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The Synergy of Local and Institutional Wisdom of KUA in the Development of the Sakinah Family: A Sociological Study in Solok City

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the role of local wisdom figures and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in realizing the sakinah family in Solok City, as well as identify obstacles and challenges in the synergy of the two in family development. This study is motivated by the fact that the Minangkabau people have a strong value system based on the custom of basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, while KUA is present as a formal state institution that carries out the function of family development through marriage guidance and religious services. The research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a phenomenological perspective. The data was obtained through in-depth interviews with ninik mamak, Bundo Kanduang, LKAAM and KAN administrators, the Head of KUA of Lubuk Sikarah and Tanjung Harapan Districts, as well as documentation of the Sakinah family development program. The results of the study show that local wisdom figures, especially ninik mamak and Bundo Kanduang, still play a significant role in family development through premarital debriefing, instilling customary and religious values, strengthening social responsibility, and mediating domestic conflicts. Meanwhile, KUA carries out strategic functions through marriage guidance, post-marriage coaching, consulting services, and synergy with BP4. This study also found that the synergy between local wisdom and KUA has not been fully optimal because it is hampered by a shift in community values towards a more individualistic direction, limited participation due to socio-economic factors, and the lack of a strong institutionalization of cooperation between KUA and customary institutions. This study confirms that the development of the sakinah family in Solok City will be more effective if it is built through a collaborative model that integrates customary, religious, and institutional forces of the state in a contextual and sustainable manner.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Culture is a set of values, norms, and meanings that guide humans in thinking, acting, and building social life. From an anthropological perspective, culture is not only understood as a collective heritage, but also as the result of human creation, taste, and karsa that continues to be reproduced in daily life (Koentjaraningrat, 1996, p. 74). Therefore, culture is always present not only as a symbolic product, but as a living system that regulates social relations, role distribution, and patterns of authority in society.

In line with that, J.J. Honigmann as explained by Koentjaraningrat divides culture into three main forms, namely ideas, activities, and artifacts (Koentjaraningrat, 1996, p. 74). These three elements form an interconnected unity: the idea underlies social action, the act produces artifacts, and artifacts then reinforce the value system that lives in society. Thus, culture needs to be read as a dynamic structure that works through concrete social practices, including in family, marriage, and kinship settings.

One of the important manifestations of culture is the kinship system. This system not only refers to biological relationships, but also regulates the distribution of status, rights, obligations, inheritance of value, and the management of resources within a social group (Fox, 1980). Therefore, the variation in kinship systems between communities reflects different cultural strategies in building social order. In the Indonesian context, one of the most distinctive kinship systems is the Minangkabau matrilineal system, which places the maternal line as the main basis for descent withdrawal, social identity, and inheritance of property.

The Minangkabau people have historical and cultural complexities that are reflected even in the origins of their naming. A number of experts trace the term Minangkabau from various linguistic and geographical roots, such as Pinangkabu, Ma-inang kerbau, Minang Kabwa, binaga kanvar, and Menon Kabu (Piliang and Nasrun, 2015, pp. 71–74). In addition, the oral tradition of tambo or kaba records the story of the victory of the buffalo fight which later gave birth to the term "winning the buffalo" and developed into Minangkabau (Piliang and Nasrun, 2015, pp. 74–76). Apart from these various explanations, Minangkabau identity is sociologically very closely attached to the matrilineal kinship system that distinguishes it from many other communities in the archipelago.

In the matrilineal Minangkabau society, lineage is calculated according to the mother, the tribe is formed according to the maternal line, marriage is arranged exogamously, the husband is in the position of sumando or comes to visit the wife's house, and property and inheritance are inherited through the line of nephew from the sister (Radjab, 1969b, p. 17). The institutionalization of this system rests on the gadang house as the center of genealogical and cultural life, a place where saparuik, sekaum, and se-tribal relations develop that form the main foundation of the Minangkabau social structure (Yaswirman, 2013, p. 120). Thus, matrilineality works not only as a mechanism of descent, but also as a normative framework that governs authority, solidarity, and customary sustainability.

At this point, the role of mamak becomes central. In the Minangkabau system, the mamak is the mother's brother who has a strategic position in fostering, protecting, and making decisions for his nephew (Diradjo, 2021, p. 303). The nieces themselves are the children of mamak sisters who are in the same matrilineal lineage (Stark, 2013, pp. 1–9; Hafizah, 2019, pp. 30–31). In customs, mamak is not only positioned as relatives, but also as authoritative figures responsible for safety, education, marriage, and the management of tribal interests (N. M. Rangkuto, 1978, p. 6). This position is depicted in the traditional saying that children are being guided by kamanakan dibimbiang, children are being bimbiang jo pancarian, kamanakan are bimbiang jo pusako (Idrus Hakimy, 1994, p. 51), which shows that Minangkabau men bear two responsibilities at once: as fathers in the nuclear family and as mamak in matrilineal families.

