



Article

## Local Political Policies with Shari'a Nuance in West Sumatra 2000-2018

Nopriyasman\*, Syafrizal, & Oktavianus

Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Andalas, Indonesia

Article Information	Abstract
Received : December 4, 2023 Revised : December 15, 2023 Accepted : December 29, 2023 Published: January 3, 2024	The Shari'a Regional Regulation legitimizes the implementation of Islamic cultural values and Minangkabau culture in West Sumatra. Knowledge of the reality of regional regulation practice is important for harmonizing social and state life in a pluralistic society. This research aims to explain the relationship between the emergence of the Sharia Regional Regulation in West Sumatra and its implementation in city districts in West Sumatra. This research used historical methods, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The final results of the research reveal the positive phenomenon of the implementation of Shari'a regulations in West Sumatra. The appearance of school children they dressed as Muslim. Before studying, students were accustomed to praying and memorizing several verses in the Al-Qur'an, attending a Ramadhan Islamic boarding school during the holy month of Ramadhan, and participating in Youth Wirid activities after Ramadhan. State Civil Servants (ASN) wore Muslim clothing during official hours. In certain areas, being able to read the Al-Qur'an was a condition for getting married. Regional regulations with Islamic nuances also showed the political content of the figures, social organizations and parties, legislative members (DPRD), and power politics. This study contributes to the importance of awareness and tolerance in social practices between religious communities in various community organizations and government agencies.
Keywords Perda Shari'a; phenomenon; institutions; social practices.	
Correspondance <a href="mailto:nopriyasman@hum.unand.ac.id">nopriyasman@hum.unand.ac.id</a>	

## INTRODUCTION

Since the reform era (1998) in Indonesia, the development of new laws with an Islamic style has become widespread and has become a necessity for regions with predominantly Muslim populations. Political parties in regional parliaments and social organizations tend to recommend the importance of issuing regional regulations (Perda) to embody Islamic morals in regional life practices. It happened because West Sumatra already has a religious philosophy, "*Adat Bersandikan Syarak, Syarak Bersandikan Kitabullah.*" After the regional regulations were successfully created and promulgated, various new problems emerged, especially in practice among local communities. Even though there have been many studies on Shari'a regional regulations, studying the historical and social practices of regional regulations is worth researching and contemplating because it is an essential source of information for finding solutions to national and state life.

The regional regulations with Shari'a nuance appeared in Bukittinggi through Regional Regulation Number 9 on 20 October 2000 concerning controlling and educating about community diseases (*Lembaran Daerah Kota Bukittinggi Tahun 2000 Nomor 10*). According

to Abdul Main, the appearance of a phenomenon is reflected in the object of perception and the object of introspection from the experience of the subject or self (Main, 2018). Therefore, the emergence of the Shari'ah Regional Regulation is an effort for social reflection in the region to minimize, prevent, and crack down on "a-moral" actions in West Sumatra. The Shari'ah Regional Regulation is maintaining local culture and Islamic values amid globalization. Hoed emphasized the importance of society's ability to defend itself and have resilience in dealing with external powers, both soft (*captive power*) and complex, such as *command power* (Hoed, 2011, p. 298). This research can reveal the historical factual reality of Sharia-based regional societal regulations.

Shari'a regional regulations serve as instructions for the community, especially the younger generation, for example, in Muslim dress, especially for students at school. In 2001-2005, 22 regions implemented regional community life regulations (Suharso, 2006, pp. 230-232). In West Sumatra Province, almost all districts enforce Regional Regulations (Perda) or instructions from mayors and regents to determine Muslim clothing for Muslim students. 443 Shari'a Regional Regulations have been created and spread in various regions throughout Indonesia since the reformation (1998) (Siregar, 2017).

