

Fragmented by Design: A Maqasid Analysis of Stunting Eradication Policy in West Sumatra

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Abstract

The persistent, and recently rising, stunting rate in West Sumatra, Indonesia, from 23.3 percent in 2021 to 24.9 percent in 2024, still above the national average of 19.8 percent, signals a failure of current policy approaches rather than of national commitment. Most Indonesian stunting research explains this persistence through household-level determinants such as sanitation, maternal education, and feeding practices, leaving the design of the policies themselves under-examined. This study addresses that gap by treating policy design, not household behavior, as the object of analysis. Its contribution is methodological: it applies Jasser Auda's seven-element Maqasid Framework, concepts, purposes, values, commands, universal laws, groups, and proofs, for the first time as a diagnostic instrument for subnational stunting governance in a Muslim-majority, customary (*adat*) society, rather than as a purely normative or theological tool. Drawing on qualitative fieldwork in Solok and West Pasaman districts, document analysis of local regulations and in-depth interviews and observations with policymakers, health cadres, and community members, the study maps local stunting policies onto the seven Maqasid elements and finds a systemic lack of synergy among them: technically narrow concepts detached from a shared higher purpose, marginalized Minangkabau customary leadership (*tungku tigo sajarangan*), and implementation reduced to bureaucratic routine. The study concludes that meaningful progress requires reorienting stunting governance from fragmented, target-driven administration toward purpose-driven, culturally

embedded policy design, positioning the Maqasid Framework as a transferable diagnostic and design tool for comparable development challenges.

Keywords: Stunting, Regional Policy, Maqasid Framework, West Sumatra

Introduction

Stunting remains one of Indonesia's most stubborn development challenges. Nationally, prevalence fell from 21.5 percent in 2023 to 19.8 percent in 2024, according to the 2024 Indonesian Nutritional Status Survey (SSGI),¹ yet the country must still shed roughly 5.6 percentage points to reach the 2029 target of 14.2 percent set in the National Medium-Term Development Plan. West Sumatra illustrates how uneven this progress has been. After declining steadily from 29.9 percent in 2018 to 23.3 percent in 2021, provincial prevalence reversed course, climbing to 25.2 percent in 2022 and settling at 24.9 percent in 2024, still above the national figure; thirteen of the province's nineteen districts and cities remain in the "medium" prevalence category, above 20 percent.² This reversal is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Minangkabau society, the province's dominant ethnic group, possesses long-standing customary resources for food security and social protection, from the *rangkiang* (rice barn) built into every *rumah gadang* (traditional house) to a culture of communal generosity that functions as social capital for development.³ If a society this well endowed with customary institutions for collective welfare is still losing ground on a basic nutrition indicator, the puzzle is not simply technical, it is a puzzle about whether the policies meant to mobilize those institutions are actually built to do so.

Other regions show that decline is achievable. Bima City in West Nusa Tenggara cut its prevalence from 36.5 percent in 2017 to 14.8 percent in 2022 through its Family Hope Program, combining cash assistance, micronutrient

¹Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, "SSGI 2024: Prevalensi Stunting Nasional Turun Menjadi 19,8%," May 26, 2025, <https://kemkes.go.id/id/ssgi-2024-prevalensi-stunting-nasional-turun-menjadi-198>.

²Tim Percepatan Penurunan Stunting, "Stunting Dalam Angka Provinsi Sumatera Barat," Sekretariat Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia, accessed July 2026, <https://stunting.go.id/stunting-dalam-angka-provinsi-sumatera-barat/>.

³Addiarrahman Addiarrahman, "Baragiah Ka Kampuang: Spirit Filantropis Perantau Sulit Air," *Turast: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian* 1, no. 1 (2013): 67–79; Addiarrahman Addiarrahman, "Kearifan Lokal Dan Aktifitas Filantropi Perantau Sulit Air Sepakat (SAS) Dalam Menghadapi Revolusi Industri 4.0," *Inferensi: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 13, no. 1 (2019): 177–200, <https://doi.org/10.18326/infsl3.v13i1.177-200>.

