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We thank you for considering our journal for you to disseminate your research and or publish your academic paper. We really appreciate it.

Based on our record of your paper submission entitled *The Multifaced Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia*, you have followed the process of reviews and of publication and then based on the good quality of the paper we have come to the decision that your paper will be published in our journal. The paper shall appear in (2022), Vol. 60 /No. 2.

We congratulate you on this and again thank you for having followed the process well. We hope that your publication in our journal will contribute to the development of the Islamic studies, in your field in particular.

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Yours sincerely,
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Thanks Pak Azwar.
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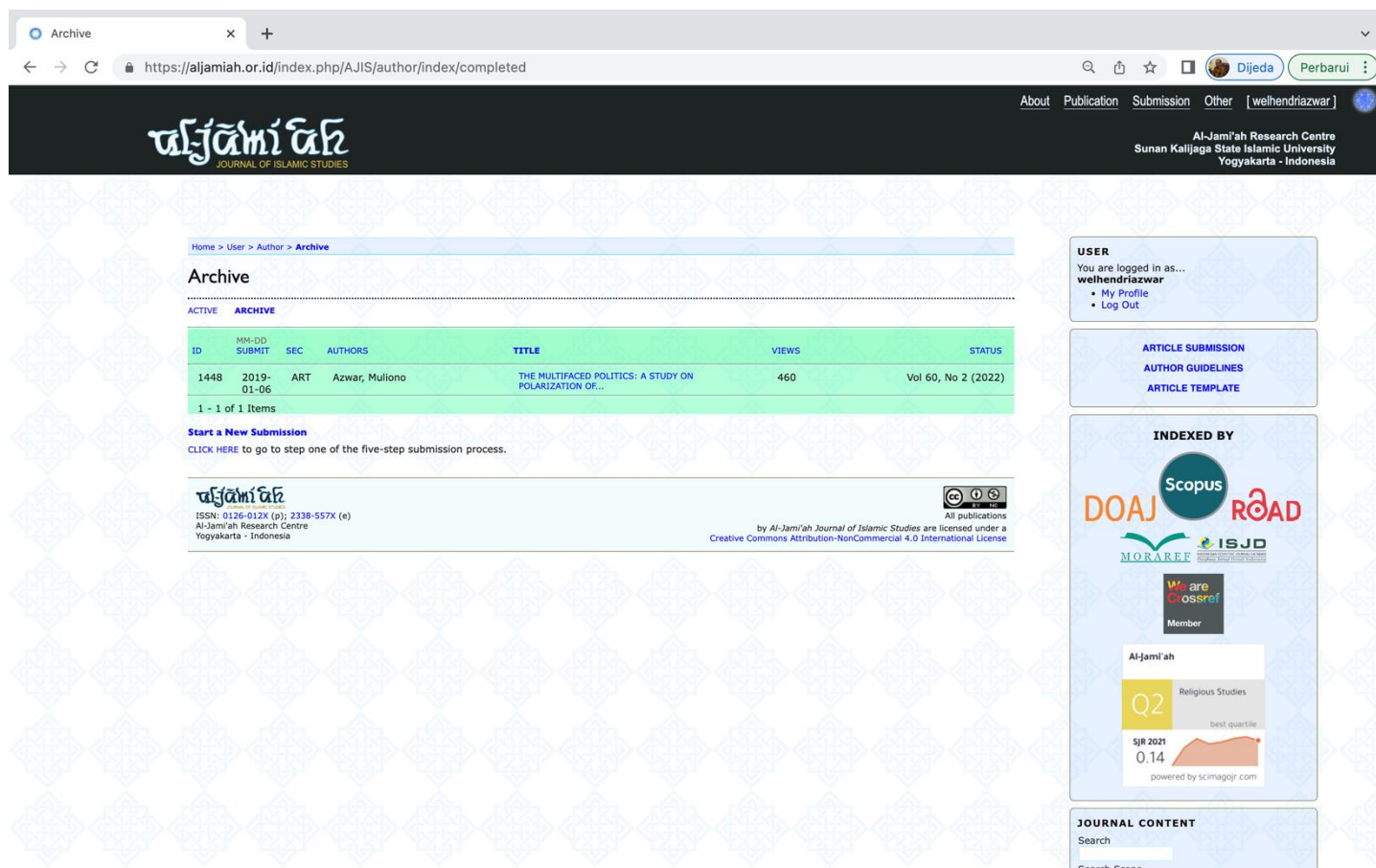
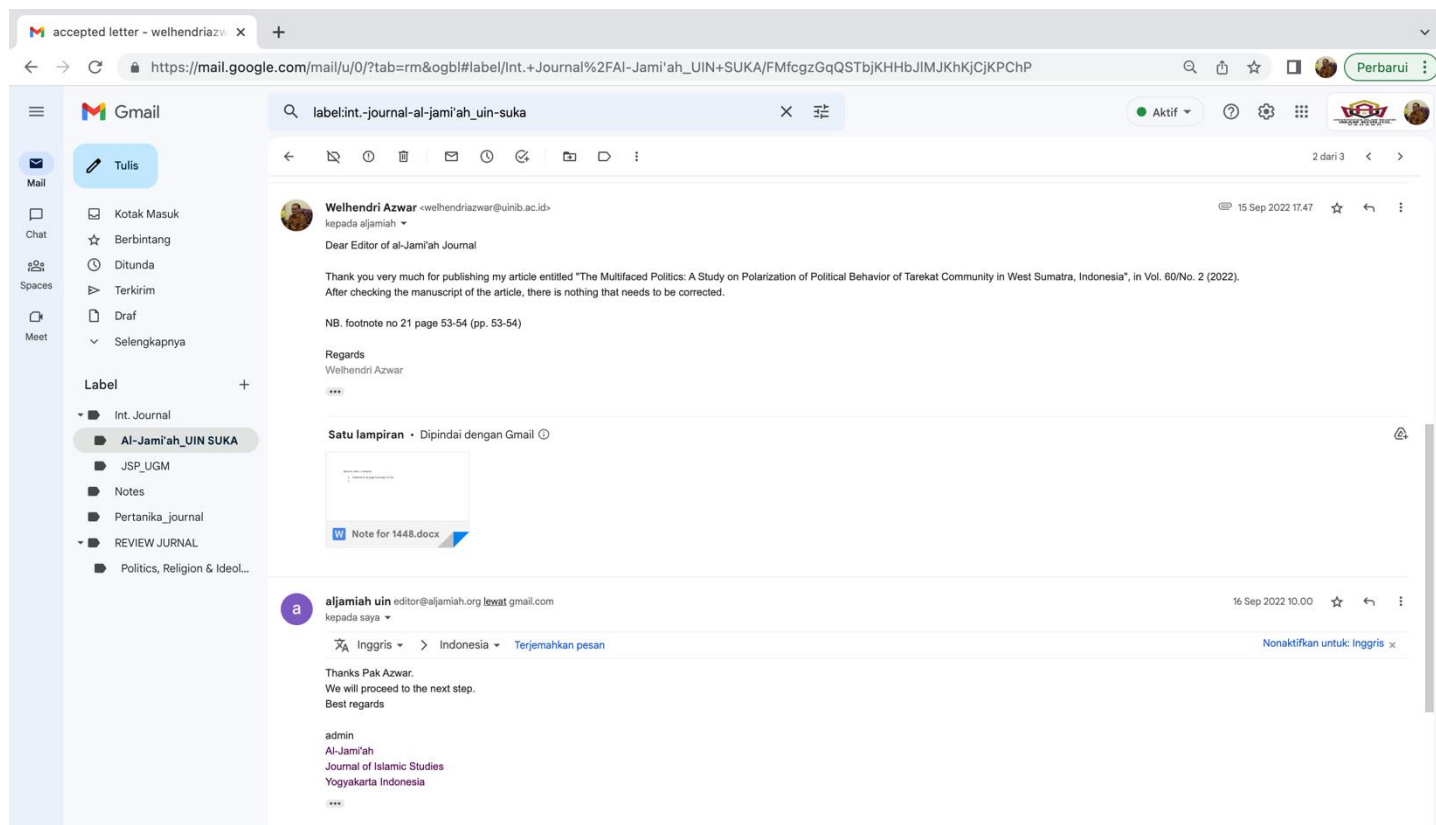
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Review:

The article is good enough in explaining the subject of political behaviours of tarekat. Unfortunately, there is no resource overview to show the novelty of the paper. There is no also a theoretical framework used to analyse the subject. In the paper, there are many unclear sentences in need to revise so that the flowing of the paper will come smoothly. Consider revising.

Memformat: Inggris (AS)

The Multifaced Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatera, Indonesia

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Abstract

Tuanku as a leader of Tarekat community is a charismatic figure who plays significant socio-political roles. He is still placed as source of "fatwa" to political choice of the community. This study is used descriptive-phenomenological methods. To understand the meaning of Tarekat community towards to various socio-political activities and patterns of social relations between Tarekat community with society, researchers conducted a focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with the Tarekat community. Observations were carried out to pay attention both political behavior of Tarekat community and socio-political dynamic of the society related to the religious teachings and understandings where Tarekat activities are practiced. This study elucidates facts; first, the political behavior of Tarekat community in West Sumatra revealed a strong influence the relations between teacher and student on political choices of Tarekat community and showed the diversity typologies of Tarekat political behavior. Second, in the context of understanding religious struggle of Tarekat in the midst of socio-political dynamics in West Sumatra, Tarekat community consistently develop lithe and flexible behaviors and activities in socio-politic. This study is important to understand the political behavior of Tarekat community in the vortex of political identity in the political dynamics that occur, and always change.

[Tuanku sebagai pimpinan kaum Tarekat merupakan sosok karismatik yang memainkan peran-peran sosial-politiknya secara signifikan. Ia masih ditempatkan sebagai sumber "fatwa" untuk pilihan politik masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif-fenomenologi. Untuk memahami makna (meaning) kaum Tarekat terhadap berbagai aktivitas sosial-politik dan corak hubungan sosial kaum Tarekat dengan masyarakat, peneliti melakukan focus group discussion dan wawancara mendalam (indepth interview) kepada kaum Tarekat. Observasi dilakukan untuk memperhatikan perilaku politik kaum Tarekat dan keadaan sosial politik masyarakat yang berkaitan dengan ajaran dan paham keagamaan Tarekat dimana aktivitas Tarekat dipraktekkan. Kajian ini menguraikan fakta bahwa; pertama, perilaku politik kaum Tarekat di Sumatera Barat menampakkan wujud pengaruh kuat hubungan guru-murid terhadap pilihan politik kaum Tarekat dan memperlihatkan keragaman dinamis tipologi perilaku politik kaum Tarekat. Kedua, dalam konteks pergumulan paham keagamaan kaum Tarekat di tengah dinamika sosial politik di Sumatera

Barat, kaum Tarekat konsisten mengembangkan perilaku dan aktivitas sosial-politik yang lentur dan fleksibel. Kajian ini menarik dan berguna memahami perilaku politik kaum Tarekat ditengah pusaran politik identitas dalam dinamika politik yang terjadi, dan senantiasa berubah.]

Keywords: Religious understanding, political behavior, *Tarekat* community

A. Introduction

The discussion about socio-political roles of *Tarekat*¹ community that grows and develops especially in West Sumatra, will always involve intersection of discourse between religion and politic. In addition, empirical reality also illustrates the combination of these religion and politics seen in the roles played by a number of *Tarekat* community in the stage of political practice. Among the social effects that is resulted is a shift tendency of community in assigning a formal leadership figure.

