



THE SHIFT OF A SURAU TO BE A MUSHALLA AS A NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION IN THE REGENCY OF WEST SUMATRA AGAM

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Received: 04-02-2022

Revised: 03-04-2022

Accepted: 12-05-2022

Abstrak

The concept of "surau" for the Minangkabau community cannot be separated from the framework of the Minangkabau Nature conception itself concerning the process of Islamization and its relationship to sociocultural (customary) aspects. Under ideal conditions, the *surau* used to function as a means of Islamic education, such as learning to recite the Qur'an, studying religious knowledge, or *suluk* (for the tarekat community), as well as as a means of inheriting certain traditions of the Minangkabau community such as learning to worship (*petatah-petitih*), art self-defense (*silek*), and *qasidah/gambus*. So, the concept of traditional surau education is a cultural heritage of the Minangkabau community in education, which is packaged in the form of non-formal education. However, over time the dynamics of the continuity of non-formal education based on the surau are affected by the modernization of education, social changes in society, and waves of religious reformism. This study found that surau-based non-formal education has experienced a shift in its educational function and model that occurs in three patterns: (1) Transformation, where the education governance has improved by transforming into formal educational institutions such as madrasas or *pesantren*, generally, this pattern occurs in a surau that has an excellent reputation. (2) Stagnation, occurs in *surau* which still carries out the function of non-formal education to the community, especially in the aspect of religious education, although most of the surau have lost their function as a means of inheriting traditional customs. (3) Degradation, occurs in surau which have completely lost their function as implementers of non-formal education in the community and/or only functioned as places of worship.

Keywords: Surau, Mushallah, Islamic Education, Function Change.

Abstrak

Konsep "surau" bagi masyarakat Minangkabau tidak terlepas dari kerangka konsepsi Alam Minangkabau sendiri dalam hubungannya dengan proses islamisasi dan keterkaitannya dengan aspek sosiokultural (adat). Dalam kondisi idealnya, dahulu surau difungsikan sebagai sarana pendidikan Islam seperti belajar mengaji Al-Qur'an, belajar ilmu agama, atau *suluk* (bagi komunitas tarekat) serta sebagai sarana pewarisan beberapa tradisi tertentu masyarakat Minangkabau seperti belajar pasembahan (*petatah-petitih*), seni bela diri (*silek*), dan *qasidah/gambus*. Maka konsep pendidikan tradisional surau merupakan cultural heritage masyarakat Minangkabau di bidang pendidikan yang

dikemas dalam bentuk pendidikan non-formal. Namun seiring waktu dinamika keberlangsungan pendidikan non-formal berbasis surau ini terpengaruh oleh adanya modernisasi pendidikan, perubahan sosial masyarakat, dan gelombang reformisme keagamaan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pendidikan non-formal berbasis surau telah mengalami pergeseran fungsi dan model pendidikannya yang terjadi dalam tiga pola: 1) transformasi, di mana tata kelola pendidikannya mengalami perbaikan dengan bertransformasi menjadi lembaga pendidikan formal seperti madrasah atau pesantren, umumnya pola ini terjadi pada surau yang memiliki reputasi besar; 2) stagnansi, terjadi pada surau yang masih menjalankan fungsi pendidikan nonformal terhadap masyarakat terutama pada aspek pendidikan keagamaan, meskipun sebagian besar surau telah kehilangan fungsi sebagai sarana pewarisan tradisi adat istiadat; 3) degradasi, terjadi kepada surau-surau yang betul-betul kehilangan fungsinya sebagai pelaksana pendidikan non-formal di masyarakat dan/atau hanya difungsikan sebagai tempat beribadah.

Kata Kunci: Surau, Mushalla, Pendidikan Islam, Perubahan Fungsi.

INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau (now West Sumatra) has its uniqueness in terms of socio-cultural and religious. According to the Minangkabau philosophy of life, there is no conflict between custom and religion. The two go hand in hand without being involved in the contest because adat, as a cultural institution in society, gets a position in harmony and harmony with religion. Such a relationship between custom and faith is expressed in the proverb: "*adat basandi syarak, syara' basandi Kitabullah. Syara' mengato, custom of wearing. Camin nan not kabua, palito nan not extinguished*" (*Adat based on syara', syara' based on Kitabullah. Syara' states, custom manifests. A mirror that is not blurry, a lamp that doesn't go out*).

The concept of "surau" for the Minangkabau community cannot be separated from the framework of the Minangkabau Nature conception concerning the process of Islamization and its relationship to sociocultural (customary) aspects. The relationship between adat and religion is further described in the completeness of a *Nagari* (social community in a particular area). A *Nagari* is not complete and perfect if it does not have a traditional hall and mosque. Where is the conventional hall and mosque, each representing culture and religion? In this case, the surau, a kind of mosque of a smaller size, also has a vital position, although its functions are relatively different.¹

According to Sidi Gazalba, the *surau* is a heritage building of the local community before the arrival of Islam, the surau in the Minangkabau traditional system is related to a people, tribe, or *indu*.² The surau was established by a specific community (*kaum*) as a complementary building to the *rumah gadang*, which is used by several families who come from one lineage/clan (*separauik*) to live. In the context of education, *Surau* has long been the lifeblood of developing education for the Minangkabau community. Since ancient times, the Minangkabau people have used the surau for generations to gain knowledge and get an education, especially regarding religious knowledge. But not limited to that, the surau has even transformed into a non-formal education unit that becomes a gathering point for the Minangkabau people to directly or indirectly pass on some traditions and customs from Minangkabau culture. However, a phenomenon related

¹ Khaidir Anwar, "Language use in Minangkabau society," *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 8, no. 22 (1 Juni 1980): 55–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03062848008723789>.