supplementation, nutrition education, and an application-based reporting system supported by field health workers and universities.⁴ West Pasaman and Solok, the two districts examined in this study, moved in the opposite direction over roughly the same period: West Pasaman recorded the province's highest toddler stunting prevalence in 2022, at 35.5 percent, while Solok reached 40.1 percent in 2021 before a partial decline. Prior studies on these districts point to non-exclusive breastfeeding, low economic status, limited dietary diversity, weak sanitation, and low uptake of Posyandu (integrated health post) services as proximate causes,⁵⁶ alongside structural factors such as low public awareness and inequality.⁷ The Indonesian government has responded with an extensive regulatory architecture, anchored in Presidential Regulation No. 72 of 2021 on the Acceleration of Stunting Reduction and reinforced by the 1945 Constitution's welfare mandate, Law No. 17 of 2007 on national long-term development, Law No. 36 of 2009 on health, Law No. 52 of 2009 on population and family development, and Presidential Regulation No. 111 of 2022 on the Sustainable Development Goals. In principle, these instruments call for inclusive, collective governance that treats stunting reduction as a shared societal project rather than a government program alone;⁸⁹ in practice, as the figures above show, they have not translated into consistent results in West Sumatra.

Most Indonesian stunting research, including the studies cited above, explains outcomes through household and community-level determinants:

⁴Romi Bhakti Hartarto et al., "Conditional Cash Transfer and Stunting Prevention: Evidence from Bima, West Nusa Tenggara," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 2 (2023): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2260607>.

⁵Neila Sulung, Husni Maiyanti, and Nurhayati Nurhayati, "Kajian Penyebab Stunting Anak Usia 24-59 Bulan Di Wilayah Kerja Puskesmas Padang Gelugur Kabupaten Pasaman," *Jurnal Pembangunan Nagari* 5, no. 1 (2020): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.30559/jpn.v5i1.165>.

⁶Yuliza Anggraini and Pagdya Haninda Nusantri Rusdi, "Faktor Yang Berhubungan Dengan Stunting Pada Balita Di Wilayah Kerja Puskesmas Air Bangis Kabupaten Pasaman Barat," *Jurnal Riset Kebidanan Indonesia* 3, no. 2 (2019): 69–73, <https://doi.org/10.32536/jrki.v3i2.56>.

⁷Tri Rini Lestari, "Stunting in Indonesia: Understanding The Roots of The Problem and Solutions," *Info Singkat: A Brief Study of Actual and Strategic Issues* (Jakarta), July 2023.

⁸Basma I. Abdelgafar, "Understanding Public Policy in Islam: Institutionalizing Unity, Purposefulness, Collective Decision-Making and Rectification," *Journal of Contemporary Maqasid Studies* 1, no. 1 (2022): 97–122, <https://doi.org/10.52100/jcms.v1i1.50>.

⁹Muhamad Nur Afandi et al., "Collaborative Governance in a Mandated Setting: Shifting Collaboration in Stunting Interventions at Local Level," *Development Studies Research* 10, no. 1 (2023): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21665095.2023.2212868>.

sanitation, maternal education, dietary diversity, and access to health services.¹⁰¹¹ This body of work is valuable for identifying who is at risk and why, but it says little about why the policies designed to address these determinants continue to underperform even where regulations exist and budgets are allocated. Studies of stunting governance elsewhere in Indonesia point to fragmentation and weak cross-sectoral collaboration as a recurring obstacle,¹² but rarely examine whether local policy documents themselves carry a coherent, shared sense of purpose that communities can recognize and act upon, particularly in societies where customary and religious institutions hold real social authority. This is the gap the present study addresses.

To examine this question, the study uses Jasser Auda's Maqasid Framework rather than more conventional policy-analysis tools such as Kingdon's multiple-streams model or Grindle's implementation framework.¹³ Those frameworks are well suited to explaining agenda-setting or implementation gaps in secular bureaucratic terms, but they were not built to test whether a policy's stated purpose is understood and owned by the community it serves, particularly where that community's worldview is shaped by religious and customary values rather than technocratic ones. The Maqasid Framework, by contrast, was developed specifically to diagnose fragmentation across seven interconnected elements, namely concepts, purposes, values, commands, universal laws, groups, and proofs, and to test whether these elements cohere into a single purposeful system rather than operate as disconnected technical components.¹⁴ Because Minangkabau governance in West Sumatra is embedded in both formal state regulation and customary and religious institutions, such as the *tungku tigo sajarangan* (the three-stone hearth of customary leaders, religious scholars, and the intelligentsia) and the *bundo kanduang* (matriarch), a framework built to read technical and value-laden dimensions of policy together is better suited to this context than frameworks that treat culture and religion as external variables rather than as constitutive elements

¹⁰Lidya Alwina Jokhu et al., "Determinants of Stunting among Children 6–23 Months: A Population-Based Study in Indonesia," *Nutrition & Food Science*, ahead-of-print (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1108/NFS-01-2024-0025>.