This study discussed why West Sumatra needs enforcement of Islamic law through regional regulations with Islamic nuances. What is the cause of the proliferation of regional regulations with an Islamic nuance in the districts/cities of West Sumatra? How is the application of this regional regulation in society and government institutions? The dynamics of these problems are the target of this research discussion.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been many studies on Shari'a and politics. Arskal Salim and Azyumardi Azra's book (Salim & Azra, 2003) is important in looking at the state and Shari'a from an Indonesian legal perspective. According to Salim and Azra, the emergence of political Islam (Shari'a) in Indonesia was the result of encouragement from (1) Islamic parties, such as the United Development Party (PPP et al.) and the Crescent Star Party (PBB et al.); (2) the regional leaders (municipalities/districts); (3) the Muslim social organizations, such as Lasykar Jihad (Jihad Troops), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI, Front of Islamic Defenders), Hizbut al-Tahrir (Party of Liberation), and Majelis Mujahideen Indonesia (the Council of the Jihad Fighter Groups of Indonesia), and others. Furthermore, (4) The popular Islamic magazine *Sabili*, as a hardline preaching media, promotes the implementation of Shari'a in Indonesia.

Michael Buehler showed that Islamic activists outside political parties can gain and exercise influence in Islamic-majority countries (Buehler, 2016). Furthermore, Ahmad Faisal et al. studied the efforts of Muslim groups to join the Islamic Shari'a Enforcement Committee (KPSI, Komite Penegak Syariat Islam) in South Sulawesi (Faisal, 2023). The findings show that although sociological and political obstacles exist, they do not hinder efforts to implement Islamic law. According to Faisal, there is a decreasing trend in applying the Scripturalistic-Formalistic approach and the increasing popularity of the substantialistic movement in enforcing Islamic law.

The study of Shari'a regional regulations was from various perspectives. Zoelva sees the regional regulations as an agenda for the regional government (Zoelva, 2009), while others look at the procedural aspects of forming regional regulations (Na'imah, 2017), the question of the validity of regional regulations (Na'imah & Mardhiah, 2016), the pros and cons of the presence of Shari'a regional regulations (Suharso, 2006), and the polemic of Shari'ah regional regulations with the Indonesian social system (Fahmi, 2019). Meanwhile, Khalis highlighted social life in Bukittinggi after implementing regional regulations with Shari'a nuances, which

he saw as having a positive influence, with the disappearance of massage parlors, mosquito net stalls, and those with obscene smells (Khalis, [2007](#)). Furthermore, Rahman discussed the Shari'a regional regulations in Solok from legal politics and legal material (Rahman, [2011](#)). He believes the Solok Shari'a regional regulation integrated Islamic values with Minangkabau culture.

This research emphasizes the practice of political policy results regarding Shari'a Regional Regulations in various government institutions and social organizations and the rules for implementing them in multiple cities and districts in West Sumatra. Apart from that, it will look at the extent of acceptance and awareness of the implementation of the regional regulation in the lives of the Nagari community.

## METHOD

The research was limited to 2000 to 2018. The year 2000 began the emergence of the Shari'a Regional Regulations in West Sumatra. As the Indonesian Solidarity Party voiced, the end-of-2018 restrictions are related to the widespread rejection of regional regulations with Islamic nuances (including regional regulations on the Bible). The statement by the General Chairperson of PSI, Grace Natalie, gave rise to a response from the Chairperson of the MUI West Sumatra, namely that "it is haram to vote for an anti-Sharia Regional Regulation party" ("Ketua MUI Sumbar Haramkan Partai Anti Perda Syariah", [2018](#)).

This study used historical methods, starting from data collection through (1) observation techniques which originate from various experiences of informants in practicing regional regulations or empirical observation techniques (Bungin, [2009](#), p. 115); (2) In-depth interviews, whether structured or unstructured (loose or informal) (Salim, [2006](#), p. 16). Data collection (heuristics) also used the oral history interview method. Oral history is one way/mechanism of studying sketches of the life experiences of groups or individuals (Denzin & Yvonne, [2009](#), pp. 510-511); (3) Data collection through historical documentary techniques and other social sciences in the form of documents such as newspapers and magazines, government and private documents, and others. This heuristic technique is the first stage in the historical research procedure. The second stage is source criticism to obtain valid data from interview information and written documents. Interpretation or analysis is the third stage of this research, namely expressing ideas conceptually and theoretically and relating them between one data and other data to obtain a series of meaningful facts. Writing meaningful stories (historiography) is the fourth stage in the historical method. Of the four steps of the historical method, the form is historical writing containing messages for the nation's people, which are present in the practice of Shari'a regional regulations in West Sumatra.

