within this framework, the interaction between Islamic teachings and Minangkabau customary practices can be examined as a process in which particular values and practices are created through social interaction, acquire legitimacy as objective and taken-for-granted norms, and are subsequently internalized by members of the community.

Berger's *The Sacred Canopy* (1967) further helps explain how religious meanings provide a legitimating framework that gives social institutions and customary practices a sense of sacredness and moral validity. Accordingly, this theoretical perspective enables the study to move beyond describing the coexistence of *adat* and Islam and instead examine how their relationship is socially constructed, legitimized, and reproduced within the specific social phenomenon investigated in this study. In the Minangkabau context, the notion of a "sacred canopy" can be used to explain how Islamic values provide religious legitimacy and moral meaning to customary institutions and practices. This interpretation is supported by studies showing that the Minangkabau principle Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS-SBK) has become an important framework for articulating the relationship between Islamic norms and adat, particularly in regulating social relations, customary leadership, family

practices, and community life (Huda, 2010; Akbar et al., 2026; Aulya & Ananda, 2026). Huda (2010), for example, demonstrates that the relationship between sharia and Minangkabau custom involves processes of contestation and negotiation, rather than a simple separation between religious and customary domains. More recent studies likewise show that Islamic values continue to inform the reinterpretation of customary practices in contemporary Minangkabau society (Akbar et al., 2026; Aulya & Ananda, 2026). Against this empirical background, Berger's (1967) concept of the sacred canopy provides an analytical lens for understanding how religious meanings can legitimize, stabilize, and give transcendent significance to customary norms. Thus, in this study, Islam is not assumed to function automatically as a sacred canopy; rather, the concept is used to examine how Islamic values are socially constructed and mobilized to legitimate particular customary practices within Minangkabau society.

Recent scholarship indicates that the relationship between Minangkabau matrilineal inheritance practices and Islamic inheritance principles involves both accommodation and legal tension. In particular, the distinction between pusako tinggi (ancestral property) and pusako randah/pusako ranhah (individually acquired property) has become central to the negotiation between customary and Islamic norms. While pusako tinggi is generally associated with collective matrilineal ownership and transmission through the female line, individually acquired property is more readily subjected to Islamic inheritance principles. Sulfinadia, Roszi, and Puspita (2026) show that these differentiated inheritance practices reflect a form of functional legal pluralism in which Minangkabau Muslims negotiate between matrilineal customary law and Islamic inheritance rules rather than simply adopting one system over the other. Thus, the tension between adat and Islamic inheritance principles does not necessarily entail the rejection of either normative system; rather, it produces processes of classification, accommodation, and negotiation regarding the status, ownership, and distribution of inherited property. In Islamic jurisprudence, the faraidh system governs inheritance primarily based on legally recognized kinship (nasab) and marital relationships, with specific shares prescribed for eligible heirs.

The Qur'an explicitly establishes the entitlement and portions of several categories of heirs, including children, parents, spouses, and siblings (Qur'an 4:7, 4:11–12, 4:176). These provisions establish a system in which inheritance rights are determined by genealogical and marital relationships rather than by membership in a particular matrilineal or patrilineal descent group. The distribution of shares also reflects the rights and obligations assigned to different family members within Islamic jurisprudence; for example, Qur'an 4:11 specifies different shares for sons and daughters, while classical jurists have elaborated the rules governing the determination of heirs, fixed shares (furūḍ), residuaries (ʿaṣabah), and exclusion (ḥajb) (Al-Zuhayli, 2003). Accordingly, the faraidh system provides a legally structured framework for distributing an estate among qualified heirs in accordance with rules derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Conversely, Minangkabau customary law recognizes pusako tinggi (ancestral property) as collectively held clan property, traditionally transmitted through the maternal line and associated with the continuity of the female descent group.

Rather than being treated as individually owned assets that can be freely distributed among heirs, *pusako tinggi* is generally regarded as a communal resource whose control and use are connected to the interests and continuity of the suku or kaum (clan or matrilineal kin group). Women in the maternal line play an important role in the transmission and continuity of this property, while customary leaders (*niniak mamak*) help regulate its management and use. Consequently, pusako tinggi serves not only as an economic resource but also as a mechanism for maintaining matrilineal identity, social cohesion, and the continuity of the clan across generations (Firmansyah, 2016; Asmin, 2021; Sulfinadia, Roszi, & Puspita, 2026). These ontological differences in the understanding of property, lineage, and legitimate authority have historically generated interpretive tensions between Minangkabau customary norms and Islamic principles (Kato, 1982; Sanday, 2002). In contemporary Minangkabau society, however, such tensions are not necessarily expressed as a direct opposition between the two systems.

Rather, recent studies indicate that customary and Islamic norms are increasingly negotiated through processes of legal pluralism, reinterpretation, and

contextual adaptation. In particular, contemporary research on Minangkabau inheritance demonstrates that the distinction between collectively held pusako tinggi and individually acquired property provides a mechanism through which matrilineal customary principles and Islamic inheritance norms can coexist while retaining different sources of legitimacy (Sulfinadia, Roszi, & Puspita, 2026; Riyadi et al., 26). Studies of contemporary customary practices likewise show that religious scholars, traditional leaders, and community members participate in negotiations over changes to customary institutions, including marriage and family practices (Aulya & Ananda, 2026). These developments suggest that the tensions identified in earlier scholarship have not disappeared but have been transformed into ongoing processes of negotiation over property, lineage, authority, and the legitimacy of customary practices within an increasingly complex social and legal environment.

In contemporary practice, communities often resolve these differences through compromise, for example by separating the high pusako category as a customary domain and the low pusako, which can be divided according to faraidh provisions. The tensions identified in inheritance practices also extend to the management of customary land, particularly tanah ulayat, which constitutes an important form of pusako tinggi. Thus, inheritance and customary land management can be understood as two interconnected dimensions of the broader negotiation between Minangkabau customary norms and Islamic principles concerning property, ownership, and intergenerational transmission. In Minangkabau customary law, tanah ulayat is generally regarded as collectively held property of a kaum or a wider customary community, with its use and management regulated by customary institutions rather than by individual ownership. Consequently, such land is traditionally protected from unrestricted individual transfer, including sale outside the customary group. This collective conception differs from an individual-property model in which an heir acquires exclusive ownership and may dispose of inherited assets independently. Recent scholarship indicates that these differences have become increasingly significant as customary communities respond to changing economic conditions, land commercialization, and state regulation (Asmin, 2021; Alimin et al., 2026).