¹¹Ty Beal et al., "A Review of Child Stunting Determinants in Indonesia," *Maternal & Child Nutrition* 14, no. 4 (2018): e12617, <https://doi.org/10.1111/mcn.12617>.

¹³John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984); Merilee S. Grindle, ed., *Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

¹⁴Jasser Auda, *Re-Envisioning Islamic Scholarship: Maqasid Methodology as a New Approach* (Claritas Books, 2021).

of governance itself. This novelty, applying the Maqasid Framework empirically to subnational development governance rather than to theological or normative questions alone, is the study's principal methodological contribution.

This diagnostic ambition also distinguishes the present study from earlier applications of Maqasid scholarship to public policy, which have largely remained at the level of normative argument, setting out what Islamic policy *should* look like, rather than empirically testing whether a specific set of existing regulations achieves that coherence in practice.¹⁵¹⁶ By anchoring the seven Maqasid elements in field data from two districts rather than in textual exegesis alone, the study treats the framework as an analytical instrument that can be falsified by evidence, not only affirmed by argument.

The study is qualitative. Fieldwork was conducted in Solok and West Pasaman districts: the former as an area that reduced its prevalence substantially over the past three years, the latter for its markedly different social and cultural profile compared to the general Minangkabau population, owing to the presence of the Mentawai Islands community. The researchers interviewed ten families targeted for stunting intervention, members of the district stunting task force, health office staff, family assistance teams, Posyandu cadres, village officials, and customary and community leaders in each location. This was complemented by direct observation of home visits, supplementary feeding sessions, and Posyandu nutrition education, and by focus group discussions held during village-level stunting coordination meetings attended by health offices, sub-district and village heads, and the district Stunting Reduction Acceleration Team (TPPS). Interview transcripts and field notes were analyzed using NVivo 12, with data triangulated across interviews, observation, and policy documents, namely the Solok and West Pasaman Regent Regulations (Perbup) on stunting reduction and their supporting reports. Policy content and stakeholder accounts were then coded and mapped onto the seven Maqasid elements to test the coherence of each district's stunting governance system. On this basis, the study asks why stunting eradication policies in West Sumatra have not produced optimal results, and argues that the answer

¹⁶Basma I. Abdelgafar, *Public Policy beyond Traditional Jurisprudence: A Maqasid Approach* (International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2018); Basma I. Abdelgafar, "Re-Envisioning Women's Empowerment: A Maqasid Approach to Understanding Women's Status and Rights in Islam," in *Women's Empowerment and Public Policy in the Arab Gulf States* (Springer Nature Singapore, 2023).

lies not in an absence of regulation but in the disconnection among the elements that should give that regulation a shared purpose.

Discussion

Stunting Conditions in West Sumatra

The 2023 Indonesia Health Survey (SKI) put West Sumatra's stunting prevalence at 23.6 percent, an improvement on the 25.2 percent recorded by the 2022 Nutritional Status Survey (SSGI), though still above the WHO threshold of 20 percent for a public-health problem and above the national figure of 21.5 percent that year; by 2024, provincial prevalence stood at 24.9 percent against a national average of 19.8 percent.¹⁷¹⁸ Table 1 traces this fluctuation against the province's Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) targets.

