



Marginalization of Indigenous People in Development: *Antimun Bungkuak* in the Heart of Minangkabau, Indonesia

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Abstract: Indigenous communities are among the vulnerable groups at risk of being left behind in the development process. To uphold the "leave no one behind" principle of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it is crucial to examine public policies affecting indigenous peoples. This article focuses on the indigenous community in Bukittinggi, specifically the Kurai people. The research was conducted using a qualitative approach, combining an analysis of public policy documents with field research on the traditional leaders of Kurai Limo Jorong. The findings reveal that the Kurai Indigenous community in Bukittinggi resembles *antimun bungkuak*—present yet unrecognized. While they remain *de facto* founders of the city, with leaders and traditional institutions still in place, their influence has steadily declined. Public policies have progressively marginalized them, excluding their existence from official development plans and decision-making processes.

Keywords: Indigenous peoples; public policy; urban development

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INTRODUCTION

Rather than being the leading actors in development, the Indigenous people who founded, inhabited, and once owned the land of Bukittinggi now find themselves in a state of *antimun bungkuak*—present yet unrecognized. They continue to live as a community, maintaining their customary traditions amid the city's rapid urban development. Although they still have a lineage of leaders and traditional institutions, these structures exist outside the corridors of power and have little influence over policies that affect them. The very people who established Bukittinggi around 240 years ago now exist in a paradox—caught between presence and absence—within one of the most developed cities in the heart of Minangkabau.

Over 476 million indigenous people reside in 90 countries worldwide, accounting for approximately 6.2 percent of the global population. Of those, there are more than 5,000 distinct groups. According to un.org (2023), Indigenous peoples face numerous challenges, including the denial of their right to control their development based on their values, needs, and priorities, a lack of or very poor political representation, and limited access to social services (United Nations, 2025). These global perspectives are also applied to Indonesia. The Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) has recorded 2,586 member communities throughout Indonesia, representing around 21 million individuals (aman.or.id: 2023).

Indigenous peoples are among the vulnerable groups most at risk of exclusion in the development process. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by United Nations member states, upholds the commitment to "leave no one behind," emphasizing that all individuals, regardless of their background, must be included in development efforts. Achieving this goal requires disaggregated data to ensure that the unique challenges faced by marginalized communities are addressed. According to the United Nations (2015, 2016), such data is essential for identifying and supporting vulnerable populations, including children, adolescents, persons with disabilities, individuals living with HIV, older adults, indigenous peoples, refugees, internally displaced persons, and migrants. Recognizing indigenous peoples within this framework is critical to ensuring their rights, participation, and inclusion in sustainable development initiatives.

Five years after the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as part of Bukittinggi's development agenda, there remains a lack of data or mapping on the literacy levels, positions, and roles of traditional leaders in achieving these goals between 2016 and 2021. This gap highlights the need for a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between traditional leaders and the development process. Accordingly, this study aims to map the position and contributions of the traditional leaders of Kurai Limo Jorong Bukittinggi, specifically *Penghulu Pucuk Bulek* and *Urek Tunggang nan 126*, in advancing the SDGs within the city's development framework. To achieve this, the study employs a development planning document analysis method based on public policy analysis theory. By examining the inclusion and recognition of traditional leaders

in official development planning documents, this research seeks to assess their role in governance and policy implementation within the context of sustainable development in Bukittinggi.

METHODS

This study aims to investigate the United Nations' assertion that indigenous peoples face the denial of their right to control their development, based on their values, needs, and priorities, as well as a lack of or indigent political representation, and limited access to social services (United Nations, 2023). The data for this study were collected through interviews, observations, documents, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The research took place in various settings, including informal conversations at home, *lapau* (traditional coffee shops), and *surau* (small prayer houses). Additionally, data was gathered in more formal customary locations such as the kantor kerapatan adat Nagari KAN (customary office), kantor Wali Nagari (sub-district office), and balai adat (customary hall). Thus, the study aims to identify the social categories and positions, particularly the role in the development and social meanings of traditional leaders in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra.

To understand the position and condition of this indigenous community, this study traces their journey as owners and founders of the city of Bukittinggi, dating back approximately 1000-500 years. Data were collected from historical documents of indigenous communities, including the Tambo, as well as oral narratives that have been mostly recorded. To find evidence of the United Nations' statement on indigenous peoples experiencing a lack of political representation, the research employed policy-analytic methods, incorporating both descriptive and normative analyses. To confirm the results of the analysis of public policy documents, field research was conducted using a qualitative research method (Dunn, 2012).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research findings on the position of the Kurai indigenous community illustrate a long and intricate historical trajectory marked by gradual marginalization. Once a dominant force in Bukittinggi, the community has progressively lost its influence and visibility in both governance and development processes. This alienation has reached a critical point in recent years, rendering their role and presence almost invisible within the city's socio-political landscape. The community's condition is metaphorically described as *antimun bungkuak* (hunched cucumbers), signifying their continued existence in substantial numbers yet remaining unrecognized and unaccounted for in official policies and decision-making frameworks. This systemic exclusion underscores the need for a reassessment of public policies to ensure the inclusion and acknowledgment of indigenous communities in sustainable development efforts.

Public policies in Bukittinggi have systematically marginalized indigenous peoples, gradually diminishing their presence in governance and development processes. This exclusion directly contradicts the "leave no one behind" commitment of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which emphasizes inclusivity and equity in development. Although the indigenous community continues to play a significant role in social and cultural life *de facto*, their lack of legal recognition *de jure* prevents them from actively participating in policy-making and decision-making processes. The absence of formal acknowledgment in public policy documents not only undermines their historical contributions but also exacerbates their vulnerability to further socio-political marginalization. Addressing this gap requires a policy framework that ensures the integration of indigenous peoples into the formal development agenda, aligning local governance with the principles of sustainability and social justice.