² Sidi Gazalba, *Mesjid: Pusat Ibadah dan Kebudayaan Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1975).

to the use of *surau* in the present, Saharman argues that the function of the surau as an educational institution and the socio-cultural formation of the Minangkabau community has been degraded, and until now, surau is only a name.³

Initially, the *surau* was intended to function as a meeting place, gathering, meeting, and a place to sleep for boys who have reached puberty and their parents who have grown old. This function is related to customary provisions that boys do not have a room in the *Gadang house* or their own parents' house. Meanwhile, only girls can have a room (even inheriting a *Gadang house*).⁴ Boys are prepared to leave home when they are adults and join their partner's family (matrilineal system). This is unique for the Minangkabau community because the matrilineal cultural tradition existed before the influence of Islam and Indian culture (Hindu/Buddhist) into Minangkabau society, as stated by Peter Bellwood.⁵ “*One interesting feature of matrilineality amongst the Minangkabau of Sumatra and Negri Sembilan has been its survival in the face of Indian and Islamic cultural traditions within which patrilineality has always been stressed.*”

Likewise with the surau, with the entry of Islam, the surau also experienced the process of Islamization but did not necessarily eliminate the initial function of the surau that existed before the pre-Islamic period. Its function as a place to stay for single children has not changed but was later expanded to become a place for teaching and developing Islamic teachings such as a prayer room (*mushalla*), a place to learn to read the Koran, and others. According to Azra, in developing a general public perspective regarding the function of houses of worship, there is a clear separation between the functions of a mosque and a *surau*.⁶ Mosques are more function for worship purposes in a narrow sense, such as for the five daily prayers in congregation, Friday prayers, or Eid prayers. Meanwhile, the function of the *surau* is expanding, apart from being a kind of dormitory for young people, the surau is also used as a place to learn to recite the Qur'an, learn religious knowledge, suluk (for followers of the *tarekat*), a traveler's inn, a place for *qasida/gambus*, and others.

In Minangkabau, there are several types of *surau* which are called surau *Nagari*, surau of the people, or surau of the tribe.⁷ *Nagari surau* is a *surau* built and used by the Nagari community and is not dominated by tribes/ethnic groups but becomes common property. *Surau Nagari* is one of the tools of the *Nagari* institution besides the traditional hall. While the clan surau or tribal *surau* is a *surau* that was established by a certain people as a complementary building to the *Gadang house*, here several *saparuik* (originating from one stomach/descendants) families under the leadership of a *Datuk* (tribal chief) reside. The surau of the people functions as a meeting place, gathering, meeting, and sleeping place for boys who have reached puberty and parents who have grown old.⁸

³ S Saharman, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Minangkabau*, 2017.

⁴ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, “Traditional Islamic education in the Malay Archipelago: Its contribution to the integration of the Malay world,” *Indonesia Circle. School of Oriental & African Studies. Newsletter* 19, no. 53 (1 November 1990): 19–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03062849008729746>.

⁵ P. Bellwood, *Prehistory of Indo-Malaysian archipelago Acton, Canberra* (ANU Press (Australian National University), 2007).

⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).

⁷ Zainuddin M. MS., *Pelestarian Eksistensi Dinamis Adat Minangkabau* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2010).

⁸ Novianti, Ranti Irsa, dan Astuti Masdar, “Preserving Minangkabau Traditional Building in West Sumatera, Indonesia: Integration of Information Technology,” *Procedia Environmental Sciences*, The 3rd International

Then there is the regulation of *surau* education based more on personal relationships among the residents of the *surau* itself; not on bureaucratic formalities as in modern education. Tuanku or sheik is the personification of the *surau* itself. Therefore, the prestige of the *surau* depends on the charisma, knowledge, and piety of the *Tuanku* or sheik. *Surau* led by famous masters are usually able to attract hundreds of thousands of disciples. Regarding this figure, Sudarman & Hidayat stated that the success of a *pesantren* depends on the charisma, depth of knowledge, and skills possessed by the Shaykh.⁹ So, there are several characteristics that a Shaykh must-have. 1) A Shaykh must be the spiritual source of his pupil. 2) A Sheikh must be able to find solutions to the problems experienced by all students. 3) A Sheikh must also be able to teach his students how to build life skills for his students.

The community around the *surau* will regard a sheik as a patron who because of his scientific capacity and character provides enlightenment for the surrounding community. Therefore, the necessities of life for a sheik and his family are met from alms and donations from the local community, or for a sheik who owns agricultural land, the surrounding community will volunteer to help work on the sheik's agricultural land, the proceeds of which will also be partially distributed to the community. This relationship is built on the basis of volunteerism, so the culture of *gotong royong* is one of the characteristics of social relations around the *surau*.

Muhammad Natsir concluded that the role of the *surau* of Syekh Burhanuddin, among others, was as an educational institution for religion, customs, and culture, and as a center for community activities.¹⁰ In its development, the *surau* is more focused on teaching religion, while its function as a traditional and cultural-educational institution and a center for community activities is no longer carried out. The development of a *surau* as a traditional Islamic educational institution can be carried out with comprehensive cooperation and building intensive communication between the government, traditional leaders, sheiks, and the community. However, as the times progressed, the *surau* generally became quieter, its role slowly fading and narrowing to become just a house of worship that worshippers would visit at certain times.¹¹

The use of *surau* as a means of non-formal education is decreasing, so the process of regenerating the spirit, traditions, and habits that existed in the past failed to be transmitted to the younger generation, and in the end, most of the *surau* was dominated by the elderly. On the other hand, there is a unique phenomenon where there is a tendency for some *surau* to change their names to *mushalla*, disguising their original names that have been used for generations. This phenomenon may sound simple, just a name change, but is it really so? Therefore, this study

Conference on Sustainable Future for Human Security, SUSTAIN 2012, 3-5 November 2012, Clock Tower Centennial Hall, Kyoto University, JAPAN, 17 (1 Januari 2013): 749–56, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proenv.2013.02.092>.

⁹ Sudarman Sudarman, "Relasi Guru-Murid di Surau Minangkabau Pertengahan Abad 20," *Sains Insani* 03, no. 03 (2018): 01–08.

¹⁰ Mhd. Natsir, "Peranan Surau sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Tradisional di Padang Pariaman Sumatera Barat (Surau Syekh Burhanuddin)," *Pedagogi* XII, no. 2 (2012).

