



## Mechanism For Resolution Of Household Conflict Based On Tradition In The Minangkabau Community

Al Ikhlas, Nurus Shalihin, Elfia, Desi Yusdian

Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang, Universitas Islam Negeri Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar

Correspondence Email: [alikhlas@fis.unp.ac.id](mailto:alikhlas@fis.unp.ac.id),

Received: 06-02-2025

Revised: 11-10-2025

Accepted: 12-10-2025

### Abstract

The Minangkabau ethnic group is known as a society that strongly adheres to traditional values in life. This can be seen in their interactions in various daily activities. Including in resolving household conflicts, the Minangkabau people have their own mechanism for resolving household conflicts that occur with their nephews. To explore the traditional mechanism for resolving household conflicts, the focus of this research was formulated, namely how to resolve household conflicts in Minangkabau society. The method used in this research is qualitative with the type of empirical or non-doctrinal legal research. Meanwhile, the approach taken in this research is legal anthropology, namely a study approach that examines the relationship between humans, culture and law. Data collection in this research used interview techniques and then analyzed using an interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman. Data was collected from Luhak Tanah Data, Luhak Agam, Luhak Limo Puluah Kota, Rantau Pariaman and Rantau Pasisia. From this research it was found that the traditional resolution of household conflicts in Minangkabau society is by 3 (three) mechanisms, namely descending from ateh manitiak dari langik, tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah, and finally the combination method.

### Keywords

Mechanisms, Household Conflicts, Customs, Minangkabau

### Introduction

Conflict within the household is an inevitable part of family life. This is because conflict is part of the dynamic nature of life, which is full of ups and downs and can sometimes disrupt family harmony. In principle, conflict within the household should be avoided, but as social beings, it is difficult to avoid conflict entirely because there is always the possibility of friction that can trigger conflict. (Wardani, 2022). In Islam, divorce is known as thalaq and khuluk. Both are legal actions that result in the termination of the marriage bond between husband and wife in a manner that is ma'ruf or in accordance with good customs (Imron, 2016). Based on Article 39 of Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage in Indonesia, divorce can only be carried out before a court after attempts at reconciliation by the court have failed. Although Islam allows divorce, it is not considered a good thing (Hoyir, 2014). However, divorce becomes an option if conflicts within the household cannot be resolved, because maintaining a conflict-ridden relationship can have a negative impact on all family members. In such circumstances, divorce can be a solution (Baaj, 2022). Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that West Sumatra is among the ten provinces with the highest divorce rates in

Indonesia. Throughout 2021, there were 9,371 divorce cases, consisting of 2,372 cases of divorce by repudiation and 6,999 cases of divorce by litigation. (Mardiansyah, 2023). Pada tahun 2022, The West Sumatra Religious High Court recorded 2,484 cases of divorce by repudiation and 7,164 cases of divorce by litigation. (Herman, 2022). The number of divorces in West Sumatra represents the tip of the iceberg of domestic problems. There are far more couples in conflict than the number of recorded divorce cases, although specific data on this is not available. Many couples are able to find solutions to their problems so that the conflict does not end in divorce.

In general, the resolution of domestic conflicts in Indonesia can go through three phases, namely the internal family phase, the third-party involvement phase (non-litigation), and the litigation phase or resolution through judicial institutions. (Jauhari, 2011). During the internal phase, the husband and wife try to resolve the conflict without involving outside parties, including their extended family. The steps taken include open communication, resolving issues gradually, finding mutually beneficial solutions, setting boundaries, and improving intimacy in the relationship (E. Dewi, 2008). If internal resolution is unsuccessful, couples can turn to non-litigious conflict resolution. This phase involves third parties such as mediators, marriage counselors, negotiators, or arbitrators, without going through religious courts. In Indonesian society, traditional values and culture often form the basis for conflict resolution at this stage because customary law is considered to have benefits that are felt by the community (Saptenno, 2012). In Minangkabau society, Arifki's research shows that domestic conflicts are often resolved by religious scholars and *niniak mamak*. Religious scholars use religious values as guidelines, while *niniak mamak* refer to traditional values. Conflict resolution mechanisms include familial, traditional, and litigation approaches through religious courts. However, conflict resolution tends to be carried out independently within the nuclear family. (Warman, 2022).

Based on a number of literature and research conducted by Arifki, this study focuses on exploring patterns of customary-based domestic conflict resolution in Minangkabau society. In general, the Minangkabau tribe has three main customary systems, namely Koto Piliang, Bodi Caniago, and a combination of the two. These three systems have different customary philosophies, government structures, decision-making methods, conflict resolution methods, and social dynamics. Previous studies have not fully explored these aspects in depth, so exploring customary-based conflict resolution patterns is important to provide a comprehensive understanding. In the Koto Piliang customary system, which was founded by Datuak Katumanguangan, leadership is autocratic with sovereign power vested in the king and policies determined from above. This principle is described by the term *turun dari langit* or *manitiak dari ateh*. Conflict resolution in this system follows a specific hierarchy (Sarah, 2021).