Abdullah et al. (1983) describe *Luhak* as a loose federation of *Nagari*, while the *Alam Minangkabau* (Minangkabau world) is a broader federation consisting of three *Luhak*. Within this framework, the Kurai Limo Jorong Indigenous community was established as a federation of five *Nagari*, forming a distinct socio-political entity. According to Alam (2019), the Kurai Indigenous community serves as a miniature representation of Minangkabau governance, with five autonomous *Nagari*—Tigo Baleh, Koto Salayan, Mandiingin, Guguk Panjang, and Aur Birugo—functioning as a federal government. Each of these *Nagari* fulfills the traditional criteria outlined in the *Undang Tandang Nagari*, a Minangkabau legal code recorded in the *Tambo Minangkabau*. These criteria include the presence of four tribes, essential public infrastructure, a hall (*balai*), a mosque, and a designated cemetery commander.

The *Tambo Minangkabau*, as referenced by Kato (2006), represents the foundational narrative and guiding principles of Minangkabau society. Kato asserts that *a specific historical timeline does not bind Tambo* but serves as a master plan that has historically shaped Minangkabau governance and social structure. He emphasizes that *Tambo* is not merely a mythological account but functions as the constitutional framework of Minangkabau society, one that has been effectively implemented in the past. This perspective highlights the deep-rooted historical and legal traditions that continue to shape the governance and identity of the Kurai Indigenous community within the broader Minangkabau cultural landscape.

The existence of the Kurai Indigenous community as a federated *Nagari* (Yazan, 1987; Alam, 2019) is evident from three aspects: historiography, customary leadership structures, and the documentation of

customary communities in historical records. The historiography of the Kurai customary community's formation is based on the oral narrative of Tambo Kurai, which the Kurai community believes to be a record of their ancestors' origins, from the beginning of their arrival until the establishment of their social order in Kurai. The structure of the custom government "*Pamarentahan Sapanjang Adat*," specifically the Kurai customary leadership structure, *Urang Ampek Jinih*, and *Urang Jinih Nan Ampek*, remains in place until 2024. The factual condition of the Kurai customary community encompasses all socio-economic conditions and customary activities of the Kurai community up to 2024.

The Kurai indigenous community, as part of the Minangkabau community, is described in Tambo, both in Tambo Minangkabau and in Tambo Luhak Agam. It is stated in the Minangkabau Tambo that *Nagari* Kurai is a group of four adjoining *Nagari*, arranged in a row, in Luhak Agam. Tambo Alam Minangkabau stated: "*Banamo Luhak Agam, ba Kurai ba Banuhampu, Sianok jo Kotogadang*." (Named Luhak Agam, has Kurai and Banuhampu, Sianok and Kotogadang). Alam (2019) stated that:

"The spread of the population from Pariangan Padangpanjang occurred over four long periods. In the first period, people lived in Agam in (four Nagari) Biaro, Balaigurah, Lambah, and Panampuang—the second period in (four Nagari) Lasi, Canduang, Kurai, and Banuhampu. Third period in Sianok, Kotogadang, Guguak, Tabeksarojo. Fourth period in Sariak, Sungaipua, Batagak Batupalano."

The ancestors of the Kurai people are said to have departed from the Pariangan village, the first Minangkabau village, towards the plains north of Mount Marapi. Bukittinggi Archives Services noted that:

"The migration of people from Pariangan Padangpanjang with a large group to Tanjung Alam, Sungai Tarab sub-district. One of the large groups in this period was led by Rajo Bagombak, who was titled Yang Dipatuan Bagonjong, together with Maharajo Nan Bangkah. From Tanjung Alam, they continued their journey and rested in a field, which was later called Padang Kurai."

After resting in Padang Kurai, they continued their journey, passing through the already established *Nagari*: Biaro, Balai Gurah, and Lambah Panampuang. Based on the agreement in Padang Kurai, the next journey was divided into two groups. The first group, led by Maharajo Nan Bangkah, followed the road from Mudiak, and the second group took the route from *Hilia* (Bukittinggi Archives Services, 1952). The two groups met and established their first settlement in Koto Joloang (Alam, 2019). Koto Joloang is a "koto," not yet declared as a *Nagari*, because it is only in the third stage before becoming a *Nagari*, as stated in the Tambo Minangkabau, that the formation of a *Nagari* goes through three stages: *dari taratak manjadi Dusun, Dusun manjadi koto, dari koto jadi Nagari*. (The formation of a *Nagari* started from *Taratak*. *Taratak* developed into *Dusun*. *Dusun* developed into *Koto*. *Koto* then became *Nagari* (Indo, 1976).

In Koto Joloang, the first thirteen *penghulu* began to arrange and establish *Nagari Tigo Baleh*. These predecessors established the next four *Nagari*: Koto Salayan, Mandiingin, Guguk Panjang, and Aur Birugo. These five villages are collectively referred to as "*Jorong*" (Zuriati, 2015). Each *jorong* that was established gradually fulfilled the requirements as a *Nagari* based on the "*Undang Tandang Nagari*" which are: *Nagari ba ampek suku, ba balai ba musajik, ba labuah ba tapian, ba pandam pakuburan* (A village is legally established if it has at least four tribes, has a traditional hall and mosque, has public infrastructure of at least roads and banks, and has a cemetery). In the book *Sejarah dan Adat Kurai V Jorong* (=History and Custom of Kurai Limo Jorong), it is stated that "each *jorong* in the Kurai village is an autonomous village with complete governance according to its respective Indigenous people." Each *Jorong* has a hierarchical traditional leadership apparatus: *Penghulu Pangkatuo Nagari, Penghulu Pangkatuo Indu, and Penghulu Pangkatuo* (Bukittinggi Archives Service, 1992). Each *jorong* is led by the *Penghulu Pangkatuo Nagari, Pangkatuo Kampung, and Penghulu Pangkatuo*. From the data from the Bukittinggi Archives Service, archival data was obtained on the "Composition of Customary Leaders of Kurai Limo *Jorong*," which states that there are 52 ranks of *Pangkatuo Kampung* and 42 ranks of *Penghulu Pangkatuo* (Bukittinggi Archives Service, 1992).