Table 1. Stunting Prevalence and Targets in the West Sumatra RPJMD (Regional Medium-Term Development Plan)

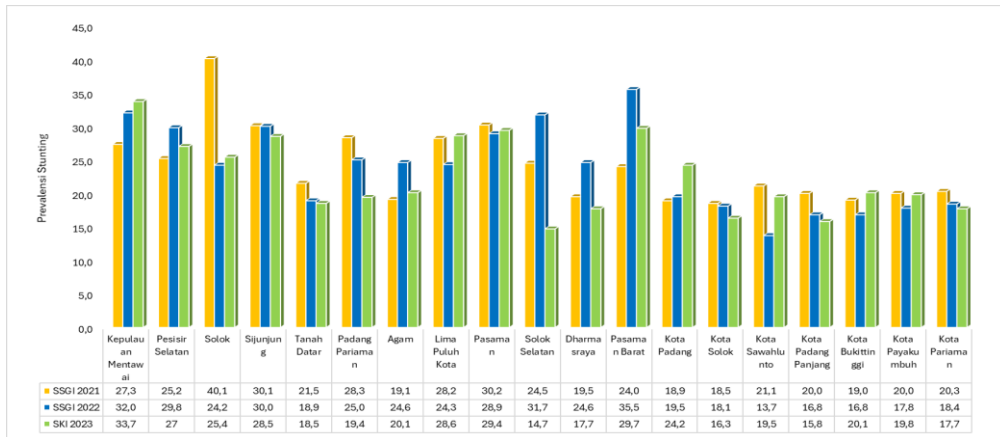
Year	West Sumatra	National	RPJMD Target	RKP2 Target
2018	29.90	30.80	—	—
2019	27.47	27.67	—	—
2020	26.71	26.92	—	—
2021	23.30	24.40	—	—
2022	25.20	21.60	18.44	18.44
2023	23.60	21.50	15.50	15.43
2024	24.90	19.80	14.00	14.00

Source: West Sumatra TPPS (Stunting Reduction Acceleration Team) Report, Semester 1, 2024; updated with Kemenkes RI, SSGI 2024, and TP2S, Stunting Dalam Angka Provinsi Sumatera Barat.

Prevalence fell by 6.6 points between 2018 and 2021, rose again in 2022, and has since declined only gradually, remaining above both the RPJMD and

national RKP2 targets set for every year in the series. Chart 1 disaggregates the trend by district.

Chart 1. Prevalence of Stunting in Regencies/Cities in West Sumatra



Source: West Sumatra TPPS Report, Semester 1, 2024

Solok District had the highest prevalence in 2021, at 40.1 percent (SSGI), which fell by 15 points to 25.4 percent by 2023 (SKI). Mentawai Islands District moved in the opposite direction, rising from 27.3 percent in 2021 to 33.7 percent in 2023, while West Pasaman became the province's second-highest district in 2023, at 29.7 percent. Across the province, prevalence is consistently higher in rural than in urban areas. A separate data source, the electronic Community-Based Nutrition Recording and Reporting system (e-PPGBM), reports considerably lower figures because it measures by name and address rather than by survey sample (Table 2).

Table 2. e-PPGBM Stunting Data for West Sumatra

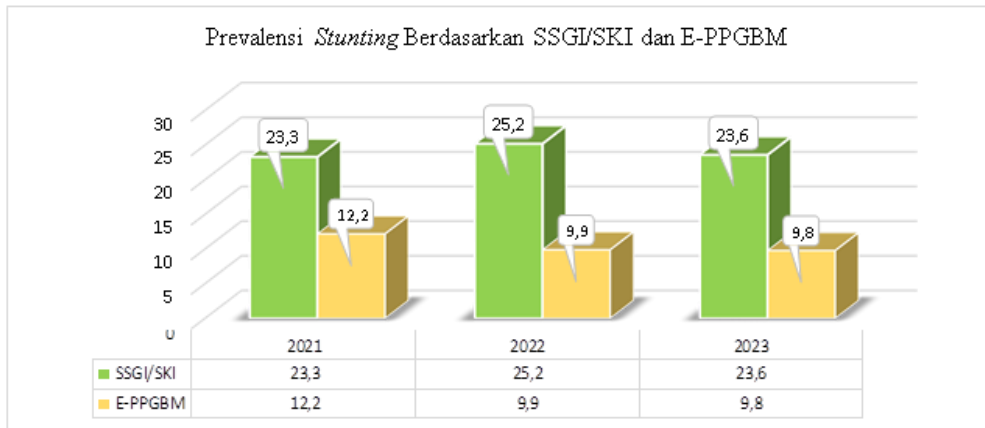
Data Source	Stunting Prevalence
e-PPGBM, August 2021	12.2%
e-PPGBM, August 2022	9.9%
e-PPGBM, August 2023	9.8%
e-PPGBM, February 2024	10.39%