¹¹ Franz von Benda-Beckmann dan Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Identity in dispute: law, religion, and identity in Minangkabau," *Asian Ethnicity* 13, no. 4 (1 September 2012): 341–58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.710073>.

seeks to examine the state of the art of the surau as a collective cultural treasure belonging to the Minangkabau community, especially in relation to non-formal education vehicles.

RESEARCH METHOD

The type of research conducted is field research. The research design used in this research is a case study. The choice of this approach is in accordance with the research topic which emphasizes the study of social issues and problems that exist in a community group, in this case, related to the Minangkabau community, especially in Agam Regency.¹²

Therefore, to support the design used in this study, the purposive sampling technique was chosen to directly determine certain objects that are considered capable of providing accurate and objective information on the entire population. Purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative research to identify and select cases that are rich in information related to a particular phenomenon.¹³

The location of this research was taken by purposive sampling, meaning that the determination of the location was done deliberately because the researcher already knew the circumstances and the location and there was a correlation with the problems in the study. This purposive sampling technique is used by determining the data source or location selected with certain considerations.¹⁴

In this case, Agam Regency was chosen because it is an area that historically has a strong record of ties to the development of Surau education. First, there is the classical Islamic education institution Majelis Tarbiyah Islam (MTI) Canduang, which was initiated by Shaykh Sulaiman ar-Rasuli (*Inyiake Canduang*), located in Canduang sub-district, Agam regency; The da'wah and educational methods applied by Inyiake Canduang at the beginning of his movement also applied the Surau education approach as has been carried out for generations in the area. Second, this area was in the spotlight when the ideas of Islamic reformism emerged among the Minangkabau community in the early 19th century, and at its peak, there was the social upheaval of the Padri movement, which was mostly centered around Agam.

Qualitative research tends to collect field data in a natural setting where participants experience the problem or issue being studied. In this natural context, information in qualitative research is collected directly from participants (face-to-face) throughout the study without distributing instruments to participants. In this study to obtain accurate and objective data, the data were collected through four techniques, namely: observation, interviews and documentation.¹⁵

Data analysis in qualitative research begins before going to the field to find the focus of the problem. Although the direction of the study is still temporary, it can still help researchers

¹² John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (SAGE Publications, 2012); Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013); Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur penelitian: suatu pendekatan praktik* (PT. Bina Aksara, Jakarta, 1983).

¹³ Lawrence A. Palinkas dkk., "Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research," *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research* 42, no. 5 (6 September 2015): 533–44, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y>.

¹⁴ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*.

¹⁵ Sugiyono, *Metode penelitian pendidikan: (pendekatan kuantitatif, kualitatif dan R & D)* (Alfabeta, 2008); Nana Syaodih Sukmadinata, *Metode penelitian pendidikan* (Program Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia dengan PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2005).

determine the object of their research. However, data analysis is more focused on the process of collecting data until it is finished collecting data. In the data collection process, the study is carried out interactively and continues until it is complete until the data obtained is saturated. The activities carried out in data analysis follow the Huberman model, namely data reduction, data display, and concluding.¹⁶

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated by Azra, since the mid-20th century, the modernization of religious education has taken place so intensely. This is naturally a form of change and progress of the times. The improvement of the education system will more or less affect the sustainability of the traditional education system.¹⁷ However, in the case of a *surau*, the situation will be different because the *surau* education system is more in the form of a non-formal education that will be eroded or otherwise transformed into a more organized formal education. Second, traditional *surau*-based education depends on the figure of a sheik or master, after the death of the central figures of the *surau* will slowly make a *surau* lose its appeal and over time the habits and traditions of the *surau* education will disappear. This may be the inspiration for A.A Navis wrote a literary work entitled “Robohnya Surau Kami”, a novel that indirectly describes the situation of social perception of Minangkabau society in the mid-20th century (50s decade), where there has been a tendency to decline in *surau* education. Regarding the function of the *surau* in the life of the Minangkabau community, there are at least three functions in general. First, as a traditional religious education institution; second, as a conventional and cultural-educational institution; third, as the center of community activity.¹⁸

Surau, as a traditional religious education institution, has contributed a lot to Islamization in Minangkabau land. Without negating other channels of Islamization, some experts and researchers assume that the pattern of spread and Islamic education in Minangkabau was originally a *surau*-based Islamization.¹⁹

The results of observations on the activities of the *surau* as a religious, educational institution generally show a decline compared to the initial situation. In some *surau*, the use of the *surau* is still visible in this function. As a religious, educational institution, it provides the community (especially the younger generation) with knowledge of the Islamic religion, a place to carry out moral, mental, and moral development according to Islamic religious values. In addition, if it is related to the initial conditions of *surau* education in the 16th century, the contribution of *surau* education can be seen in the networks of ulema alumni of traditional *surau* education that are connected. This shows how the *surau* has contributed to the formation of cadres of later ulama. Establish new *surau* in their respective areas of origin.²⁰

However, it should be emphasized that the objective condition of *surau* education that still survives today is almost non-existent, except in the *surau*, which are the centers of the

¹⁶ Matthew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (SAGE, 1994).

¹⁷ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*.

¹⁸ Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1990).

¹⁹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*.

²⁰ Azra.

tarekat community. Whereas in surau located in the community, although there are still religious education activities, they are not similar to the original *surau* education concept. All surau observed by the research team is still active in carrying out religious education programs, especially for the younger generation. Still, the idea of education is more like the Al-Qur'an Education Park (TPA) which is carried out periodically rather than intensively activities in the surau environment. When referring to the original concept of surau education, the *siak* or *pakiah* people live in the environment around the surau in a relatively long term, the pattern of learning.

Traditional surau-based education is basically included in the category of non-formal education. So, it's not organized neatly. Generally, the *buya* and the sheik teach themselves all the fields of knowledge they plan and draft for the *Siak*. The *surau* leadership organization is so simple. *Tuanku Shaykh* and his representatives (child or son-in-law if he has no male offspring) are at the peak of the highest leadership. Under them, some teachers are usually senior students or those who are invited to teach at the surau according to their competence and experience. *Tuanku Shaykh* is generally responsible for teaching higher or senior students, while teachers (senior students) are assigned to lower or junior "levels".