The formation of the "Kurai Federation", comprising five villages, occurred after these villages had become autonomous *Nagari*. After Paderi, the condition of each village felt weak, and it could not defend itself from conflict with neighboring villages. The headmen of eight tribes in the five villages held a meeting and agreed to unite the five villages (forming a kind of "federation") under the name Kurai (Alam, 2019). The "Kurai Federation," which combines five *jorong* into one customary unit, forms the Kurai Sapanjang Customary Government. The customary leadership, which is the highest authority in Kurai, consists of a set of *Penghulu Pucuk Bulek, Pangkatuo Banda, and Pangkatuo Kubu*, who take care of the interests of Kurai (Yazan, 1987). Then, over time, the two levels of customary government merged, along with the development of village headmen. The final condition of "government along the Kurai custom" evolved into a complex structure of customary leadership, as illustrated in Table 1.

Although conceptually, each *Nagari* has a customary government and a joint government (federation), all *penghulu* cannot be separated from customary activities. The division of positions, as in the Kurai

government, is as *penghulu* Pucuak Bulek, and as in the Nagari government, is as *Pangkatuo*, only occurring in the Kurai customary hall. When they come down in customary activities in the *Nagari*, their positions merge into the leadership structure within their respective tribes. Table 1 shows the distribution of government apparatus throughout the Kurai tradition. The distribution and number of *penghulu* for the Pucuak nan 26 levels, *Pangkatuo Nagari*, and *Pagkatuo Banda* have not changed. The number of *penghulu* has changed and increased at the *Pangkatuo Indu*, *Pangkatuo Kubu*, and *Pangkatuo Kampuang* levels. The following data were obtained from three sources from different periods (1967, 1993, and 2024).

Table 1. Distribution of the Ranks of Headmen of *Pucuak* and *Pangkatuo* in *Pamarentahan Sapanjang Adat Nagari* Kurai Limo Jorong

Ethnic group	Pucuak Nan 26			Pangkatuo			Amount
	nan 5	nan 9	nan 12	<i>Nagari</i>	Banda	Indu/ Kubu/ kampuang	
Guci	1	1	2	4		12	20
Pisang	1	2	3	5	2	30	44
Sikumbang	1	1	1	2		17	22
Jambak	1	1	1	3	2	19	27
Tanjung	1	1	2	2		19	25
Koto		1	1	2		20	24
Salayan		1	1	1		17	20
Simabua		1	1	1		10	13
Malayu						1	1
	5	8	12	20	4	145	195

Source: Compilation of Opinions from: Dt. Sati (2022), Dt. Sari Basa (1967), KAK Meeting Archives (1993)

Note:

Pamarentahan Sapanjang Adat Kurai is a federation of five *Nagari*. The structure of the *penghulu* remains the same; the number remains constant over time.

Pamarentahan Sapanjang Adat in Five *Jorong* (equivalent to *Nagari*)

The structure of the principal is fixed, and the number is fixed from time to time

The number of *Penghulu* who lead the Defense Fort, Village, *Indu*, changes and increases occasionally.

The Kurai indigenous community has existed since the inception of Minangkabau, as documented in the historiography of Tambo Minangkabau and Indonesia's history (Yazan, 2016). In the Tambo historiography, the Kurai village is one of four groups of the second period that departed from Pariangan to the Agam region. "The second period in (four villages) Lasi, Canduang, Kurai, Banuhampu" (Pandak, 2000). Historical records show that the Kurai Indigenous community has existed since the founding of the city of Bukittinggi in 1784 (Yusrizal, 2019). Initially, in the Pakan Kurai, Gugukpanjang area, Kurai village, a simple market was established to accommodate the community's economic activities and the meetings of traders from surrounding villages (Abdullah et al., 1983).

Then, the Kurai traditional leader was declared the party that lent the land for the market on Wednesday, December 22, 1784 AD, or 9 Shafar 1199 H (Yusrizal, 2019). "In the meeting of the Kurai chiefs, it was agreed to establish a market in *Bukik Kubangan Kabau* (The Hill of Buffalo Wallowed). The place was then named *Bukik nan Tatinggi*" (The Highest Hill). The date was made the "Bukittinggi City Anniversary" by the Bukittinggi Government in 1988 (Zuriati, 2015). After lending land for the company market, the Kurai Limo *Jorong* indigenous community was subsequently recorded as the party that lent land for the Fort de Kock, which was built in 1820.

"In 1820, when the Padri War was raging, the Dutch built a fort on a hill that was part of the Kurai Ulayat (ancestral) Land. The fort was called Fort de Kock, after General de Kock, who at that time served as Governor General of the Dutch East Indies" (Abdullah et al., 1983).

Then, in 1858, the Kurai chiefs again lent their land to the Dutch, as Abdullah et al. (1983) stated. An important event in the growth and development of the market and the city of Bukittinggi occurred in 1858, namely the handover of land by the *penghulu* in the Kurai sub-district to the Dutch government with the right of use and for an unspecified duration. Provided that if the land is no longer used, it will be returned to the Kurai people. The land comprises the hills surrounding Bambulaan, which are now known as Dr. Rivai Street,

Tembok Street, Aur Tajungkang Street, Gudang Street, Rumah Obos Street, and the land in front of the military hospital (Abdullah et al., 1983). The Kurai Federation held a central and sole position in the government when the people's market was still located in Pakan Kurai Gugukpanjang. The Pucuk Bulek Kurai chiefs controlled the people's market in the middle of the Kurai Nagari. Abdullah et al. (1983) stated:

"Before the city of Bukittinggi was founded, there was only a town called Pekan Kurai. This town was located in the area now called Gurun Panjang. From Padang, they came via a pack horse road through Pauh, Sitinjau Laut, Cupak, Selayo, Panyinggahan, Sumpur, Batipuh Baruh, Malalak, Tandikat, Koto Gadang to Pekan Kurai."

Amran (1981) described the conditions of the villages in the eastern Minangkabau region similarly.