Source: West Sumatra TPPS Report, Semester 1, June 2024

The gap between SSGI/SKI and e-PPGBM figures ranges from 11.1 to 15.3 percentage points across the period. The difference reflects both

methodology, survey versus name-by-address recording, and data quality, since e-PPGBM measurements are taken by TPK/Posyandu cadres using equipment that is not always calibrated. Survey data informs policy-making, while e-PPGBM, despite its limitations, remains the basis for targeted intervention (Chart 2).

Chart 2. Stunting Prevalence Based on SSGI/SKI and e-PPGBM



Source: West Sumatra TPPS Report, Semester 1, June 2024

Families at Risk of Stunting (KRS), households with risk factors such as poor sanitation, limited access to clean water, or the "4T" conditions (too young, too old, too closely spaced, too many pregnancies), fell province-wide from 485,015 in 2021 to 287,208 in 2023 (Table 3). Yet this statistical improvement sits uneasily with field conditions in Solok and West Pasaman, the study's two research sites, where preventive activities remain inconsistently implemented. Youth Posyandu (*Posyandu Remaja*) are rarely visited: adolescent girls in Nagari Sulit Air, cadres reported, frequently decline blood-supplement tablets offered during school visits, a pattern also confirmed by the West Pasaman District Stunting Task Force.

Table 3. Families at Risk of Stunting in West Sumatra, 2021–2023

Regency/City	2021	2022	2023
Pesisir Selatan	46,359	29,675	24,527
Solok	40,186	29,845	28,030
Sijunjung	26,783	16,800	14,361
Tanah Datar	32,540	20,225	16,659

Regency/City	2021	2022	2023
Padang Pariaman	35,716	29,613	24,497
Agam	40,887	27,803	24,013
Lima Puluh Kota	41,161	29,918	25,701
Pasaman	32,456	26,817	26,697
Kepulauan Mentawai	8,033	7,590	7,867
Dharmasraya	21,454	11,760	10,141
Solok Selatan	17,498	12,495	12,120
Pasaman Barat	39,479	28,455	26,102
Kota Padang	60,012	37,223	25,248
Kota Solok	6,063	2,368	2,264
Kota Sawahlunto	5,415	2,804	2,298
Kota Padang Panjang	4,900	3,151	3,145
Kota Bukittinggi	8,458	4,055	4,401
Kota Payakumbuh	10,505	4,826	4,869
Kota Pariaman	7,110	4,259	4,268
Sumatera Barat (Total)	485,015	329,682	287,208

Source: Family Data Collection, BKKBN West Sumatra Representative Office

Stunting Eradication Policies in Solok and West Pasaman Districts

Presidential Regulation No. 72 of 2021 sets six objectives for the National Strategy for Accelerating Stunting Reduction, from reducing prevalence and improving nutritional intake to expanding access to health services and to clean water and sanitation, and fixes an intermediate 2024 target of 14 percent. It operationalizes these objectives through five pillars: leadership commitment across all levels of government; behavior-change communication and community empowerment; convergence of specific and sensitive interventions; food and nutrition security; and stronger data and research systems. BKKBN Regulation

No. 12 of 2021 (RAN-PASTI 2021–2024) translates these pillars into a national action plan requiring convergent, holistic, and integrative implementation.

West Sumatra transposed this architecture into Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2021 (RPJMD 2021–2026) and a provincial stunting acceleration team established in 2020. At district level, Solok issued Perbup No. 17 of 2023, superseding two earlier and narrower regulations from 2019, while West Pasaman issued Perbup No. 13 of 2023, likewise superseding 2019-era regulations limited to convergence for stunting prevention. Both current Perbup are considerably more detailed than their predecessors, yet both were adopted roughly two years after the presidential mandate that should have prompted them, and prevalence in both districts rose sharply in the interim: to 41 percent in Solok in 2021 and to 35.5 percent in West Pasaman in 2022. This regulatory lag, and the gap between prevalence trends and the volume of regulation produced, motivates the closer analysis that follows: not whether policy exists, but whether its component elements form a coherent, purposeful system.