## RESULTS

The results of this research indicate that there are similar principles in the application of Shari'a regional regulations in West Sumatra. It has encouraged the emergence of many regional regulations with a Shari'a nuance in West Sumatra. The enactment of this regional regulation has become a model for preventing negative influences in the era of modern technology or globalization.

Society's response to the influence of global (Western) culture is shown by improvements in appearance and behavior following civil and religious norms. A series of regional regulations (Perda) and mayor/regent instructions regulate Muslim and Muslim women's clothing in West Sumatra. The city/district Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) prepares the regulations. The policy of introducing Islamic dress regulations was

related to the reality of the majority Muslim population. Clothing is an identity as a country with the philosophy of "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*", abbreviated as ABS-SBK.

In the context of the emergence of regional regulations regarding Muslim clothing, the Regional Government of Sijunjung Regency was the first district to issue Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2003. This Regional Regulation states that Muslim clothing covers the private parts, is not see-through, and is not tight. The other districts are the Agam Regency, Pasaman Regency, and Limapuluh Kota Regency. The presence of this regulation shows an expression of the government's efforts to demonstrate identity. Muslim clothing is "obligatory" for the public in government and private offices, state and private schools, school and out-of-school educational institutions, and at official events.

The characteristics of Muslim clothing are that men wear long trousers and long/short sleeves, a cap, and a sarong placed on their shoulders. For women, it is important to dress to cover their private parts and not be tight. Generally, in Sijunjung and Agam or the West Sumatra region, the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) where women wear a headscarf (cover) during work activities. Apart from showing the identity of a country with an Islamic culture, this rule was also to prevent employees from sitting around hanging out in *lapau* (stalls) during working hours. The government employees dressed in Islamic clothing were influential in how the general population dressed. Bujisar, KUA Muaro Sijunjung stated, "Rarely do we see mothers who 'do not wear headscarves' nowadays."

Nowadays, the social practice of Islamic dressing is implemented in various school institutions in West Sumatra. Uniform clothing models with Islamic nuances have been visible since 2004, after the socialization of regional regulations with Islamic nuances. To support the implementation of the provincial regulations, elementary and middle school children who originally wore shorts have worn long trousers since 2004. Each school can choose one of the clothes as a particular school identity, usually batik clothes. Clothing is a symbol of a person's religious status and wisdom. However, "Muslim fashion" does not guarantee the elimination of deviant behavior in society, but at least it is an effort to prevent behavior that is contrary to Islamic teachings. In some instances, there has been an increase in the practice of religious life among the younger generation, especially school children.

Islamic performance in the school environment can be in the daily routine of the teaching and learning process. Islamic culture starts from the beginning of preparation for entering class; at 7.10, the children are ready in the schoolyard. Before students enter the classroom, the students, through the school's *central sound system "command"*, are instructed to "pray," starting with the reading of "Alfatihah" and the reading of "Asmaulhusnah." The song Indonesia Raya is sung. Meik Rayendra, Deputy Principal of SMA Negeri 1 Sijunjung, said that every day, the school implements this "literacy" model, helping students appreciate and understand the wisdom of the prayers they read.

The practice of memorizing the Holy Quran in recent years reflects the nuances of Islamic cultural practices for school children. The activities are in the afternoon. It helped a lot in the implementation of the 2003 regional regulations, especially in the matter of reading the Holy Quran well. The ability to read the Holy Quran is an obligation and is one of the requirements for getting married in Sijunjung. For Holy Quran Tahfiz, only some people are obligatory, only potential ones, and for SMA 1 Sijunjung, there are 40 people yearly. The decision is made through school selection. Teachers are brought in from outside the school and teach every day for 3-4 hours. The implementation of Tahfiz begins after school (15.30 GMT+7), namely after the Asr prayer, and then continues after the Maghrib prayer. Funds for this activity came from donations, School BOS funds, and school committee funds.