Meanwhile, the Bodi Caniago customary system designed by Datuak Parpatiah nan Sabatang has democratic leadership characteristics, with sovereignty in the hands of the nagari community. This system is described by the term *mambasuik dari bumi*, which means that every policy involves the community through deliberation to reach consensus, in accordance with the customary expression *barajo ka mufakat tuah dek sakato*. The authority of the

village chiefs is considered equal, as explained in the term *pucuak bulek*, *urek tunggang*. Conflict resolution in this system is carried out through a gradual deliberation process, following certain rules and levels. When all stages have been completed, the resulting decision is called *mangaruak saabih sauang*, *maawai sahabih raso*. (Legitstate, 2020). The third customary system is a mixture of Koto Piliang and Bodi Caniago, which allows both systems to be applied simultaneously. This is explained in the customary proverb *pisang sikalek-kalek hutan*, *pisang timbatu nan bagatah*, *samo dijuluak kaduoannyo*. This system arose from a conflict between Datuak Katumangguangan and Datuak Parpatiah nan Sabatang regarding the ideal customary system. The conflict was successfully resolved through peace marked by the traditional *manikam batu* procession. Finally, the customary system established by Datuak Katumangguangan was called *Kelarasan Koto Piliang*, while the one established by Datuak Parpatiah nan Sabatang was called *Kelarasan Bodi Caniago*. The mixed system that served as a mediator was called *Kelarasan Panyangga*, led by Datuak Sari Maharajo nan Banego-nego, based in Pariangan Nagari Tuo. (Tamin, 2016).

## Method

This research is qualitative in nature, meaning it is descriptive and tends to use analysis. Data sampling was conducted purposively, data collection techniques used triangulation (a combination of various techniques), and data analysis was conducted inductively or qualitatively. The results of qualitative research focus more on meaning than on generalization (Sugiyono, 2017). The type of research is empirical legal research (*non-doctrinal*). The research approach used in this study is legal anthropology, which is a study approach that examines the relationship between humans, culture, and law. The focus is on how laws are made, interpreted, and applied in different social and cultural contexts. This research was conducted in several locations, namely Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, Luhak 50 Kota, Rantau Pariaman, and Rantau Pesisir. The use of the terms *luhak* and *rantau* indicates that this research was based on customary areas rather than administrative areas.

Primary data was obtained through fieldwork, namely interviews with informants. In sampling, the researcher used purposive sampling, a technique in which the determination and selection of samples is determined directly by the researcher from a specific perspective. (Sugiyono, 2015). The primary data sources in this study were traditional leaders or Minangkabau community leaders who had the authority or power to help resolve domestic conflicts. The areas considered representative for collecting data on Minangkabau society are the Luhak Nan Tigo communities, namely Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak Lima Puluh Kota, and the coastal areas of Rantau Pariaman and Rantau Pesisir. The author took research samples from each of these regions using random sampling (probability sampling) in the villages in the three *luhak* regions and the two coastal regions. Secondary data is data obtained indirectly in the form of books, notes, journals, or published or unpublished archives related to domestic conflicts in West Sumatra.

In analyzing the collected data, the model used is an interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman. Activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out interactively and continuously until completion, so that the

data is saturated. The interactive model consists of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification. In the data reduction stage, researchers sorted, categorized, and abstracted field notes, interviews, and documentation. The data presentation stage was carried out in the form of interview notes, field notes, and documentation notes that were coded to organize the data so that researchers could analyze it quickly and easily. Next, the conclusion drawing or verification stage is carried out by presenting the answers to the problems and questions that have been raised by the researcher from the outset.

## **Literature Review**

To explain the position of this study in relation to existing research, a literature review of previous studies was compiled, including: Research conducted by Zulfan in the form of a dissertation revealed that of all divorce cases sampled in the study, 64% attempted reconciliation but without the involvement of the *mamak*. Meanwhile, the other 34% did not attempt reconciliation. (Zulfan, 2019). This proves that *mamak*, who used to be given priority and elevated status, no longer plays an important role in resolving domestic conflicts involving their nephews and nieces. However, in this study, Zulfan did not reveal the patterns of conflict resolution or the mechanisms that exist in Minangkabau society.