Applying the Maqasid Framework

Following Auda, the Maqasid Framework directs attention to whether policy concepts, purposes, values, commands, universal laws, groups, and proofs interlock into a single purposeful system, or remain disconnected technical fragments.¹⁹ The analysis below proceeds in two steps: it first identifies each element as it appears in the Solok and West Pasaman Perbup and in stakeholder accounts, then examines the connections, or their absence, between elements, which forms the basis for the *islah* (rectification) implications developed at the end of this section.

Concepts

Both Perbup are highly technical, as befits their function as implementation guidelines. Solok's Perbup No. 17 of 2023 defines stunting, specific and sensitive interventions, stunting prevalence, behavior-change communication strategy, nutrition surveillance, the stunting forum (*rembug stunting*), and reproductive health; West Pasaman's regulation adds convergence and the Village SDGs. These definitions, however, remain narrowly technical wherever they appear, with implications for how stunting is understood locally. Community members and cadres with stronger educational backgrounds, as in Nagari Sulit Air and Nagari

Jawi-Jawi, could explain the basic concept reasonably well; most others equated stunting simply with a child's short height. Awareness itself was often reactive rather than conceptual: "There was no such thing as stunting before. My three children were short back then too, but it wasn't called stunting," Windanita, a housewife in Jorong Pandan Tinggi, Nagari Labuah Nan Panjang, told the researchers. Even among more educated residents, skepticism toward the label persisted: "My child was also declared stunted. It's weird. His parents are indeed short. But he eats a lot, and it seems he's not lacking in nutrition," a village official in Solok District told the researchers. The narrowly technical framing of the concept, in short, has not yet produced a shared understanding of stunting as a threat to the next generation's future.

Purposes

Both Perbup ground stunting reduction in the purpose of "realizing healthy, intelligent, and productive human resources," language that echoes both Presidential Regulation No. 72 of 2021 and the welfare mandate of the 1945 Constitution's preamble. This purpose, however, is largely unknown to the communities it is meant to serve. Stunting reduction is widely perceived merely as a government effort to lower a statistic, not as a shared project of human flourishing, despite frequent health education and socialization activities. Some households actively resist assistance framed this way: "Our children's milk is more expensive. So when we offer Supplementary Feeding, they refuse," said Haderah, a Human Development Cadre in Nagari Sulit Air. The refusal is not simple non-compliance; it reflects a household calculation, about cost, taste, and trust, that the policy's stated purpose never enters, because that purpose was never communicated in terms the household recognizes as its own. The gap between the policy's stated purpose and the community's perception of it is, on this evidence, one of the framework's clearest disconnections, and one that no amount of additional programming can close on its own.

Values

The Perbup describe their underlying values as holistic, integrative, and high-quality, achieved through coordination, synergy, and synchronization, but neither regulation defines what these terms mean in practice. In the multi-sector, multi-level structure of implementation, the values are formally visible; in the socialization process that reaches communities, they are largely absent, and public understanding of stunting remains partial and, in some cases, stigmatizing. The 2024 intermediate target of 14 percent concentrated attention on prevalence

reduction at the expense of prevention: Youth Posyandu remain inactive in practice, early marriage continues despite tighter dispensation rules, and cooperation with the Ministry of Religion and religious courts, while a genuine innovation, has not yet been scaled into a holistic preventive strategy. Consumption patterns compound the problem. In Sasak Ranah Pasisie, Nagari Sulit Air, and Nagari Danau Kembar, children were observed freely consuming packaged foods of little nutritional value, a sign of weak consumer protection, alongside poor waste management in smaller nagari that undermines the sanitary conditions stunting prevention requires. "It seems, if we look at it, only age eliminates them from the stunting category," Haderah observed, a comment that captures how thin the province's preventive values remain in practice. What is missing is not virtue on paper, both Perbup list the right words, but a mechanism that translates "holistic" and "integrative" into a criterion by which a specific program, a specific budget line, or a specific socialization session can be judged to have succeeded or failed at realizing them.

Commands

Both Perbup impose commands on local and village governments and other stakeholders, organized around the same five pillars as the national strategy: leadership commitment, behavior-change communication, convergence of interventions, food and nutrition security, and stronger data systems. What neither regulation contains is what might be called *eliminary* commands, prohibitions that remove specific obstacles to stunting reduction rather than adding further programs. Children's access to nutritionally poor packaged food, noted above, is one such obstacle that current commands do not address.