The role of mamak in the Minangkabau social structure is also multi-layered, ranging from mamak tungganai, mamak head heirs, to penghulu, and all of them function to maintain racial order, resolve

conflicts, and nurture the next generation (Yaswirman, 2013, pp. 120–122). In various traditional proverbs, mamak is positioned as a place to ask questions, a place for deliberation, and a figure who resolves the internal problems of the race: ka pai tampek batanyo, ka pulang tampek babarito, kok kusuik nan ka manyalasaikan, kok karuah nan ka mampajaniah (Mina Elfira, 2000, p. 14). Therefore, the position of mamak in Minangkabau society is not only symbolic, but also practical and functional in maintaining social cohesion, heritage management, and family development (Meri Handayani, 2018, p. 11).

In terms of economy and inheritance, the matrilineal system also relies on collective ownership of customary lands and high inheritances inherited through the women's line (Julir, 2020, p. 11). In this context, women become genealogical successors and symbolic owners of inheritances, while men bear the responsibility of managing and protecting the interests of the race. The relationship between bamamak bakamanakan thus shows a reciprocal, pedagogical, and structural relationship, where the mamak is in charge of guiding and caring for the nephew as the father raises the child (Hafizah, 2019, pp. 31–32). Even in some traditional views, the responsibility of the mamak to the nephew can be greater than the responsibility of the father to his own biological children, especially in matters of inheriting titles, managing inheritance, and finding a mate (Irman, 2021, pp. 1–5; Azrial, 1994, p. 75; Fauziah Abbas, 2012, p. 26).

However, family development in the Minangkabau system is not only in the hands of the mamak. Bundo Kanduang also occupies a strategic position as a guardian of traditional values, morals, and sustainability in the gadang house. As a senior woman in a matrilineal structure, Bundo Kanduang plays a role in the transmission of social ethics, character formation of the younger generation, and the maintenance of harmony in family relationships. Historically, the figure of Bundo Kanduang has a strong symbolic legitimacy in the life of the Minangkabau people, even institutionalized in the form of women's social organizations that play an active role in the lives of nagari children (Hura, WS, & Nasution, 2014). In modern developments, the Bundo Kanduang institution has become a cultural space that allows Minangkabau women to actualize their role as the cleanser of the house and sumarak nagari in maintaining customs and fostering generations (Sri Yunarti, 2017, p. 233; Bary & PdI, 2014).

However, modernization, urbanization, and the strengthening of the core family pattern have led to a shift in the role of mamak and Bundo Kanduang in family development. Customary authorities that were previously dominant in regulating family relations, marriage, and conflict resolution are now faced with modern rationality, social mobility, and the penetration of state law. In these situations, tensions often arise between customary norms, religious teachings, and formal regulations, especially when each offers different mechanisms of authority in family affairs.

It is in that context that the role of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) becomes important. As the leading unit of the Ministry of Religion at the sub-district level, KUA has a strategic mandate in marriage registration and referrals, sakinah family development, marriage guidance, waqf management, zakat, and other religious services. The mandate is affirmed in various regulations, ranging from the Decree of the Minister of Religion Number 517 of 2001 to the Regulation of the Minister of Religion Number 24 of 2024. This means that KUA not only functions administratively, but also educational and preventive in building a harmonious, just, and based on Islamic teachings.

The educational function of KUA can be seen in premarital guidance, family counseling, and sakinah family coaching programs designed to strengthen couples' understanding of rights, obligations, communication, and responsibilities in the household. However, in a society that is still strongly bound by traditional structures such as Minangkabau, the presence of KUA does not stand in an empty social space. KUA interacts with the matrilineal kinship system, the role of mamak, the authority of Bundo Kanduang, and the customary deliberation mechanism which has long been a social institution in regulating marriage and family development. This condition has the potential to cause overlapping authority and differences in approach between state law and customary law if both are not managed synergistically (Syamsurijal, 2017, pp. 125–138).

The city of Solok is an important locus to study this problem. As one of the regions in West Sumatra that still reflects the strong link between Minangkabau customs and Islamic teachings, Solok City shows

how family development takes place in the midst of an encounter between local wisdom and state institutions. In social practice, mamak and Bundo Kanduang are still seen as moral-cultural references in marital affairs, family relations, and domestic conflict resolution. At the same time, the Head of KUA has formal legitimacy to carry out the functions of marriage guidance and family development based on the framework of Islamic law and state regulations. The problem is that it is not always clear to what extent these two authorities interact, share roles, or even walk independently in accompanying Muslim families in Solok City.

This is where the academic problem lies. A number of studies have discussed the Minangkabau matrilineal system, the position of mamak and nephew, the role of Bundo Kanduang, and the institutional function of KUA separately (Syarifuddin, 2011, p. 90; Koentjaraningrat, 1992, p. 192; Meiyenti, 2018, pp. 12–15). However, studies that specifically examine the relationship, interaction patterns, challenges, and possible synergies between local wisdom figures—especially mamak and Bundo Kanduang—and the Head of KUA in realizing the sakinah family at the local level, especially in Solok City, are still limited. In fact, the sakinah family in Minangkabau society is not enough to be understood solely as a normative construction of religion, but also as a social practice shaped by customs, kinship relations, and local authorities.