"Before being controlled by the Dutch East Indies, the government there was not much different from other areas of Minangkabau at the beginning of the last century. Each village was practically self-sufficient, led by a datuk or penghulu, manti, mualim, and dubalang. Several villages or Koto could form a nagari; two or more nagari sometimes allied, so that the nagari government was federative. One or several Nagari were headed by a "rajo" or "urang gadang" who acted as the representative of the Pagaruyung king. These people were taken from the penghulu clan but had quite great power exceeding a datuk".

During the following periods, power over the people's market gradually shifted from the hands of the Kurai chief to "common property" and was referred to as the company market. The Dutch East Indies government had a significant role in the change in the position of power over the market, as stated by Abdullah et al. (1983):

"Then, in order to eliminate the rights of the Kurai people to the Bukittinggi market land, the Governor of West Sumatra, J. Ballot, wrote as follows: The markets in Fort de Kock, Payakumbuh, Padang Panjang, and Fort van de Capellen were established by the Nagari of each sub-district and were opened for those Nagari. In short, the Bukittinggi market was established by all the Nagari in the Agam Tuo sub-district and was exploited for those Nagari".

Then, the Dutch East Indies government took power over the market. Even though there were several "struggles" with the Kurai princes. As Abdullah et al. (1983) stated:

"In order to strengthen its power, the Dutch continuously reduced the power of the penghulu in Minangkabau. The Dutch government began to touch the freedom of the Nagari and tribes in the form of its intervention in governing several Nagari/tribal affairs that had previously been the authority of the penghulu, at the meeting of the laras throughout Minangkabau on April 6, 1865, in Bukittinggi led by Mr. Kinderen (Government Commissioner) the power of the laras and penghulu was reduced. All fines or laws that were eight were no longer in the hands of the laras and penghulu but were held by the Dutch government."

"In the beginning, whatever the Dutch did with the market was always agreed with the Kurai chiefs. But over time, the Dutch government took control of the market land, among other things, by allowing people who were not Kurai people to set up shops and stalls on these lands."

The position of the Kurai indigenous community, originally the owner and founder of Bukittinggi City, has been increasingly marginalized. Abdullah et al. (1983) stated:

"When there was another dispute between the Kurai people and the Westerent Controller in 1907 because the Controller built stalls in the Bukittinggi market and auctioned them without agreement with the Kurai ninik mamak/penghulu, then Westerent returned this matter to the laras-laras in Agam. The laras-laras decided that the land no longer belonged to the Kurai people but to the Agam Tuo people, and the Kurai people still could not accept the laras-laras' decision".

The Kurai Indigenous people's position in "governing" Bukittinggi was marginalized at the end of the Dutch East Indies era. Regional Regulation No. 9/2000, the formal legal basis for implementing village government, does not provide space for forming a village government in the city area. The policy of forming village governments as the lowest level of government is only implemented in the district area. The village has no structural presence in the city area because Law No. 22/1999 does not provide for this. Article 126 of Law No. 22/1999 concerning regional government stipulates that the lowest level of government in the city is the sub-district. The reason for being contrary to central government regulations became the basis for not implementing village government as a formal government structure in the city area.

Irawati (2012) shows the final position of indigenous communities and their leaders in the political and power game. The cultural group KAK (*Kerapatan Adat Kurai*, meaning Traditional Leadership Institutions of Kurai) has not yet achieved results from the movement. The traditional elites cannot achieve the goal of gaining access to policies and bureaucracy. Economic access to state resources is virtually nonexistent. Their politically weak position towards the city government makes them unable to enforce their goals. The weakness of the *ninik mamak* also affects their ability to control supporting actors such as politicians, bureaucrats, and former bureaucrats. The symbolic capital they have is not accompanied by political capital. The search results revealed the actual conditions of Kurai traditional leaders in three aspects: the number of traditional leaders, which should be 195, was recorded as 102. This number refers to the title of traditional leaders whose existence is known to research informants. Table 2 below explains the data collection results on the existence of Kurai traditional leaders as of September 1, 2022.

Table 2. Actual Condition of Kurai Traditional Leaders

Ethnic group	<i>Penghulu</i> Condition			Amount
	Exist	Sunken	no data yet	
Guci	9	3	8	20
Pisang	13	2	29	44
Sikumbang	14	6	2	22
Jambak	7	3	17	27
Tanjuang	13	4	8	25
Koto	7	2	15	24
Salayan	10	2	8	20
Simabua	6		7	13
Malayu			1	1
Amount	79	22	94	195

Source: Informant interview data

Note:

The Kurai traditional leader, whose data was obtained and interviewed by the research team.

The title of *Penghulu* "sunk"; no one holds it.

The data on the title of the *penghulu* is not yet valid, incomplete, or the data on the concerned *penghulu* has not been obtained.

Analysis of planning documents and realization of Bukittinggi City development from 2016 to 2021 was carried out on: 1) Bukittinggi RPJPD 2006–2025 (Bukittinggi City Regulation No. 8 of 2006); 2) Bukittinggi RPJMD 2016–2021 (Bukittinggi City Regulation No. 12 of 2017) 3) Bukittinggi RPJMD 2021–2026 (Bukittinggi City Regulation No. 4 of 2021). The Bukittinggi Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) Document 2006–2025 is based on Bukittinggi City Regional Regulation Number 8 of 2006. This document includes the words "custom," "customary," "customary stakeholders," and various terms related to Indigenous people in many chapters and articles, as seen in Table 3.

Many terms can refer to the Minangkabau Indigenous people, including those in Kurai. In this case, the terms recorded refer to everything related to customs and Indigenous communities in Kurai. Many terms seem related to Kurai customs but are not related to Indigenous people, such as the following gist, which is not recorded as a "customary term in the *Perdako*." Terms that are not considered customary include "Baanjuang Traditional House," the museum at the zoo, and "Pakan Kurai," which can refer to either a place or a sub-district.