Universal Laws

Universal laws, in Auda's sense, are the general principles that should guide action regardless of context. The Perbup embed at least one such principle implicitly: nutritional deprivation in children produces stunting, wasting, or being underweight, and its causes, parenting patterns, poverty, environmental conditions, extend well beyond nutrition alone. The regulations do not, however, connect this principle to the broader universal laws that govern family formation, which in Islamic teaching encompass not only a father's material obligation of *nafkah* (provision) but also its spiritual dimension, nor to the principle that a healthy, intelligent, and productive generation depends on the first 1,000 days of

life and on adequate breastfeeding and complementary feeding.²⁰ A universal law, in this sense, is not a slogan to be printed in a regulation's preamble but a standing test that every subsequent program should be checked against: does this intervention strengthen the chain from family formation through the first 1,000 days to a healthy, intelligent, and productive adult, or does it merely address one link in isolation? On the evidence gathered here, the Perbup articulate individual links, nutrition, sanitation, parenting, but not the chain itself, which is precisely why programs that satisfy each individual requirement can still fail to move the province's aggregate prevalence. These are precisely the kinds of connections a purpose-driven policy would need to make explicit.

Groups

Stunting reduction formally involves a multi-sector, multi-stakeholder structure, spanning government, the private sector, and the general public, and generating derivative bodies such as TPPS, TPK (Family Assistance Teams), and Community Health Centers. Solok District's partnership with PT Semen Padang, PT PLN Persero UP3 Solok, and Baznas, funding house renovation, sanitation infrastructure, and supplementary feeding, illustrates genuine innovation, and Nagari Labuah Nan Panjang's marked improvement after receiving this assistance suggests it works. Customary and religious leaders, however, remain marginal. Minangkabau society's *tungku tigo sajarangan*, *tali tigo sapilin* (the three-stone hearth, the three-stranded rope): *ninik mamak* (customary leaders), *alim ulama* (religious scholars), and *cadiak pandai* (the intelligentsia), together with the *bundo kanduang* (matriarch) in family decision-making, are mentioned in both Perbup only in passing, as preachers delivering behavior-change messages through Friday sermons. Some movement is visible: West Sumatra's provincial BKKBN and the West Sumatra Mosque Council co-produced a book, *Stunting Sermons and Lectures*, though its distribution remains limited, and preachers receive little structured training on stunting itself. "Currently, we are starting to take steps to involve *ninik mamak* in the stunting reduction process, especially in the data collection process for young people who will marry," Fery Rikardo, Technical Assistant for the West Pasaman Stunting Task Force, told the researchers, calling the initiative promising but still dependent on more consistent engagement. What distinguishes the *tungku tigo sajarangan* from the sermon slot it is currently offered is standing: *ninik mamak* and *bundo kanduang* already carry recognized authority over marriage, land, and

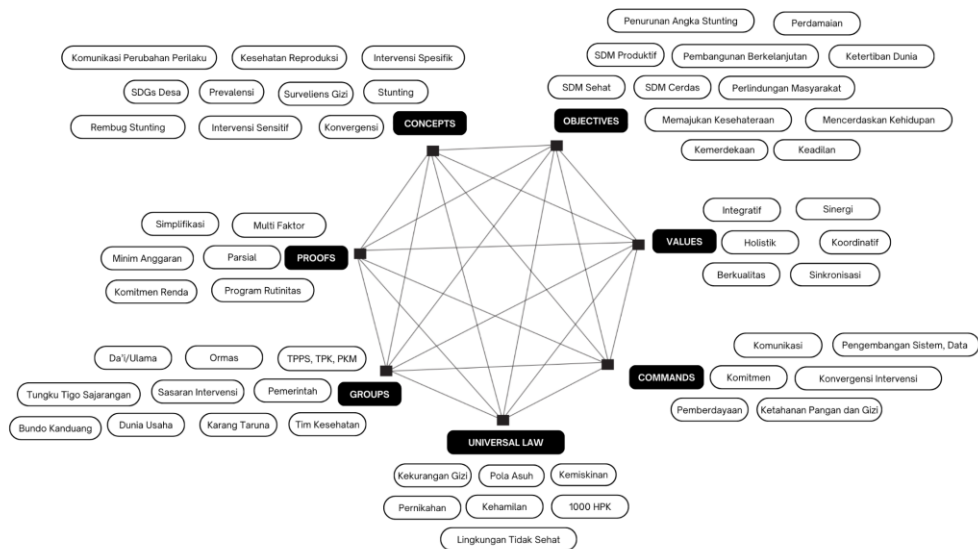
²⁰UNICEF, World Health Organization, and World Bank Group, Levels and Trends in Child Malnutrition: Joint Child Malnutrition Estimates, Key Findings of the 2023 Edition (New York: UNICEF/WHO/World Bank Group, 2023).