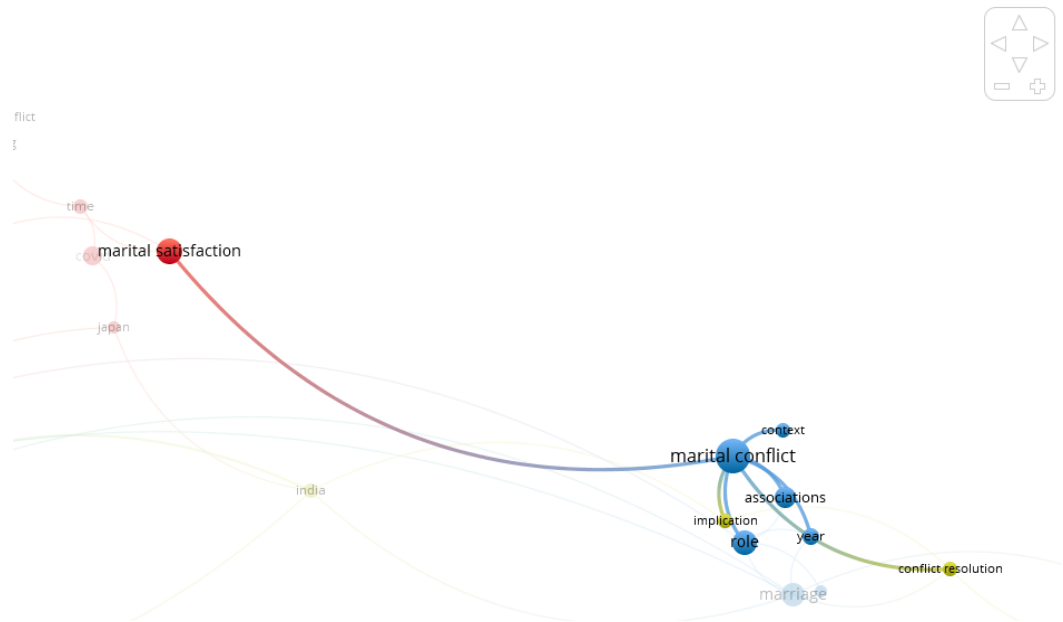
In a study conducted by Dewi, it was revealed that the conflict resolution model widely used by wives, both those who live with their husbands and those who live separately, is more constructive in resolving marital conflicts. A contrasting perception was found. According to wives who live with their husbands, the intensity of marital conflict is higher when wives live with their husbands. Conversely, according to wives who do not live with their husbands, the intensity of conflict is higher when wives do not live with their husbands. (E. M. P. D. Dewi, 2008). This study focuses more on the intensity of conflicts that arise in households based on the place of residence or domicile of both partners. Therefore, what distinguishes it from the research that the researcher will conduct is the method or means of resolving conflicts that arise in households.

Asshofi explains in his research that conflict within families involving husbands, wives, and in-laws living under the same roof can be caused by several factors. These factors include communication, individual personalities, differences in goals, and support. (Asshofi, 2019). Apparently, the research conducted by Asshofi focuses more on domestic conflicts in couples who live with their in-laws. So the conflict model that emerges is no longer between two married couples but involves a third party, namely the in-laws. Meanwhile, in this study, the conflict that is the focus of the research is conflict that only arises between married couples. This means that no other people are involved, including the parents of each partner or other family members.

Furthermore, in a study conducted by Yusuf on the role of *mamak* in resolving domestic conflicts in the community of Kepenuhan Village, Rokan Hulu Regency, Riau, it was found that Ninik Mamak only acted as a mediator (peacemaker) between the two parties (husband and wife) in dispute. they had no right to grant a divorce if peace could not be achieved. Such decisions remained with the Religious Court, and Ninik Mamak had carried out their

duties and functions in accordance with Islamic law, namely seeking *ishlah* (peace). They had tried and made every effort to maintain the integrity of their children and grandchildren's households so that divorce would not occur in their families. (Yusuf, 2017). Meanwhile, this study does not focus on the *mamak*'s efforts to help his niece's household resolve conflicts. This is because, in urban Minangkabau society, the role of the *mamak* is no longer dominant, so it is no longer effective in helping to resolve conflicts in his niece's household.

Ainiyah, in her research on the role of *kiyai* in resolving domestic conflicts in the Margoyoso subdistrict community, Pati district, found that *kiyai* have a role in reducing family conflicts, including first, the role of *kiyai* in providing good solutions to problems faced by married couples, second, the role of *kiai* in reconciling married couples who are in conflict, and third, the role of *kiai* as a good guardian in resolving family conflicts (Ainiyah, 2019). Research conducted by Ainiyah reveals that religious leaders also play a role in resolving domestic conflicts. However, in this study, the researcher did not look at the figures who played a role in resolving domestic conflicts but focused more on the typology of domestic conflict resolution.



**Gambar 1. Marital Conflict's Mapping**

Using the VosViewer application to compile research data sourced from Scopus using the Publish or Perish application with the keyword marital conflict over the last five years, the research mapping shown in the image above was discovered. From the image, it can be understood that research conducted on marital conflict is closely related to satisfaction, context, association, implications, rules, year, resolution, and conflict resolution.

Although the research map above shows a relationship between marital conflict and conflict resolution, there is no apparent relationship or connection between marital conflict resolution and customary norms, let alone Minangkabau customary norms. Therefore, the researcher assumes that this is the novelty or new element in this study.

## Result

### **Resolution of Domestic Conflicts Before Customary Processes**

In general, in Minangkabau society, the resolution of domestic conflicts before the customary process is carried out at the family level. However, in Minangkabau society, families also have different levels. The first level is samande. A samande family consists of three consecutive generations, namely grandmother, mother, and child. The mother's brother is called mamak. He acts as the leader of the samande family, so he has rights and obligations in his leadership within the family.

The second level is saparuik. The saparuik family consists of four consecutive generations, namely ninik, grandmother, mother, and child. Thus, the oldest man or the most respected and revered man in the saparuik family is called tungganai, or mamak tungganai as some call him. He acts as the leader of the saparuik family and therefore has responsibility for all members of the saparuik family.