Therefore, the issue of customary land is not separate from the inheritance question; rather, it represents a further arena in which Minangkabau concepts of collective ownership, matrilineal continuity, and customary authority are negotiated alongside Islamic and state-based conceptions of property rights. This ownership system differs from the concept of private ownership in Islamic jurisprudence, which, in principle, allows the transfer of rights through sale, gift, or inheritance, as long as it does not conflict with sharia. The epistemic distinction between communal and individual ownership often presents a conflict, particularly in the context of agrarian modernization and the expansion of land investment, which demands clarity in ownership status (Hisyam et al., 2025; Ismail et al., 2024). Several studies have shown that land conflicts in West Sumatra often force communities and customary institutions to renegotiate customary principles to remain relevant to contemporary economic needs while maintaining religious and customary legitimacy.

The aspect of social authority is also crucial in the relationship between custom and Islam, particularly regarding the position of the penghulu (traditional leader). The penghulu plays a central role in regulating kinship relations, resolving disputes, and managing ancestral property. However, within the normative Islamic structure, religious authority rests with ulama (Islamic scholars), imams (leaders), and formal religious institutions. When these two forms of authority collide, overlapping authority occurs, particularly in matters of marriage, divorce, and property distribution (Hadler, 2008; Rumadi, 2012). Although the principle of *"adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah"* is ideologically understood as a mechanism for integration, research shows that, in practice, there is ongoing negotiation over who holds final authority in certain social processes.

The issue of marriage reinforces the complexity of the relationship between custom and Islam, particularly regarding the practice of matrilocality. In Minangkabau society, new couples typically live in the woman's family home, which traditionally falls within a matrilineal authority structure. This is often perceived as creating tension with the Islamic concept of qiwamah, which places the husband as the family leader with moral, social, and economic responsibilities (Blackwood, 2001; Rubi et al., 2024). Research shows that Minangkabau couples

respond to this tension through various forms of negotiation, such as distinguishing between customary and sharia domains, rearranging residences after having children, or transforming the roles of mamak and husband to be more compatible with religious norms. Thus, marriage becomes a social arena where matrilineal and Islamic values are dynamically negotiated by individuals and family institutions.

First, although studies on Adat Basandi Syarak–Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS–SBK) have employed various normative, theological, and historical approaches, most research still focuses on the philosophical and ideological aspects of the relationship between adat and Islam. These studies generally position ABS–SBK as an established value system, without examining the dynamics of social construction that occur in everyday life practices. As a result, there is an analytical gap in understanding how ABS–SBK functions as a system of meaning that is continuously negotiated by social actors in a changing social context, whether through power relations, economic transformation, or institutional development.

Second, research explicitly linking Minangkabau customs and Islam to Peter L. Berger's Sacred Canopy theory remains very limited. Most studies fail to employ Berger's social constructionist theoretical framework, which could provide a deeper understanding of the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization of customary and Islamic values. This approach, however, offers powerful analytical tools for explaining how customary institutions, religious authorities, and communitarian practices shape, maintain, or negotiate the sacred canopy that shelters Minangkabau society. This theoretical gap presents a research opportunity to integrate ABS–SBK into contemporary sociological discourses on religion.

Third, empirical studies using Berger's social construction perspective to analyze field practices are still very limited, especially regarding concrete issues such as inheritance distribution (faraidh vs. pusako tinggi), customary land management, the authority of the penghulu (headman), and marriage practices and matrilocality. Most of the research is descriptive, without examining how tensions and harmonies in these issues are reproduced through social

mechanisms such as legitimacy, shared knowledge, and institutionalization. Thus, there is a gap in research on empirical analyses that explore how traditional actors, religious scholars, and the community produce meanings for ABS–SBK as a sacred canopy, and how these meanings are maintained or transformed in contemporary social life.

Studies on the relationship between Minangkabau custom and Islam have undergone significant development over the past two decades, particularly through research highlighting the dynamics of matrilineality, customary authority, and social transformations driven by globalization and modernization. Classical studies such as Kato (1982), Sanday (2002), and Hadler (2010) affirm the continuity of Minangkabau custom despite the pressures of modernity and political change. Meanwhile, contemporary studies highlight how custom and Islam interact in agrarian issues, gender relations, and community governance (Zakaria, 2024). However, most studies remain descriptive-historical, emphasizing customary structures rather than the dynamics of meaning production and the social construction of ABS–SBK values in the context of modern life.

Recent research has shown a shift towards analyzing the relationship between custom and Islam in more specific social practices, such as inheritance, customary land, and marriage. For example, research on customary conflicts reveals tensions between customary communal ownership and the concept of private ownership under sharia (Rachman, 2017), while studies on marriage reveal new forms of negotiation between matrilocality and Islamic norms of family leadership (Rubi et al., 2024). These studies have led to the understanding that ABS-SBK is not simply an ideological principle, but an arena of social contestation involving ulama, penghulu, and the community. However, the analytical approaches used have not consistently linked these interaction patterns to major theories in the sociology of religion. Zulfan Taufik's (2024) research analyzes the impact of custom-based identity politics (ABS-SBK) on religious freedom in West Sumatra, focusing on government and social regulations (Taufik, 2024).

In the sociology of religion, Peter L. Berger's Sacred Canopy theory has been widely used to understand how societies construct and maintain structures of religious meaning through processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. However, the application of this theory to the Indonesian context, and specifically to the Minangkabau, remains relatively limited. Several studies have addressed aspects of the construction of religious meaning at the community level, but have not systematically integrated Berger's theory to analyze how custom and Islam mutually support and negotiate legitimacy within the Minangkabau social space. In other words, there is a significant opportunity to address the theoretical gap in the literature linking ABS-SBK to the sacred canopy as a structure of meaning that regulates and organizes the social reality of Minangkabau society.