The meaning toward to dynamics and contemporary political development and socio-political roles of *Tarekat* community is an important variable to be explained by revealing the possibilities of change in frame of perception that becomes a basic formation their structure cognition. Phenomenological analysis is used to explore how far *Tarekat* community plays the role of religious teachings that they believe in socio-political behavior in the midst of people's lives. In such framework, *Tuanku's* theological perceptions are placed in the dialectic of political behavior and *Tuanku's* charisma, in response the reality of political development. Therefore, the study of political behavior of *Tarekat* community become a point of this research based on several parts, namely; first, *Tarekat* as a religious community is a very empirical socio-cultural-religious phenomenon. Second, *Tarekat* community also has unique characteristics, that is the closeness between teacher and students, including its teachings about student behavior to teacher (*murshid*) as a central figure in social relations of *Tarekat* community, in which has a tremendous influence on various socio-cultural dynamics.

The presence of *Tarekat* community in historical dynamics of Muslims in West Sumatra does not only play a role in Islamization process at the beginning, but also contribute in various social, cultural, political and economic processes, and even to their involvement in formation of urban society. The strength of institutional network built by the *Tarekat* which is based on collective piety and obedience to teachers (*murshid*, *Tuanku*), so that they are able to develop a stable network of institutions and play a role in transmitting collective ideas and behaviors of society, both structurally and culturally.²

¹The word of "*Tarekat*" comes from Arabic language that is "*tartiqah*", a plural word from "*tharaaiq*", which terminologically is "a paths, countries and certain schools. Luis Maklub, *Al-Munjid* (Beirut: Darul Masyiriq, 1973); The same definition as defined that stated was proposed by Elias Authan and Edwar Elias, that *Tarekat* is a "way", method and belief system. H.A Fuad Said, *Hakikat Tarikat Naqsyabandiyah* (Jakarta: Penerbit Pustaka Al-Husna Baru, 2007; Imron Abu Amar, *Di Sekitar Masalah Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* (Kudus: Penerbit Menara, 1980), p. 11. Aboebakar Atjeh argues that *Tarekat* is a way and guidance in performing worship in accordance with the teachings determined and exemplified by Prophet, and carried out by *sahabat* and *tabi'in*, and a generation to generation, to teachers, and it continuously as a chain. Aboebakar Atjeh, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat: Kajian Histories Tentang Mistik* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1993), p. 67; The use of *Tarekat* terminology in the sense of sufism brotherhood is a result on the development of semantic meaning from that word, as well as the word of "shari'at" which is used on Islamic law. Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 257; Therefore, the term *Tarekat* is often used as an organization, both formal and informal, in which the organization unites certain *Tarekat* followers. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995). In this case, it can be seen that beside the *Tarekat* is a teaching, it is also defined as an organization. In Indonesia, the connotation of *Tarekat* can refer to them.

² Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 147.

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Religious culture of *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra is built on two main pillars, namely Islam and Minangkabau culture. The compound both of them forms a cultural attitude and religious behavior. The important implication of the compound can be seen in religious understanding and social activities that are humanist-inclusive, well-mannered and civilized.³ Then, the questions that arise are, how these values play and be understood by the *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra in the dynamics of practical political that interwoven in their lives. How religious culture of *Tarekat* community is interpreted in their behavior and political transactions that carried out. Does the religious culture of *Tarekat* community which influence a religious understanding derived from the teachings of *Tarekat*, reduced by practical political interests? And then, how does the relationship between religious beliefs and behavior of *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra? These questions are interesting to be answered in order to explain the political behavior of the *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra.

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B. Theoretical Concept of Political Behavior

Political behavior is basically inseparable from the space and context of local community in which the individuals are located. To understand politics, it means, to understand how humans make a living together.⁴ Living together is not just a crowd, but also as an association of people that has structure and rules. The collected individuals have rights and obligations that are not only responsible for themselves personally but also responsible for the others. Politics in that case becomes a function to produce principles and rules of common life.

The existence of political behavior is not interwoven in the vacuum chamber. Political behavior is influenced by various factors that are interconnected, so that, in the praxis, in understanding political behavior it can be used various approaches. Political behavior, for instance, can be more easily seen from voting behavior when the election is held, but in understanding the attitude of voting it cannot be seen from one perspective. Voting behavior is one of form of individual political behavior formed from interaction of various elements such as social structure, political, cultural, economic, and geo-political that influence the community in which the individual is located.

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According to Robert K. Carr⁵ political behavior can be defined as a study of human actions in political situations. While Ramlan Subakti,⁶ defines political behavior as an activity related to the process of making and political decisions. In this plain, the interaction between government and society, government institutions, groups and individuals in a process of making, implementing and enforcing political decisions are interpreted as a form of political behavior. Almond and Powell, as quoted by Efriza,⁷ define political behavior as a whole of political behavior of citizens in which the concrete manifestations mutually related to political

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³ Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 76; Welhendri Azwar, *Gerakan Sosial Kaum Tarekat* (Padang: Imam Bonjol Press Azwar, 2015), p. 153.

⁴ The meaning can be traced from Aristotle's political definition, its implications, and from the facts on common life. Politics was originally understood as management of *police* in ancient Greece or the matters concerning on *police*, which literally means as a city. This term is often paired with the term of "city-state". The *police* is a place of individual humans. Aristotle stated, *police* is the best place for humans, allowing people to achieve their goals, and achieving the best life (Bagus Takwin, "Etika Politik: Menimbang Ulang Politik", in F. Budi Hardiman, Robertus Robert, A. Setyo Wibowo and Thomas Hidyia Tjaya, *Empat Esai Etika Politik*, (Jakarta: www.srimulyani.net, 2011), p. viii; Cecep Darmawan, "Legislative Strengthening and Empowerment: Efforts to Strengthen Local Governance and Accountability through Provincial Parliaments in Indonesia", *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, vol. 12, no. 11 (2015), 802-809

⁵ In Efriza, *Political Explore* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 126.

⁶ Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 131.

⁷ Efriza, *Political Explore* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 126.

culture. Citizens' attitudes, responses and activities to the existing political system are influenced by political culture that shapes them.

Political culture is a shared value system of society that has an awareness to participate in collective decision making and determination of public policy for the whole community. At least, to see how the political behavior interwoven, there are three approaches, they are sociological approach, psychological approach, and economic approach or known as a rational choice model.⁸ The basic assumption of sociological approach focuses on sociological characteristics and social groupings of society such as age, sex, religion, class/social status, occupation, and family background. These factors have significant effect on formation of voting behavior. Social grouping has a big role in shaping individual attitudes, perceptions and orientations. Political behavior in the sociological approach understands the influence of process that occurs on the outside of individual toward to attitude of his political preferences. The existence of environmental factors such as socio-economic, affiliation, ethnicity, family, membership to others, age, gender, occupation, and residence are things that contribute influencing political behavior and voting behavior.

In psychological approach, political behavior is seen from internal individual aspect. The psychological aspects of a person are explained to give some effects to him in determining political choices. Determination to vote or affiliated to one political power is seen as a product of attitudes and psychological dispositions of voters. There are three things which extremely influence and determine voting behavior, namely, first, political information obtained in relation to information of public interests and political activities. For example various campaign activities and political news in mass media. Second, the interest to politics. Third, party identity, which relates to feeling of closeness, loyalty to support and self-identification with a particular political party.

There is what we called political involment and party identification of individuals. Political involvement is sense of importance or sense of unimportance to involve in general political issues. Party identification is preference of person towards a particular political party or group.⁹ In the early stages, individual must have felt confident that his participation in political process is very necessary. Only by having like this feeling, individual will have a high political awareness. He will motivate to pay attention and to give respond to hot political issues that arise.

Psychological approach places the internal aspects of individual, like a map of cognition regarding socio-political reality. In other words, how individual has a picture of political world around them. Map cognition includes perception and conceptualization. Perception is various informations about what person received in which the information will influence what they want to receive and what they will be done. Second, conceptualization is how a person takes a political signal, how they determine their sense that is received, and how they conceptualize political reality. The aspects such as feelings, experiences and interpretations of political events significantly influence to person's political behavior.

Different from psychological approach, rational choice model explains voter behavior as more rationally responsive, in the sense that it is not permanent and tends to change according to time and changes in political events. The attitude of individual is very

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⁸ Muhammad Asfar, *Pemilu dan Perilaku Memilih 1955-2004* (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2006); Cecep Darmawan, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik* (Bandung: Laboratorium Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2008); Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010).

⁹ Dieter Roth, *Studi Pemilu Empiris: Sumber Teori-teori, Instrumen dan Metode*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Survei Indonesia, 2009), p. 38.

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determined by their real interests, especially regarding to material interests and welfare.¹⁰ The basis of voter behavior is based on profit and loss calculation. Some things that are profitable, are able to fulfill interests and provide great benefits, will encourage individuals to vote. Therefore, voters always use their rationality in voting.

Some factors influencing political behavior are,¹¹ *first*, indirect political and social environments, such as political systems, economic systems, cultural systems and mass media. *Second*, direct socio-political environment that influences and shapes personality of actors, such as family, religion, school, and social groups. From the direct socio-political environment an actor experiences socialization and internalization of values and norms of society, including the values and norms of state and life experiences in general. This direct environment is influenced by indirect environment. *Third*, personality structure that reflected in individual attitudes. To understand the structure of personality, it should be noted that there are three functional bases of value, they are interest, self-adjustment, externalism, and self-defense. The first base is an attitude that becomes a function of interest. It means, person's evaluation to an object is determined by interests and needs for the object. The second base is an attitude that become a *function of adjustment*, this means as an avaluation for an object. The third base is an attitude that becomes a function of self-externalization and self-defense. This means that person's evaluation to an object is influenced by desire to overcome inner conflict or psychological stress such as self defense mechanisms and self externalization. *Fourth*, direct socio-political environmental factors, like the conditions that directly affect an actor when they want to do an activity, such as weather, family circumstances, space conditions, presence of others, group atmosphere and all forms of treatment.

C. Political Behavior of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatera

Tarekat community in West Sumatra has a movement based on religion and cultural values both in understanding and exploring the fact of reality. In the political constellation two elements of religion and culture cannot separate themselves from the issue of practical interest where the politics is interwoven. Some traditional communities, for this reality, there are still those who have impression that politics is bad or negative thing. This also has an impact on *Tarekat* community in society. Democratic system takes into account the right of every member of society to vote their representatives to occupy a strategic position of state. Community involvement in politics is an important parameter to measure the maturity of democracy. As a social group, the *Tarekat* community plays a role of politic based on religious and cultural dimension. Religious culture of *Tarekat* itself has a strong tie based on figure of *Tuanku*. There is a significant relationship between "teacher and student",¹² and "*Tuanku* and society" where the social-religious and political processes take place.

Religious culture of *Tarekat* community is a reality that is in the arena of local community, in which between society and *Tuanku* dialectically have vibration that attracts one each other, especially related to contestation of influence and honor. Based on history as stated by Schrieke¹³ at the beginning of 19th century there were two religious groups of

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¹⁰ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), pp. 448-477.

¹¹ Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 132.

¹² Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 94.

¹³ Betram Johannes Otto Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatera Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi*, trans., Soegarda Poebakawatja (Jakarta: Bhatara, 1973), p. 25; Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattariyyah Sufi Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2001), p. 61.

Tarekat known as Syatariyyah and Naqshabandiyyah and both of them underwent a penetration that could not be avoided. The penetration, then, became basis of social conflict in West Sumatra, in addition there were indeed other factors such as conflict between old *ulama* and young *ulama*. Dobbin¹⁴ states that conflict that arises caused a manifestation conflict between center of Syatariyyah in Ulakan and Taram and Talawi oriented to the Naqshbandiyyah. Furthermore, in his analysis, basis of conflict was not necessarily problem of different teachings and understanding, but is influenced by problem of influence and honor contestation.