The resolution of domestic conflicts in Minangkabau society before the customary process will be attempted first at the family level. At the family level, it will begin with the samande family, led by the mamak. If the conflict is not resolved, it will be forwarded to the saparuik family, which in this case will be led by the mamak tungganai. If the mamak tungganai also fails to reconcile the conflicting parties, the issue will then be brought to the mamak kapalo kaum to be resolved according to customary law.

### **Penyelesaian Konflik Rumah Tangga Secara Adat**

In resolving conflicts in general or domestic conflicts within the Minangkabau community, they adhere firmly to universal customary values known as adaik sabatang panjang. Adaik sabatang panjang is a concept in the Minangkabau customary system that emphasizes the values of unity, solidarity, and deliberation within the Minangkabau community as a whole. The term “sabatang panjang” refers to a collective approach, in which every member of the community is under one customary unity and has a shared responsibility to maintain social harmony. There is a mechanism that must be followed in relation to conflict resolution in Minangkabau society. This means that conflict resolution has levels or a hierarchy, with each level having its own role and responsibility in the effort to seek peace. This is known as bajanjang naiak batango turun, naik dari janjang nan dibawah turun dari tanggo nan di ateh. Therefore, in this hierarchy, each level must be passed through and cannot be skipped or omitted. This is because it is part of their responsibility in social life.

However, in practice, the resolution of domestic conflicts according to custom in Minangkabau society is influenced by kelasan, which is a system or basic principle that forms the foundation of community life, including in matters of custom. Not only that, kelasan also regulates political, legal, and social relations in Minangkabau. Kelasan is divided into three groups, namely Koto Piliang, Bodi Caniago, and Lareh Nan Panjang. In principle, the three kelasan in Minangkabau use the same mechanism of bajanjang naiak batango turun in resolving conflicts. This means that conflict resolution begins at the lowest level, namely the family, moves up to a higher level, namely the clan, and the final and highest level is the Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN). This applies to all Minangkabau communities, both those in the luhak and

those in the rantaunya. At each level, a meeting or gathering is held to find a solution to the problems faced by the conflicting parties. Although meetings or gatherings are held at each level of conflict resolution, what distinguishes each kekerasan is the method of decision-making in resolving conflicts. In the Koto Piliang community, decisions are made by the highest authority, namely the head of the clan. This is because the Koto Piliang community has a principle of manitiak dari ateh turun dari langik. This means that the decree of the head of the clan is a decision that must be carried out as a solution to the problem at hand.

This is different from the Bodi Caniago tradition, which emphasizes deliberation. Decisions made through deliberation do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the head of the clan, but can come from anyone present at the meeting and agreed upon collectively. This is because the Bodi Caniago clan has the principle of tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah, which means that everyone has the same position, the same rights, and the same obligations. Therefore, they have the right to speak and express their opinions. However, once this has been agreed upon, another customary principle adopted by the Bodi Caniago clan is bulek aie dek pambuluah bulek kato dek mufakat, bulek lah buliah digolongkan kok picak lah buliah dilayangkan. Meanwhile, the Lareh Nan Panjang community has a complex mechanism. This is because this community combines the mechanisms used in the Koto Piliang and Bodi Caniago communities. In decision-making to resolve conflicts, this clan system prioritizes the principle of deliberation and consensus. This is in line with the Bodi Caniago clan system. However, if no decision is reached during this process, the clan leader will issue a statement or opinion as a result of the deliberation, which must be implemented as a joint decision. This is in line with the Koto Piliang clan system.

## Discussion

The results of the study indicate that conflict resolution in Minangkabau society uses a hierarchical mediation pattern.

### **Hierarchical Mediation in Domestic Conflict Resolution**

Hierarchical mediation is a conflict resolution process carried out in stages through a hierarchical social structure. Click or tap here to enter text. In Minangkabau society, domestic conflicts are usually resolved through this approach by involving various parties, ranging from immediate family members to the highest traditional leaders (Naim, 1979), such as mamak, niniak mamak, or pangulu, also known as mamak kapalo kaum (Rosana, 2015). This process reflects respect for traditional customs and the belief that the best solution is one that involves deliberation and consensus. (Jamil, 2020).

The process of resolving domestic conflicts through hierarchical mediation in Minangkabau society begins with the nuclear family, namely the husband and wife. If the conflict cannot be resolved at this level, the issue will be escalated to the samande family, where mediation is carried out by the mamak kanduang or mamak kontan. If a solution is still not reached, the problem is escalated to the saparuik family level, with the mamak tungganai or mamak kapalo warih acting as mediators. If the conflict remains unresolved, the problem is then brought to the kaum level, where the mamak kapalo kaum or pangulu will act as mediators.