Table 3. Frequency of the Term "*adat*" and Terms Related to Custom in the 2006–2025 Bukittinggi RPJMD (Long Term Plan) Document

Terms related to Indigenous people	Mean	f	Note
<i>adat, adaik</i>	Custom law	39	Minang kabau general terms (69)
<i>Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, abs-sbk tanah ulayat</i>	Main philosophy	11	
<i>Syarak Mangato Adaik Mamakai</i>	Noble land	7	
<i>ninik mamak</i>	Main philosophy	5	Kurai terms
<i>Pemerintahan adat</i>	Custom leaders	4	
<i>Masyarakat Kurai Limo Jorong</i>	Custom government	4	
<i>Penghulu Pucuak</i>	Indigenous people	3	(12)
<i>Panghulu Pucuak Nan Duo Puluh Anam,</i>	Top custom leader	2	
<i>Ninik Mamak Pangka Tuo Nagari</i>	26 top custom leader	1	
<i>Ninik Mamak Saratuih</i>	Main <i>Nagari</i> leaders	1	General custom terms (19)
<i>Beradat</i>	100s of custom leaders	1	
<i>adat-istiadat</i>	Customary civilized	5	
<i>rumah adat</i>	Custom	4	
<i>Suku</i>	Traditional main building	4	
<i>Tali Tigo Sapilin</i>	Tribe	1	
<i>Tungku Tigo Sajarangan</i>	All kinds of leaders	1	
<i>tanah/ ulayat adat</i>	All kinds of leaders	1	
<i>pemegang adat</i>	Main noble land	1	
<i>gelar (adat)</i>	Custom law holder	1	
The frequency of use of terms related to Indigenous people		1	
		91	

Table 4, which lists terms related to indigenous people, shows that this regulation is exceptionally loaded with customary terms. There are at least 20 terms associated with the Minangkabau indigenous people, with a repetition of 90 times, and at least six specific terms related to the Kurai customary community, with a repetition of 12 times. Of the 190 pages of the regulation, 91 terms are related to customary law, meaning that almost every two pages of the document display one customary term. Upon closer examination, we find sentences and articles that state policies related to Indigenous people. The following data includes chapter titles, sub-chapters, sentences, and articles that outline policies related to Indigenous people or are directly relevant to them.

Table 4. Titles, Articles, and Sentences Related to Indigenous People in the 2006–2025 RPJPD (Long Term Plan) of Bukittinggi

Position	Sentence
Chapter I, C.1	Implementation of ABS-SBK (<i>adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah</i> as main Minangkabau philosophy) and community empowerment
Chapter I, E.1	Realizing the Indigenous people of <i>adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah</i> in people's lives;
Chapter II. 2.2.a.	Customary values that are integrated with religious values are referred to by the expression <i>Syarak Mangato Adaik Mamakai</i> .
Chapter II. 2.2.b.	The informal leadership patterns, known as <i>Tali Tigo Sapilin</i> and <i>Tungku Tigo Sajarangan</i> , are characterized by <i>ninik mamak, alim ulama</i> , and the clever one.
Chapter II. 2.2.c.	The existence of a traditional government system (the spatial structure and institutional institutions of <i>Nagari</i> that are still alive), which is hierarchical, can be seen from the presence of all Kurai traditional leaders, <i>Penghulu Pucuak</i> , known as <i>Panghulu Pucuak Nan Duopuluh Anam, Ninik Mamak Pangka Tuo Nagari</i> , and <i>Ninik Mamak Saratuih</i> .
Chapter II. 2.2.c.	The matriarchal system places the existence of Bundo Kanduang as very important in the life of society, as it is the mainstay of the hereditary and inheritance system.
Chapter III 2.2.	The significant capital that needs to be cultivated is the philosophy of <i>Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, Syara' Mangato, and Adaik Mamakai</i> . This philosophy has
Determination of Strategic Issues	elevated the status and dignity of the Minangkabau people, including those in Bukittinggi. The problem for urban order is that these values are vulnerable to degradation. Therefore, maximum efforts are needed and carried out by empowering all societal elements.
Chapter V 1.1. Regional Policy Direction	Realizing the <i>Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah</i> in community life

The Bukittinggi City RPJPD (long-term plan) data document, 2006–2025, concretely places Indigenous people as the primary development target. At least eight points in the policy plan across the five chapters of the Bukittinggi RPJPD demonstrate that the position of indigenous people is critical, if not central, to the long-term development plan of Bukittinggi. Explicitly, the *Perdako* documents include terms, sentences, and articles about Indigenous peoples, as well as recognition of their traditional leaders. Document of the Bukittinggi Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) 2016–2021 based on Bukittinggi City Regional Regulation Number 12 of 2017. The search for terms related to Indigenous people in this document uses the same data collection technique as the previous search. The study's results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Frequency of the Term "*adat*" and Terms Related to Custom in the 2016–2021 Bukittinggi RPJMD (Medium Term Plan) Document

Terms related to Indigenous people	Mean	f
<i>adat, adaik</i>	Custom law	33
<i>Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, abs-sbk</i>	Main philosophy	2
<i>tanah ulayat</i>	Noble land	-
<i>Syarak Mangato Adaik Mamakai</i>	Main philosophy	1
<i>ninik mamak</i>	Custom leaders	1
<i>Pemerintahan adat</i>	Custom government	-
<i>Masyarakat Kurai Limo Jorong</i>	Indigenous people	-
<i>Penghulu Pucuak</i>	Top custom leader	-
<i>Panghulu Pucuak Nan Duo Puluh Anam,</i>	26 top custom leader	-
<i>Ninik Mamak Pangka Tuo Nagari</i>	Main <i>Nagari</i> leaders	-
<i>Ninik Mamak Saratuih</i>	100s of custom leaders	-
<i>Beradat</i>	Customary civilized	4
<i>adat-istiadat</i>	Custom	-
<i>rumah adat</i>	Traditional main building	-
<i>Suku</i>	Tribe	-
<i>Tali Tigo Sapilin</i>	All kinds of leaders	-
<i>Tungku Tigo Sajaringan</i>	All kinds of leaders	-
<i>tanah/ ulayat adat</i>	Main noble land	-
<i>pemegang adat</i>	Custom law holder	-
<i>gelar (adat)</i>	Traditional title	-
The frequency of use of terms related to Indigenous people		40

The data above were obtained using the customary term points in the 2002–2006 Bukittinggi RPJPD5, as shown in the previous table. There are significant changes in the terms related to Indigenous people in the 2016–2021 RPJMD. Only five terms are related to Minangkabau customs; no single term is associated with the Kurai indigenous people. The document does not contain significant sentences related to Indigenous people. However, one paragraph displays an "appreciation of Indigenous people" at the most superficial level, as seen in the following table.