According to Azra *Tuanku, Shaykh* is the personification of the surau itself. Therefore, the prestige and reputation of the surau depend a lot on the knowledge, piety, and charisma of *Tuanku Shaykh*. It is not surprising that a well-known surau can degenerate rapidly or disappear immediately after the death of *Tuanku Shaykh*. Especially if there is no son or son-in-law competent enough to carry on his work or fortunate enough to receive the aura of *Tuanku Shaykh*. in this context, the social role of a scholar in the socio-cultural Minangkabau society is very significant, even parallel to the aristocracy (custom). The community around the surau will regard a sheik as a patron who provides enlightenment for the surrounding community because of his scientific capacity and character. In appointing or appointing a *surau* leader, the surau is categorized as medium and small. The role of the community in organizing the surau is very dominant. Where there is no privatization of the ownership of the surau, in this case, the surau is the collective ownership of the community, therefore the regeneration process of its leadership is based on the results of deliberation conducted by the community.²¹ *"There is no inheritance system in the surau. For example, just because I'm Buya's son doesn't mean I'm elected. This is based on the community's decision (Anwar)"*.

In appointing or appointing a surau leader, the surau is categorized as medium and small. The role of the community in organizing the surau is very dominant. Where there is no privatization of the ownership of the surau, in this case, the surau is the collective ownership of the community, therefore the regeneration process of its leadership is based on the results of deliberation conducted by the community.

The financial, development, and funding aspects of *surau* education are based on self-reliance and the principle of kinship. In its construction, a surau stands on land donated by *niniak mamak* and was built independently by the community around the *surau*. There are also ones that the pioneers of the *surau* ultimately founded. There is interdependence between the *surau* and the community; The *surau* needs the community, primarily to support it financially or provide economic assistance to save its existence. On the other hand, the community also needs

²¹ Azra.

a surau for the religious education of their children and their religious ceremonies in the *Nagari* which rely on religious leaders from the surau. The economic base of the surau has survived from time to time.

Azra explained, based on information from a Dutch officer named Verkerk Pistorious, that the economic base of the surau has survived from time to time. A visitor to one of the largest surau in the Darek Minangkabau region in 1886, for example, noted this economic aspect firsthand; of course, there has been little change from the previous century; "Small surau's are built on high poles, and look exactly like *lapan*. At first, I didn't think it was a surau, especially when I saw in the window hanging bunches of bananas and other fruit that were obviously for sale." So, the surau complex is not only a center for Islamic teaching but, to some extent, also a community.

Generally, the shaikh does not have a job other than to focus on teaching at the surau. Therefore, the necessities of life for a sheik and his family are met from alms and donations from the local community, or for a sheik who owns agricultural land. The surrounding community will volunteer to help work on the sheik's agricultural land, which will also be partially distributed to the community. For example, Surau Nurul Abrar was pioneered by buya H. Abdul Mu'in Datuk Rangkyo, Surau Buya Mansyur, *Surau Bateh*, and *Surau Tuan* nan Renceh, all of whom rely on private farming businesses to financially support the operational education of the surau. Usually, *the siak* (students in *surau* education) will pay the tuition fees and gratitude by helping the sheiks or masters run their agricultural businesses. This relationship is built based on volunteerism so that the culture of *gotong royong* is one of the characteristics of social relations around the surau.

At Surau Inyik Canduang, the financial funding comes from donations from the Siak people and his funding source. Where Inyik Canduang also has various businesses to fund Surau Education activities.

"Jadi Inyik Canduang tu dalam buku yang kita tulis direfleksikan: pertama soal kenulamaan beliau belajar sampai ke Makkah kalau dihitung tahun belajar beliau. Kedua, sebagai pemangku adat beliau orang alim sampai menulis buku pedoman pengangkatan penghulu dan syarat jadi penghulu. Kalau dibaca soal sudagar kaya beliau memiliki kedai sewaan beliau punya heller walaupun heller itu sudah mati kedai sewaan masih berlangsung. jadi, dibaso ini ada sebagian kedai yang memang itu tuka guling dengan Inyik Syeh Ibrahim Musa. Inyik Canduang punya tanah di ana tajunkang. Inyik Ibrahim punya tanah di Baso. Tanah yang di Baso untuk Inyik Canduang tanah di Ana Tajunkang untuk Inyik Parabek beliau punya usaha".²²

Therefore, in traditional surau education, there are no fees or payments for the *Siak people* to attend education at the *surau*. However, usually, there are families of *Siak people* who make donations voluntarily. The cost of living for *Siak people* from the village community adjacent to the surau is generally picked up or delivered by their parents. There are also times when the surrounding community contributes basic needs for the continuation of the education of the *Siak people* in the *surau*.

In the surau education system, there are no extraordinary levels or classes such as dividing the range siak according to the number of years they have spent in the *surau*.

²² Zulkifli, "Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Syaikh Sulaiman Arrasuli dan Kitab klasiknya, (Jurnal Vol.3, No.1 Januari-Juni) 2015, h. 86," *Turast: jurnal Penelitian & Pengabdian* 3, no. 1 (2015).

Sometimes, the division relates to the competence level of *urang siak*, but it is not rigid; *Siak people* can move from one "level" to the "level" they want. "*Halaqah* to Classical has an impact, the first of which is that students at lower levels do not meet to study with the *kiyai*, the highest sheik".²³

In general, the beginning of all teaching in the *surau* for every *siak* is reading the Qur'an, with less emphasis on understanding but more on intonation and correct spelling of Arabic sounds and letters. In the case of a student who has learned to read the Qur'an at a *surau mangaji*, he can be taught about the interpretation of holy verses. In addition to teaching reading the Koran, learning the Kitab Kuning is also implemented in *Surau*-based traditional education. This is especially so after the lord or the teaching sheik has received education regarding the teaching of the *Kitab Kuning*.²⁴ In the case of Inyik Canduang Surau, the study of the *Kitab Kuning* began after Inyik Canduang's return from Mecca. Whereas previously, the *Kitab Kuning* learning activity had not been organized by his father, who also had a Surau as a place to educate and preach.