Departing from these conditions, this study views that the realization of the sakinah family in Solok City cannot be placed in just one institution. Local wisdom figures have strong socio-cultural authority to transmit values, resolve conflicts, and maintain a balance in family relationships, while KUA has juridical legitimacy, institutional capacity, and structured religious development instruments. Therefore, the synergy between the two is an important prerequisite for family development that is not only religiously and state-legitimate, but also rooted in local culture. On that basis, this research is directed to examine the role of local wisdom figures and the Head of KUA in realizing the sakinah family in Solok City.

2. METHODS

This research method uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a phenomenological perspective to deeply understand the experiences, views, and practices of local wisdom figures and the Head of KUA in realizing the sakinah family in Solok City; this approach was chosen because it allows researchers to capture the subjective meaning of the social actions of the actors in the context of the relationship between Minangkabau customs and Islamic values that live in society (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, p. 38; Edgar & Sedgwick, 1999, p. 273). Primary data was obtained through in-depth semi-structured interviews with LKAAM, KAN, Bundo Kanduang, the Head of the Ministry of Religion of Solok City, and the Head of KUA of Lubuk Sikarah and Tanjung Harapan Districts, accompanied by documentation of family development programs, marriage guidance, and relevant institutional archives; while secondary data is obtained from official documents, institutional guidelines, and scientific literature related to the Sakinah family, local wisdom, and Islamic family law. Semi-structured interviews are used so that researchers still have a systematic direction of questions, but remain open to exploring experiences, perceptions, and social dynamics that cannot be directly observed (Suwartono, 2014, p. 48). In this study, the researcher acts as the primary instrument that collects, verifies, and interprets the data, with the support of field notes, recording tools, and visual documentation to reinforce the accuracy of the data; Furthermore, the data was analyzed interpretively to find role patterns, forms of interaction, and synergy challenges between local wisdom figures and the Head of KUA in fostering sakinah families in Solok City.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Role of Local Wisdom Figures in Fostering the Sakinah Family in Solok City

The sakinah family in the Islamic perspective refers to a family that is built on the basis of peace, affection, and religious commitment, as affirmed in the Qur'an. Ar-Rum [30]: 21. In the context of a multicultural Indonesian society, the concept of the sakinah family does not grow in a neutral social space, but interacts with the local cultural values that live in the community. In the Minangkabau community, the development of the sakinah family is not only understood in the normative framework

of Islamic teachings, but also attached to the principle of the traditional basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah which emphasizes the integration of customs and religion in all aspects of social life. Therefore, local wisdom figures such as niniak mamak, penghulu, ulama nagari, and bundo kanduang occupy an important position as mediators between religious norms and local social realities in family development (Navis, 1984).

In Solok City, Minangkabau local wisdom is still an important foundation in maintaining family and community harmony. The values of deliberation, social responsibility, mutual respect, and mutual cooperation are maintained as guidelines for living together. Within this framework, customary institutions such as the Minangkabau Indigenous Density Institute (LKAAM) and the Nagari Indigenous Density (KAN) play an institutional space that strengthens the function of traditional leaders in family development. Thus, the sakinah family in the context of Solok City is not only seen as the success of a married couple in building a harmonious household, but also as the result of social work involving traditional institutions, community leaders, and formal religious institutions.

a. The Role of Ninik Mamak/Mamak in Fostering the Sakinah Family

In the Minangkabau community in Solok City, the matrilineal kinship system not only became the basis for lineage withdrawal, but also shaped the social structure, distribution of authority, and patterns of relationships between tribal members. Tribal identity is determined through the maternal line, while the management of social relations and customary sustainability rests on the role of women as genealogical heirs and men as holders of customary authority (Umar, 2022, pp. 175–176; Scott, 2008). In this configuration, the mamak is present not only as the mother's brother, but also as a normative figure that connects the nuclear family with the broader racial structure.

One of the important manifestations of this system is the existence of urang sumando, i.e. men who enter their wife's family as an affiliate member, not as a successor to the lineage. In Minangkabau culture, various categorizations of sumando—such as sumando kacang miang, kutu dapua, lapiak buruak, and sumando niniak mamak—show that the status of a husband is measured not only by his formal position, but also by the quality of his ethics, responsibility, and contribution to the wife's family. This shows that the matrilineal system in Solok City is not only genealogical, but also forms a moral regime that regulates the quality of domestic relations and the social legitimacy of a man in the indigenous community.