Furthermore, empirical studies on ABS–SBK that utilize Berger's social construction approach are almost nonexistent in the academic literature, particularly regarding concrete issues such as high pusako, customary land, the authority of the penghulu (headman), and marriage practices. Most studies focus on customary normativity and practices without examining the socio-cognitive mechanisms that enable customary values and sharak to be maintained or negotiated at the community level. Therefore, research examining ABS–SBK through Berger's sacred canopy perspective This study is significant because the interaction between adat and Islam in Minangkabau society has implications that extend beyond the coexistence of two normative systems. In the contemporary context, processes of social change, economic transformation, changing family relations, land commercialization, and the increasing interaction between customary and state-based legal institutions have created new circumstances in which customary and Islamic values must be continuously interpreted and negotiated. Recent studies demonstrate that these negotiations remain visible in areas such as inheritance, customary land, marriage, economic practices, and community governance (Sulfinadia, Roszi, & Puspita, 2026; Aulya & Ananda, 2026; Akbar et al., 2026; Permata et al., 2026). Examining these processes is therefore important for understanding how a strongly adat-based Muslim society

maintains social cohesion while responding to changing normative and institutional environments.

The significance of this study lies in its potential to explain how religious and customary values are not merely maintained or contested, but actively reconstructed in everyday social relations. By applying Berger's social construction perspective to the Minangkabau context, the study contributes to a sociological understanding of how particular interpretations of adat and Islamic values acquire legitimacy, become embedded in social practices, and are reproduced or transformed across generations. This perspective also helps illuminate how community actors navigate potentially competing sources of authority without necessarily abandoning either customary or religious commitments.

Existing scholarship on Minangkabau society has established a substantial body of knowledge concerning the relationship between matrilineal adat, Islam, and social change. Foundational studies have demonstrated that Minangkabau social organization cannot be understood independently of the interaction between matrilineal kinship, customary institutions, and Islamic values (Kato, 1982; Sanday, 2002; Hadler, 2010). More recent scholarship has extended this discussion by examining how the relationship between adat and Islam is negotiated in contemporary contexts, including family relations, customary practices, inheritance, economic activities, and community institutions (Rachman, 2017; Rubi et al., 2024; Zakaria, 2024; Taufik, 2024). Taken together, these studies indicate that the relationship between adat and Islam is neither completely harmonious nor inherently antagonistic; rather, it is continuously interpreted, negotiated, and adapted in response to changing social conditions.

Despite these developments, several aspects of this relationship remain insufficiently explained. First, much of the existing scholarship has examined adat and Islam primarily through specific institutional or legal domains, such as inheritance, marriage, customary land, or local governance, without sufficiently explaining the broader processes through which these normative systems acquire and maintain social legitimacy in everyday life. Second, although previous studies have documented tensions and negotiations between matrilineal customary

principles and Islamic norms, less attention has been given to how community actors themselves construct, internalize, and reproduce particular interpretations of these values in changing social contexts. Third, the sociological processes through which religious and customary meanings become taken-for-granted social realities remain underexplored in contemporary Minangkabau studies. This limitation is particularly significant because contemporary Minangkabau communities face changing economic conditions, family structures, patterns of authority, and interactions between customary, religious, and state institutions.

These gaps provide the basis for the present study, which seeks to examine how the relationship between adat and Islamic values is socially constructed, negotiated, and reproduced in contemporary Minangkabau society. Although previous studies have extensively discussed the historical, legal, and cultural relationship between adat and Islam, less attention has been paid to the social processes through which these normative systems acquire legitimacy, are internalized by community members, and are reproduced in everyday practices. Addressing this gap is significant because contemporary Minangkabau society continues to experience social, economic, and institutional changes that require customary and Islamic values to be continuously interpreted and negotiated. Understanding these processes can contribute to the sociology of religion by explaining how religious and customary normative systems interact and maintain social legitimacy within an indigenous Muslim community.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze how ABS-SBK is constructed, interpreted, and reproduced as a framework of social and religious meaning in contemporary Minangkabau society. The study employs a qualitative interpretive approach informed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's theory of the social construction of reality, particularly the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization, as well as Berger's concept of the sacred canopy. These theoretical perspectives enable the study to examine not only the normative content of ABS-SBK but also how its meanings are produced through social interaction, institutionalized as legitimate norms, and internalized within everyday social practices.

The novelty of this study lies in bringing these theoretical perspectives into dialogue with the contemporary Minangkabau context to explain how adat and Islamic values are negotiated as sources of social and religious legitimacy. Rather than treating ABS-SBK simply as a fixed cultural principle or as evidence of harmony between adat and Islam, this study conceptualizes it as a socially constructed and continually negotiated framework whose meaning is shaped by interactions among religious authorities, customary leaders, and community members. In doing so, the study contributes to a more process-oriented understanding of the sociology of religion in Indonesia and offers a context-sensitive account of how Muslim indigenous communities manage multiple normative and value systems amid contemporary social change. This study adopts a qualitative multi-site case study design involving three Minangkabau research sites. The design was selected because the study seeks to investigate a contemporary socio-religious phenomenon within its natural social context and to understand how the relationship between adat and Islamic values is constructed and negotiated by community actors. Examining multiple sites allows for comparison of how similar normative principles may be interpreted and practiced differently across local contexts while also identifying recurring patterns in the interaction between customary and Islamic values.

This design directly corresponds to the research questions, which focus on the processes through which customary and Islamic meanings are produced, legitimized, negotiated, and reproduced in everyday life. Rather than treating ABS-SBK as a fixed normative doctrine, the study examines how its meanings are enacted through social practices and interactions. Berger and Luckmann's concepts of externalization, objectivation, and internalization provide the analytical framework for interpreting these processes. Accordingly, the unit of analysis is not adat or Islam as abstract systems, but the social practices, interactions, interpretations, and negotiations through which customary and Islamic norms are expressed and given meaning, particularly in contexts where matrilineal customary principles intersect with Islamic teachings. The study was conducted in Agam Regency, Tanah Datar Regency, and Bukittinggi City, three locations selected through purposive sampling based on predefined contextual

criteria. The first criterion was the presence of functioning customary institutions, indicated by the continued role of niniak mamak, Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), and other customary institutions in regulating community affairs and maintaining Minangkabau customary practices. The second criterion was the observable implementation of ABS-SBK principles in community and institutional life, particularly in practices involving family relations, customary leadership, inheritance, land management, and religious activities. The third criterion was the availability of relevant institutional and documentary sources, including customary records, local regulations, government reports, and previous scholarly studies concerning customary and Islamic practices. These characteristics are documented in previous studies of Minangkabau social and religious life, including research that highlights the continuing role of customary institutions and ABS-SBK across different parts of West Sumatra (Kato, 1982; Hadler, 2010; Yulika et al., 2026). The three sites were therefore selected not simply for geographical diversity, but because they provide empirically relevant contexts in which the interaction between matrilineal customary norms and Islamic values can be observed and compared.