Table 6. Titles, Articles, and Sentences Related to Indigenous People in the 2016–2021 Bukittinggi City Medium-Term Development Plan

Position	Sentence
2.3.2.15. Culture	Since 2013, an arts and culture event called Bukittinggi Baralek Gadang (BBG) has been held, featuring arts and culture competitions that include eating bajamba, basiba baju kurung competitions, and other traditional events for the entire community.

The sentences in this paragraph are very different from the sentences and articles in the 2006–2025 RPJPD. Bukittinggi Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2017 is 676 pages long, three times more than Bukittinggi Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2006 concerning the 2006–2025 RPJPD, which is only 190 pages long. From the data above, it can be temporarily concluded that the 2016–2021 Bukittinggi RPJMD has overlooked the 2006–2025 Bukittinggi RPJPD, particularly in planning the development of the Kurai Indigenous community and the role of the Ninik Mamak Kurai traditional leader. Document of the Bukittinggi Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) 2016–2021 based on West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 1 of 2018. With the same treatment as the 2021–2026 Bukittinggi RPJMD document, the data obtained is shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Frequency of the Term "*adat*" and Terms Related to Custom in the 2021–2026 Bukittinggi RPJMD Document

Terms related to Indigenous people	Mean	f
<i>adat, adaik</i>	Custom law	38
<i>Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, abs-sbk</i>	Main philosophy	20
<i>tanah ulayat</i>	Noble land	6
<i>Syarak Mangato Adaik Mamakai</i>	Main philosophy	2
<i>ninik mamak</i>	Custom leaders	5
<i>Pemerintahan adat</i>	Custom government	-
<i>Masyarakat Kurai Limo Jorong</i>	Indigenous people	-
<i>Penghulu Pucuak</i>	Top custom leader	-
<i>Panghulu Pucuak Nan Duo Puluh Anam,</i>	26 top custom leader	-
<i>Ninik Mamak Pangka Tuo Nagari</i>	Main <i>Nagari</i> leaders	-
<i>Ninik Mamak Saratuih</i>	100s of custom leaders	-
<i>Beradat</i>	Customary civilized	2
<i>adat-istiadat</i>	Custom	-
<i>rumah adat</i>	Traditional main building	-
<i>Suku</i>	Tribe	-
<i>Tali Tigo Sapilin</i>	All kinds of leaders	-
<i>Tungku Tigo Sajarangan</i>	All kinds of leaders	-
<i>tanah/ ulayat adat</i>	Main noble land	-
<i>pemegang adat</i>	Custom law holder	-
<i>gelar (adat)</i>	Traditional title	-
The frequency of use of terms related to Indigenous people		73

The city government's attention to Indigenous peoples in the 2021–2026 RPJMD (Long-term Plan) appears to have reversed. The document contains 73 terms related to Indigenous people. However, like the 2016–2021 RPJMD (Medium Term Plan) document, **there is no single** term related to indigenous peoples, let alone indigenous leaders. Even among the 38 indigenous words in the document, none are followed by the word Kurai because the word Kurai, as it exists, refers only to the name of a sub-district location: Pakan Kurai.

Further exploration of the document's contents reveals a new perspective on the local government's approach to the Kurai Indigenous community and its related issues. The following research findings can serve as the basis for further analysis of the Kurai Indigenous community's position and that of the traditional leader, *Ninik Mamak* Kurai, in the Bukittinggi local government's development plan for 2021–2026.

Table 8. Titles, Articles, and Sentences Related to Indigenous People in the 2021–2026 Bukittinggi Medium-Term Development Plan

Position	Sentence
Chapter 1.3.4.	Customary land requires a legal resolution, with separate policies to formulate it comprehensively within regional regulations. Optimization utilization of customary land.
Chapter 1.3.1.	The pattern of relationships that are not integrative and synergistic between the village government and the village government customary institution , which is managed by institutions (<i>Nagari</i> Customary Council (KAN), Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Minangkabau Natural Customary Council Institution (LKAAM), and other institutions in the <i>Nagari</i> .
2.3.22 Government Affairs in the Cultural Sector	Improving coaching customary institutions whose adherents are in the city area.

In the focus group discussion (FGD) of the research assistant team, all team members who conducted the document search agreed that: 1) The main philosophy, "*Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*," is no longer an area that connects with indigenous peoples, let alone traditional leaders. These have become mottos used as the basis for city government programs because almost all visions, missions, and development programs use this jargon. So, there are 20 uses in various development plans. 2) Customary land is an unclaimed area that must be immediately legally resolved for use. 3) The Kurai indigenous community and traditional leaders are considered a problem that the local government must address. From the three documents of Bukittinggi city development planning, the position of the traditional leader of *Ninik Mamak* Kurai is evident. A comparison of the analysis results from the three documents is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Position of Customary Leader, Customary Community, Customary Institution, Customary Land in Three Documents of the Bukittinggi Development Plan

Position	RPJPD 2006–2025	RPJMD 2016–2021	RPJMD 2021–2026
Kurai Traditional Leader	written in full, & looks important	none	none
Indigenous Peoples Customary Institutions	seen as an essential potential development capital	none	none
Customary Land	development capital	none	problematic, needs to be fostered problematic, need legal handling

Table 9 clearly shows the position of the Kurai traditional leaders and the Indigenous community in the development plan documents produced by the Bukittinggi City Government in 2006, 2016, and 2021. The position of the Ninik Mamak Kurai traditional leaders (and the Indigenous community) significantly declined in the three periods of preparing the Bukittinggi City development plan. In the last two development plan documents (2016 and 2021), the position of the Kurai traditional leader was considered nonexistent, and even its customary institutions and assets were problematic. Based on these results, it can be inferred that the traditional Kurai leader's position in the planning document for achieving the SDGs in Bukittinggi (2016–2021) was also overlooked and considered problematic.