The relationship between mamak and kamanakan is the main axis in the structure. In the Solok City community, kamanakan is divided into several categories of genealogical proximity such as daguak, dado, pusek, and lutuik, each of which shows a level of responsibility for the mamak in protecting, coaching, and inheriting customary values (Syawal, 2025, p. 94; Murniwati, 2023, p. 106). Thus, the position of the mamak in the matrilineal system is not just symbolic, but becomes a living social mechanism in maintaining family stability and the continuity of cultural values.

The leadership of mamak in the Minangkabau community in Solok City is arranged in several levels. At the most basic level, there is a house mamak or tungganai, which is the mother's brother in one paruik who plays a direct role in fostering nephews and managing family heirlooms (Sukmawati, 2019, p. 15). At the next level there is the mamak kaum, who leads the wider kinship group and is tasked with taking care of the collective interests of the race. This position requires good moral quality and communication capacity because the mamak of the tribe becomes an example for the members of the tribe. Meanwhile, at the highest level, there are tribal mamak, who lead the broader social unit in the tribal structure and play a role in setting norms, resolving disputes, and maintaining customary integrity as a whole (Umar, 2022).

Field findings show that the mamak leadership structure in Solok City is still understood as a living social order. This was confirmed by Rusli who stated:

"That the leadership structure of mamak in the Minang community is not only batingkek, but it is also a social order that is hiduik and carried out in daily practice. And the house mamak, the tribal mamak, and the tribal mamak have functions to complement each other, starting from the direct

masuah of the nephew, to the internal decisions of the tribe, to strategic decision-making at the tribal level" (Interview with RL, September 29, 2025).

The quote shows that the function of the mamak does not stop at the formal customary dimension, but also works in daily practice as a caregiver, director, and decision-maker in family life. In the framework of family development, this role is very important because mamak is a figure who instills values, provides social legitimacy, as well as provides a path to solve problems in the household.

The position of the mamak is also closely related to the concept of the tigo sajarangan furnace, which places ninik mamak as one of the main pillars of Minangkabau social life. Before the institutional entry of Islam, ninik mamak had been the main leader in traditional life. After Islam took root, this position did not disappear, but transformed and went hand in hand with the authority of the scholars and the clever peasants. Ninik Mamak is seen as a protector and mentor of his nephew who is tasked with maintaining social harmony and preventing conflicts from developing into divisions. Therefore, the ideal ninik mamak figure must meet certain criteria such as being smart in speech, honesty, patience, fairness, understanding customs, and having social authority (Graves, 2017; Amen, 2022, p. 2357).

Niniak mamak in Solok City plays an active role in providing advice and debriefing to nephews before entering domestic life. The advice includes the responsibilities of husband and wife according to customs and religion, ethics in the family, and social obligations. This shows that the development of the sakinah family is carried out preventively through moral and social preparation before the marriage takes place. A Chairman of LKAAM Nagari Solok explained:

"Kalau ambo, ambo agiah nasehat ka kemenakan, diagiah perbekalan, diajari secara beradat dan beragama, baik nan padusi maupun nan laki-laki sebelumnyo nikah" (Wawancara dengan RL, 29 September 2025).

This information shows that family development is not understood narrowly as a couple's private affair, but as a social responsibility that begins long before the marriage contract. Niniak mamak not only provides religious advice, but also instills customary ethics as a framework of behavior in domestic life.

This role is getting stronger because family development in Solok City is placed in the traditional principle of basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah. According to one of the Chairmen of KAN Nagari Solok:

"Kami di LKAAM selalu manekankan, rumah tangga itu harus dipijakkan ka adat jo syarak. Kalau adat jo agama jalan bariringan, insyaAllah keluarga itu sakinah" (Wawancara dengan EW, 05 Oktober 2025).

This statement shows that according to traditional stakeholders, the sakinah family is not enough to be built only with individual obedience to religious teachings, but also with attachment to the customary norms that live in the community. A harmonious family from a Minangkabau perspective is a family that is able to make customs and religion as two foundations that go hand in hand.

In addition to pre-marriage coaching, niniak mamak also has a role in instilling social responsibility in married couples. Domestic harmony in the Minangkabau traditional view is not limited to the internal relationship between husband and wife, but also includes the ability to build good relationships with neighbors and the community. This is reflected in the following interviews:

"Diagiah pencerahan ba'a bergaul dalam rumah tangga, ba'a bergaul jo tetangga, ba'a bergaul jo masyarakat" (Wawancara dengan RL, 29 September 2025).

These findings show that the concept of the sakinah family in Minangkabau customs has a strong social dimension. A good household is not only one that is internally peaceful, but also one that is able to be a harmonious part of its social community.

The strategic role of niniak mamak is also seen in resolving domestic conflicts. Based on interviews, when there is a dispute in the family, traditional leaders first try to resolve it through deliberation before the problem is brought to a formal institution such as the court. A Chairman of KAN Nagari Solok affirmed:

"Kalau ado masalah rumah tangga, jaan capek dibao ka pengadilan. Diselesaikan dulu secara adat, bajanjang naiak turun" (Wawancara dengan EW, 05 Oktober 2025).