The purposive selection of these sites also allows the study to capture variation in the institutional and social contexts in which ABS-SBK is practiced. Agam Regency and Tanah Datar Regency provide contexts in which nagari-based customary institutions and matrilineal social organization remain significant, while Bukittinggi City offers an urban context where customary and Islamic values interact with more diverse social and institutional environments. Comparing these settings enables the study to examine whether the processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization identified in Berger and Luckmann's framework operate similarly or differently across local contexts.

Data collection was conducted through three primary sources: document study, in-depth interviews, and participant observation (Miles & Huberman, 1994). First, a document study was conducted by examining various relevant written sources, such as Minangkabau customary texts, fatwas from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) of West Sumatra, Nagari Regional Regulations regarding customary governance, Religious Court decisions regarding customary

inheritance cases, and Sinta and Scopus journal articles discussing the dynamics of adat-syarak. These documents were used to understand the normative and institutional framework underlying ABS-SBK practices in the field.

Second, in-depth interviews were conducted using purposive sampling to recruit key informants who understood the dynamics of adat and Islam from different perspectives. The informants included four village chiefs (penghulu) with customary authority, three imams (imams) or ulama (Islamic scholars) with religious authority, three female heirloom owners who understood the dynamics of matrilineal inheritance, and two youth leaders representing the new generation in customary change. The interviews focused on the informants' understanding of customary-Islamic practices, forms of value negotiation, and their experiences in concrete cases such as inheritance, customary land, and marriage.

Third, participant observation was conducted to capture customary practices within a natural social context. Observations included attendance at inheritance discussions, community meetings on customary conflicts, and wedding ceremonies featuring both customary and Islamic elements. This technique allowed researchers to observe how ABS–SBK values are implemented, negotiated, or maintained in everyday social interactions.

## Result

### Islam as a Sacred Canopy in ABS-SBK

Interview data from customary leaders, religious authorities, and community members showed that ABS-SBK was commonly invoked when participants explained the relationship between adat and Islam. Participants referred to Islamic principles when evaluating the legitimacy of customary practices, while customary leaders described adat as the social mechanism through which these principles were implemented in community life. This pattern was also reflected in observations of customary and religious activities and in relevant institutional documents. Interview data from traditional leaders, religious authorities, and community members indicate that ABS-SBK was frequently used by participants when explaining the relationship between custom and Islam. Participants referred to Islamic principles when evaluating the legitimacy of customary

practices, while traditional leaders described custom as a social mechanism through which these principles are implemented in community life. This pattern was also reflected in observations of customary and religious activities and in relevant institutional documents. One informant (Niniak Mamak) stated that, "For us in traditional marriage, marriage is not just a matter of the physical and spiritual, but a sacred vow witnessed by God. Custom regulates the process of the baralek, but the contract's validity is absolute because of religion. Regarding inheritance, custom has rules regarding high and low pusako. However, Islamic law determines the faraid portion for low pusako so that no one is wronged. Custom that uses sharia will not be eroded by heat, will not be eroded by rain." In line with this, another informant, a cleric, stated, "Religion places marriage as a misaqan ghalizan or a solid agreement before Allah SWT. When a family is built on religious values, it becomes a sacred canopy that protects children and nephews from sin. Likewise, regarding inheritance, religion has determined each person's share fairly. The task of the cleric and the niniak mamak is to ensure that the property, whether it is property or a trust from the community, is settled in the light of the Qur'an so that it brings blessings, not disputes." This shows that religion is a sacred canopy in the bonds of family and property.

These findings suggest that ABS-SBK serves as a socially recognized mechanism for linking religious values to customary norms. In Berger's terms, the institutionalization of these meanings can be understood as part of the process by which a shared normative reality is constructed and maintained. From Berger's perspective, the sacred canopy functions as a structure of meaning that provides symbolic protection and final legitimacy for social action. In the context of ABS-SBK, Islam is not merely a personal religion but also a source of supreme values that encompass custom, law, morality, and even authority structures. Informants emphasized that "custom without sharia is empty," a phrase indicating that Islam serves as the normative foundation that confirms the validity of customary practices.

In practice, Islam's position as the highest authority is evident in how society prioritizes sharia rules when there are differences between custom and religion. Village leaders, imams, and community leaders all refer to sharia as the moral and

axiological standard for determining customary decisions. Thus, sharia serves as the "peak of legitimacy," defining which customs are considered correct (according to sharia) and which require revision or negotiation. This relationship demonstrates that custom occupies a subordinate yet autonomous position, as long as it does not conflict with Islamic principles.

However, the relationship between custom and Islam is not strictly hierarchical. Interviews with village leaders and religious scholars indicate that the two reinforce each other through a repeated process of symbolic negotiation. Custom provides a cultural space for the contextual implementation of Islamic law, while Islamic law provides a moral framework that stabilizes custom, preventing it from deviating from Islamic teachings. This pattern of mutual reinforcement represents a form of institutional objectification, in which both values are fused into a single normative whole: ABS-SBK.

Islam's function as a sacred canopy also emerges in the internalization of religious values through customary practices. Wedding ceremonies, clan deliberations, inheritance distribution, and other customary processes demonstrate that Islamic values exist not only as formal rules but are embedded in the community's social habitus. Female informants, clan leaders, and youth leaders all described how practicing custom simultaneously means practicing Islamic teachings. This internalization process is consistent with Berger's idea of how sacred institutions are reproduced through repeated daily actions, forming a collective consciousness in which custom and Islam are an inseparable whole.