In the hierarchical conflict resolution process, every step or stage must be followed. No step or stage may be omitted or skipped. Therefore, if a nephew or niece directly complains about a problem to the *mamak tungganai*, when he or she has not yet sought the help of the *mamak kanduang*, the complaint will be rejected. The *mamak tungganai*, who holds a higher position than the *mamak kanduang*, will not process the complaint and will instruct the nephew involved in the conflict to seek assistance from *the mamak kanduang* first. If this effort is unsuccessful, only then will the matter be referred to the *mamak tungganai*.

Sintak The hierarchical resolution of conflicts in Minangkabau society is explained in a traditional proverb:

*Bajanjang naiak*

*Batanggo turun*

*Naiak dari jangjang nan di bawah*

*Turun dari tanggo nan diateh* (Navis, 1984).

Sintak in conflict resolution *bajanjang naiak batanggo turun* is a basic principle that applies generally throughout Minangkabau society (Abdullah, 1996). This basic principle is known as *adaik sabatang panjang*, a concept in the Minangkabau customary system that emphasizes the values of unity, solidarity, and deliberation in Minangkabau society as a whole. (Haroen, 1971). The Terminology of "*sabatang panjang*" referring to a collective approach, where each member of the community is under one customary law and has a shared responsibility to maintain social harmony (Nafisa et al., 2024).

In addition, the term *adaik sabatang panjang* is also often used to refer to *adaik nan sabana adaik*, which is considered to be the most fundamental and unchanging custom. In this case, *adaik sabatang panjang* is categorized as *adat bababuhua mati*, which is a custom that cannot be changed. This term emphasizes the enduring and eternal nature of customs, in line with the principle of "tidak lapuak dek hujan, tidak lakang dek paneh" (meaning "not worn down by rain, not eroded by sun"). That means that *adaik sabatang panjang* will not be degraded or eroded by any situation or condition and will continue to exist as the identity of the Minangkabau society. (Hasanuddin, 2013). In addition, the *sabatang panjang* custom also has the characteristic of *diasak indak mati, dicabuik indak layu*. This means that it will continue to exist even if it experiences changes in its environment. (Wulanmas et al., 2018).

At every stage in the resolution of domestic conflicts in Minangkabau society, a deliberation process is carried out. As mentioned earlier, deliberation is a cultural value that is highly respected by Minangkabau society. The concept of deliberation is based on the principle of consensus to reach a mutual agreement, with the aim of maintaining harmony and mutual prosperity. (Hasanuddin, 2019). In Minangkabau society, deliberations are often held to resolve various issues, whether family, customary, or social in nature (Chandra et al., 2019). However, decision-making in deliberations conducted to resolve domestic conflicts in Minangkabau society differs. Based on research that has been conducted, it was found that there are three mechanisms for decision-making, namely: first, *manitiak* from *ateh* turun from *langik*. Second, *tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah*. Third, a combination.



### **The Mechanism of *Manitiak dari Ateh Turun dari Langik***

The manitiak mechanism of ateh turun dari langik is a decision-making process carried out by those with authority in a deliberation. If the deliberation is conducted at the samande family level, the decision is made by the mamak kanduang or mamak kontan. If the deliberation is conducted at the saparuik family level, the decision is made by the mamak tungganai or mamak kapalo warih. And if the deliberation is conducted at the community level, the decision is made by the mamak kapalo kaum. In this mechanism, the patriarchal system is very dominant. Therefore, those who have the right to make decisions in deliberations are the male elders at each level. Although deliberations are conducted at each level with the involvement of various parties, these parties only serve as informants for the mamak before he makes the final decision. Once the decision has been made by the mamak, it must be implemented or carried out by all concerned parties.

This mechanism is practiced in Nagari Malalo, Tanjung Ameh, Ampang Gadang, Tigo Balai, Lubuak Alai, Taluak, and several other areas in Minangkabau. In Nagari Malalo, the initial stage of conflict resolution is initiated by the mamak pangka tali. If the decision made by the mamak pangka tali fails to resolve the conflict, the matter will be escalated to the mamak sako. If the solution produced by the mamak sako is also unsuccessful, the conflict will be brought to the mamak kapalo kaum level. At this level, the mamak kapalo kaum will provide a decision or solution after going through a deliberation process, listening to the various aspirations and information from the parties present at the deliberation. In Nagari Tigo Balai, the conflict resolution process begins with the mamak kontan. If this effort is unsuccessful, the problem will be forwarded to the mamak andiko. If this is still unsuccessful, the conflict will be brought to the mamak pangulu kaampeksuku. If a solution is still not found, the final stage is to involve the mamak pangulu pucuk. Meanwhile, in the Taluak Nagari community, the initial step begins with the mamak kontan. If this is unsuccessful, the problem is forwarded to the mamak tungganai. If a solution is still not reached, the problem is forwarded to the mamak kapalo kaum. This resolution mechanism is hierarchical, whereby each level of authority must be passed through in sequence..