This pattern of settlement is in line with the principle of ishlah in Islam, which prioritizes peace and the settlement of deliberation in family conflicts. In this context, customary institutions function as an initial mediation space that can mitigate the escalation of conflict and maintain the integrity of the household.

Furthermore, niniak mamak views the development of the sakinah family as a collective responsibility for the nephew's children, not solely the affairs of married couples. This was confirmed in the following interview:

"Mambina keluarga sakinah itu indak hanya tugas anak jo menantu. Niniak mamak di KAN jo LKAAM ikut bartanggung jawab ka anak kemenakan" (Wawancara dengan RL, 29 September 2025).

This statement affirms that the family in Minangkabau society does not stand as a completely individualistic unit, but remains under the supervision and responsibility of the social structure of the race. This is where the uniqueness of the Minangkabau matrilineal system is seen in family formation: the moral responsibility for household resilience is borne jointly by the kinship community.

It can be emphasized that niniak mamak in Solok City plays a very strategic role in fostering the sakinah family, both through pre-marriage coaching, providing customary and religious advice, instilling social responsibility, and mediating domestic conflicts. This role shows that traditional leaders remain the main pillar in harmonizing the value of Minangkabau local wisdom with Islamic principles in family life. In this context, the sakinah family is not only built through the personal relationships of the couple, but also through the support of a living and functional customary structure.

b. Bundo Kanduang as the Architect of Morality and the Main Educator in the Family

In addition to niniak mamak, the figure of Bundo Kanduang also has an important position in fostering the sakinah family in Solok City. In the Minangkabau tradition, Bundo Kanduang is not just the identity of a married or offspring woman, but is a symbol of moral, social, and genealogical authority in the matrilineal structure. Historically, this term has even referred to the Minangkabau female king, as recorded in the figure of Yang Dipertuan Gadis Reno Sumpu after the end of the reign of Sultan Bagagarsyah in the 19th century (Thaib, 2000, p. 186). From a sociological perspective, Bundo Kanduang refers to senior women in the community who have the authority to foster, advise, and maintain the continuity of traditional values in their family environment (Ernatip, 2014, p. 69).

The concept of Bundo Kanduang develops multidimensionally: it can refer to the oldest woman in the race, a symbol of honor for Minangkabau women, women's social institutions, and even the representation of Mother Earth in the Minang cultural imagination. In the institutional structure, Bundo Kanduang is also present as one of the important elements that runs parallel to LKAAM in maintaining the sustainability of customs. Therefore, Bundo Kanduang must be understood not only as a gender concept, but also as a cultural institution that has a normative and structural function in contemporary Minangkabau society.

According to Diradjo, the meaning of Bundo Kanduang includes historical, symbolic, social, and institutional dimensions, ranging from the title of female ruler, honorary greetings to mothers, women's representation in traditional events, to informal leaders for women and the younger generation in a race (Sismarni, 2011, pp. 97–100). In modern social developments, this figure has transformed from a mere domestic guardian to an influential social actor in the governance of family and community life.

Field findings show that Bundo Kanduang in Solok City is still understood as an ideal figure of Minangkabau women who carry out the dual role of wife and mother as well as guardian of traditional values. This was confirmed by one of the figures of Bundo Kanduang Solok City:

"Figur Bundo Kanduang tu buliah dikatoan sebagai 'ibu sejati' yang melambangan padusi ideal dalam adat kito, padusi yang menjalanan duo peran yaitu sebagai istri dan ibu. Perannyo sangek penting dalam pembinaan keluarga yang sesuai jo ABS-SBK" (Wawancara dengan SN, 07 Oktober 2025).

This quote shows that Bundo Kanduang was positioned as the architect of family morality. It not only carries out domestic functions, but also becomes the guardian of ABS-SBK values in domestic life.

Thus, the development of the sakinah family through the role of indigenous women does not lie in subordination, but in moral authority exercised through education, example, and social supervision.

The role of Bundo Kanduang in Solok City is evident in premarital coaching activities carried out in collaboration with the Ministry of Religion of Solok City. One form of contribution is to provide an understanding to the bride-to-be about the rights and obligations of husband and wife as well as the purpose of marriage according to customs and religion. A Chairman of the Bundo Kanduang of Solok City explained:

"Nan Bundo Kanduang kalua disiko ado program sosialisasi pranikah di Kemenag Kota Solok. Di sinan diagiah pencerahan tentang tanggung jawab laki-laki terhadap padusi dan tanggung jawab padusi terhadap laki-laki" (Wawancara dengan SN, 07 Oktober 2025).

These findings show that Bundo Kanduang not only works in the domestic and informal spheres, but is also involved in formal institutional spaces to strengthen family formation. This involvement is important because it shows that there is a meeting point between women's customary institutions and state religious institutions in preparing couples to build harmonious households. Bundo Kanduang also emphasized that marriage is not just a legal or social bond, but a means to build physical and mental well-being which leads to the formation of a family of sakinah, mawaddah, and rahmah. This is seen in the following statement:

"Tujuan perkawinan tu salah satunyo membina keluarga sejahtera lahir dan batin, kemudian membentuk keluarga sakinah, mawaddah, warahmah" (Wawancara dengan SN, 07 Oktober 2025).