family conduct in Minangkabau custom, which is exactly the authority a purpose-driven stunting policy would need to borrow rather than compete with. Treating them as one more audience for health messaging, instead of as co-authors of the policy's purpose, is itself a symptom of the fragmentation this study documents.

Proofs

Proofs, in Auda's terms, are the evidence that substantiates a policy's claims. The close correlation this study found between stunting and family conditions, living environment, and socio-economic status confirms that the problem is genuinely multi-dimensional and that a holistic response is warranted, not merely rhetorically convenient. Multi-sector involvement, however, proves partial in practice. Frontline responsibility falls mainly on village governments, while many sectors treat stunting reduction as a marginal, routine activity; budget support depends heavily on village funds, and larger institutional budgets are often absorbed by coordination meetings, focus group discussions, and stunting forums rather than by measurement tools. In Nagari Sulit Air, a Posyandu cadre put it plainly: "We have no budget to buy batteries. Actually, they should be calibrated every time they are used. Well, what can we do?" Nagari-level engagement is similarly uneven, especially in West Pasaman, where a sub-district secretary observed that village heads rarely attend coordination meetings in person: "The gentlemen and ladies present here are even busy playing with their phones." Part of this disengagement stems from *nagari* proliferation outpacing the human resources needed to staff new administrative units, a dynamic the province has tried to offset by proliferating Posyandu instead, a response that, on the evidence gathered here, rests on convenient assumption rather than strong evidence.

Diagram 1. Stunting Phenomena and Eradication Policy Based on the Maqasid Framework



Read together, these seven elements point to the same diagnosis: West Sumatra's stunting policies are not short of regulation but short of synergy. Concepts stay technical, purposes stay unrecognized, values stay unoperationalized, and the *tungku tigo sajarangan* stays outside formal decision-making, even where its authority could carry a shared purpose into communities that state messaging alone has not reached (Diagram 1). The implication for governance is concrete: policy should be framed as a shared covenant toward *sehat, cerdas, dan produktif* (healthy, intelligent, and productive) generations rather than a top-down mandate, with customary and religious institutions treated as operational partners rather than as a communication channel of last resort, and with *eliminator* commands, removing exploitative food marketing, poor sanitation infrastructure, and bureaucratic inefficiency, added alongside the promotive programs that already exist. Methodologically, the exercise also shows that the Maqasid Framework can serve applied social research beyond its more familiar theological uses, offering a template for diagnosing other development problems where technical solutions have failed for want of a shared purpose.

Conclusion

This study set out to explain why stunting eradication policies in West Sumatra have not produced optimal results, despite an extensive regulatory

framework and rising budgets. Using Jasser Auda's Maqasid Framework to read the Solok and West Pasaman Perbup and the accounts of the people implementing and receiving them, it finds that the shortfall is not a shortage of rules but a lack of synergy among the seven elements those rules should express together: technical concepts detached from a shared higher purpose, values that exist on paper but not in socialization practice, and Minangkabau customary and religious leadership left at the margins of formal decision-making. The result is implementation that defaults to bureaucratic routine rather than purpose-driven strategy. Meaningful progress, this study argues, requires reorienting stunting governance from fragmented, target-driven administration toward policy that is explicitly purposeful and culturally embedded, treating customary institutions as partners in governance rather than as a communication channel. Beyond stunting, the Maqasid Framework applied here offers a transferable diagnostic tool for other development problems in Muslim-majority, customary societies where technical intervention alone has proven insufficient.

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