Issue of different doctrine and teachings has indeed become one of the triggers, but the things that are contradicted did not on the plane Sufism as a distinctive feature of *Tarekat*, but rather in terms of Shari'a dimension. Naqshbandiyyah followers did not like the teachings of *martabat tujuh*, a teaching about theory of natural creation which originated from the book *al-Tuufah al-Mursalah* written by al-Burhanuddin. This teaching was developed by Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, as the *khalifah* of Syatariyyah, in some his essays, and elaborated to explain and interpret the doctrine of *waúdat al-wuj'd*. In the context of West Sumatra, the teachings of *waúdat al-wuj'd* itself, in fact, were not developed by its followers, they even disarmed the teachings from entire of Syatariyyah by reason of contradicting with principles of Shari'a.¹⁵ As far as the *waúdat al-wuj'd* teachings are concerned, the Syatariyyah pattern in West Sumatra is relatively different from Syatariyyah pattern that developed, for example by al-Sinkili in Aceh, even though there are several other things, such as regarding to ritual of *zikir* or emphasize on Shari'ah aspect, there is no significant difference between both of them.¹⁶

The contestation that formed, sociologically, is a phenomenon of political behavior that tickles in the circle of *Tarekat* group. Because reality of religion, power and honor seems unavoidable between groups and groups. The interest in gaining mass becomes important scratch on the *Tarekat* community. The number of masses influences to prestige both material and non-material. Politics, means, is a tool to seize, gain and maintain power.¹⁷ In power, settling two types of authority that are procedural and substantial.¹⁸ Procedural authority is right to govern in the sense of making and implementing public decisions based on legislation. While substantial authority is the right to govern which comes from a factor that inherent in individual or leader such as tradition, personal, sacred, and instrumental qualities. For *Tuanku*, power that stick in himself is a power relying on substantial authority, in term of Weber called with charismatic authority.

The authority basically has no eternal nature, the person holding authority is temporary. It can fade when it turns out that individuals who have the authority make any mistakes harming or violating a certain value and norm. This authority becomes prestigious source that become contestation in *Tarekat*. The form of charismatic come together with the existence of honor and influence. Honor and influence are source of legitimacy *Tuanku's* power in society. The greater honor of people for *Tuanku*, the greater influence formed. When *Tuanku* influence and honor increases, the legitimacy of his power also increases. Although the *Tarekat* arena is

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¹⁴ Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam Dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah 1784-1847*, trans. Lilian D. Tedjasukandhana (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), p. 148.

¹⁵ Oman Fathurrahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2008), p.

¹⁶ Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam Dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah 1784-1847*, trans. Lilian D. Tedjasukandhana (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), p. 144; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 125.

¹⁷ Kate Nash, *Contemporary Political Sociology* Contemporary Political Sociology Globalization, Politics, and Power (London, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd 2010), p. 3.

¹⁸ Elly. M. Setiadi and Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2015), p. 767.

often interpreted as an arena of Sufism that tends to deny worldly problems, in the praxis, *Tuanku's* infidelity with power seems difficult to be ignored.

The contact to power is increasingly emerging in the midst of modern democratic system as a system of governance. There are a lot of *Tuanku* who come to politics. Democratic system encourages the existence of party system, and economic capital revolves widely within this party system. Power itself, in principle is inseparable from economic aspects. No wonder the term of money politics is a reflection of political activities both internal and external parties. In the midst of these conditions the political behavior of society is categorized in such a way, there are some apathy towards political activities and some are positively supporting political activities. Pattern of society in interpreting politics presents different perceptions to political activities of *Tarekat* (*Tuanku*). For those who have religious and political dichotomical views, for example, seeing anyone who has a stake in political activity will fall into the darkness of political world, include *Tuanku* as a figure who has been considered as charismatic figure. Deepening the phenomenon of political behavior of *Tarekat*, there is found a pattern of behavior in society, which can be carefully traced firstly in the teacher-student relationship.

D. Relationship of Teacher-Student toward to political choices of *Tarekat* Community

The value system built in *Tarekat* becomes a basis of strength the relationship between Teacher and students. Normatively, every choices and actions of *Tuanku* becomes a base for students to determine all their actions, including to political problems. *Tuanku* has a mass, that in political practices is a potential vote, in the process of electoral democracy. The influence that he has become a social capital for *Tuanku* in the social and political reality. And, from other perspectives as the owner of masses, the charismatic that *Tuanku* has is a charm for political actors in "fighting" to seize power. Because it was realized, that their political "fatwa", for most of their students or worshipers, still had powerful power to determine political choices and political behavior.

One of the strengths on *Tarekat* community is the authority chain or genealogy discipleship (*kemursidan*). *Tarekat* genealogy fasten the name from the last name of murshid until to *sahabat*, to Prophet s.a.w, then to *malaikat Jibril*, and finally from Allah s.w.t. The chain is kind of authenticity of *Tarekat* teaching that can be really accounted. The process of genealogical continuity is carried out through the granting an *ijazah*.¹⁹ *Murshid* determines who among the students have a right to obtain and continue the discipleship pedigree. When a student is considered to be at a certain level in understanding what is called "the essence/*yang hakikat*", then murshid will appoint him as *khalifah* with a special procession.

This chain makes the relationship between "teacher and student" in various ways be very close. In a sense, it is not only a matter of religion. In tradition of *Tarekat*, religious doctrine is very dominant. Teacher has a central position. Various problems are based on the teacher as a role model, and even there is found a kind of cult in *Tarekat* arena where the teacher's fatwa become a background for student and their followers to do activities. However, in the socio-political problem, student's obedience becomes an interesting fact to observe. There is a kind of rootlessness of obedience on students to teacher. There are interwoven dialectic at level of religious, social and political interests that surround political behavior of *Tarekat* community.

The structuring cohesiveness *Tarekat* can be said beginning with formation of educational system in *surau*. *Surau*, classically, is a social institution functioning as an

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¹⁹ So far, there is no a standard formulation on statement of "*ijazah*", although generally it contains an affirmation that a *sheikh* has appointed a certain student, whose name is mentioned, becomes a *khalifah*, on that basis, the student appointed has some kind of authority to convey *Tarekat* teachings. See Ahmad Amir Aziz, "Kebangkitan *Tarekat Kota*", *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2013), p. 73.

affirmation of Teacher-Student relations. The "genealogical" system that determines authenticity of *Tarekat* teachings practiced, make *Guru-Murid* relationship very necessary and authentic. From here "genealogy" of *surauTarekat* beginning. The cohesiveness of teacher-student relationship can be elaborated into a ritual known as *bai'at* and *tawasul*. *Bai'at* with teacher who has a genealogy. *Bai'at* and genealogy, are one of the most important parts that cannot absent in *Tarekat*. Someone will not be accepted as a student without receiving *bai'at*.

The term of *bai'at* means as a promise or faithful oath from someone to teacher or *murshid*. Someone who will attend the *Tarekat* recitation must go through a process of coronation (*bai'at*). *Bai'at* process is a covenant ceremony between disciple and his teacher (*murshid*). A disciple gives himself to be nurtured and guided in effort to cleanse his soul, and draw closer to Allah s.w.t. There are two forms of *bai'at* process in Naqshabandiyah tradition, namely individual confession (*fardiyyah*) and group confession (*jam'iyyah*).

Etymologically *Bai'at* is agreement. However, *Bai'at* terminologically has an expansion of meaning, which at least contains two important aspects in its implementation process. First, *bai'at* is a heartfelt pledge that someone will always strive to uphold loyal promises and practice religious knowledge he learned through Syattariyah *Tarekat* and also always obedient and faithful in vertically (to Allah, *Rasul* and *Guru*) and horizontally (brotherhood with others human). Second, *bai'at* is a series of practices that carried out in certain ways and in some certain needs.

While *Tawassul*, usually is carried out by means of *tawajjuh*, that is, presenting the face of teacher as if dealing with him at the time of *zikir*. The implementation of this *Tawajjuh* is, between teacher and students sitting facing each other, sitting that is arranged in such a way. The time of that *tawajjuh*, read some prayers for the teacher. The aim of *Tawajjuh* is to get a guidance from Allah s.w.t.. Another term of *tawajjuh* is *rabithah*. *Rabithah*, which is presenting the teacher, as if the student imagined the teacher in front of him. This *Rabithah* starts from the teacher where students receive the teachings until the last pedigree, namely Sheikh Bahauddin al-Naqshabandi. At the end of his *rabithah* made a unification of teacher with the disciples in spiritual.

A number of students had by *Tuanku* show a social capital for himself personally, which is useful in various movements, especially religious social political movements. There are trusts, commitments, and reciprocal relationships that are interwoven from the network of *Tarekat* communities at the level of religious social life. However, what's interesting about the political phenomenon of *Tarekat* nowadays, between relations on teachers and students is that the reality does not necessarily show a linear relationship in which students and *jemaah* are fully subject to *Tuanku's* fatwa on political practice, despite the cohesiveness of relations teacher-students as explained above have become authentic traditions of *Tarekat*. This is shown when *Tuanku* enter to political practice activities. Some of *Tuanku* play a role as administrators of political parties and DPRD legislative candidates. For example in the District of Padang Pariaman in 2009 legislative elections. Among the *Tuanku* who entered to political arena were Rahmat *Tuanku* Sulaiman, Saamar *Tuanku* Sidi (Golkar Party), Ali Basyar *Tuanku* Sutan Sinaro, Zulhelmi *Tuanku* Sidi, Amirudin *Tuanku* Majo Lelo (Party National Awakening).

Among the *Tuanku* who became legislative candidates in 2009, in the fact, only Zuhelmi *Tuanku* Sidi who won the election, and at the same time as the one among 35 members of DPRD in Padang Pariaman Regency for 2009-2014 come from *Tuanku*²⁰ The fact of *Tuanku* contributing to political arena is indeed intriguing to be observed, because sociologically, *Tuanku* have begun to dare to "out of the cage of tradition", that is not solely

²⁰Efa Nurza, "KPU Padang Pariaman Tetapkan Dewan 2009-2014", *Harian Posmetro Padang*, 16 Juni 2009.

focused on educational matter in pesantren (religious fields), but has begun to expand arena to political space.

The changes of *Tuanku*'s view to expand arena to political space on the one hand shows an instrumental rational social change, but on the other hand this is unique phenomena because it is not followed by the reality of their choice in parliament. Based on the facts which only one candidate won from *Tarekat* group, showed that *Tuanku* who contested as a candidate in the 2009 legislative elections, as cases in Padang Pariaman District, did not correlate between the reality as a religious leader and the reality in political arena. The ineligibility of *Tarekat Tuanku* is irony, when judging by a number of *Tuanku* and the majority of *Tarekat* congregation.

There is a "paradoxical belief" in the *Tarekat* between teachers, students, and congregations. On the one hand cohesiveness at the level of religion and religiosity is very obvious, on the other hand it is very fluid in political arena. Obedience to *Tuanku*, in praxis, can be said as "conditional obedience", in the sense that as far as it is not related to political activity, the student and/or congregation keep on honoring *Tuanku*, but this does not occur to the political level.

This fact basically departs from a perception that *taunku's* involvement in political practice can harm his authenticity as a *Tarekat* teacher. Society sociologically cannot yet accept *taunku* as a "sacred figure" that falls into politics as a candidate in the election. There is an assumption that the "sanctity" of *Tuanku* will be tarnished if he get into arena of political parties. The sacredness is maintained by the community in order to maintain the "honor" of *taunku*. There is a classical desire of people for *taunku* to keep in his position and function of taking care to religion: teaching the Qur'an, giving *tausiah*, and "praying". Hence, it should not interfere with political matters which are considered as full with interests and immoral acts such as corruption and so on.