The quote shows that Bundo Kanduang functions as an agent of family education that transmits the values of ideal marriage in an integrative manner, namely combining traditional views with Islamic teachings. In this position, he plays an important role in shaping the mental, moral, and spiritual readiness of young couples.

Bundo Kanduang in Solok City also functions as a social companion for young couples after marriage. Although he does not always intervene directly, he still monitors household conditions, becomes a place to ask questions, and becomes a reference when the family faces problems such as economic pressure or domestic violence. In this case, Bundo Kanduang carries out a delicate but effective function of moral supervision. This role shows that the development of the sakinah family in Minangkabau society does not stop at the premarital phase, but continues in the form of social and moral assistance after the family is formed.

The results of the study also show that there are challenges to the traditional role of Bundo Kanduang. Social changes, increasing women's economic independence, and transformation of relationship patterns in modern households have caused the traditional saying to clean up the house no longer always carried out in the same form as in the past. Nevertheless, Bundo Kanduang figures in Solok City still emphasize the importance of maintaining the identity of Minangkabau women as household administrators, main educators of children, and keepers of value balance in the family.

Based on this description, it can be affirmed that Bundo Kanduang has a significant contribution to the development of the sakinah family in Solok City. Its role includes moral education, premarital debriefing, strengthening husband-wife relationships, domestic assistance, and maintaining traditional and religious values in family life. Thus, Bundo Kanduang is an important actor in building a sakinah family that is not only internally harmonious, but also morally and culturally strong.

2. The Role of the Solok City Religious Affairs Office (KUA) in Supporting the Formation of the Sakina Family

The Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) is a state institution that can no longer be understood solely as a marriage registration institution, but as a strategic actor in the development of Muslim families from pre-marriage to post-marriage. This position has a strong juridical basis in the Regulation of the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 of 2024, which emphasizes that KUA is tasked with providing guidance services for the Islamic community, including marriage and referral services, marriage guidance, strengthening the Sakinah family, sharia consultation, and religious

counseling. With this framework, the KUA in Solok City functions as an extension of the state's policy in building the sakinah family as well as a socio-religious development institution that must deal with the reality of Minangkabau customs that are still alive and influential.

The findings of the study show that KUA Lubuk Sikarah District and KUA Tanjung Harapan District interpret the sakinah family as a multi-level and sustainable coaching program. This means that the sakinah family is not formed instantly through a marriage contract, but is prepared from the pre-marriage stage through marriage guidance and strengthened again in the post-marriage phase through mentoring, consultation, and counseling. The Head of KUA Lubuk Sikarah emphasized, *"It is known that the sakinah family is a family of government programs... starting from pre-family or pre-marriage as a provision until the time of marriage" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* This statement was emphasized by the Head of KUA Tanjung Harapan who stated, *"At KUA Tanjung Harapan, the development of the sakinah family begins from pre-marriage. The bride-to-be is equipped with an understanding of household responsibilities, both according to religion and state rules" (Interview with ZZ, October 4, 2025).* These two quotes show that the work orientation of KUA in Solok City has shifted from an administrative approach to an educational-preventive approach.

In the pre-marital context, the role of KUA is seen through Marriage Guidance (Bimwin) which is designed to equip the bride-to-be with an understanding of the rights and obligations of husband and wife, psychological readiness, family communication, and Islamic values in the household. Normatively, the implementation of Bimwin obtained legitimacy from the Regulation of the Director General of Islamic Community Guidance Number DJ.II/542 of 2013 and strengthened by the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Community Guidance Number 379 of 2018, which affirms that Bimwin is an official instrument of the state in preparing family resilience since before the marriage contract (Musyafa'ah, 2021, p. 90). Thus, the pre-marriage coaching carried out by the KUA cannot be seen as a mere bureaucratic formality, but as a socio-religious intervention designed to suppress potential domestic conflicts from the beginning.

However, the contribution of KUA in Solok City does not stop at the pre-marriage stage. The results of the study show that the development of the sakinah family is also carried out in the post-marriage phase through different patterns in each sub-district. KUA Lubuk Sikarah takes a group coaching model through the sakinah family fostered groups, as revealed by the local KUA Head: *"We at KUA every month report to the province the existence of sakinah family fostered groups" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* In fact, he added, *"After getting married, there are more programs, called sakinah family groups. That is the program that has been implemented to this day" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* Meanwhile, KUA Tanjung Harapan emphasizes religious counseling, family consultation, and cooperation with religious extension workers and community leaders. This difference in pattern shows that the implementation of the sakinah family program at the local level is adaptive, adjusting to the social needs of the people of each sub-district.