Ultimately, field findings confirm that ABS-SBK functions as a structure of meaning that stabilizes Minangkabau social life through layered sacralization. Islam provides the sacred canopy, while custom provides a cultural platform that facilitates the expression of these values in daily life. When the two converge, a relatively stable social system is formed, yet remains open to negotiation and adaptation to social change. This is what makes ABS-SBK not only survive but continue to thrive in contemporary Minangkabau society.

**Externalization: The Islamization of Custom**

Research findings indicate that externalizing Islamic values in Minangkabau customs occurs through repeated, institutionalized social actions. In various traditional rituals, such as the batagak penghulu (headman's ceremony), the community begins the series of events with the recitation of Quranic verses and prayers. This practice is not merely a formality but a symbol that every traditional action must be grounded in the spiritual values of Islam. This externalization demonstrates how religious values are first "extracted" from individual consciousness and then influence collective customary practices.

Furthermore, the matrilineal kinship structure—the core of the Minangkabau social system—undergoes Islamization through symbolic reinterpretation. Although lineage continues to follow the mother, the roles of the mother and father are given new meaning through references to Islamic teachings on leadership, moral responsibility, and family development. Scholars emphasized that "matrilineal does not necessarily violate Islamic law," as this structure is understood as a social system that can be aligned with Islamic values through adjustments to functions and roles. Thus, externalization does not erase old customs, but rather repackages them within a framework of religious values.

Significant changes have also occurred in the practice of cultural communication through traditional proverbs. Many traditional expressions have undergone an Islamization of meaning; for example, the saying "alam takambang jadi guru" (the world becomes a teacher) is now interpreted as a sign of God's greatness and evidence of the presence of divine values in natural phenomena. This new interpretation demonstrates how Minangkabau society reproduces religious teachings through traditional symbols, making Islam an integral part of everyday cultural narratives. This process reflects the early stages of value institutionalization, as explained by Berger.

The externalization of Islamic values is also evident in the practice of customary deliberation. Many decisions regarding inheritance, customary land, and marriage now cite sharia law for moral legitimacy. The village head and imam work together to provide explanations to the community, so that the customary deliberation process is consciously directed toward alignment with religious values. This pattern of action demonstrates that Minangkabau society actively

"exports" its religious understanding into the traditional social space, thus fostering cohesion between the two systems.

Overall, this externalization process emphasizes that the Islamization of customs is not externally imposed but rather the result of ongoing social action. Every ritual, proverb, deliberation, and kinship practice serves as a medium for producing and externalizing Islamic values within customary structures. At this stage, Minangkabau customs emerge not only as a cultural heritage but also as a living, dynamic, and constantly negotiated space for religious expression in everyday social practices. This externalization process paves the way for objectivation and internalization within the ABS-SBK system.

Objectivation in the ABS-SBK context occurs when customary and Islamic values, previously externalized through social practices, begin to be institutionalized as stable, binding structures. One of the primary arenas in which this process takes place is customary institutions, such as the Nagari Customary Council (KAN). This institution not only carries out its traditional function of regulating customary disputes and managing customary land, but also increasingly adopts Islamic legal principles in family matters, particularly regarding marriage, divorce, and inheritance. This integration ensures that customary rules no longer stand alone but operate within the normative umbrella of Islam, thus strengthening the position of ABS-SBK as a well-institutionalized reality.

One of the strongest manifestations of objectivation is seen in the establishment of customary regulations. For example, many Nagari Regional Regulations include the principle of "adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah" as the philosophical and normative basis for managing customary land, inheriting heirlooms, and marriage. In this context, Islamic values are not only present in rituals but also institutionalized as part of the official rules that bind all nagari residents. Thus, objectivation transforms religious values into objective structures that exist "outside" the individual, as Berger intended.

Objectivation is also present in everyday administrative practices, particularly in inheritance and marriage matters. Surveys and interviews indicate that many

decisions regarding inheritance of ancestral property now combine customary logic (matrilineal ownership) with faraidh logic (individual rights based on sharia). Such decisions are usually formulated in community meetings, but the final decision is still recorded in the formal minutes, reinforcing adat-syarak's position as norms with dual legitimacy: custom and religion. This demonstrates how the results of community negotiations are transformed into institutional structures.

Objectivation is also evident in the figure of the penghulu (headman), who is seen as having dual legitimacy: both a representative of adat and a guardian of sharia values. Research shows that every decision by the penghulu—whether in community or village meetings—is considered valid only if it aligns with Islamic moral values. This combination of cultural and religious authority makes the penghulu's position a symbol of the ABS-SBK objectification: he is not only a customary leader but also an extension of Islamic authority within the customary realm. Thus, the values of adat-syarak (customary law) shift from mere personal beliefs into a collectively valid and legitimate structure.

In the regulatory realm, the ABS-SBK objectification is further strengthened by the inclusion of Islamic moral elements in various Nagari regulations. Many nagari establish the adat principle of basandi syarak as the philosophical foundation for managing customary land, protecting matrilineal families, and regulating social relations. These regulations serve as objective instruments that guide community life, making ABS-SBK values seem to be a "natural" part of the Minangkabau social order. When religious values are formally enshrined in customary regulations, this objectification becomes even more solidified because it has been institutionally standardized.

In addition to formal institutions, informal education, such as the surau (small mosque) plays a crucial role in fostering the objectification of ABS-SBK. The surau, historically the center of religious and social education in Minangkabau, serves as a space where customary and Islamic values are taught, practiced, and conveyed. In Berger's context, the surau serves as a sustaining agent of objectivation: it ensures that the institutional values formulated by the community are consistently reproduced to the next generation. Thus, the surau is not only a place

for religious learning but also a place for cultivating the collective identity of ABS-SBK.

At a certain point, the objectification of ABS-SBK reaches a stage where this social construct is perceived as something "given," natural, and even sacred. The community no longer questions the validity of ABS-SBK because this structure has been accepted as an integral part of their social world. In line with Berger, objectivation makes customary and Islamic values appear as external realities with moral and symbolic coercion. When customary institutions, nagari law, the authority of the village head, and the education of the surau (Islamic boarding school) work harmoniously, ABS-SBK becomes not only a norm but also a sacred and unopposed "social fact," shaping the patterns of life of the Minangkabau people.