In 2004, Mayor Fauzi Bahar led Padang City and was elected through an election process by the Padang City DPRD members. In the first year of his leadership, Fauzi Bahar launched the "Ramadan Islamic Boarding School and Youth Wirid Program." At that time (until 2017), education from elementary to high school (SLA) was under the authority of the city/district government. Fauzi Bahar ordered the People's Welfare Department and the Education Service to plan the implementation of Ramadhan Islamic boarding schools and youth *wirid*. These two programs also mark the implementation of Shari'a nuances in Padang.

During the Holy Month of Ramadan, Mayor Fauzi Bahar closed teaching and learning activities at all schools in Padang City. As a replacement, all students from fourth-grade elementary to third-grade SLA must attend Ramadhan Islamic boarding schools. Implementing Ramadan Islamic boarding schools is regulated by rules binding on students and teachers. Students must attend Ramadhan Islamic boarding schools because 50% of the value of Islamic Religious Lessons (PAI) comes from participation in the Islamic boarding school.

The implementation of the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school lasts about two weeks in the middle of Ramadan, taking place in a Surau or mosque. The aim is to enliven the mosque or Surau and a form of activity from the movement to return to the Surau. Students and teachers participate in the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school program adapted to locations close to their homes. The teacher informs the Surau or mosque where the Islamic boarding school activities occur. Then, the school issues an assignment letter for the teacher concerned for submission to the Ramadhan Islamic Boarding School Implementation Committee at the selected Surau or mosque.

The Mayor of Padang initiated the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school to follow up on the discourse on the movement to return to the Surau. Every month of Ramadan, Surau and mosques become busy, starting from morning congregational prayers until the afternoon, continuing at night. Islamic boarding school participants are required to pray Isha and Tharawih as a congregation. School teachers serve as companions/supervisors to help the organizing committee carry out Islamic boarding school activities.

From Ramadan Islamic boarding school activities, students receive certificates from the Padang City government. The Mayor of Padang and the Padang Mosque Council Chairman will sign the certificate's front page. In contrast, the chairman of the committee and the chairman of the organizing Surau or mosque signed the back part of the certificate. The certificate was handed over to the school to complete the composition of the PAI (Islamic Religious Education) assessment. For those who do not attend the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school, their PAI score will undoubtedly fail.

The implementation of Ramadhan Islamic boarding schools in Sijunjung Regency occurs at schools. The school determines materials, lecturers, and funds. The school issued the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school certificate in Sijunjung and used it as one of the elements considered for the PAI score. This provision is not the same as the Ramadhan Islamic boarding school in Padang, which makes the certificate from the activity an element with a portion of up to 50% of the PAI score in one semester. In the other semester, 50% of the PAI score comes from the certificate of early morning education or teenage *Wirid*. Youth *Wirid* activities are carried out at the Surau or mosque once every two weeks, carried out on Sunday evenings after Isha prayers.

In the marriage institution in Sijunjung Regency, there is Sharia regional regulation no. 1 of 2003, which requires the ability to read the Koran as a central component in the institution of marriage. According to Bujisar, after serving for around ten years as leader of KUA Sijunjung, there is cooperation between Ninik-mamak and KUA in implementing Regional

Regulation No. 1 of 2003. For the indigenous people of Sijunjung, before a wedding, the bride and groom must ask for permission to marry from their respective tribes. "Pandito," an official in the religious sector, tested his tribe members' ability to read the Holy Quran. If the person cannot recite the Holy Quran, his mother teaches his nephew to recite the Holy Quran. Every prospective bride and groom always obtain tribal permission to marry, and this permission is forwarded to KAN and the Walinagari Office. Based on a letter from the Walinagari's Office, the KUA processes a person's marriage.

For migrant residents who marry in Sijunjung, the administrative process before going to the KUA only goes to the Mayor's Office. Walinagari Office officers will not ask for tribal/KAN permits. Immigrant residents will be tested on their ability to read the Holy Quran before the wedding ceremony. If the person concerned cannot read it, advise to keep trying to learn to read the Holy Quran.

If the bride and groom cannot read the Holy Quran, an agreement is made that they promise to learn to read the Holy Quran after marriage, which is also signed by the parents. Marriage cannot be thwarted because it could violate higher legal provisions in Indonesia. This incident had an impact on other people being able to read the Holy Quran long before getting married. The community implements regulation Number 1 of 2003; even in Nagari Pematangpanjang Sijunjung, they involve the Community Health Center in organizing marriages. Suppose the prospective bride and groom are pregnant. In that case, a marriage contract will be at the Walinagari Office on Saturday night.