Research on the role of the Ninik Mamak Kurai traditional leaders in achieving the SDGs was conducted by analyzing the programs and activities of the Ninik Mamak Kurai, traditional leaders and seeking the relationship or connection between the programs and activities with the SDGs, even though the programs and activities carried out were not in the name of achieving the SDGs or the SDGs framework. From the 17 SDGs, data was collected on the role of the Kurai traditional leaders in efforts to achieve five goals: (1) No poverty, (2) No hunger, (3) Healthy and prosperous life, (4) Quality education, (8) Decent work and economic growth. The list of questions regarding their actions in relation to the six points is answered with concrete evidence that traditional leaders have fulfilled their roles as leaders in their respective communities. The following is the research data on their roles in their communities and their nephews. The effort to achieve the SDG of zero poverty is the main task of a village head in his tribe. The indigenous people of nine tribes in Bukittinggi have long been free from poverty. One of the village heads stated:

"We do not and have never wanted to accept the distribution of Raskin. Besides being embarrassing, we also do not need it. Since the 1970s, my people have gradually been free from poverty caused by the PRRI war (1958-1961-ed.). The income from our rice fields and parak (plantations) can free us from poverty. The rice fields and parak are worked alternately by each parent under the arrangement of the clan leader."

The indigenous people of Kurai successfully organized their economic life through agriculture. Therefore, providing government assistance in the form of "Raskin (poor rice)" is interpreted as an insult. Their agriculture has fulfilled their living needs for a long time. Indigenous communities have a food security system through the use of *rangkiang* and storage of agricultural products.

The effort to achieve the SDG without hunger is equivalent to reaching the first point of the SDGs; it is an essential task of a *penghulu kaum*. It is a disgrace for a *penghulu* if members of his clan experience hunger. There is a customary system in place that ensures there will be no hunger. The system is called *rangkiang* or *kapuak*. Datuak Pangulu Sati, a *Pangkatuo* explained:

"In the past, when the rumah gadang still existed, each clan had a rangkiang or kapuak. Among the rangkiang was a rangkiang called "Si Tangka Lapa," a barn to ward off famine. Every time there was a rice harvest, a penghulu would inspect each rangkiang and order the contents to be replaced with new rice. Even though the rumah gadang had run out, and there were no more rangkiang, the system still existed in the clan. The penghulu of the clan was obliged to "check" the economic conditions of each kitchen of the clan he led. It would be a great shame for a penghulu if one of his nephews were found to be starving."

"Since the Japanese era, our people have never experienced hunger again. We are lucky to have rulers who can protect the rangkiang of their people."

Through *rangkiang*, storage of agricultural products, Indigenous communities have a food supply management system to face times of famine and the threat of famine. As the clan leader, the *penghulu* is

responsible for ensuring the healthy and prosperous lives of his members. The role of the leader in monitoring the lives of his clan members becomes a routine activity and ritual at every meeting of the *penghulu* with any member of his clan. Any *penghulu* will ask about the condition of each clan member when they meet. Whatever the position of the clan member. Dialogs that explore the circumstances of the clan members in detail, even the relationship between husband and wife, are expected to be found. The *penghulu* will be the first to hear about the good and bad conditions of a husband and wife.

"Kok ado silang-sangketo, ado cabiak-cabiak bulu ayam urang laki bini. Nan partamo manyalasakan tu mamaknyo, tungganai, pangulu kaum. Kok ado nan sakik ngilu damam, nan partamo diagiah tahu tu pangulu. Kamatianpun, nan partamo harus tahu tu pengulu." (If there is a dispute between a husband and wife, the first person to resolve it is the head of their family. If someone is sick, the head of the family is the first to be informed. Death must also be reported first to the head of the family.)

"Ndak mungkin pamarentah loh nan ka daulu maurus nan saroman itu." (The government cannot take care of something like that)

These data indicate that Indigenous leaders played a significant role in achieving SDG 3, which aims for a healthy and prosperous life. For a long time, the Bukittinggi indigenous community has been a community that has paid considerable attention to quality education. Traditional leaders carry out two fundamental roles in efforts to achieve quality education. First, they provide attention, encouragement, and supervision to their tribe members. It is a matter of pride for a traditional leader if his nephew can achieve higher education. Even for that, they do not hesitate to pawn their heirlooms. The following is a statement from one of the tribal chiefs of Sikumbang Parit Antang Tigobaleh, Prof. Dr. H. Edi Safri, Datuk Panduko Sati, Professor of Hadith and Hadith Interpretation at Imam Bonjol Islamic University, Padang. Previously served as Dean of the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Director of Postgraduate Studies at Universitas Imam Bonjol, Padang. The traditional leader of the Tanjung tribe in Tigobaleh, Bukittinggi.

"I try to follow what the previous mamak did, the penghulu Kurai, who really cared about the quality of their children's education. If it were not for their encouragement and support, I would not have reached my current position. Back then, during school, our economic condition was not rich. However, to have a better school, it was our obligation".

Second, the Kurai traditional leaders are generally involved in every school development in Bukittinggi City, from land provision to infrastructure development. Many schools in Bukittinggi are built on customary land that was granted without compensation.

"SD inpres nan di bulakang tu di ateh tanah hibah urang Pisang tu mah. Dulu, tahun 70-an, katiko Pak Harto ka maagiah SD Inpres, walikota tingga manyabuik se ka Niniak Mamak. Ma Inyiah-Inyiah nan ka diagiah rumah sikola. Agiahlah tanah pusako tu gak sasuduik". (The Inpres Elementary School building behind this house stands on land granted by the Pisang tribe. In the 1970s, when President Suharto was going to give a school inpres, the mayor just had to talk to the Ninik Mamak. Where are the Inyiahs who are willing to give a corner of their inheritance land to build a school?)

"The penghulu and Ninik Mamak are the places where we complain about the management of education. We ask them to be involved in the School Committee. The presence of the penghulu plays a very important role in the progress of education. During my time leading the school, I was always backed by Ninik Mamak through the School Committee in every school development policy."