"Tapi semenjak tahun 1908 itu sudah ada proses pembelajaran kitab kuning tidak hanya terfokus ke ranah membaca Al Qur'an, memang dimasa ayah beliau syeh Muhammad Rasul itu memang hanya fokus membaca Al Qur'an dan masalah praktek ibadah di surau sehingga di tempat surau Inyik Canduang itu ada nama Surau Tinggi, ada Surau Baru, ada Surau Tangah kemudian ada satu surau lagi Surau Ateb".²⁵

The main methods used in the teaching process are giving lectures, reading, and memorizing. Lessons are given to *urang siak* who sit on the floor in a circle around the shaykh or a teacher who reads a certain lesson. This method is called *halaqah*, in Javanese *pesantren* it is known as the *bandongan* method. With this method, a sheik or teacher reads and explains the contents of a book in his circle of students, while the students hold their own book. Then there was a change in teaching methods in *surau* education which initially used the *halaqah* method to the classical one. According to Zulkifli, in the case of this method change, Inyik Canduang contemplated whether he should move to this method or not.

"Halaqah ke Klasikal itu ada dampak, yang pertama dampaknya adalah santri yang di tingkat bawah tidak ketemu belajar dengan kiyai yang paling tinggi syekh. Yang kedua kalau udah sistem klasikal akan muncul asumsi masyarakat bahwa proses menuntut ilmu itu sampai kelas terakhir itu kegamaan beliau yang kedua".²⁶

The change in the concept and education system from *halaqah* to classical is part of the modernization of *surau* education. However, according to Inyik Canduang, before implementing this change, there was a personal concern that it would erode the sincerity of a sheik and burden students (*siak people*).²⁷ The third is that if it is classy, teachers will be born

²³ Zulkifli.

²⁴ Look at Martin Van Bruinessen *Pesantren and the Kitab Kuning*

²⁵ Zulkifli, "Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Syaikh Sulaiman Arrasuli dan Kitab klasiknya, (Jurnal Vol.3, No.1 Januari-Juni) 2015), h. 86."

²⁶ Zulkifli.

²⁷ Franz Benda-Beckmann dan Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Changing One is Changing All: Dynamics in the Adat-Islam-State Triangle," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 38, no. 53–54 (1 Januari 2006): 239–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2006.10756604>.

whose teachers sometimes have to earn a living for their children and their wives so that in the end students are required to pay tuition fees, if they have paid the tuition fees, gradually the sense of sincerity in teaching will be lost. 1926, *Inyak canduang*, since there has been a process of classical educational institutions, the high surau became a place to stay for students and this mosque was founded in 1936.²⁸

Meanwhile, the shift from the *halaqah* method to the classical approach also impacts changes in the function of the *surau*. At the *Inyak Canduang surau*, after the change to the classical concept, the surau was used as a dormitory for the *Siak people*. In traditional surau education, the *Siak people* receive lessons from the sheik in the *surau* who does not have a desk or blackboard. According to Azra, before the arrival of the Dutch, they wrote on "paper" of bark, with traditional writing instruments. When the Dutch had consolidated their power, the students at the surau began to write lessons on a slate with a grip or if they were lucky enough, written with a regular pencil on a kind of simple notebook.²⁹

As a traditional educational institution, the *surau* blends with the customs & culture of the Minangkabau community. *Surau* does not only function as a religious, educational institution. Furthermore, the surau also carries out other parts, including the role of a traditional and cultural-educational institution. So that all activities of community life are collected in an institution called a *surau*.

In relation to customs and culture, the *surau* is a place to preserve oral traditions that exist in the Minangkabau community to be preserved for the *siak or pakiab* people who study at *Surau*. At first, traditional teachings were given when the students finished examining the book after the evening prayer. Usually, in a relaxed atmosphere, before going to bed the students will be introduced to various traditional terms and customary rules of society in the Minangkabau region. In it will be taught sayings that are very useful in social life. In addition, other customs that are learned through surau education are good at basilisk (*silat*) or martial arts. For the Minangkabau community, the *surau* is a place of education for the original Minangkabau *silat tradition*. It can be seen that the *surau* is an essential place in the process of maturation, character formation, and deepening of knowledge for Minangkabau men at that time.³⁰

The position of the lord or *sheikh* has a vital role in the socio-cultural structure of the Minangkabau community. As a representation of religious figures, this social role is equal to that of traditional holders. Several sources conveyed this.

"Tuanku merupakan pengelola urusan agama kaum. Sama seperti pengelola badan sosial kemasyarakatan yang diketuai penghulu, dan bagian kepemudaan di urus oleh Paruk Raga. Karena itu setiap kampung (nagari/jorong) pasti memiliki sebuah surau yang menjadi wahana pendidikan keagamaan dan sarana pendidikan adatbudaya masyarakat Minangkabau. Dulu setiap kaum memiliki Surau masing masing. Dan setiap suaru memiliki Tuanku dan jajarannya masing masing. Seperti Malin, Labay, Pakiah dll" (Marwan).

²⁸ Zulkifli, "Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Syaikh Sulaiman Arrasuli dan Kitab klasiknya, (Jurnal Vol.3, No.1 Januari-Juni) 2015), h. 86."

²⁹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*.

³⁰ Bambang Setia Budi dan Arif Sarwo Wibowo, "A Typological Study of Historical Mosques in West Sumatra, Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* 17, no. 1 (1 Januari 2018): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.3130/jaabe.17.1>.

Setiap surau ada tokohnya. Namun, tokoh tersebut ada yang terkemuka dan ada yang tidak dikenal (Anwar).

When students finish studying at the surau and can combine religious abilities with traditional abilities in a single unit that complements each other, they do not contradict each other. In this condition, the conventional and religious holders are united in the *surau* institution. No conflict was found between religious policyholders and those who hold full customary and cultural authority. Any problems that arise will be resolved at the *surau*. Community events are often held at the *surau*.