The effectiveness of KUA coaching is actually seen when this institution does not position itself hegemonic, but as an advisor and facilitator. The Head of KUA Lubuk Sikarah emphasized, *"We are only positioning ourselves as an advisory body and fostering the family. We don't want to interfere in their realm excessively" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* This attitude shows that KUA in Solok City tends to use a persuasive approach, not coercive intervention. Such an approach is important in the context of Minangkabau society, because family authority is not entirely in the hands of married couples, but is also influenced by ninik mamak, bundo kanduang, and customary structures that have strong social legitimacy.

Therefore, one of the main strengths of KUA in Solok City is its ability to build synergy with local actors, including BP4, religious extension workers, ninik mamak, and bundo kanduang. The Head of KUA Tanjung Harapan stated, *"What we found was much fewer families who complained to the sub-district BP4. This is proof that they have awareness and knowledge" (Interview with ZZ, October 4, 2025).* This statement shows that the coaching carried out by KUA is not only theoretical, but has a practical impact on increasing the capacity of couples in managing household problems. Furthermore, the involvement

of traditional leaders is also explicitly acknowledged in the family mediation process. As emphasized by the informant, *"If there are domestic problems, we recommend that they also ask their niniak mamak and bundo kanduang" (Interview with ZZ, August 20, 2025).* At this point, it can be seen that KUA does not negate customs, but instead integrates them as a source of social legitimacy in maintaining family resilience.

It can be emphasized that the role of KUA in Solok City is normative, educational, preventive, and collaborative. Normatively, KUA carries out the state mandate in fostering a sakinah family based on applicable regulations; educationally, KUA equips prospective brides and young couples with basic knowledge and skills to be a householder; preventively, KUA seeks to suppress conflict and divorce through continuous coaching; and collaboratively, KUA builds synergy with BP4 and Minangkabau traditional leaders. In this context, the effectiveness of KUA does not lie in the dominance of formal authority, but in its ability to functionally connect state law, Islamic values, and local wisdom in fostering the sakinah family in Solok City.

Marriage is not only understood as a legal bond, but also as an emotional and spiritual bond that sustains domestic harmony. In the Indonesian context, the birth bond includes the legality, rights, and obligations of the husband and wife, while the inner bond reflects the emotional closeness, trust, and psychological support between the couple. The imbalance between the two has the potential to cause tension and conflict in the household. Thus, the development of the sakinah family cannot be reduced to marriage registration or normative compliance, but must be directed at strengthening the legal, emotional, and social dimensions of marriage simultaneously (Dahrial and Maulana, 2025).

3. Obstacles and Challenges in Realizing Synergy between Local Wisdom and KUA in the Development of the Sakinah Family

The synergy between Minangkabau local wisdom and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in fostering sakinah families in Solok City has not been fully optimal. The main obstacle lies not in the conflict of principles between customs and religion, but in changes in social structure, limited community participation, and weak institutionalization of cooperation between KUA and customary institutions. In the Minangkabau context, the traditional principle of basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah has actually provided a strong normative foundation for the integration of customs and religion. However, in social practice, the foundation faces challenges as society increasingly moves towards a more individual, pragmatic, and administrative lifestyle.

a. Weak Community's Integrative Understanding of Customs and Religion

One of the most fundamental challenges is the weakening of people's understanding, especially the younger generation, of customs and religion as a value system that should work integratively in family life. Modernization, urbanization, and increasingly open information flows have driven an orientation shift from a pattern of collective deliberation to more individualized choices. As a result, the role of niniak mamak and bundo kanduang in the family development process tends to decrease. This is illustrated in the statement of traditional leaders*: "Dulu dipaso, kini tapaso jadi. Raso-raso lah samakin manipih. Kalau mancari jodoh dulu basamo-samo, kini banyak nan surang-surang" (Wawancara dengan SN, 07 Oktober 2025)*. This quote shows that social change is not only shifting the pattern of family relations, but also reducing the space of customary authorities in household decision-making.

The same tendency is also read by KUA. In administrative practice, the involvement of customary elements in marriage affairs is decreasing, as acknowledged by the KUA: *"In Solok City, it is only an introduction from RT or RW. So local wisdom does not appear in that matter, especially in Lubuk Sikarah" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* This statement confirms that customs are no longer always present as part of the formal mechanism of family development. In fact, from the Minangkabau perspective, customs are not just a symbol of identity, but a source of moral and social legitimacy in maintaining family resilience. Therefore, the weakening of people's understanding of customs and religion ultimately narrows the synergy space between customary institutions and KUA. However, traditional

leaders still affirm the durability of traditional values in Minang society: *"Adat ko gak will lapuak dek raijan, ndak lakang dek paneh, salamo urang Minang still want to use the custom" (Interview with EW, October 5, 2025).* This statement shows that the main problem is not in the relevance of customs, but in the process of transmission and actualization in contemporary social life.