In the city of Padang, although there are no regulations that regulate it, before getting married, the bride and groom and their families meet at a bridal advice-giving event. On that occasion, the prospective bride and groom were tested on their ability to read the Holy Quran, make the call to prayer, and practice prayer. The KUA officer tests and advises the bride and groom and is the headman. The marriage still took place even though they could not read the Holy Quran; they promised to be willing to be coached by religious counselors at the sub-district level. The KUA leadership in West Padang District carried out this provision consistently. Religious extension officers at the sub-district level report their activities monthly to the Padang City Department of Religion through the local KUA.

## DISCUSSION

The findings of this research show that the widespread emergence of Shari'a regional regulations in West Sumatra is a sign of maintaining the philosophical identity of ABS-SBK. There is anxiety about the negative impact of globalization on people's behavior. Therefore, since the opening of the freedom to introduce regional identity in various cities in Indonesia during the reform period, the strengthening of life values with nuances of Islamization has been present in the practice of social and political life. The implementation of the regional regulations begins with government institutions and community social institutions in various districts and cities.

The reform era emphasized a democratic atmosphere and freedom. The euphoria of reform in 1998-2000 inspired the Minangkabau people to return to living as a Nagari. The authorities reaffirmed Nagari as the lowest government unit through Regional Regulation No. 13/2000 (Asnan, [2006](#), p. 269). Then, the Governor of West Sumatra Decree No. 4 of 2002 concerning Returning to Surau (Darwianis, [2017](#), p. 83). The movement to return to Nagari and Surau in West Sumatra indicates the revival of Islamic passion.

The passion for Islam in West Sumatra is also visible in the legislative. The 1999 election was the first election since the reform era, where members of the West Sumatra DPRD

and Regency and City DPRD sat as representatives of Islamic parties. For the West Sumatra DPRD, for example, PAN won 11 seats, PPP 10 seats, PBB 3 seats, and Justice Party (later became PKS) won 2 seats. The chairman of the West Sumatra DPRD, Arwan Kasri, comes from PAN (Asnan, [2006](#), pp. 240-245). We can see the same trend in the Regency and City DPRDs. The emergence of regulations with Sharia nuances in various regions in West Sumatra is closely related to the strengthening influence of Islamic parties in legislative institutions.

In the early days of reform, the Islamic Shari'a Enforcement Forum (FPSI) movement was present to reclaim Islam aggressively. Three years later (2001), the forum changed to the Islamic Sharia Enforcement Committee (KPSI) and spread its wings to the district and city levels in West Sumatra. KPSI, as well as Hizbut al-Tahrir (this organization later had its license revoked by the government in 2017) and the Islamic Defenders Forum (FPI), asked and urged the government and regional parliament members to pay attention to the "necessity" of implementing Islamic rules to prevent behavior that deviates from Islamic teachings. In practice, the actions of Islamic mass organizations do not want to compromise on all life practices contrary to Islamic law; even KPSI is quick to imitate the model of the Islamic purification movement carried out by 19th-century priests (Zainal, [2014](#), p. 458).

The members of the Islamic Organization visited the areas and met the Wali Jorong, Wali Nagari, and even the Regent, Mayor, and Governor. They asked for seriousness or concern regarding implementing Islamic law by the government and regional elites. Legislators and executives used the KPSI breakthrough to create policies to strengthen the role of Islam in people's lives.

Several local regulations with Islamic nuances in West Sumatra indicate that the "aroma" of politics is taking over the people's hearts. The voices of Islamic mass organizations are "like a tit for tat" from various circles in gaining and maintaining power. Several regional regulations received widespread support, such as writing and reading the Holy Quran for students and brides, setting entertainment schedules, and preserving traditional religious values. The ideology used is that Shari'a regional regulations are self-defense or fortify Muslims and eradicate social ills (*pekat*).