Overall, the objectification of ABS-SBK illustrates how Islamic values, previously externalized through symbolic actions, are then institutionalized in institutions, rules, and social structures. At this stage, the relationship between adat and syarak is no longer understood as a personal negotiation, but as an established social reality accepted as part of the Minangkabau way of life. This reality forms the basis for the internalization stage.

**Internalization: Absorption of ABS-SBK Values into Subjective Consciousness**

Internalization is the stage in which individuals absorb the objective structure of ABS-SBK into their subjective consciousness, so that the values of adat and syara'ah feel natural and unquestionable. In this study, internalization was strongly evident in the narratives of Minangkabau residents who consider ABS-SBK a part of their identity. Informants from various circles—headmen, religious scholars, female heirloom owners, and village youth—often stated that "custom and Islam cannot be separated," indicating that this institutional structure has shaped the community's way of thinking, perception, and moral orientation.

At the family level, internalization is evident in how women interpret ownership of high heirlooms. Many female informants stated that ownership of heirlooms is not merely a matrilineal tradition, but a religious mandate to

preserve the lineage. This interpretation demonstrates the incorporation of Islamic values into the interpretation of adat, so that the customary structure is not seen as contradictory to religion but as part of a moral responsibility accompanied by the value of worship. This is where the internalization process occurs: objective values become personal orientation.

Internalization also occurs through formal and informal socialization. In religious and customary education at mosques (surau), schools, and families, young people are taught that Minangkabau customs must be based on Islamic law. Interviewed village youth stated that they view customs not merely as ancestral traditions but as a value system consistent with Islam. This perspective demonstrates that the ABS-SBK structure has been instilled through a continuous social education process.

Social rituals serve as important means of internalization. Wedding ceremonies, community meetings, and even the Batagak Penghulu (traditional ceremony) are not merely ceremonial activities, but also social learning processes regarding collective identity. When individuals participate in these rituals, they simultaneously absorb customary and Islamic values. Through repetition, these rituals form a habitus (to borrow from Bourdieu), making ABS-SBK norms feel natural and become part of the individual's identity.

Ultimately, internalization explains why ABS-SBK persists amidst modern social change. Despite negotiations and adaptations, ABS-SBK values have become embedded in the community's consciousness, making them not merely traditions but the moral and spiritual foundation of daily life. This internalization stage confirms that the sacred canopy of ABS-SBK lives not only within institutions but also within each Minangkabau individual, serving as a guideline for interpreting their social world.

Empirical analysis shows that the *Adat Basandi Syarak–Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS–SBK) system serves as a mechanism for value negotiation between adat (custom) and Islam across various spheres of Minangkabau social life. In the inheritance case, *pusako tinggi* (ancestral property) is inherited matrilineally by women as communal property, whereas *faraidh* (Islamic

inheritance law) applies to individual earnings (*harta pencarian*). Religious scholars reinterpret Islamic law to align with local traditions by classifying *pusako tinggi* as collective wealth outside the domain of *faraidh*. This practice highlights the flexibility of Islamic jurisprudence and illustrates the processes of externalization and objectivation of adat–syarak values, in which both systems reinforce one another in maintaining social harmony.

In the case of *tanah ulayat* (communal land), ABS–SBK serves as a framework for conflict resolution through consensus-based deliberation rooted in adat and legitimized by religion. Disputes are usually resolved through *musyawarah nagari* (village deliberation), with *ulama* serving as moral authorities who provide religious validation. Decisions integrating adat and Islamic principles are perceived as socially legitimate and binding. This dual legitimacy adat as the guardian of communal solidarity and Islam as the custodian of sacred morality strengthens social cohesion and minimizes inter-clan conflict.

Marriage practices illustrate symbolic negotiation between the matrilocal tradition and the Islamic principle of *qawwam* (male leadership in the household). Although newly married couples reside near the wife's family, the husband remains recognized as the spiritual and moral leader within his nuclear family. The wedding ceremony always begins with a *syar'i* marriage contract, followed by customary rituals, indicating that Islamic law holds ultimate authority, while adat reinforces its social dimensions. This structure exemplifies the objectivation of Islamic values in adat practices and the internalization of the understanding that male leadership can coexist within a matrilineal cultural framework without normative contradiction.

The position of the *penghulu* (traditional leader) further represents the sacred institutional authority of ABS–SBK. The *penghulu* embodies both cultural and religious legitimacy, symbolically referred to as "the shadow of God on earth." His inauguration rituals always include Qur'anic recitations and prayers, underscoring the sacred moral foundation of his role. In practice, the *penghulu* mediates between adat and religion, ensuring that customary decisions align with Islamic values. Thus, the *penghulu* stands as an institutionalized representation of the sacred canopy that sustains moral balance within Minangkabau society.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that ABS–SBK is not a static normative principle but a dynamic social framework through which adat and Islam are continuously interpreted, negotiated, and reproduced in Minangkabau society. The processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization identified in the findings illustrate how customary and Islamic values acquire social legitimacy and become embedded in everyday practices. From Berger's theoretical perspective, these processes also help explain how religious meanings provide a framework of legitimacy and significance for customary institutions and practices. In this sense, ABS–SBK can be understood as functioning as a sacred canopy insofar as Islamic meanings are mobilized to provide moral legitimacy and coherence to aspects of Minangkabau social life. However, the findings also indicate that this process is neither uniform nor free from negotiation, particularly when customary practices encounter changing social, legal, and economic conditions.

These findings open several directions for future research. First, further studies could examine generational differences in the interpretation and practice of ABS–SBK, particularly differences between older customary and religious authorities and younger Minangkabau generations. Second, comparative research across different nagari and regional contexts could investigate how variations in customary institutions, religious authority, urbanization, and local social structures influence the interpretation of ABS–SBK. Third, future research could focus on contested cases in which customary and Islamic norms diverge, including disputes concerning inheritance, pusako tinggi, customary land, marriage, and gender relations, to examine how competing claims of legitimacy are negotiated in practice. Finally, longitudinal and interdisciplinary research could investigate how ABS–SBK is being renegotiated in response to contemporary legal reforms, economic transformation, migration, digitalization, and changing patterns of religious authority. Such research would further clarify whether ABS–SBK continues to function as a shared framework of social and religious legitimacy and how its meanings may change across generations and social contexts.