This fact shows a sociological reality and political contributions, both historically and present, are not directly proportional to the role of *Tarekat* community group in contemporary Indonesian politics. The position of Islam as a sociological majority but politically minority. Consciously the majority of Indonesian Muslims cover almost 90%. That awareness leads to the belief that a sociological majority has potential to become a political majority. However, the political elite (*Tuanku*) seems kook like negligent that 90% of them are nominal Islam, what Geertz calls with "abangan in Java" who claim to be administratively Islam but on the other hand do not like Islamic formalism in political life.

E. Typology of Political Behavior on *Tarekat*

Political electoral which reflects through the electoral mechanism in fact does not always rely on political parties as an instrument, but it is also done through non-political mobilization such as figures and social networks. Political dynamics in Indonesia, for example, since 1950s era were influenced by the figure of ulama. This also happen in several other countries²¹ like Thailand which carried out a national campaign called "Thais help Thais" which integrated the state with Buddhism to save its people. Likewise, India, where Hinduism gives philosophy to politics with the terms of dharma and moksa. The same thing happened in England and Wales which showed the relationship between church and state on political dynamics.

In Indonesia, despite the political dynamics influenced by figure of *ulama*, the reality of Islamic parties has not yet been as successful as the nationalist party. This is indeed interesting to observe especially by looking at the reality of *Tarekat* who have a great cohesiveness. As mentioned earlier, normatively *Tuanku* who compete or have certain

²¹ Sansan Hasanuddin, "Mekanisme Religio-Politik Pesantren: Mobilisasi Jaringan Hamida dalam Politik Elektoral Tasikmalaya", *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2017), p. 54.

Menghapus:

Menghapus: Likewise

Dikomentari [MOU4]: unfinished sentence

political preferences have a great probability to success because certainly almost the congregation of *Tarekat* will follow their choice. The views and political behavior of *taunku* as a *Tarekat* teacher are considered to have an impact on the views, attitudes and political participation of *Tarekat* community.

There are psychological and sociological aspects of students and congregations that are directly or indirectly to political choices. Psychological aspects include a map of cognition about the picture of political reality that involves perception and conceptualization. Various information regarding to political reality is not easily understood by the public, so as a teacher the political choice taken by *taunku* is absorbed as the best choice. On this plain, there are conceptualizations of political signals, how they determine their sense of what they receive, and how they conceptualize political reality based on *Tuanku's* choices. Aspects such as feelings, experiences and interpretation of political events by *Tuanku*, although it does not **express** directly, significantly influence the political behavior of students and congregations.

Menghapus: expressed

teachers never encourage and direct their students to join political parties, or direct political choices to certain groups. Most of the *Tarekat* teachers showed a neutral attitude. Even though we know he has his own political choices, he doesn't force their choices on his students. But congregations or students usually and generally will follow "where does Buya go", even though Buya never told them to join. Because it is a part of student courtesy to teacher.²²

Menghapus: "

Menghapus:

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Menghapus:

The *Tarekat* teachers are generally accustomed to full enjoying loyalty from the *Tarekat* congregation, and even, this is **tending** to be stronger than those enjoyed by non-*Tarekatulama*. His position as a leader and teacher in *Tarekat*, political choice of *Tuanku* for some people will be followed, because *Tuanku's* opinion is more likely to be "heard", his behavior is followed and used as a reference by *Tarekat* congregations in making decisions regarding to social and political problem.

Menghapus: tend

The involvement of ulama *Tarekat* in political practice has led to a **change** in worldview of *Tarekat* adherents to be a more dynamic understanding. In Visible, it looks the ulama and the young of *Tarekat* nominate themselves as legislative members, voicing the movement defending ideology of modernization thump. However, indirectly, the involvement in political practice of *Tarekat* at the same time can reduce the influence of *zuhud's* teachings which is often interpreted as "leaving worldly life".

Menghapus: changes

The phenomenon of changes in *Tuanku's* structure cognition regarding to sociopolitical role is closely related to theological perception adopted. Therefore, to understand the tug-of-war between the dual role of *Tuanku* in the range of socio-political and religious life, as well as a socio-political role of kyai in Java, in the end it cannot be separated from the effort to trace the theological roots that become a basic framework of socio-political behavior played by *Tuanku*. There are among of *Tuanku* who are **more flexible and easier** to change, so politics seems to be a "kind" of game to meet a **pragmatic need** that are constantly changing. While other, *Tuanku* seems more be rigid, or maybe it can be called consistent with his initial standpoint, put politics in the framework of principle problem. These differences seem to led the born of political parties with religious nuances and at the same time spearheaded by figures that is better known as kyai than politicians.

Menghapus: more flexible and easy

Menghapus: pragmatic needs

The polarization of *Tuanku's* behavior and political choices as mentioned above has a significant effect on the political attitudes of *Tarekat* congregations. The *Tarekat*, related to their political attitudes, fragmented into two major groups, namely groups that keep to consistent with religious activity (*ngaji*), and groups that get into political practice arena both active and passive.

²² Interviewed with the *Tarekat* congregation, September 2018.

These polarizations create a different political attitude in *Tarekat* congregation to teacher or *Tuanku*. Some congregations followed the choices and political attitudes of *Tuanku* entirely, while the others were opposed, even some of them opposed with various reasons. Some *Tarekat* congregations expressed apolitical attitudes, regarding to political behavior of *Tuanku*, in an effort to maintain the authority of teacher/*Tuanku*, by being subversive. This behavior is done by not choosing the teacher/*Tuanku* in the election. They argued that in order to buya/*Tuanku* did not pass in a public official (a member of the DPRD, for example), so that buya/*Tuanku* did not leave *surau* or congregation.

"... During the last election many of us did not choose Buya. We are worried that if Buya becomes a member of the DPRD, he does not have much time to guide us in the recitation in *surau*. Due to busy meetings, the *surau* became abandoned. And, we are also not willing to join Buya in politics which can damage public respect for Buya."²³

This political behavior becomes interesting to be observed, how the teacher be a guarded and cared figure by the congregation.

"... I don't agree if buya-buya get into politics. However, by dabbling in political arena, because the politics nowadays is basically not for a goodness and by good ways, but based on interests only, I am worry that it will damage Buya's authority in society. But if it's like a political Prophet, it doesn't matter. If there is a teacher who works politically, I will withdraw, I will not join to his political behavior and choices. But in the matter of "*kaji*" I will still follow him."²⁴

The behavior that seems radical in responding to political behavior of *Tuanku* also appeared in some congregation or students in *Tarekatsurau*. This radical behavior as a resistance to *Tuanku*/buya involvement in active political practice. Some students or congregation leave the teaching of *Tuanku*/teacher who active in politics. This attitude is based on the view and valuation that the teacher has come out of "*kaji*". The teacher has been tempted by sparkling world life and political office. Among students taking this position are Bani Purnama, students of Buya Riswandi. Bani Purnama chose to leave Buya Riswandi's teaching, since Buya became an administrator of political party and became a member of DPRD. Bani believes that since buya active in politics, buya has "*mambalangi kaji*", he has been tempted by worldly life rather than hereafter. And, since Buya Riswandi plunged into the world of political practice, according to Bani, he seem letting go his responsibilities and duties in guiding the congregation.

This condition was also acknowledged by Buya Rswandi, that since being actively involved in political world and two periods being a member of DPRD, there was no time to meet with congregation in *surau*. And, from that moment one by one some congregation moved to other *surau* to study of *Tarekat*.

"... there were congregation who fanatic with me previously, but since this politics they did not come to *surau* again (they may be moving to other *surau*/ teacher). Some also still come to *ngaji ke surau*, but they are in different choice or do not support being in parliament. Or, at the election of regency, they had a different choice with me. When it was delivered that this was our chosen regent, but they did not follow. However *mangaji tetap juo jo awak*."²⁵

The description of polarization of political behavior on *Tarekat* and its relation to politics of *Tuanku*'s charisma, can be seen as follows:

²³ Interviewed with Ermi, one of Buya M. Nur's congregation in Payakumbuh, October, 2018.

²⁴ Interviewed with Nasrul, one of Buya Riswandi's student, October, 2018.

²⁵ Interviewed with Buya Riswandi, October, 2018.

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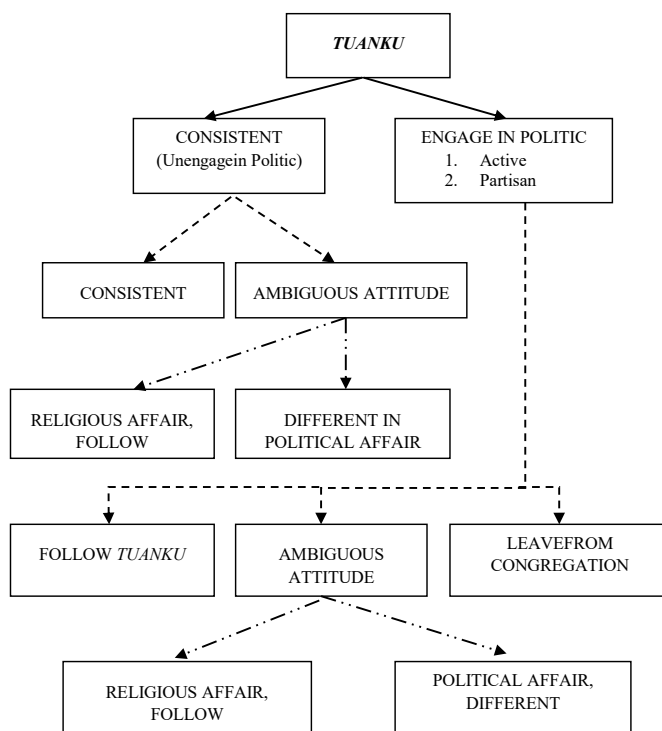


Figure 1. Polarization of political behavior on Tarekat community

The conditions above show how politics, with its appeal, has entered and influenced the pattern of social relations on *Tarekat*. Even to "damage" the teacher-student relationship. Teacher or *Tuanku* in any position, whether those who are still consistent in the da'wah arena, or who have been involved in the world of political practice still befall a negative impact of current political situation. The authority of *Tuanku's* charisma begins to slowly fade away. This condition may be caused by the level of education and rational behavior of society or congregation. But in the context of "adab" teacher-students who become a characteristic on *Tarekat*, should not be affected. The spread of transactional politics and money politics models deprives a noble customary values, namely communal values and togetherness.

By observing some phenomena that emerged recently, formerly *Tuanku* is identical with congregation, which is different with current *Tuanku*, "*taunku academic*" who does not have *surau* or congregation. Many of *taunku* are now alienated from community/congregation, eventually not to have any influence on the congregation/community. There is *Tuanku* expelled by community because he had a lacked strength, did not have a **strong root**. Weak economically, because as if living form congregation. So that, *Tuanku* at this present

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Menghapus: ve

Menghapus: strong roots

(according to Mr. Sulaiman) must be economically strong, and it's time to change perspectives.

Another phenomenon that now arises is the presence of *Tuanku* lie under the influence of mosque committee. Become "subordinate", an employee of their superiors, thus reducing the authority of *Tuanku*. Especially if it is associated with political interests and the behavior of politicians. Therefore, polarization of *Tuanku* is increasingly clear. Polarization of *Tarekat* groups shows a new dynamic with the emergence of two opposing groups. For example cases that happened in Shattariah congregation, which was grouped in moderate group, represented by *surau* of Ringan-ringan, and the conservative group, which was driven by Mato Aie's *surau*. Ringan-ringan groups are known as a young group (young people), while the Mato Aie group is classified as an old group (the elderly group).