Data recorded by Efrinaldi for the 2003-2008 period (Efrinaldi, 2014) included no less than 22 regional regulations decided by the DPRD. These regional regulations relate to the regulation of Muslim dress (5 regional regulations), religious skills (6 regional regulations and one mayor's instruction), regulations on zakat obligations (6 regional regulations), and morality; there are four regional regulations.

Thus, this research concerns social-historical practices for applying Shari'a rules in community life and government institutions. This practice presents an identity as a region with Islamic culture, a particular institutional identity, a symbol of the country with Islamic customs, integration of traditional people, ulama and the government (scholars), and social relations with religious nuances. The practice of Shari'a regional regulations in society is awareness and the result of human thought realized in action. Social practices in space and time are organized and moved consciously or not fully consciously (Bourdieu, [2010](#); Mutahir, [2011](#)). The Minangkabau social world is a place of the people's social practice, full of social energy (social relations) accumulated throughout its history.

This research shows that the birth and implementation of the Shari'a Regional Regulation in West Sumatra is in line with the factual life realities of legislators (as representatives of political parties) who are fighting for the sympathy of the people, the Regional Government for the continuity of government, and the community which needs protection from global influences, especially the behavior of a-moral. Even though there is

resistance to implementing the Shari'a Regional Regulation, it is less robust than supporters of the need for this Regional Regulation to maintain the identity of West Sumatra.

## CONCLUSION

The study of local political policy with Shari'a nuances found multiple aspects of its birth and implementation, which include political aspects, values, and norms, as well as power. Research on these aspects adds a deeper understanding of the dynamics of its implementation in city and district areas in West Sumatra. Regional regulations were born as a strengthening for regions in the practice of Islamic cultural life. Apart from that, to support the movement to return to surau or nagari life and strengthen the integration of Islamic values and Minangkabau culture. The socio-historical dimension of the Regional Regulation emphasizes the importance of a conditional reading of an area in its implementation. In this study, it is very important to consider not only Islamic traditional values adhered to by the majority of the Minangkabau ethnic group but also values, norms, and levels other than Islamic culture for non-Muslims. Moreover, it is realized that the practice of regional regulations does not necessarily guarantee the elimination of immoral acts in society. Shari'a regional regulations cannot be separated from Indonesian statutory laws. This research has contributed to strengthening the position of Muslim social organizations, government officials, political figures, and the identity of schools with an Islamic nuance. Strengthening social institutions and government is important in the era of globalization.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Andalas, for his assistance in funding research. Thanks are also expressed to the entire research team who have helped make this article possible.

## REFERENCES

- “Ketua MUI Sumbar Haramkan Partai Anti Perda Syariah”. (2018). *TribunPekanbaru.com*.  
<https://pekanbaru.tribunnews.com/2018/11/20/ketua-mui-sumbar-haramkan-partai-anti-perda-syariah>.
- Asnan, G. (2006). *Pemerintahan Sumatera Barat dari VOC Hingga Reformasi*. Yogyakarta: Citra Pustaka.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (2010). *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*. Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.
- Buehler, M. (2016). *The politics of Shari'a law: Islamist activists and the state in democratizing Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bungin, Burhan. (2009). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, dan Ilmu Sosial lainnya*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Darwianis. (2017). Tindak Lanjut Kebijakan Kembali ke Nagari dan ke Surau Serta Dampaknya terhadap Sosial Adat Keagamaan Masyarakat. *Pelita Bangsa Pelestari Pancasila*, 12(2), 83-101. Retrieved from <https://pbpp.ejournal.unri.ac.id/index.php/JPB/article/view/4693>.
- Denzin, N. K. & Yvonne, Lincoln. (2009). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Efrinaldi. (2014). Perda Syariah dalam Perspektif Politik Islam dan Religiusitas Umat di Indonesia. *Madaniah*, XVIII(2). <http://dx.doi.org/10.29300/madania.v18i2.14>
- Fahmi, R. "Peraturan Daerah Syari'ah dan tantangan Kerukunan Umat beragama", *Paper*. Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang. Retrieved from <https://www.academia.edu/12469754/>.
- Faisal, Ahmad, et.al. (2023). Sociological and Political Constrains of Islamic Sharia Enforcement in South Sulawesi Indonesia, *JURIS*, 22(1), 159-169.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i1.8604>