Upon closer inspection, the manitiak mechanism of ateh turun dari langik is widely applied by the Minangkabau people, who have a lareh koto piliang customary structure. Lareh koto piliang is one of the systems of government in Minangkabau customary society, which was formulated by Datuak Katumanguangan. (Sastra, 2016). The characteristic of this alignment system is that it reflects a structured leadership hierarchy, with distinctive aristocratic-style organization. (Hasanuddin, 2013). In Lareh Koto Piliang, decisions are made by the highest authority, namely the mamak (Naim, 1983). Because the Koto Piliang clan adheres to the aristocratic tradition, in which the mamak has full authority over his nephews. (Haroen, 1971). Therefore, the harmony of koto piliang has the principle:

*Nan babatih nan bapaek  
Nan baukua nan bacoreng  
Tabujua lalu  
Tabalintang patah.*

This means that the decision made by the mamak is a decree that must be carried out as a solution to the problem at hand. This is because the mamak is the only party who has full authority over his nieces and nephews. Therefore, it can be concluded that the manitiak mechanism from ateh turun dari langik in resolving domestic conflicts is a mechanism used by the Minangkabau indigenous community who adhere to the lareh koto piliang customary system.

### **The Mechanism of *Tagak Samo Tinggi Duduak Samo Randah***

The mechanism of tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah is a mechanism for decision-making in deliberations based on equality and equity. (Syarifuddin, 2006). This mechanism teaches that in interacting with others, everyone must be treated fairly and equally, no one should feel superior or inferior to others (Malano, 1979). Whether in social situations or in everyday life, each person must respect one another, without discriminating based on status, position, or background (Barir, 2014).

The application of the tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah mechanism can be seen in several villages in Minangkabau, including Paninjauan, Matua Hilia, Campago, and several other villages. In Paninjauan village, conflict resolution is carried out at the family level and led by the mamak kontan. During the deliberations, decisions are made based on consensus and represent the collective opinion. These decisions do not necessarily come from the mamak kontan, but can come from anyone in the forum. However, once a decision has been made through deliberation, it becomes a collective decision. This is explained in the traditional proverb, *bulek aie dek pambuluah bulek kato dek mufakat*.

However, if the deliberation at the samande family level led by the mamak kontan fails to reconcile the conflicting couple, the next step is to escalate the issue to a higher level, namely the saparuik family. At this level, the deliberation will be led by the mamak kapalo warih or also known as the mamak tungganai. And if the deliberation at the saparuik family level is still unable to reconcile the conflicting couple, then the issue will be referred to a higher level, namely the kaum. At the kaum level, the mamak kapalo kaum will lead the deliberation to find a resolution to the conflict.

Conflict resolution led by the mamak kapalo kaum is carried out through open deliberation within the community. Usually, deliberations are held in the community mosque, although some are also held in the traditional hall in the community. The deliberations involve not only the parties in conflict with the mamak, but also religious leaders such as alim ulama and intellectuals such as cadiak pandai. These figures are present to provide clarity on the resolution of the conflict from a religious and governmental perspective. Through this deliberation, an agreement is formulated as a solution to the problem. This is similar to what is found in the communities of Nagari Matua Hilia and Campago Padang Pariaman. However, they use different terms to refer to the parties involved. In Nagari Paninjauan, they use the term mamak kapalo warih in the saparuik family. Meanwhile, in Matua Hilia, they refer to them as mamak tungganai. In the Campago Nagari community, they use the term urang tuo. At the community level, they uniformly refer to them as mamak kapalo kaum or pangulu kaum.

The formation of a mechanism of equal standing and equal treatment in the resolution of domestic conflicts according to custom in Minangkabau society seems to be influenced by the customary structure of *lareh bodi caniago*. *Lareh bodi caniago* is a customary system of government known in Minangkabau society that is based on the principle of egalitarianism, with an emphasis on equality, deliberation, and consensus (Haroen, 1971). In the *bodi Caniago*, which adheres to democracy, deliberation is the best way to resolve conflicts (Manggis, 1971). In deliberations, the *mamak kapalo kaum* will lead the meeting to seek consensus (Navis, 1983). And consensus does not necessarily have to come from the opinion of the community leader, but can come from anyone present at the meeting and agreed upon collectively (Hasanuddin, 2013). This is because the *bodi Caniago* has the principle of *tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah*, which means that everyone has the same position, the same rights, and the same obligations. Therefore, they have the right to speak and express their opinions. (Manggis, 1971). The customary principles adhered to by the *Kelasaran Bodi Caniago* are:

*Putuih rundiangan dek sakato*  
*Rancak rundiangan disapakati*  
*Kato basamo kato mufakaik*  
*Saukua mangko manjadi*  
*Sasuai mangko talamak*  
*Tuah dek sakato*

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that the mechanism for resolving domestic conflicts using the *tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah* mechanism, which is egalitarian in nature, is a conflict resolution process adopted by the Minangkabau people who have the *Bodi Caniago* customary system. This is because in resolving domestic conflicts, they prioritize the deliberation process to reach an agreement as a joint solution. In deliberations, all parties are treated equally, so that everyone has the right to express their opinions and listen to the views of others. In this way, joint decisions are made through deliberation and consensus.