Menghapus: employees of their superiors

The question is, whether the difference in behavior is due to fear of influence, fear of worshipers or because of *kaji*. Thus, *Tuanku*'s reaction become diverse in response to the development of social dynamics in society. Factors of information access, intellectual intelligence of community/congregation "demolish" *Tuanku*'s charisma. As long as *Tuanku* is openminded, accommodating with the changing, it will take care of *Tuanku*'s charisma. No longer living from the congregation, but living the congregation/community, independence in economy.

The charisma must be modified. Not charisma to take for advantage, but charisma that builds on benefits. The spirit to modernize education has begun to be built in Ringan-ringan. Encourage the students to think critically, engage in social activities, organize, and so on, in which have complaint by the "Tuo" until nowadays.

The young generation of *Tarekat* have a view that there should not anymore a models of exploitation on congregation in any kinds, especially for political practice's purposes. What must be there is empowerment of worshipers. However, politeness, adherence to teacher in other forms must be maintained. Because it is a morality to teacher. The teacher in a broad sense, whoever the *Tarekat* teachers, even if they are never directly become their students".

"Maintain the old ones is good, and adopt the new ones is better". "the way, the thinking, from the old will run out as time goes by". *kaji* that scare with the hell must be modified by other methods by give a kind of motivation. " It can not study to other teachers after *Bai'at*, only one teacher after *Bai'at*. This will hamper the development of *Tarekat* itself. While in Ringan-ringan has been permitted studying to other teachers, even though *berbaiat* with the teacher in Ringan-ringan, it allow to read different book (*kitab*), even it encouraged to continue studying at PT. At the junior or senior high school level, students are encouraged to go to school outside the pesantren, even to public schools, and at night keep to "*mangaji kitab*". These make student have a treasure of intellectual wealth, to be dynamic, and diverse. This will have an impact on formation of students' network who will later produce a strong network of scholars. The establishment of a strong and harmonious collectivity among the *Tarekat*. The building of a heart bridge that will reduce conflict between *Tarekat* groups".²⁶

Menghapus: students

Now, because a large number of santri who continue their education to various universities, it directly influences the dynamics of *surau*. And the compliance models (charisma) begin to change to the form of "*rational charisma*". Affect the attitude and perspective *Tarekat* community in their interactions. Young generation of *Tarekat* have begun to enter and have able to read various social realities with modern and religious scientific approaches (*ilmu Tarekat*). For example, as a volunteer for rehabilitation of prostitutes, thuggery, and other social diseases, because there are among of them graduates from

²⁶ Interviewed with Rahmat Tk. Sulaiman, October, 2018.

universities with various disciplines, such as law, economics, sociology, psychology and others.

F. The Tussle of Religious Understanding on *Tarekat* Community in The Midts of **Socio-Political** Dynamics

Menghapus: In

Menghapus: Socio Political

The pattern used by *Tarekat* ulama or *Tuanku* in strengthening the position in structure leadership Minangkabau community is the "charismatic" leadership pattern. A pattern that prioritizes the exemplary and primacy of each *Tarekat* cleric personality. Charisma is seen by Weber as an innovative and revolutionary force, capable in opposing and disrupting established normative and political order. Charismatics are based on a person rather than impersonal law. Charismatic leaders demand an adherence from their followers on basis of personal excellence, such as divine mission, heroic deeds and rewards that make him different.²⁷ According to Weber, charisma is a type of leadership whose power is based on recognition of high respect and loyalty to certain individuals. People obey and loyal to the charismatic leader does not because of formal legality or tradition, but because of the primacy personality.²⁸

Humans, society and culture have a dialectical relationship. The existence of these three social elements is related to one each other. In a side, man creates various values in society, on the other hand humans simultaneously are culturally created by their culture and society. Human individually that have a pattern of behavior as self-identity, is a result of social processes in their society. It means, society as a group of people are created by man, while man is a product of society.

Robert K. Merton²⁹ described the relationship between culture and social structure in a society. Merton defines culture as set of an organized normative values, which determines a common behavior in community or group members. While social structure is a set of social relationships that are designed in various ways involving community members or groups within it. The relationship between culture and social structure in society will be clearly seen if happening, which Merton called as "*anomie*". Anomie occurs when there is a disconnection both cultural norms and the purpose of community, with structured capacity socially from group members to act in accordance with the existing cultural values. Because of some people position in social structure, making some people unable to act in accordance with existing values and norms. Culture requires certain patterns of behavior in which prevented by social structures.

The fulfillment of human needs for life expectations, in sociology of religion perspective, is constructed in form of worship structures in rituals by using certain symbols. Rituals are religious phenomena in form of cults as expressions of feelings, attitudes and forms of communication with supernatural powers. Worship has a value of mystery that is difficult to understand by intellect. Ritual is a process of symbolic transformation from experience which is expressed through feeling. Although worship begins with spontaneous expression, but in period of time there is institutionalization as objectivation of individual attitudes as followers. Disclosure of common attitudes in kind of rituals will foster togetherness, common sense and ultimately create a confidence and moral strength of each follower, as well as strengthen community networks.³⁰

²⁷ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010); Doyle Paul Jhonson, *Teori Sosiologi, Klasik dan Modern* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1986).

²⁸ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), pp. 139-145.

²⁹ M. Margaret Poloma, *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Grafindo Persada, 1994), p. 35.

³⁰ Thomas F. O'dea, *Sosiologi Agama* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), p. 7.

On that plain, worship is one of *Tarekat* congregation group activities to establish relations with sacred objects, which through this process can strengthen solidarity and strengthen moral and cultural values. The relationship between teacher or *sheikh* with his students, friendly relations between the *Tarekat* congregation is carried out and strengthened through emotional bonding and mutual trust.

Quoted Durkheim terminology,³¹ various *Tarekat* rituals are functionally nurturing Minangkabau society by affirming social values that bind every member of society to behave. The ritual activities of *Tarekat* reaffirm themselves in symbolic actions that reveal their attitude, which then strengthens attitude embraced together, then strengthens the community itself. The *Tarekat* ritual activities are periodic social facilities that can strengthen social relations between members of *Tarekat* congregation. Strengthening groups through rituals and sanctions against violations shows socio-cultural functions, at the same time functioning as social controls in the dynamics of people's lives.

The observation to tarekat congregation political behavior in West Sumatra, there are four social functions of *Tarekat* teachings;³² first, giving emotional support for various political interests. The belief in *karamah* values of *Tarekat* teacher's as a place of *berwasilah* for various rituals carried out can alleviate psychological burden on various burdens of life conducted. Belief in the granting of various prayers that delivered, because of effort getting closer to Allah SWT, contains value of hope and motivation to achieve political goals. Even if, what is being addressed has not been granted, the *Tarekat* teachings teach the value of patience, *tawadhu* and willing to accept anything that comes from Allah SWT, the most important thing is Allah is pleased. This can be seen from many political figures who came to *Tarekat/Tuanku* to ask for "blessings" in their political struggle. As expressed by Sulaiman, one of leaders on political party in West Sumatra, that he always come to every maulidan ceremony to "face" or meet *Tuanku*, ask for advice and blessings in order the political activities carried out achieved the results as expected. The arrival "face" the teacher (*Tuanku*), at the same time giving alms to the teacher (*Tuanku*) as a sign of gratitude.

Second, the *Tarekat* offers a transcendental relationship through worship rituals that can provide an emotional basis for new hope and a stronger identity in the midst of uncertainty in life. The teachings that contain beliefs and values, especially high respect and obedience to teacher (murshid) through the process of *bai'at*, the *Tarekat* provides a frame of reference to behave and act, including in an atmosphere of conflict, strife and dissent. In this case the *Tarekat* functions as the guardian of stability, public peace and socio-political system that exist.

Third, the *Tarekat* teaching is very strong on congregation adherence to regulation that must be obeyed, and the inculcation of sacred values of each existing norm. Awareness on consequences obtained if they violate, can maintain the domination of group goals or common goals above individual desires, and produce a disciplined attitude on the basis of personal awareness. That is, *Tarekat* is able to instill a togetherness value, which prioritizes common interests over individual interests. Thus, *Tarekat* functioning to strengthen the legitimacy prevailing a values and social system, which builds congregation awareness to obey it. *Tarekat*, with "repentance" ritual, provides a way on *Tarekat* congregation in processing forgiveness the various mistakes that made. This method is a place where the personal identity of congregation is detached from the burden and shackles of guilt, and reunited in a group of "*jama'ah Tarekat* " who uphold the value of togetherness, as a social group system. Thus, the *Tarekat* teachings, as well as *jama'ah Tarekat*, functioning as safeguard the sanctity

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 21.

³² In Welhendri Azwar, *Gerakan Sosial Kaum Tarekat* (Padang: Inam Bonjol Press Azwar, 2015), pp. 261-262.

of norms and socio political systems, which is functioning as controllers on every interaction process that occurs, thus helping to create public peace and social stability.

Fourth, the *Tarekat* performs important identity functions. Through the acceptance of values in *Tarekat* teachings, including a teaching about destiny, give an understanding to *Tarekat* congregation about themselves and self-limitation. Various rituals, including prayer, instill an optimistic value and hope for a change in a better life. And, because the *Tarekat* teaches simplicity, and the essence of life, optimistic value does not mean encouraging consumptive and capitalistic behavior like Weber's explanation on "Protestant ethics", but teaches about the importance of effort to change based on value of inner peace, formed by teachings about "*barakah*". The *Tarekat* pattern that carries out ritual activities in groups, with a building of a tight and strong pattern on social relations, can provide sense of self-identity and strength in individual with groups combination, which creates worldly spirit to process the universe in the position of "*khalifah*" on the earth, which is followed by the virtue relationship with Allah SWT.

The four functions of *Tarekat* above can be observed from various ways of thinking and behavior of *Tarekat* community in socio-political life. Social relations are based on "*rasa*", and not only based on thought or profit only. That is, the society is taught to balance between "taste" and "thought" in all actions and deeds. Using "*raso jo pareso*", in various social relations, including in political relations. This is the main purpose of teachings and practice *Tarekat*, that is to practice godliness, a sense of brotherhood, sense of learning, sense of friendship and so on. In this situation, *Tarekat* create a character of "humanist" in society, leading humans to do something according to their nature. The birth of mutual respect, mutual honor, courtesy, unindividualistic and materialistic, is the culture of society which is the result of spiritual practice in *Tarekat*. This is the *Tarekat* culture, which is the characteristic and identity of *Tarekat* groups.³³ And, this is also influences the culture on Minangkabau people, which reflects in philosophy of their customs, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah, syarak mangato, adat mamaki, alam takambang jadi guru*.

The dynamics of socio-political in West Sumatra are extremely influenced by the dynamics of development teachings and practice of Syattairyah *Tarekat* and the Naqshabandiyah. The social conflict between two *Tarekat* in Minangkabau created a dynamic culture on Minangkabau society. The Islamization era in Minangkabau custom was a positive excess from social conflict the *Tarekat* group. Each of *Tarekat*, Syattariyah and Naqsyabandiyah strives with ability and strategy their movement to influence people's lives, to get a sympathy of community. The good effect is by birth the philosophy *adat, basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, which become a guideline of life Minangkabau people. Islam become a characteristic and identity of Minangkabau people.

G. Concluding Remarks

Socio-political activities of *Tuanku* in West Sumatra influence on the socio-political system and political behavior of society. The alignment of political behavior to conform with Islamic teachings strengthen the position and function of *Tuanku*. The influence of *Tuanku* appears on attitudes, political behavior of the community, including the figures of political parties. The various philosophies of life based on the *Tarekat* teachings which become a guidance in behavioral community reveal the strength of *Tuanku* influence on political dynamics in West Sumatra. Islamic interpretation on various philosophies of life is a process of dynamism of acculturation on values of political culture with Islam. The philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* interpreted as "*sunnatullah*" is an example of intermingling

³³ Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 80.

between the philosophy of life West Sumatra people and the values of Islamic teachings, which then influence to attitude and political behavior of *Tarekat*. The relation between Islam and customs in Minangkabau are indeed very complex where the West Sumatra people keep firmly adhering to Islam on the one hand, and still maintain their customary system, on the other hand. This shows that Minangkabau people reveal a new social wisdom, namely "tradisi integrasi" in social processes.