Students can learn traditional Minangkabau culture involving local conventional leaders. The participation of conventional leaders positively contributes to public trust in the *surau* institution and the sustainability of the *surau* institution as a traditional and cultural-educational institution. Cultural activities with Islamic and artistic values include *petatab-petitih*, *silat* and others. Therefore, people in the surau do not only understand the knowledge of *agarna* (hereafter) alone. But they were regarding customs and culture and other skills they also have. So, in this case, the *surau (pakial)* have more power to express and act in their community.

The students of the *surau* will no longer be awkward. They can even provide input and criticism of traditional customs that are not following religious values because people in the surau understand everything they criticize and question. The advantages possessed by surau students have given them a place in a social position to get a "community certificate".

Azra, in his book "*Surau: Traditional Islamic Education in Transition and Modernization*" highlights explicitly how the transformation of the use of the *surau* and its education system from time to time. The dynamics of *surau* education in Minangkabau society have experienced ups and downs, from the initial concept to the exposure to the influence of Islamic reformism and the tendency to modernize education, eroding traditional learning models that are considered out of date. Until now, the surau is still actively functioning as a traditional Islamic educational institution, despite all the simplicity and limitations that exist. However, along with its development, the public's interest in studying at the surau has decreased drastically. Even the people who live around the surau are getting fewer and fewer who go to study at the *surau*.

Apart from the factor of the person who brought it, the Minang people have also changed their mindset. In general, people are interested in thinking about prospects. If someone thinks it's good, then the community will take it and cultivate it. The surau has changed to a prayer room, and its activities have also changed. Initially, what was not only for worship became devoted to worship; the space became limited (Marwan).

But, over time. The function of the *surau* has shifted from its position of *baraja mangaji*, *baraja rhythm*, *baraja silek*, *baraja rhyme*, *tampek lalok* for men, and so on. The *surau* no longer functions as mentioned above because the times have changed. Learning to recite the Koran at the *surau* is no longer perceived as a means to equip the moral strength of the younger generation. Anwar and Marwan confirmed this, who felt the loss of public enthusiasm for reviving the tradition of *surau* education. Even the younger generation living around the surau,

which used to make the surau the center of learning and activities, is now experiencing a decline.³¹

However, religious education activities in the *surau* do not necessarily disappear. There are still many *surau* that function as religious education, for example, *Surau Bateh*, *Surau Tarandam*, and *Surau Tuanku nan Renceh*. Even the modernization of the *surau* education system has occurred in several *surau* with a good managerial system, for example, in the *Inyiaik Canduang surau* (*New Surau*), which was built independently by the Canduang community in 1907 as a place to teach Sheikh Sulaiman arRasuli. Currently, the *surau* is developing as an educational unit similar to an Islamic boarding school with complete educational facilities and is registered as a formal school. However, it should be noted that the shift or setback in the use of the surau occurred in traditional and cultural education, which was completely lost in the scope of *surau* education. Currently, there is no longer any activity of inheriting oral traditions and cultural customs that exist in the Minangkabau community carried out in activities within the surau environment. This is commonly found in all surau in Agam Regency.

Starting from studying religion to learning to dance, all kinds of activities are available in the mosque. But now in Indonesia, we both know that now many have changed, the Surau has become a Mushalla or mosque and is only used for worship due to many factors (Marwan).

The speakers explained their childhood memories, where the *surau* became a means of activity for the younger generation, both in religious learning as well as in learning traditions, customs, and cultures that exist in the community. In Natsir's research on the inheritance of Surau education to the younger generation in Surau Sheikh Burhanuddin, *Ulakan*, a pioneer in surau-based education in Minangkabau, found that there was a drastic decline in public interest in studying in *Surau*. Even in his notes, Tuanku, Labay, or other figures who have socio-religious roles in society find that their descendants are not interested in studying with a surau education pattern. Natsir added that even if their descendants wanted to learn the Koran, they would only get it from their own parents. For them, *surau* education is very outdated and no longer proud. Generally, the younger generation feels embarrassed to wear traditional-smelling attributes such as sarongs and *buntils*.³²

The younger generation studying at the *surau* is outdated and ancient. They do not feel the importance of learning material in traditional *surau* education such as tasawuf and studying *ma'rifat* (the attributes of God).³³ The perception of the pilgrims who come to the *Surau* of Syekh Burhanuddin, the findings of the younger generation living around the *surau* stated that studying at the surau does not guarantee their future, for example, it is only possible for them if they study at the surau to become masters, wait for the *surau as mua'zzin*, and lead the prayer at every religious event. In general, the people of formal education institutions, promise a better

³¹ Oman Fathurahman, "A new light on the Sufi network of Mindanao (Philippines)," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, no. 137 (2 Januari 2019): 108–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2019.1568753>.

³² Natsir, "Peranan Surau sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Tradisional di Padang Pariaman Sumatera Barat (Surau Syekh Burhanuddin)."

³³ Mulaika Hijjas, "Marks of many hands," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 132 (4 Mei 2017): 226–49, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1324688>.

future than surau education. Formal education increases their confidence in facing life which will significantly determine the setting of a better lot in living a life full of challenges.³⁴

Sheiks and masters also affect the sustainability of the reputation and education of the surau. Losing the figure and character of a lord or sheik will make the congregation decrease or disappear altogether. This is also part of the weakness of *surau* education which is managed non-formally.

The crisis of *surau* regeneration began to be felt, where it wasn't easy to find *surau* cadres who were willing to continue the traditional surau development pattern. Sudarman & Hidayat highlight the relationship between the teacher (*Tuanku* or sheik) and students (*siak people*). The character and charisma factors are essential factors for a *surau* to have an attraction to its congregation.³⁵ This causes the ups and downs of the community's enthusiasm for *surau* education because the relationships built because of the character factor will be easily eroded if they don't have a successor of the teacher's caliber. Dependence on figures will shift the orientation and essence of surau learning. For example, how the pilgrims at the *surau* of Sheikh Burhanuddin come not to know how and what is learned in *surau*-based education, but rather because of their emotional attachment to the figure of Sheikh Burhanuddin all the legends surrounding him.