### **Combinations Mechanism**

In the combination mechanism, decision-making in deliberations is carried out by consensus. However, if the deliberation process does not produce consensus or a solution to the conflict, then they will respect the authority of the *mamak* in making decisions. Decisions made by the *mamak* become joint decisions that must be accepted by all parties and must be implemented. This mechanism is as applied by the Nagari Pariangan community. In resolving conflicts, they first go through deliberation to reach consensus. However, in practice, not all deliberations can produce a joint decision. This is due to various reasons that prevent an agreement from being reached. Therefore, to resolve the issue, the *mamak*, who is the leader of the *samande*, *saparuik*, or *kaum* families, will use his full authority to make a decision that will become a mutual agreement. This mechanism is called the combination mechanism because it combines the *tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah* mechanism with the *manitiak dari ateh turun dari langik* mechanism. In practice, when resolving conflicts, they take deliberation as the first step. However, if the deliberations do not result in consensus, this

mechanism gives the mamak the opportunity to make a decision using all of his authority.

The formation of this combination mechanism in resolving domestic conflicts according to custom among the Minangkabau people seems to be influenced by the structure of the mixed lareh or lareh nan panjang. This is because the mixed lareh is a combination of the lareh koto piliang and lareh bodi caniago in the traditional system of government. (Manggis, 1971) This system combines elements of aristocracy and democracy, reflecting the flexibility and adaptability of Minangkabau society in managing their social structure and government. (Haroen, 1971). Historically, the birth of this customary law was motivated by a dispute between *Datuak Katumanggungan* and *Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang* regarding the customary system they had formulated. *Lareh koto piliang* was aristocratic in nature, while lareh *bodi caniago* was democratic. Before the two datuaks reached a peaceful agreement marked by a *batu batikam*, *Datuak Sri Maharajo nan Banego-nego*, based in Pariangan, initiated the creation of a mixed lareh or lareh nan panjang.

Hal ini dijelaskan dalam pepatah adat Minangkabau:

*Pisang sikalek-kalek hutan*

*Pisang timbatu nan bagatah*

*Samo dijuluak kaduonyo*

*Koto Piliang inyo bukan*

*Bodi Caniago inyo antah*

*Samo dipakai kaduonyo.*

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that the combination mechanism in resolving domestic conflicts in the Minangkabau community is a mechanism used by communities that have a long lareh nan or mixed lareh customary structure. This is because, in the conflict resolution process, they use both mechanisms. The first step is to hold a deliberation, but if the deliberation is unsuccessful, the mamak will make a decision that must be implemented jointly.

## Conclusion

The resolution of domestic conflicts in Minangkabau society is a complex and structured process that reflects traditional and cultural values that have been passed down from generation to generation. In this context, there are several important aspects that need to be considered, namely the pattern of conflict resolution, the role of the mamak as mediator, the principle of balance, and the decision-making mechanisms used in the process. The pattern of domestic conflict resolution in Minangkabau society is generally carried out through hierarchical mediation. This process involves various levels of customary authority, ranging from immediate family members to the highest customary leaders. This hierarchical mediation reflects respect for the customary order and the belief that the best resolution is one that involves deliberation and consensus.

Conflicts usually begin at the nuclear family level, which consists of a husband and wife. If the conflict cannot be resolved at this level, the issue will be brought to the extended family level, where the mamak kandung or mamak kontan will act as mediators. If a resolution is still not reached, the issue will be escalated to the saparui family level, where the mamak tungganai or mamak kapalo warih will be involved. Finally, if all these efforts fail, the

problem will be brought to the kaum level, where the mamak kapalo kaum or pangulu will make a decision. This conflict resolution process shows that each step or stage must be taken sequentially, without skipping any. This emphasizes the importance of social structure and hierarchy in Minangkabau society, where each individual has a clear role and responsibility in maintaining social harmony.

In the conflict resolution process, there are several decision-making mechanisms used, namely: 1) Manitiak from above descends from the sky, this mechanism emphasizes that decisions are made by the highest authority. In this case, the mamak who has authority at a certain level will be the decision maker. 2) Tagak samo tinggi duduak samo randah, this mechanism promotes equality and fairness in deliberations. In this process, every individual has the right to express their opinion and be heard, regardless of their status or position. 3) Combination mechanism, this mechanism combines the two approaches above. In practice, deliberation is carried out first to reach consensus. However, if deliberation does not result in an agreement, the mamak will use his authority to make a decision that must be implemented by all parties.

## References

- Abdullah, T. (1996). *Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau*. Cornell University Press.
- Almiza, Mufti. (2021) *Ketimpangan Peran Domestik Rumah Tangga dalam Cerai Gugat pada Masyarakat Minangkabau*. Indonesian Journal of Religion Society. Vol. 3 No (2).
- Barir, M. (2014). KESETARAAN DAN KELAS SOSIAL DALAM PERSPEKTIF AL-QUR'AN. *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu al-Qur'an Dan Hadis*, V, 1.
- Chandra, Y., Zetra, A., & Ariany, R. (2019). *Demokrasi Deliberatif Masyarakat Minangkabau (Studi Kasus: LKAAM Kota Solok)*. Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education, 6(2), 90. <https://doi.org/10.24036/scs.v6i2.150>
- Dermawan, Aldy (2023). *Kontribusi Mediator Non Hakim dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Rumah Tangga*. Al-Qisthu: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-ilmu Hukum, Vol. 21, Nomor 2
- Fachrina, (2024). *Upaya Pencegahan Perceraian Berbasis Keluarga Luas dan Institusi Lokal dalam Masyarakat Minangkabau di Sumatera Barat*. Antropologi Indonesia: Indonesian Journal of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Vol. 34, Nomor 2
- Hanani, Silfia. *Mengatasi Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga melalui Institusi ADAT Minangkabau*. Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies (AISCIS XII)
- Haroen, N. (1971). *Dasar Filsafat Adat Minangkabau*. Bulan Bintang.