Social wisdom that grows and develops in the dynamics of life on people of West Sumatra which is guided by philosophy *ada basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah-syarak mangato, adat mamakai*, makes various social behaviors, including political attitudes and behavior, especially in the way that do not correspond to customary values, being rejected. Rational-critical attitudes that combined with the understanding of "*raso-pareso*", and reinforced with figurehead (charisma) of Ulama (*Tuanku*), make intolerant political attitudes and behaviors, blasphemy especially with a lack argument, get negative responses from society. That is, it can be stated that the understanding and teachings of *Tarekat* which affect on political culture of West Sumatra people play a role in rejecting various political attitudes and behaviors that are contrary to value of "culture", "moral", and "*akhlak*".

At the level of political practice, despite the wise attitude appears, there is a polarization on political behavior of *Tarekat*. The view of religious purification and the conception of rationality is the basis of this polarization. Sociologically, the majority of *Tuanku* who have mass or followers does not directly proportional to their political reality. There is a "supple" nature in political behavior that played. On the one hand, the obedience to *Tuanku* keeps authentic as long as *Tuanku* interwoven in matters of religiosity. But the obedience becomes tenuous when *Tuanku* contributes to political practice. This reality come from a perception of religious purification, which does not want "indecent" of *Tuanku* authenticity in political frenzy which is considered a full with disrepute. On the other hand, the political behavior of *Tarekat* shows a rational behavior toward to political practice by seeing the politics as a necessity and what become a choice and political trace of *Tuanku* determining on political choices. Included in this matter is a supporting and having the *Tuanku* who is involved as a legislative candidate.

Dikomentari [MOU7]: revise

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The Multifaced Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract

Tuanku as a leader of Tarekat community is a charismatic figure who plays significant socio-political roles. He is still placed as source of "fatwa" to political choice of the community. This study is used descriptive-phenomenological methods. To understand the meaning of Tarekat community towards to various socio-political activities and patterns of social relations between Tarekat community with society, researchers conducted a focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with the Tarekat community. Observations were carried out to pay attention both political behavior of Tarekat community and socio-political dynamic of the society related to the religious teachings and understandings where Tarekat activities are practiced. This study elucidates facts; first, the political behavior of Tarekat community in West Sumatra revealed a strong influence the relations between teacher and student on political choices of Tarekat community and showed the diversity typologies of Tarekat political behavior. Second, in the context of understanding religious struggle of Tarekat in the midst of socio-political dynamics in West Sumatra, Tarekat community consistently develop lithe and flexible behaviors and activities in socio-politic. This study is important to understand the political behavior of Tarekat community in the vortex of political identity in the political dynamics that occur, and always change.

[Tuanku sebagai pimpinan kaum Tarekat merupakan sosok karismatik yang memainkan peran-peran sosial-politikanya secara signifikan. Ia masih ditempatkan sebagai sumber "fatwa" untuk pilihan politik masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif-fenomenologi. Untuk memahami makna (meaning) kaum Tarekat terhadap berbagai aktivitas sosial-politik dan corak hubungan sosial kaum Tarekat dengan masyarakat, peneliti melakukan focus group discussion dan wawancara mendalam (indepth interview) kepada kaum Tarekat. Observasi dilakukan untuk memperhatikan perilaku politik kaum Tarekat dan keadaan sosial politik masyarakat yang berkaitan dengan ajaran dan paham keagamaan Tarekat dimana aktivitas Tarekat dipraktekkan. Kajian ini menguraikan fakta bahwa; pertama, perilaku politik kaum Tarekat di Sumatera Barat menampakkan wujud pengaruh kuat hubungan guru-murid terhadap pilihan politik kaum Tarekat dan memperlihatkan keragaman dinamis tipologi perilaku politik kaum Tarekat. Kedua, dalam konteks pergumulan paham keagamaan kaum Tarekat di tengah dinamika sosial politik di Sumatera Barat, kaum Tarekat konsisten mengembangkan perilaku dan aktivitas sosial-politik yang lentur dan fleksibel. Kajian ini menarik dan berguna memahami perilaku politik kaum Tarekat ditengah pusaran politik identitas dalam dinamika politik yang terjadi, dan senantiasa berubah.]

Keywords: Religious understanding, political behavior, *Tarekat* community

A. Introduction

The discussion about socio-political roles of *Tarekat*¹ community that grows and develops especially in West Sumatra, will always involve intersection of discourse between religion and politic. In addition, empirical reality also illustrates the combination of these religion and politics seen in the roles played by a number of *Tarekat* community in the stage of political practice. Among the social impacts caused is a tendency to shift people's behavior in determining their political choices.

Several studies that have been conducted on the political behavior of the *Tarekat* group show that there is a relationship between political choices and the personal benefits of the members of the *Tarekat*.² On the other hand, the charismatic influence of the *Tarekat* teacher is a determining factor in the political choices of the *Tarekat* congregation.³ In some cases the involvement of *Tarekat* teachers (*murshid/Tuanku*) in practical politics can weaken the charisma of tarekat teachers in the vortex of political elite power.⁴ The hegemony of political elite power in influencing political choices encourages the *Tarekat* group to revitalize the tarekat values in the tarekat group's national politics through the religio-political system and relations with political parties, by developing synergy between the encouragement of Islamic teachings, individual motivation and social groups.⁵

The dynamics and developments of contemporary politics and the socio-political role of the *Tarekat* community are important variables that must be explained by revealing the possibility of changes in the perceptual framework that forms the basis of their cognitive structure. Phenomenological analysis is used to explore how far *Tarekat* community plays the role of religious teachings that they believe in socio-political behavior in the midst of people's lives. By using Weber's concept of charismatic authority,⁶ *Tuanku's* theological perception is placed in the dialectic of political behavior and *Tuanku's* charisma, in responding to the reality of political developments. Weber suggests three types of authority or belief systems that

¹The word of "*Tarekat*" comes from Arabic language that is "*tariiqah*", a plural word from "*tharaaiq*", which terminologically is "a paths, countries and certain schools. Luis Maklub, *Al-Munjid* (Beirut: Darul Masyiriq, 1973); The same definition as defined that stated was proposed by Elias Authan and Edwar Elias, that *Tarekat* is a "way", method and belief system. H.A Fuad Said, *Hakikat Tarikat Naqsyabandiyah* (Jakarta: Penerbit Pustaka Al-Husna Baru, 2007; Imron Abu Amar, *Di Sekitar Masalah Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* (Kudus: Penerbit Menara, 1980), p. 11. Aboebakar Atjeh argues that *Tarekat* is a way and guidance in performing worship in accordance with the teachings determined and exemplified by Prophet, and carried out by *sahabat* and *tabi'in*, and a generation to generation, to teachers, and it continuously as a chain. Aboebakar Atjeh, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat: Kajian Histories Tentang Mistik* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1993), p. 67; The use of *Tarekat* terminology in the sense of sufism brotherhood is a result on the development of semantic meaning from that word, as well as the word of "shari'at" which is used on Islamic law. Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 257; Therefore, the term *Tarekat* is often used as an organization, both formal and informal, in which the organization unites certain *Tarekat* followers. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995). In this case, it can be seen that beside the *Tarekat* is a teaching, it is also defined as an organization. In Indonesia, the connotation of *Tarekat* can refer to them.

²Elen Setiyawati, "Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah dalam Ranah Politik Lokal", *Demokrasi & Otonomi Daerah*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2017), pp. 151-156.

³M. Tohar al-Abza, Kamsi and Nawari Ismail, "Power Relation Between *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wanaqsyabandiyah* (Tarekat Cukir) And Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in Jombang, East Java", *Epiteme* vol. 14, no. 2 (2019), pp. 285-306.

⁴Sadri Chaniago, et.al., "Elit Tarekat dalam Pusaran Kontestasi Pilkada; Dukungan Politik Tuanku Tarekat Syathariyyah terhadap Kandidat pada Pilkada Sumbar Tahun 2010", *9th International Conference on Malaysia-Indonesia Relations (PAHMI 9) Faculty of Social Sciences*, Yogyakarta: Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 2015.

⁵Amir Maliki Abitolkha, Muhamad Basryul Muvid and Maulana Arafat Lubis, "Revitalizing National Political Values Through The Socio-Political Movements of the Tarekat: Studied at The Political Social Role of Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in Nusantara", *Al-Tahrir*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2020), pp. 373-398.

⁶Max Weber, *Sosiologi*, trans. Noorkholish (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009). Cet. II, p. 297.

validate relationships in society, namely legal domination (rational-legal), traditional authority, and charismatic. The mapping of three types of domination of power or authority based on sociopolitical factors is concerned with the validity of power and power. Because for Weber, there is no stable power, especially if it is based on the power of physical intimidation and cunning. People will trust and obey the rules if they have legal reasons in power.⁷ Therefore, the study of political behavior of *Tarekat* community become a point of this research based on several parts, namely; first, *Tarekat* as a religious community is a very empirical socio-cultural-religious phenomenon. Second, *Tarekat* community also has unique characteristics, that is the closeness between teacher and students, including its teachings about student behavior to teacher (*murshid*) as a central figure in social relations of *Tarekat* community, in which has a tremendous influence on various socio-cultural dynamics.

The presence of *Tarekat* community in historical dynamics of Muslims in West Sumatra does not only play a role in Islamization process at the beginning, but also contribute in various social, cultural, political and economic processes, and even to their involvement in formation of urban society. The strength of institutional network built by the *Tarekat* which is based on collective piety and obedience to teachers (*murshid*, *Tuanku*), so that they are able to develop a stable network of institutions and play a role in transmitting collective ideas and behaviors of society, both structurally and culturally.⁸

Religious culture of *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra is built on two main pillars, namely Islam and Minangkabau culture. The compound both of them forms a cultural attitude and religious behavior. The important implication of the compound can be seen in religious understanding and social activities that are humanist-inclusive, well-mannered and civilized.⁹ Then, the questions that arise are, how these values play and be understood by the *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra in the dynamics of practical political that interwoven in their lives. How religious culture of *Tarekat* community is interpreted in their behavior and political transactions that carried out. Does the religious culture of *Tarekat* community which influence a religious understanding derived from the teachings of *Tarekat*, reduced by practical political interests? And then, how does the relationship between religious beliefs and behavior of *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra? These questions are interesting to be answered in order to explain the political behavior of the *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra.

B. Theoretical Concept of Political Behavior

Political behavior is basically inseparable from the space and context of local community in which the individuals are located. To understand politics, it means, to understand how humans make a living together.¹⁰ Living together is not just a crowd, but also

⁷Bryan S. Turner, *Sosiologi Islam: Suatu Telaah Analistis Atas Tesa Sosiologi Weber*, Trans. G. A. Ticoalu (Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1974), p. 36-37.

⁸Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 147.

⁹Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 76; Welhendri Azwar, *Gerakan Sosial Kaum Tarekat* (Padang: Imam Bonjol Press Azwar, 2015), p. 153.