The pragmatic view of the community is increasingly eroding the attractiveness of the surau. Furthermore, the decline in public interest and attention to *surau* education can be seen in the difficulty of surau to get *siak* or *pakiah* people who are willing to manage the *surau*. Especially in the *small surau* located in the middle of the village community.

Now it's no longer there because nowadays people are more oriented to get a more promising job. After all, they think that the salary for working in a surau is only a little. However, because of the changing times, these things no longer exist. The youth used to sleep in the surau. Now there is no more (Anwar).

The influence of religious reformism has also contributed to the decline in the use of the surau function as a means of traditional and cultural education. Reformist groups or reformers generally demand purification of the community's religious activities, which they consider to be incompatible with the initial concept of Islamic teachings.

Kegiatan kegiatan pun dilarang, berdzikir dan membawa rebanapun sudah tidak diperbolehkan bahkan dianggap bid'ah. Padahal di surau, aktivitas seperti itu diperbolehkan. (Marwan)

As explained by Azra, the first challenge of *surau* education starts with the presence of Islamic reformism brought by the Padri group, especially the *surau*, which is the basis of the *tarekat*, especially the Syamsiah Order.³⁶ The next challenge was the westernization of education, brought about by Dutch colonialism. Since the Dutch intervened in the social life of the Minangkabau people after the Padri War, Surau education was challenged by the opening of a formal school for the nobility in Minangkabau, the King's School in Bukittinggi. The presence

³⁴ Natsir, "Peranan Surau sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Tradisional di Padang Pariaman Sumatera Barat (Surau Syekh Burhanuddin)."

³⁵ Sudarman, "Relasi Guru-Murid di Surau Minangkabau Pertengahan Abad 20."

³⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*.

of this school made Surau education begin to be marginalized as the leading education base for the community.³⁷

Furthermore, the modernization of education that has occurred in modern education has caused the community, especially parents, to send their children to traditional schools that include complete religious education. Formal education managed by the Minangkabau community began with establishing local educational institutions such as the Sumatra Thawalib and the Kauman Muhammadiyah College in Padang Panjang. With this, the community started to abandon traditional surau-based education.³⁸

*“timbulkah ide dari beliau kalau seandainya orang tua-tua di didik dan di ajarin tentu akan membawa dampak kepada perjuangan ini nanti karena sudah ada pengkaderan nya kalau masalah raja nanti bisa tapi kalau masalah ini kita kurang sehingga timbullah ide beliau untuk mendirikan sekolah untuk kaum muda-muda jadi di buat sekolah pada tahun 1930 sebelum merdeka jadi surau 1920 dan sekolah 1930”.*³⁹

The process of modernizing education is a common thing, spontaneous, and a must for improving the quality of human resources in an area. It's just that surau education as a treasure trove of local wisdom in Minangkabau has a significant contribution to the spread of Islam in the *Minang* realm. Several aspects of *surau* education should be preserved as part of the cultural heritage of the Minangkabau community. According to Azra, when people leave the *surau* institution, they have given up their identity and become blurred when they act with guidance that does not come from local forces in their customs and culture.⁴⁰ The community accepts new things by preferring formal education but cannot preserve the traditions that are their identity as Minangkabau people. Unlike the case with the concept of pesantren education originating from Java, this concept still survives and adapts to the demands of the times. With changing times. The weakness of *surau* education, which was a form of formal education from the start, will indeed be left behind.

The tendency of *surau*-based education to maintain its original nature as a non-formal educational institution will naturally make it lag behind the modernization of education. Furthermore, this will undoubtedly affect the community's attractiveness to want then to attend *surau* education. Some surau has been transformed by adding an educational unit in an Al-Qur'an Recitation Park (TPA). It's just that the characteristics of surau education are still accommodated for cultural education, and community traditions are not accommodated here.

The development of the demands of people's lives tends to influence societal changes that used to be religious to become more pragmatic and prioritize only worldly life. All are competing to improve the standard of living, both lifestyle, and economy. With the increasing

³⁷ Alfurqan Alfurqan, “Evolution and Modernization of Islamic Education in Minangkabau,” *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 16, no. 1 (20 Juni 2020): 82–98, <https://doi.org/10.18196/AIJIS.2020.0114.82-98>.

³⁸ MUHAMMAD MAWANGIR, “Modernization of Islamic ‘Surau’ Traditional Education in West Sumatera Indonesia,” *Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture* 3, no. 2 (Desember 2015): 28–38.

³⁹ Zulkifli, “Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Syaikh Sulaiman Arrasuli dan Kitab klasiknya, (Jurnal Vol.3, No.1 Januari-Juni) 2015), h. 86.”

⁴⁰ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan Abad XVIII Melacak Akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*.

number of modern educational institutions and the higher level of education from the community, there is a tendency to lag behind the traditional *surau*-based education model.

However, most of the *surau* have difficulty transforming their institutional system so that their educational roles experience a setback. As a result, this *surau* only functioned as a place of worship. For this reason, steps that can assist *surau* managers in improving management skills are essential. Because the government should have created a program that provides opportunities for *Tuanku* or *surau* managers to receive management training as one of the government's efforts to improve the quality of *surau* education, this will significantly benefit the implementation of *surau* programs.

Furthermore, the modernization of education that has occurred in modern education has caused the community, especially parents, to send their children to traditional schools that include complete religious education. Formal education managed by the Minangkabau community began with establishing local educational institutions such as the Sumatra Thawalib and the Kauman Muhammadiyah College in Padang Panjang. With this, the community started to abandon traditional *surau*-based education.

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The role of a religious figure is also getting less and less, only used in ceremonial activities. Generally, now a *Tuanku* or *ulama* is only needed when there is a celebration, feast, or when a citizen dies. However, the social role of religious leaders in providing education to the community is the same as not optimal, in contrast to the concept of traditional *surau* education where a master or sheik pays attention to the problems that exist in society, a place for people to complain when dealing with issues.