- 
- Hoed, Benny H. (2011). *Semiotika dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Khalis, Zain Ibnul. (2007). Dampak Peraturan Daerah tentang Penyakit Masyarakat terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Kota Bukittinggi 1999-2004. *Bachelor Thesis*. Padang: Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Andalas.
- Main, Abdul (2018), “Fenomenologi Sebagai Filsafat dan Metode Dalam Penelitian Sosiologi”, dalam Muhammad Farid dan Moh. Adib (Eds.), *Fenomenologi Dalam Penelitian Ilmu Sosial*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.
- Mutahir, Arizal. (2011). *Intelektual Kolektif Pierre Bourdieu. Sebuah Gerakan Melawan Dominasi*. Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.
- Na'imah, Hayatun & Mardiah, Bahjatul. (2016). Perda Berbasis Syariah dan Hubungan Negara-Agama dalam Perspektif Pancasila. *Mazahib: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, XV(2). <http://dx.doi.org/10.21093/mj.v15i2.623>
- Na'imah, Hayatun. (2017). Perda Berbasis Syari'ah dalam Tinjauan Hukum Tata Negara. *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora*, 14(1), <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v14i1.1136>
- Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Agam No. 5 Tahun 2005 tentang Pandai Baca dan Tulis Huruf Al-Qur'an (25 Nopember 2005), *Lembaran Daerah Kabupaten Agam Tahun 2005 No. 5*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Agam No. 6 Tahun 2005 tentang Berpakaian Muslim (25 Nopember 2005). *Lembaran Daerah Kabupaten Agam Tahun 2005 No. 6*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Pasaman No. 22 Tahun 2003 tentang Berpakaian Muslim dan Muslimah Bagi Siswa, Mahasiswa, dan Karyawan (29 Agustus 2003), *Lembaran Daerah Kabupaten Pasaman Tahun 2005 No. 49 Seri D*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Nomor: 1 Tahun 2003, tentang Kewajiban Pandai Membaca Alqur'an Bagi Anak Usia Sekolah, Karyawan/karyawati dan Calon Mempelai (7 February 2003), *Lembaran Daerah Kabupaten Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Tahun 2003 No. 1*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Nomor: 2 Tahun 2003, tentang Berpakaian Muslim dan Muslimah (7 Pebruari 2003), *Lembaran Daerah Kabupaten Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Tahun 2003 No. 2*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kota Solok No. 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Pengelolaan Zakat (1 Oktober 2003), *Lembaran Daerah Kota Solok No. 23 Seri E.23*.
- Peraturan Daerah Kota Solok No. 6 Tahun 2005 tentang Pencegahan dan Pemberantasan Perbuatan maksiat di Kota Solok (31 Mei 2005), *Lembaran Daerah Kota Solok Tahun 2005 No. 6*.
- Rahman, Aulia. (2011). Reaktualisasi Nilai Islam dalam Budaya Minangkabau melalui Kebijakan Desentralisasi, *Paper*. Jakarta: Program Magister Sekolah Pascasarjana (SPs) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Salim, Arskal, and Azra, Azyumardi. (2003). *Shari'ah and Politics in Modern Indonesia*. ISEAS Series on Islam. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Siregar, Liston P. (2017). Mengapa Perda Shari'ah bermunculan di Indonesia Sejak 1998. BBC.com. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39033231>.
- Suharso, Pudjo (2006). “Pro Kontra Implementasi Perda Shari'ah (Tinjauan Elemen Masyarakat)”, dalam *Al-Mawarid: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 16, 180-190. Retrieved from <https://journal.uii.ac.id/index.php/JHI/article/view/242>
- Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No. 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah. Retrieved from <https://pjh.kemlu.go.id/files/UU0232014.pdf>
- Zainal. (2014). Gerakan Islamis di Sumatera Barat Pasca Orde Baru. *MIQOT*, XXXVIII(2).
- Zoelva, Hamdan. (2009). “Fenomena Perda Syariat di Daerah”, Personal Blog. Retrieved from <https://hamdanzoelva.wordpress.com/2009/01/06/fenomena-perda-syariatislam-di-daerah/>