¹⁰The meaning can be traced from Aristotle's political definition, its implications, and from the facts on common life. Politics was originally understood as management of *police* in ancient Greece or the matters concerning on *police*, which literally means as a city. This term is often paired with the term of "city-state". The *police* is a place of individual humans. Aristotle stated, *police* is the best place for humans, allowing people to achieve their goals, and achieving the best life (Bagus Takwin, "Etika Politik: Menimbang Ulang Politik", in F. Budi Hardiman, Robertus Robert, A. Setyo Wibowo and Thomas Hidy Tjaya, *Empat Esai Etika Politik*, (Jakarta: www.srimulyani.net, 2011), p. viii; Cecep Darmawan, "Legislative Strengthening and Empowerment: Efforts to Strengthen Local Governance and Accountability through Provincial Parliaments in Indonesia", *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, vol. 12, no. 11 (2015), pp. 802-809.

as an association of people that has structure and rules. The collected individuals have rights and obligations that are not only responsible for themselves personally but also responsible for the others. Politics in that case becomes a function to produce principles and rules of common life.

The existence of political behavior is not interwoven in the vacuum chamber. Political behavior is influenced by various factors that are interconnected, so that, in the praxis, in understanding political behavior it can be used various approaches. Political behavior, for instance, can be more easily seen from voting behavior when the election is held, but in understanding the attitude of voting it cannot be seen from one perspective. Voting behavior is one of form of individual political behavior formed from interaction of various elements such as social structure, political, cultural, economic, and geo-political that influence the community in which the individual is located.

According to Robert K. Carr¹¹ political behavior can be defined as a study of human actions in political situations. While Ramlan Subakti,¹² defines political behavior as an activity related to the process of making and political decisions. In this plain, the interaction between government and society, government institutions, groups and individuals in a process of making, implementing and enforcing political decisions are interpreted as a form of political behavior. Almond and Powell, as quoted by Efriza,¹³ define political behavior as a whole of political behavior of citizens in which the concrete manifestations mutually related to political culture. Citizens' attitudes, responses and activities to the existing political system are influenced by political culture that shapes them.

Political culture is a shared value system of society that has an awareness to participate in collective decision making and determination of public policy for the whole community. At least, to see how the political behavior interwoven, there are three approaches, they are sociological approach, psychological approach, and economic approach or known as a rational choice model.¹⁴ The basic assumption of sociological approach focuses on sociological characteristics and social groupings of society such as age, sex, religion, class/social status, occupation, and family background. These factors have significant effect on formation of voting behavior. Social grouping has a big role in shaping individual attitudes, perceptions and orientations. Political behavior in the sociological approach understands the influence of process that occurs on the outside of individual toward to attitude of his political preferences. The existence of environmental factors such as socio-economic, affiliation, ethnicity, family, membership to others, age, gender, occupation, and residence are things that contribute influencing political behavior and voting behavior.

In psychological approach, political behavior is seen from internal individual aspect. The psychological aspects of a person are explained to give some effects to him in determining political choices. Determination to vote or affiliated to one political power is seen as a product of attitudes and psychological dispositions of voters. There are three things which extremely influence and determine voting behavior, namely, first, political information obtained in relation to information of public interests and political activities. For example various campaign activities and political news in mass media. Second, the interest to politics. Third, party identity, which relates to feeling of closeness, loyalty to support and self-identification with a particular political party.

¹¹In Efriza, *Political Explore* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 126.

¹²Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 131.

¹³Efriza, *Political Explore* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 126.

¹⁴Muhammad Asfar, *Pemilu dan Perilaku Memilih 1955-2004* (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2006); Cecep Darmawan, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik* (Bandung: Laboratorium Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2008); Ramlan Subakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010).

There is what we called political involvement and party identification of individuals. Political involvement is sense of importance or sense of unimportance to involve in general political issues. Party identification is preference of person towards a particular political party or group.¹⁵ In the early stages, individual must have felt confident that his participation in political process is very necessary. Only by having like this feeling, individual will have a high political awareness. He will motivate to pay attention and to give respond to hot political issues that arise.

Psychological approach places the internal aspects of individual, like a map of cognition regarding socio-political reality. In other words, how individual has a picture of political world around them. Map cognition includes perception and conceptualization. Perception is various informations about what person received in which the information will influence what they want to receive and what they will be done. Second, conceptualization is how a person takes a political signal, how they determine their sense that is received, and how they conceptualize political reality. The aspects such as feelings, experiences and interpretations of political events significantly influence to person's political behavior.

Different from psychological approach, rational choice model explains voter behavior as more rationally responsive, in the sense that it is not permanent and tends to change according to time and changes in political events. The attitude of individual is very determined by their real interests, especially regarding to material interests and welfare.¹⁶ The basis of voter behavior is based on profit and loss calculation. Anything that is personally profitable and provides great benefits, will affect individual rationality in determining choices.

Some factors influencing political behavior are,¹⁷ *first*, indirect political and social environments, such as political systems, economic systems, cultural systems and mass media. *Second*, direct socio-political environment that influences and shapes personality of actors, such as family, religion, school, and social groups. From the direct socio-political environment an actor experiences socialization and internalization of values and norms of society, including the values and norms of state and life experiences in general. This direct environment is influenced by indirect environment. *Third*, personality structure that reflected in individual attitudes. To understand the structure of personality, it should be noted that there are three functional bases of value, they are interest, self-adjustment, externalism, and self-defense. The first base is an attitude that becomes a function of interest. It means, person's evaluation to an object is determined by interests and needs for the object. The second base is an attitude that become a function of adjustment, this means as an evaluation for an object. The third base is an attitude that becomes a function of self-externalization and self-defense. This means that person's evaluation to an object is influenced by desire to overcome inner conflict or psychological stress such as self defense mechanisms and self externalization. *Fourth*, direct socio-political environmental factors, like the conditions that directly affect an actor when they want to do an activity, such as weather, family circumstances, space conditions, presence of others, group atmosphere and all forms of treatment.

C. Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatra

Tarekat community in West Sumatra has a movement based on religion and cultural values both in understanding and exploring the fact of reality. In the political constellation two elements of religion and culture cannot separate themselves from the issue of practical interest where the politics is interwoven. Some traditional communities, for this reality, there

¹⁵Dieter Roth, *Studi Pemilu Empiris: Sumber Teori-teori, Instrumen dan Metode* (Jakarta: Lembaga Survei Indonesia, 2009), p. 38.

¹⁶George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), pp. 448-477.

¹⁷Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2010), p. 132.

are still those who have impression that politics is bad or negative thing. This also has an impact on *Tarekat* community in society. Democratic system takes into account the right of every member of society to vote their representatives to occupy a strategic position of state. Community involvement in politics is an important parameter to measure the maturity of democracy. As a social group, the *Tarekat* community plays a role of politic based on religious and cultural dimension. Religious culture of *Tarekat* itself has a strong tie based on figure of *Tuanku*. There is a significant relationship between "teacher and student",¹⁸ and "*Tuanku* and society" where the social-religious and political processes take place.

Religious culture of *Tarekat* community is a reality that is in the arena of local community, in which between society and *Tuanku* dialectically have vibration that attracts one each other, especially related to contestation of influence and honor. Based on history as stated by Schrieke¹⁹ at the beginning of 19th century there were two religious groups of *Tarekat* known as Syatariyyah and Naqshabandiyyah and both of them underwent a penetration that could not be avoided. The penetration, then, became basis of social conflict in West Sumatra, in addition there were indeed other factors such as conflict between old *ulama* and young *ulama*. Dobbin²⁰ states that conflict that arises caused a manifestation conflict between center of Syatariyyah in Ulakan and Taram and Talawi oriented to the Naqshbandiyyah. Furthermore, in his analysis, basis of conflict was not necessarily problem of different teachings and understanding, but is influenced by problem of influence and honor contestation.

Issue of different doctrine and teachings has indeed become one of the triggers, but the things that are contradicted did not on the plane Sufism as a distinctive feature of *Tarekat*, but rather in terms of Shari'a dimension. Naqshbandiyyah followers did not like the teachings of *martabat tujuh*, a teaching about theory of natural creation which originated from the book *al-Tu'ifah al-Mursalat* written by al-Burhanuddin. This teaching was developed by Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, as the *khalifah* of Syatariyyah, in some his essays, and elaborated to explain and interpret the doctrine of *wa'udat al-wuj'd*. In the context of West Sumatra, the teachings of *wa'udat al-wuj'd* itself, in fact, were not developed by its followers, they even disarmed the teachings from entire of Syatariyyah by reason of contradicting with principles of Shari'a.²¹ As far as the *wa'udat al-wuj'd* teachings are concerned, the Syatariyyah pattern in West Sumatra is relatively different from Syatariyyah pattern that developed, for example by al-Sinkili in Aceh, even though there are several other things, such as regarding to ritual of *zikir* or emphasize on Shari'ah aspect, there is no significant difference between both of them.²²

If politics is a tool to seize, obtain and maintain power,²³ then within that power there are two types of authority, namely procedural authority and substantial authority.²⁴ Procedural

¹⁸Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 94.

¹⁹Betram Johannes Otto Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatera Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi*, trans., Soegarda Poebakawatja (Jakarta: Bhatar, 1973), p. 25; Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattariyyah Sufi Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2001), p. 61.

²⁰Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam Dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah 1784-1847*, trans. Lilian D. Tedjasukandhana (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), p. 148.

²¹Oman Fathurrahman, *Tarekat Syattariyyah di Minangkabau Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2008), p.

²²Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam Dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah 1784-1847*, trans. Lilian D. Tedjasukandhana (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), p. 144; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 125.

²³Kate Nash, *Contemporary Political Sociology* Contemporary Political Sociology Globalization, Politics, and Power (London, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd 2010), p. 3.

²⁴Elly. M. Setiadi and Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2015), p. 767.

authority is the right to govern in the sense of making and carrying out public decisions based on legislation. While substantial authority is the right to govern which comes from factors inherent in the individual or leader such as the quality of tradition, personal, sacred, and instrumental. For *Tuanku*, the power inherent in him is power that relies on substantial authority, which in Weber's terms is called charismatic authority. So in the context of the participation of tarekat groups in political contestation, which sociologically affects the charismatic authority of *Tuanku*, it is an interesting phenomenon to observe and study.

The authority basically has no eternal nature, the person holding authority is temporary. It can fade when it turns out that individuals who have the authority make any mistakes harming or violating a certain value and norm. This authority becomes prestigious source that become contestation in *Tarekat*. The form of charismatic come together with the existence of honor and influence. Honor and influence are source of legitimacy *Tuanku*'s power in society. The greater honor of people for *Tuanku*, the greater influence formed. When *Tuanku* influence and honor increases, the legitimacy of his power also increases. Although the *Tarekat* arena is often interpreted as an arena of Sufism that tends to deny worldly problems, in the praxis, *Tuanku*'s infidelity with power seems difficult to be ignored.

The contact to power is increasingly emerging in the midst of modern democratic system as a system of governance. There are a lot of *Tuanku* who come to politics. Democratic system encourages the existence of party system, and economic capital revolves widely within this party system. Power itself, in principle is inseparable from economic aspects. No wonder the term of money politics is a reflection of political activities both internal and external parties. In the midst of these conditions the political behavior of society is categorized in such a way, there are some apathy towards political activities and some are positively supporting political activities. Pattern of society in interpreting politics presents different perceptions to political activities of *Tarekat* (*Tuanku*). For those who have religious and political dichotomical views, for example, seeing anyone who has a stake in political activity will fall into the darkness of political world, include *Tuanku* as a figure who has been considered as charismatic figure. Deepening the phenomenon of political behavior of *Tarekat*, there is found a pattern of behavior in society, which can be carefully traced firstly in the teacher-student relationship.

D. Relationship of Teacher-Student toward to political choices of *Tarekat* Community

The value system built in *Tarekat* becomes a basis of strength the relationship between Teacher and students. Normatively, every choices and actions of *Tuanku* becomes a base for students to determine all their actions, including to political problems. *Tuanku* has a mass, that in political practices is a potential votes in the process of electoral democracy. The influence that he has become a social capital for *Tuanku* in the social and political reality. And, from other perspectives as the owner of masses, the charismatic that *Tuanku* has is a charm for political actors in "fighting" to seize power. Because it was realized, that their political "fatwa", for most of their students or worshipers, still had powerful power to determine political choices and political behavior.