In developing the *surau* as a traditional Islamic educational institution, it must be realized that the *surau* is a cultural asset with its characteristics from other educational institutions. Based on local strength, the development carried out must be to maintain the cultural values of the *surau* itself. The product carried out should not eliminate the cultural values of the Minangkabau community. So, in this case, developing a *surau* institution means indirectly creating the Minangkabau culture and society itself.

Surau-based non-formal education has experienced a shift in the function and model of education that occurs in three patterns: 1) transformation, where the education management has improved by transforming into formal educational institutions such as madrasas or Islamic boarding schools generally. This pattern occurs in reputable *surau* big; 2) stagnation, occurs in *surau* which still carry out the function of non-formal education to the community, especially in the aspect of religious education, although most of the *surau* have lost their function as a means of inheriting traditional customs; 3) degradation, occurs in *surau* which have entirely lost their function as implementers of non-formal education in the community and only functioned as places of worship. In general, many *surau* still carry out the function as a vehicle for non-formal religious education. However, in terms of scientific content and the education system, it

is different from the traditional surau that used to be managed by *Tuanku* or sheiks. Still, it is rare to find a surau used to preserve customs and traditions.

In large categories of *surau*, there is generally a change in the model and education system to the formal education system. For example, Surau Inyiah Canduang and *Surau* Buya Mansur both transformed from non-formal traditional education to become a legal-institutions and have survived today. The main factor that causes these two *surau* to develop into a formal institution is the first because of the reputation and figuring of the central figure of each institution. Second, it becomes more organized because of the improvement in institutional governance.

This kind of development is an increase and will naturally occur due to the times. Even though this *surau* category can expand and improve governance, it's just that. But concerning the implementation of the function of the surau as it used to be, it is entirely invisible. This *surau* is actually because the formal education institution has taken over the position. Even these *surau* are only used as places of worship or only as cultural heritage (such as *Surau Inyiah Canduang*). However, it is still recognized that the *surau* is the starting point for developing education in Minangkabau society. For example, after establishing Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in Canduang, schools in other forms of MTI then grew throughout the Minangkabau region.

Their descendants developed Surau Inyiah Canduang and Surau Buya Mansur into modern Islamic educational institutions in the form of a boarding school. *Surau Inyiah Canduang* was changed to Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang. The boarding school consists of several levels ranging from Madrasah Tsanawiyah, Madrasah Aliyah to Ma'had Aliy. The Madrasah Tsanawiyah, Madrasah Aliyah discussed the *Kitab gundul* and general knowledge learned by students in junior high and high school.

Meanwhile, Ma' had Aliy prepare his graduates to become teachers of the *Kitab Kuning Gundul*. This institution tries to answer the challenges of the times, which rarely know people who can teach how to read and interpret the *Kitab Kuning*. These three institutions are facilitated with complete facilities and infrastructure, ranging from study rooms and laboratories to dormitories. Meanwhile, education development at Surau Syekh Mansur is almost the same as at Surau Inyiah Canduang. However, the education of Surau Sheikh Mansur only developed into Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Madrasah Aliyah. However, it still provides study and dormitory facilities. They are still doing a better development process.

The stagnation in question is related to the managerial model, which remains the same as before. This pattern is experienced by *surau*, which still maintain their function as a vehicle for non-formal religious education, usually where religious learning activities are still carried out but are limited to learning to read the Qur'an and spiritual lectures. In this pattern of change, there has also been an increase in managerial improvement with establishing a TPA or MDTA. Still, its function as an institution for the inheritance of traditional-cultural traditions has wholly disappeared.

This third pattern occurs for *surau*, which have lost their original function as the executor of non-formal education for religious aspects, customs and cultures, and the center of community activities. Such a surau is only used by the community as a place of worship. Even the function of religious education activities does not function at all. Unlike the case with large surau, which have been transformed into formal educational institutions, their empowerment

in the aspects of religious and cultural education is no longer the case. This function has been taken over by traditional institutions which were established starting from the surau, which was pioneered by each of the pioneers.

CONCLUSION

Surau-based education is a cultural heritage belonging to the Minangkabau community, a traditional education system that has its own characteristics and contributes greatly to the education and Islamization of Minangkabau society. The use of the function of the surau has experienced ups and downs since the early entry of Islam, the religious reformism brought by the Padri group, the exposure to westernization from the Dutch colonial era, to the modernization of education which absolutely occurred as a consequence of the times. All of this has an effect on surau education, starting from the decline in the enthusiasm of the community to be involved in surau education, the reduced use of the surau as a central community activity, and its relation as a non-formal educational institution that accommodates the preservation of Minangkabau customs and traditions.

Functional shifts generally occur in several patterns: (1) The transformation of the surau from a non-formal educational institution to a formal educational institution is usually marked by organizational and managerial improvements in the surau, for example: transforming into a traditional educational institution such as a madrasa or Islamic boarding school. (2) The innovation of the concept of *surau* education with the addition of certain units such as the Al-Qur'an Recitation Park (TPA) or the *tahfidz house*. (3) It relates to the surau, which has lost its function as an educational institution and is only used as a place of worship.

From all of that, of course, how the managerial concept and organization of the surau now with the concept of traditional surau education have undergone significant changes. This change is mainly in the aspect of utilization and its role as a forum for preserving Minangkabau customs and traditions. In its function as a non-formal religious education institution, in general, there are still many *surau* that carry out this function even though the scientific content and education system are different from the traditional surau that used to be managed by Tuanku or sheiks. However, it is not at all found that the surau is used for the preservation of customs and traditions, such as how it originally functioned as a place for Minangkabau bachelors and men to gather, learn self-defense (*silek*), and the oral traditions of the Minangkabau community (*pambahan, mangecek*).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Institute for Research and Community Service of UIN Imam Bonjol Padang supported and financed this research through Litapdimas Ministry of Religion 2021.

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