b. Limited Participation due to Socio-Economic Conditions

The next obstacle lies in the low participation of the community in the sakinah family development program. The findings of the study show that this problem is more influenced by socio-economic conditions than by the technical weaknesses of the program. The KUA stated: *"If the technical obstacles do not exist, but the obstacles are from the individual bride-to-be and the family who have problems. The first obstacle is economic limitations" (Interview with ZZ, October 4, 2025).* This means that economic problems make some people prioritize their daily needs rather than following family development. This situation is reinforced by time constraints, as another informant revealed: *"The time has been determined, but they did not come because there was a source from the economy" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).*

This condition shows that the development of the sakinah family cannot only be designed in normative and administrative logic, because the target community lives in an economic reality that is often unstable. Formally scheduled programs are not necessarily compatible with the rhythms of urban life that depend on informal work and daily income. As a result, low participation is not only a reflection of weak awareness, but also shows the gap between program design and the social reality of society. In this context, the synergy between KUA and local wisdom is not optimal, because the coaching forum that should be a space for internalizing traditional and religious values is not fully affordable for the people who need it most.

c. Institutional Synergy Between KUA and Customary Institutions Is Not Optimal

An equally important challenge is the lack of optimal institutional synergy between KUA and customary institutions. Culturally, the relationship between the two is relatively harmonious and not marked by a conflict of authority. This was emphasized by the KUA informant: *"It feels like there is no overlap, because KUA is in accordance with its function, niniak mamak is also their program, bundo kanduang is also their program, and instead strengthens each other" (Interview with SJ, October 4, 2025).* This statement suggests that the problem lies not in the clash of roles, but in the fact that the relationship is still operating informally and has not been supported by a structured institutional mechanism.

The absence of a formal framework makes cooperation between KUA and traditional leaders highly dependent on personal initiatives and current figures. Therefore, its sustainability becomes vulnerable and difficult to measure its effectiveness. The KUA itself assesses the need for local government support to strengthen this cooperation. As stated in the interview: *"Actually, if possible, the local government facilitates through activities, whether it is long-term or we make BP4 sub-districts or BP4 cities whose management is included in niniak mamak and bundo kanduang" (Interview with ZZ, October 4, 2025).* This quote affirms that substantive synergy requires institutionalization, not just cultural good relations. Without regional policy support, formal coordination forums, or the integration of indigenous leaders in coaching institutions such as BP4, collaboration between indigenous peoples and KUA risks remaining symbolic.

This situation shows that there is a gap between normative recognition of the traditional principles of basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah and the practice of governance of sakinah family development at the local level. KUA works with the formal regulatory framework of the state, while customary institutions move with cultural norms that are more flexible and based on social legitimacy. Without a clear coordination design, the two tend to run in parallel, rather than integratively. As a result, people can experience normative confusion in determining authoritative references when facing family problems.

The obstacles to synergy between local wisdom and KUA in Solok City are based on at least three main problems: the weakening of the community's integrative understanding of customs and religion,

limited participation due to socio-economic pressures, and the lack of optimal institutional synergy between KUA and customary institutions. These three factors show that the challenge of fostering a sakinah family is not enough to be answered with a ceremonial or administrative approach. What is needed is a more adaptive, community-based, and supportive collaborative strategy that is supported by clear institutional policies, so that Minangkabau traditional values and Islamic teachings can truly work functionally in strengthening family resilience in Solok City.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of the research, the development of the sakinah family in Solok City takes place through the meeting of two different but mutually necessary authority bases, namely the cultural authority of local wisdom figures and the formal authority of the KUA institution. Ninik mamak, bundo kanduang, and customary institutions have proven to function not only as traditional symbols, but as social actors who actively shape family ethics, guide prospective spouses, instill social responsibility, and mediate domestic conflicts through a deliberation mechanism rooted in the traditional philosophy of basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah. At the same time, KUA through marriage guidance, counseling, post-marriage coaching, and other educational services carries out the state's function in institutionalizing the value of the sakinah family into a more systematic program. These findings confirm that the sakinah family in Solok City is not merely a product of normative adherence to religious teachings or state administration, but the result of social work built through the integration of customary values, the legitimacy of local figures, and sustainable institutional intervention.

This research also shows that the synergy is not completely solid because it is still hampered by changes in the orientation of community values, limited participation due to socio-economic pressures, and the institutionalization of cooperation between KUA and customary institutions is not optimal. Modernization and increasingly individualistic lifestyles have reduced the bonding power of customary in family development, while KUA programs often face a gap between the normative design of coaching and the daily reality of the community. Therefore, the main problem of fostering the sakinah family in Solok City does not lie in the conflict between customs and religion, but in the lack of a stable, adaptive, and socially based collaboration model that is based on local social needs. Thus, strengthening the sakinah family requires a shift from a partial and ceremonial approach to an integrative coaching model, in which KUA, indigenous leaders, BP4, and local governments work within a clear institutional framework so that Islamic values and local wisdom truly function as a social force that lives in the family.

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