These data indicate that Indigenous leaders played a significant role in efforts to achieve SDG 4, specifically in improving quality education. To achieve SDG 1, which refers to eradicating poverty, the customary leaders are the primary supervisors and drivers of economic development among their clan members. The work and economic conditions of clan members will always be linked to the existence of clan leaders. The success of clan leaders in educating, encouraging, and developing their nephews' businesses is a source of pride.

"Ambo bakadai ko dulu dek dibaok Mak Datuak mah. Tamaik se SMP, ambo lah liau baok manggaleh ka pasa Aua ko. Maklum kapalo ko ndak amuah disuruah sikola tinggi-tinggi. Tapi, kok ka maetong pitih lai gak kancang. Kami ampek urang kamanakan Mak Datuak sikola di pasa see nyo. Alhamdulillah lai jadi urang juo". (I can own this shop because Mamak Datuk brought it to me. I only finished junior high school. Understandably, my brain does not want to be told to go to high school. However, when it comes to counting money, I am quite brilliant. Four of us, Mak Datuk's nieces, went to school at the market)

From the five points of efforts to achieve the SDGs, the role of Ninik Mamak, the traditional leader of

Kurai, is visible. Indeed, their efforts are not based on knowledge of the SDGs, but the role played by traditional leaders is genuine, nonetheless. From peer discussions, researchers obtained the following conclusions. 1) The role of traditional leaders in the points related to poverty, hunger, welfare, education, and decent work is evident. For a traditional leader, it is shameful if their children and nephews are unworthy; 2) Long before the government, with its public policies, traditional leaders had already made substantial efforts to achieve these goals, even without being driven by knowledge about the SDGs.

De facto, the indigenous people in Bukittinggi city are the city's founders and remain the majority of residents. The results of the study show that the Indigenous people and Indigenous leaders in Kurai Bukittinggi still exist and carry out government activities throughout the Indigenous people that have been running for hundreds of years, with a line of Indigenous leaders whose existence and power are recognized over their members and their customary land, customary land which is the majority land throughout the city of Bukittinggi. De jure, Indigenous peoples and their leaders are lost in the government system, gradually disappearing and finally no longer listed in public policy documents, especially in the RPJPD and RPJMD (long-term and mid-term plan) of Bukittinggi City. They repeatedly experience a process of marginalization in public policy.

Elmizan (2020), by conducting documentation analysis of the RPJMD, LKIP, LPPD, and LKPJ, and assessing the performance of achieving the SDGs targets for the social development pillar, the study shows that the realization of programs related to the SDGs for the social development pillar varies, some of which were not realized because they were not planned, not measured, and not optimally achieved. Even 21 pages of the presentation by the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, titled "Integration SDGs to Development" (Yusuf, 2016), focused solely on marginalized groups, without a single word about indigenous people or communities. According to the 2023 Cultural Statistics, there are 2,204 indigenous communities throughout Indonesia (Kemendikbud, 2023).

Many studies demonstrate the efforts of governments and activists to address the backwardness of Indigenous communities, such as Kodeswaran (2022), whose objectives included increasing Indigenous women's cultural knowledge through teachings and engagement with Knowledge Carriers. Meanwhile, Morton et al. (2024) concluded that Indigenous children and youth are overrepresented in settler-colonial child protection systems globally. However, missing from Canadian policy and research discussions is the role social housing can play in addressing these realities by providing a social safety net for permanent low-barrier housing. Berglund (2022) also found that while there is optimism about justice for Indigenous Peoples, significant barriers have gone unaddressed in this and other labor agreements due to a lack of community engagement, including a lack of transportation, continued marginalization of Indigenous workers into unskilled labor, and the reinforcement of dependence on non-Indigenous economies.

At a time when the world is moving towards achieving the SDGs, several research findings reveal a different reality. Our research conclusion aligns with George et al. (2023) on the Inconsistent Recognition of Indigenous Rights in Early Childhood Policy Documents from the Australian government's "Closing the Gap" Strategy between 2008 and 2018. However, the subjects of policy documents were different. George et al. (2023) discuss a part of Indigenous rights in early childhood; on the other hand, this research examines the marginalization of all Indigenous people, particularly their leaders and traditional institutions, in Bukittinggi's city plan. In a previous study, Yazan (1987) found that the Kurai Limo Jorong indigenous community had been neglected in the city of Bukittinggi's development process. As was also found, the alienation of indigenous people occurred during the process of building the Padang By-Pass road (Yazan, 2005). These findings confirm Arizona's statement (2016) in the School of Human Rights (SEHAMA), organized by Kontras, that "Indigenous communities are faced with development agendas that come from outside their aspirations." The success of the SDGs depends on each country being responsible for its own economic and social development (UN General Assembly, 2015). It also calls for an increased emphasis on countries and their subnational governments to move away from allowing or contracting external entities and towards managing local projects themselves (Patole, 2018).

CONCLUSION

The relationship between the community and traditional leaders of Kurai Limo Jorong and the Bukittinggi city government is characterized by tension and marginalization. Public policies in Bukittinggi have systematically diminished the presence of indigenous peoples, effectively erasing their role in governance and development. This exclusion directly contradicts the "Leave No One Behind" commitment of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which emphasizes the inclusion of all communities in the development process. While the Kurai Indigenous community continues to exist *de facto*, playing a significant role in social and cultural life, they lack formal legal recognition (*de jure*), preventing their meaningful participation in policy-making. The research finding indicates that the Kurai Indigenous community has experienced increasing alienation, a condition metaphorically described as *antimun bungkuak*—existing in reality but remaining unrecognized and unaccounted for in official policies. Despite their historical significance and continued presence, there is a notable lack of

acknowledgment of their role in public policy frameworks. This systematic exclusion raises concerns about the erasure of indigenous identities and governance structures, highlighting the urgent need for policy reforms that ensure the recognition and inclusion of traditional leaders and indigenous communities in Bukittinggi's development agenda.

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