- Hasanuddin, H. (2013). *Adat Basandi Syara' Sumber Inspirasi dan Rujukan Nilai Dialektika Minangkabau*. Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi (LPTIK) Universitas Andalas.
- Hasanuddin, H. (2019). *Kearifan Lokal dalam Kerangka ABS SBK (Edisi 1: Musyawarah dan Kepemimpinan)*. CV. Swid Digital Printing.
- Hasneni. (2014). *Penyelesaian dan Penanggulangan Korban Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga Melalui Lembaga Adat Nagari di Sumatera Barat*. Kafa'ah: Jurnal of Gender Studies, Vol. 4 No. 1
- Ihsan, Riyas. (2025). *Eksistensi Ninik Mamak dalam Menjaga Keharmonisan Rumah Tangga Masyarakat Desa Petapahan Kecamatan Tapung Kabupaten Kampar Riau*. Repository Universitas Islam Indonesia
- Irma, Suryani. (2022). *Menelusui Peran dan Fungsi Bundo Kanduang sebagai Bagian Lembaga Adat dalam Menyelesaikan Kasus KDRT di Sumatera Barat*. Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan, Vol. 6, Nomor 2
- Isnayanti, (2021). *Pernanan Ninik Mamak dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Rumah Tangga pada Masyarakat Adat Melayu Luhak Ramah di Kecamatan Rambah Hilir Kabupaten Rokan Hulu*. Repository Universitas Islam Riau
- Jamil, M. (2020). *Konflik dan Penghulu; Pendekatan Mediasi Dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Internal Kaum Oleh Penghulu Di Minangkabau*. Tathwir: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam, 1(2).
- Malano, D. D. Dt. Rajo. (1979). *Filsafat Adat Minangkabau*. Lembaga Studi Minangkabau.
- Manggis, M. R. (1971). *Minangkabau, Sejarah Ringkas dan Adatnya*. Sri Dharma.
- Marlina. (2024). *Penyelesaian Konflik Adat Kawin Sasuku*. Journal of Education, Cultural, and Politics, Volume. 4 No. 4
- Martinelli, I., Hartono, M. K., & Sabrina, N. M. (2024). Karakteristik Mediasi Mengenai Kesepakatan Dalam Sistem Hukum Civil Law dan Common Law. *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan*, 8(1).
- Naim, M. (1979). *Merantau: Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Naim, M. (1983). *Minangkabau dalam Dialektika Kebudayaan Nusantara" Dalam A.A Navis (Ed.) Dialektika Minangkabau Dalam Kemelut Sosial Politik*. Genta Singgalang.

- Navis, A. A. (1983). *Dialektika Minangkabau Dalam Kemelut Sosial dan Politik*. Genta Singgalang.
- Navis, A. A. (1984). *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru*. Jakarta. PT. Grafiti Pers.
- Nofiardi (2018). *Perkawinan dan Baganyi di Minangkabau: Analisis Sosiologis Kultural dalam Penyelesaian Perselisihan*. Al- Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial. Vol. 13, No.1
- Rosana, E. (2015). *Konflik pada Kehidupan Masyarakat (Telaah Mengenai Teori dan Penyelesaian Konflik Pada Masyarakat Modern)*. Al-AdYaN, X(2).
- Sastra, A. I. (2016). *Lareh Koto Piliang: Sistem Kekuasaan dan Musik Perunggu Dalam Kajian Konsep Estetika Musikal di Luhak Nan Tigo Mingkabau*. Resital: Journal Seni Pertunjukan, 17(2).
- Setiawan, Agung. (2024). *Konflik dan Resolusi dalam Pembagian Harta Pasca Perceraian di Tanah Pusaka Minang*. Usraty: Jurnal of Islamic Family Law. Vol 2, No. 1
- Sri, Samad (2020). *Conflict. Traditional, and Family Resistance: The Pattern of Dispute Resolution in Acehnese Community According to Islamic Law*. Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam, Vol. 4, No. 1
- Susi, Febri (2024). *Adat, Agama, dan Demokrasi dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Perspektif Budaya Minangkabau di Sumatera Barat*. Bunga Rampai, Universitas Negeri Padang
- Syarifuddin, A. (2006). *Adat Minangkabau Pola dan Tujuan Orang Minang*. PT. Mutiara Sumber Widya.
- Yusnita, Wedi. (2023). *Peran Mamak sebagai Hakam dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Rumah Tangga*. Sakena: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga, Vol. 8 No. 2