## Discussion

The concept of Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah (ABS–SBK) in Minangkabau society serves as a sacred canopy, providing moral legitimacy for all social actions and customary practices. The principle that custom must not conflict with Islam positions religious values as the "peak of authority" regulating society's social and cultural dynamics. Within Berger's (1967) framework, religion functions as a structure of meaning that overcomes the relativity of social norms. ABS–SBK fulfills this function by positioning syarak as the determinant of moral direction, while custom acts as an operational system that embodies religious values in daily life. Thus, the sacred canopy is created through a hierarchical relationship in which Islam serves as the primary source of legitimacy for customary practices (Beck et al., 1971; Navis, 1984).

Besides serving as a source of legitimacy, ABS–SBK also serves as a glue for the social identity of the Minangkabau people. Islam in the ABS–SBK tradition is understood not only as a belief system but also as the foundation that unites the community into a customary community. Social membership is determined by a person's ability to practice Islamic customs; thus, Minangkabau identity is developed through the integration of ethnicity and religiosity (Kato, 1977). This aligns with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) view that identity is a product of social processes supported by institutions and symbolic legitimacy. An "Islamic" Minangkabau identity is not born naturally but is constructed through traditional ceremonies, informal education such as the surau (prayer hall), and oral narratives in the form of proverbs (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

ABS-SBK also produces meaning for all social actions in Minangkabau society. Customary practices such as batagak penghulu (headman's meeting), community deliberations, or the management of pusako (heritage) are understood not only as social obligations but also as acts of worship and a form of adherence to transcendent values. In this respect, religion provides a horizon of meaning that connects local actions with the larger cosmos, as Berger (1967) explains: religion provides a nomos that unites the social and sacred worlds. Therefore, every customary practice is always linked to religious values, creating an integration of

meaning that prevents society from moral chaos or social anomie (Aspinall, 2020).

Furthermore, ABS–SBK functions as a symbolic protection mechanism when society faces social change. In situations of tension between modern values and local traditions—for example, regarding inheritance patterns, customary land, or family structures—ABS–SBK ensures that the changes that occur remain within the bounds of Islamic values. This is precisely like Berger's concept of the sacred canopy, which protects society from the relativity of meaning by providing a stable symbolic structure (Berger, 1967). ABS–SBK serves as a basis for assessing whether an innovation is legitimate and as a filtering tool to maintain cultural continuity amid change.

Thus, ABS–SBK is not merely a normative slogan, but a social construct that performs the functions of sacralization, legitimation, identity protection, and meaning production. In Berger's framework, the sacred canopy operates through processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Minangkabau society expresses Islamic values in customs, institutionalizes them through social structures such as the penghulu and KAN, and then internalizes them in daily life. ABS–SBK, through these functions, serves as a sacred canopy that maintains social order while shaping the horizon of meaning for contemporary Minangkabau society.

**The Dynamics of Social Construction in Customary Law and Sharak**

The relationship between custom and sharak in Minangkabau society is not static but unfolds through a continuous dialectical process, as explained by the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). In the context of ABS–SBK, this dialectic is reflected in how society expresses Islamic values through customary practices, then standardizes these expressions within social institutions, and finally internalizes them as part of its cultural identity. This dialectic makes ABS–SBK not merely a normative doctrine but a living reality that changes with social dynamics. Thus, custom and Islam do not negate each other, but merge through historical and intersubjective social mechanisms.

The externalization process occurs when Minangkabau society interprets and expresses Islamic values in customs and daily practices. Traditional rituals such as the batagak penghulu (village leader meeting), community deliberations, or the resolution of customary disputes always begin with the recitation of Quranic verses and prayers, demonstrating that Islamic values are "extracted" to frame customary actions (Bakker, 2015). This externalization results in new interpretations of matrilineal traditions, allowing customary adat, kinship structures, and other social institutions to be reinterpreted within an Islamic moral framework. This process not only strengthens the legitimacy of customary law but also ensures its continued relevance within the religious horizon of the Minangkabau people.

Objectivation occurs when these externalized values are institutionalized within social structures such as the Nagari Customary Council (KAN), the penghulu institution, Nagari Regulations, and surau (household prayer) education. At this stage, ABS-SBK becomes an "objective reality" taken for granted. For example, the dual legitimacy of penghulu as both a customary and a religious figure demonstrates that customary institutions have systematically adopted sharia principles as a moral basis (Kato, 1977). This objectification reinforces ABS–SBK's status as a sacred canopy, as these values are no longer understood as the result of individual interpretation but as an established and sacred social structure.

Internalization is the stage at which these institutionalized adat-syarak values are absorbed into the social habitus of Minangkabau society. Individuals learn from childhood that Minangkabau identity is inherent in two things: matrilineal customs and Islamic values. Through socialization within matrilineal families, surau education, traditional ceremonies, and daily life, they internalize that adat and syarak are an inseparable ontological unity (Belfer, 2017). This internalization process is what allows ABS–SBK to survive across generations and form a unique collective mentality: the community can adhere to adat without abandoning its Islamic identity.

The overall dialectic of externalization, objectivation, and internalization enables ABS–SBK to withstand social changes such as modernization,

urbanization, migration, and globalization. Unlike other indigenous communities experiencing identity erosion, the Minangkabau maintain the relevance of their customs by integrating them with transcendent religious values. This aligns with Berger's (1967) notion that religion provides a cosmos that protects society from ambiguity and social chaos. ABS–SBK acts as a sacred canopy, enabling the Minangkabau people to adapt to change without losing their cultural and religious foundations. Thus, the social construction of adat–syarak not only maintains the continuity of tradition but also enables transformation in line with the demands of the times.

**Contemporary Challenges**

This research finds that ABS–SBK faces a number of significant challenges amid contemporary social changes, particularly in legal modernization, the transformation of customary authority, and the commodification of culture. Legal modernization has significantly changed how society resolves social issues, particularly among the younger generation, who tend to prefer state law over customary mechanisms. This indicates a shift in normative preferences from customary law structures toward formal legal systems, which are considered more practical and offer greater legal certainty (Nasir, 2017). From Berger's perspective, this creates a situation of competing legitimation systems, in which the sacred canopy of ABS–SBK competes with modern legal regimes that lack a sacred basis.

These shifts in the preferences of the younger generation are also reinforced by increased formal education, urbanization, and migration, which distance them from the customary environment that has long been a source of internalization of ABS–SBK values. The increasing intensity of life in large cities such as Padang, Medan, Pekanbaru, and Jakarta has weakened the process of socialization of customary law and sharak at the family level. Several studies have shown that the Minangkabau diaspora tends to observe customs symbolically, whereas family law primarily refers to state regulations (Salleh & T, 2015). This phenomenon has resulted in a diminished continuity of the customary habitus and syarak that previously supported the sacred canopy.

Furthermore, the authority of the penghulu (headman) has undergone significant changes due to the bureaucratization of the nagari (village) government. The penghulu's position, which once held moral and social authority, now has to share space with nagari officials, village government institutions, and modern administrative structures. This stronger administrative role often shifts customary decisions to the formal realm, which does not always align with ABS–SBK values (Asrinaldi, 2017). From Berger's (1967) perspective, when customary institutions lose their objective authority, the sacred canopy's ability to influence community social action declines.

The commodification of custom also poses a serious challenge to ABS–SBK. Many traditional ceremonies, such as the batagak penghulu (headman's ritual), baralek (headman's ritual), and other cultural rituals, have been modified for tourism or the cultural industry. When traditional processions are framed more as spectacles than as sacred practices, their transcendent values can be diminished. Several studies note that commodification can transform custom into an aesthetic commodity rather than a moral system that guides social life (Minawati, 2013). In this context, the ABS–SBK sacred canopy is weakened by desacralization—the loss of divine elements or sacred values from traditional practices due to commercialization.

Overall, the challenges of legal modernization, the transformation of customary authority, and cultural commodification test the strength of the ABS–SBK sacred canopy in the contemporary era. ABS–SBK remains an important system of meaning, but its operational space increasingly intersects with modern structures that are not always compatible with sacred values. According to Berger, the sacred canopy can survive if social institutions continue to reproduce transcendent values through externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Berger, 1967). Thus, the future sustainability of ABS–SBK depends on the Minangkabau people's ability to renegotiate the relationship among custom, sharia, and modernity without losing the sacred foundations that underpin their collective identity.

**Theoretical Contributions**

First, this study extends Peter L. Berger's social construction theory framework to the context of Muslim societies that adhere to matrilineal kinship systems, such as the Minangkabau. While Berger focused on how religion provides a nomos that organizes social reality (Berger, 1967). The findings of this study demonstrate that religious nomos in Minangkabau do not operate in isolation. Instead, it interacts dialectically with the matrilineal customary structure that was entrenched long before Islamization. Thus, this study enriches Berger's theory by demonstrating how the sacred canopy can operate in a society with dual centers of cultural authority custom and religion and how the two are united through a dialectical process within the social structure.

Second, this study contributes to the study of social integration by demonstrating how Islam functions as a mechanism for integrating Minangkabau customs. In the ABS-SBK context, religion is not merely a source of normative legitimacy but also an instrument for reconciling values when tensions arise between matrilineal principles and Islamic teachings, for example, in issues of inheritance, family leadership, or the authority of the penghulu (headman) (Bustami, 2019). This integration through religion demonstrates that the sacred canopy not only protects the social order from chaos but also serves as a mediating tool, enabling communities to selectively adapt to cultural change.

Third, this study proposes a new analytical model of how local Islam is socially constructed through Berger's three-stage dialectic: externalization, objectivation, and internalization in relation to custom. Field findings indicate that religious interpretations of custom (externalization) can be institutionalized through customary and syarak institutions (objectivation), and then shape the social habitus of the Minangkabau people regarding how to be "traditional and religious people" (internalization). This model provides a more comprehensive framework than previous approaches that tended to view ABS-SBK as "syncretism" without explaining the sociological mechanisms that enable this harmonization (Dahlan, 2019).

Fourth, this study contributes to the study of Islam Nusantara by emphasizing that the social construction of Islam is never uniform, but always contextual and tied to local cultural structures. In the Minangkabau case, Islam becomes a flexible normative force, capable of negotiating with custom without losing its religious authority. This aligns with recent studies on local Islam, which view religion not only as a text but also as a social practice interpreted within the cultural framework of each community (Arianti et al., 2025; Feener, 2013). This research enriches this literature by providing a concrete example of how such negotiations unfold in a matrilineal society.

Fifth, this research provides a new theoretical foundation for the study of social and religious change, particularly in societies facing the pressures of modernization, bureaucratization of nagari (village-based communities), and the commodification of custom. By combining Berger's theory with the Minangkabau context, this study demonstrates how the ABS-SBK sacred canopy persists through a continuous process of value reconceptualization. This strengthens the argument that religion can be a creative force amid social change, not merely a conservative one. At the same time, this analytical model can be replicated to study other Muslim societies where strong customary structures intersect with Islamic teachings, thereby broadening the theory's global relevance.

## Conclusion

This study concludes that ABS–SBK remains a dynamic framework through which Minangkabau communities interpret, negotiate, and reproduce the relationship between adat and Islamic values. The key empirical finding is that this relationship is sustained not through the complete convergence of the two normative systems, but through their practical accommodation in everyday social life. Islamic values provide an important source of moral legitimacy, while adat provides the social and institutional mechanisms through which these values are enacted and maintained. In this process, customary leaders, religious authorities, and community members actively negotiate the meaning and application of ABS–SBK in response to changing social conditions. Thus, rather than functioning as a fixed doctrine, ABS–SBK remains relevant precisely because it enables the

continuing adaptation of customary and Islamic values while preserving a shared framework of social and moral legitimacy.

ABS–SBK therefore emerges not merely as a normative philosophy but as a socially negotiated framework whose meaning is continuously interpreted and enacted in everyday life. The empirical contribution of this study lies in demonstrating that the endurance of ABS–SBK depends not on the absence of tension between adat and Islam, but on the capacity of community actors to negotiate and adapt their meanings when responding to changing social conditions. This finding extends conventional understandings of ABS–SBK as a fixed principle of harmony by highlighting its continuing reconstruction as a shared framework of social legitimacy.

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