One of the strengths on *Tarekat* community is the authority chain or genealogy discipleship (*kemursidan*). *Tarekat* genealogy fasten the name from the last name of murshid until to *sahabat*, to Prophet s.a.w, then to *malaikat Jibril*, and finally from Allah s.w.t. The chain is kind of authenticity of *Tarekat* teaching that can be really accounted. The process of genealogical continuity is carried out through the granting an *ijazah*.²⁵ *Mursyid* determines

²⁵So far, there is no a standard formulation on statement of "*ijazah*", although generally it contains an affirmation that a *sheikh* has appointed a certain student, whose name is mentioned, becomes a *khalifah*, on that basis, the student appointed has some kind of authority to convey *Tarekat* teachings. See Ahmad Amir Aziz, "Kebangkitan *Tarekat* Kota", *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2013), p. 73.

who among the students have a right to obtain and continue the discipleship pedigree. When a student is considered to be at a certain level in understanding what is called "the essence/*yang hakikat*", then *murshid* will appoint him as *khalifah* with a special procession.

This chain makes the relationship between "teacher and student" in various ways be very close. In a sense, it is not only a matter of religion. In tradition of *Tarekat*, religious doctrine is very dominant. Teacher has a central position. Various problems are based on the teacher as a role model, and even there is found a kind of cult in *Tarekat* arena where the teacher's fatwa become a background for student and their followers to do activities. However, in the socio-political problem, student's obedience becomes an interesting fact to observe. There is a kind of rootlessness of obedience on students to teacher. There are interwoven dialectic at level of religious, social and political interests that surround political behavior of *Tarekat* community.

The structuring cohesiveness *Tarekat* can be said beginning with formation of educational system in *surau*. *Surau*, classically, is a social institution functioning as an affirmation of Teacher-Student relations. The "genealogical" system that determines authenticity of *Tarekat* teachings practiced, make *Guru-Murid* relationship very necessary and authentic. From here "genealogy" of *surauTarekat* beginning. The cohesiveness of teacher-student relationship can be elaborated into a ritual known as *bai'at* and *tawasul*. *Bai'at* with teacher who has a genealogy. *Bai'at* and genealogy, are one of the most important parts that cannot absent in *Tarekat*. Someone will not be accepted as a student without receiving *bai'at*.

The term of *bai'at* means as a promise or faithful oath from someone to teacher or *murshid*. Someone who will attend the *Tarekat* recitation must go through a process of coronation (*bai'at*). *Bai'at* process is a covenant ceremony between disciple and his teacher (*murshid*). A disciple gives himself to be nurtured and guided in effort to cleanse his soul, and draw closer to Allah s.w.t. There are two forms of *bai'at* process in Naqshabandiyah tradition, namely individual confession (*fardiyyah*) and group confession (*jam'iyyah*).

Etymologically *Bai'at* is agreement. However, *Bai'at* terminologically has an expansion of meaning, which at least contains two important aspects in its implementation process. First, *bai'at* is a heartfelt pledge that someone will always strive to uphold loyal promises and practice religious knowledge he learned through Syattariyah *Tarekat* and also always obedient and faithful in vertically (to Allah, *Rasul* and *Guru*) and horizontally (brotherhood with others human). Second, *bai'at* is a series of practices that carried out in certain ways and in some certain needs.

While *Tawassul*, usually is carried out by means of *tawajjuh*, that is, presenting the face of teacher as if dealing with him at the time of *zikir*. The implementation of this *Tawajjuh* is, between teacher and students sitting facing each other, sitting that is arranged in such a way. The time of that *tawajjuh*, read some prayers for the teacher. The aim of *Tawajjuh* is to get a guidance from Allah s.w.t.. Another term of *tawajjuh* is *rabithah*. *Rabithah*, which is presenting the teacher, as if the student imagined the teacher in front of him. This *Rabithah* starts from the teacher where students receive the teachings until the last pedigree, namely Sheikh Bahauddin al-Naqshabandi. At the end of his *rabithah* made a unification of teacher with the disciples in spiritual.

A number of students had by *Tuanku* show a social capital for himself personally, which is useful in various movements, especially religious social political movements. There are trusts, commitments, and reciprocal relationships that are interwoven from the network of *Tarekat* communities at the level of religious social life. However, what's interesting about the political phenomenon of *Tarekat* nowadays, between relations on teachers and students is that the reality does not necessarily show a linear relationship in which students and *jemaah* are fully subject to *Tuanku's* fatwa on political practice, despite the cohesiveness of relations

teacher-students as explained above have become authentic traditions of *Tarekat*. This is shown when *Tuanku* enter to political practice activities. Some of *Tuanku* play a role as administrators of political parties and DPRD legislative candidates. For example in the District of Padang Pariaman in 2009 legislative elections. Among the *Tuanku* who entered to political arena were Rahmat *Tuanku* Sulaiman, Saamar *Tuanku* Sidi (Golkar Party), Ali Basyar *Tuanku* Sutan Sinaro, Zulhelmi *Tuanku* Sidi, Amirudin *Tuanku* Maju Lelo (Party National Awakening).

Among the *Tuanku* who became legislative candidates in 2009, in the fact, only Zulhelmi *Tuanku* Sidi who won the election, and at the same time as the one among 35 members of DPRD in Padang Pariaman Regency for 2009-2014 come from *Tuanku*²⁶ The fact of *Tuanku* contributing to political arena is indeed intriguing to be observed, because sociologically, *Tuanku* have begun to dare to "out of the cage of tradition", that is not solely focused on educational matter in pesantren (religious fields), but has begun to expand arena to political space.

The changes of *Tuanku*'s view to expand arena to political space on the one hand shows an instrumental rational social change, but on the other hand this is unique phenomena because it is not followed by the reality of their choice in parliament. Based on the facts which only one candidate won from *Tarekat* group, showed that *Tuanku* who contested as a candidate in the 2009 legislative elections, as cases in Padang Pariaman District, did not correlate between the reality as a religious leader and the reality in political arena. The ineligibility of *Tuanku Tarekat* is irony, when judging by a number of *Tuanku* and the majority of *Tarekat* congregation. There is a "paradoxical belief" in the *Tarekat* between teachers, students, and congregations. On the one hand cohesiveness at the level of religion and religiosity is very obvious, on the other hand it is very fluid in political arena. Obedience to *Tuanku*, in praxis, can be said as "conditional obedience", in the sense that as far as it is not related to political activity, the student and/or congregation keep on honoring *Tuanku*, but this does not occur to the political level.

This fact basically departs from a perception that *Taunku*'s involvement in political practice can harm his authenticity as a *Tarekat* teacher. Society sociologically cannot yet accept *Taunku* as a "sacred figure" that falls into politics as a candidate in the election. There is an assumption that the "sanctity" of *Tuanku* will be tarnished if he get into arena of political parties. The sacredness is maintained by the community in order to maintain the "honor" of *Taunku*. There is a classical desire of people for *Taunku* to keep in his position and function of taking care to religion: teaching the Qur'an, giving *tausiah*, and "praying". Hence, it should not interfere with political matters which are considered as full with interests and immoral acts such as corruption and so on.

This fact shows a sociological reality and political contributions, both historically and present, are not directly proportional to the role of *Tarekat* community group in contemporary Indonesian politics. The position of Islam as a sociological majority but politically minority. Consciously the majority of Indonesian Muslims cover almost 90%. That awareness leads to the belief that a sociological majority has potential to become a political majority. However, the political elite (*Tuanku*) seems kook like negligent that 90% of them are nominal Islam, what Geertz calls with "abangan in Java" who claim to be administratively Islam but on the other hand do not like Islamic formalism in political life.

E. Typology of Political Behavior on *Tarekat*

Political electoral which reflects through the electoral mechanism in fact does not always rely on political parties as an instrument, but it is also done through non-political

²⁶Efa Nurza, "KPU Padang Pariaman Tetapkan Dewan 2009-2014", *Harian Posmetro Padang*, 16 Juni 2009.

mobilization such as figures and social networks. Political dynamics in Indonesia, for example, since 1950s era were influenced by the figure of *ulama*. This also happen in several other countries²⁷ like Thailand which carried out a national campaign called "Thais help Thais" which integrated the state with Buddhism to save its people. Likewise in India, where Hinduism uses the terms *dharma* and *moksa* to describe the relationship between religion and politics. The same thing happened in England and Wales which showed the relationship between church and state on political dynamics.

In Indonesia, despite the political dynamics influenced by figure of *ulama*, the reality of Islamic parties has not yet been as successful as the nationalist party. This is indeed interesting to observe especially by looking at the reality of *Tarekat* who have a great cohesiveness. As mentioned earlier, normatively *Tuanku* who compete or have certain political preferences have a great probability to success because certainly almost the congregation of *Tarekat* will follow their choice. The views and political behavior of *taunku* as a *Tarekat* teacher are considered to have an impact on the views, attitudes and political participation of *Tarekat* community.

There are psychological and sociological aspects of students and congregations that are directly or indirectly to political choices. Psychological aspects include a map of cognition about the picture of political reality that involves perception and conceptualization. Various information regarding to political reality is not easily understood by the public, so as a teacher the political choice taken by *taunku* is absorbed as the best choice. On this plain, there are conceptualizations of political signals, how they determine their sense of what they receive, and how they conceptualize political reality based on *Tuanku's* choices. Aspects such as feelings, experiences and interpretation of political events by *Tuanku*, although it does not express directly, significantly influence the political behavior of students and congregations.

...teachers never encourage and direct their students to join political parties, or direct political choices to certain groups. Most of the *Tarekat* teachers showed a neutral attitude. Even though we know he has his own political choices, he doesn't force their choices on his students. But congregations or students usually and generally will follow "where does Buya go", even though Buya never told them to join. Because it is a part of student courtesy to teacher.²⁸

The *Tarekat* teachers are generally accustomed to full enjoying loyalty from the *Tarekat* congregation, and even, this is tending to be stronger than those enjoyed by non-*ulama Tarekat*. His position as a leader and teacher in *Tarekat*, political choice of *Tuanku* for some people will be followed, because *Tuanku's* opinion is more likely to be "heard", his behavior is followed and used as a reference by *Tarekat* congregations in making decisions regarding to social and political problem.

The involvement of *ulama Tarekat* in political practice has led to a change in worldview of *Tarekat* adherents to be a more dynamic understanding. In Visible, it looks the *ulama* and the young of *Tarekat* nominate themselves as legislative members, voicing the movement defending ideology of modernization thump. However, indirectly, the involvement in political practice of *Tarekat* at the same time can reduce the influence of *zuhud's* teachings which is often interpreted as "leaving worldly life".

The phenomenon of changes in *Tuanku's* structure cognition regarding to sociopolitical role is closely related to theological perception adopted. Therefore, to understand the tug-of-war between the dual role of *Tuanku* in the range of socio-political and religious life, as well as a socio-political role of *kyai* in Java, in the end it cannot be separated from the effort to trace the theological roots that become a basic framework of socio-political behavior played

²⁷Sansan Hasanuddin, "Mekanisme Religio-Politik Pesantren: Mobilisasi Jaringan Hamida dalam Politik Elektoral Tasikmalaya", *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2017), p. 54.

²⁸Interviewed with the *Tarekat* congregation, September 2018.

by *Tuanku*. There are among of *Tuanku* who are more flexible and easier to change, so politics seems to be a "kind" of game to meet a pragmatic need that are constantly changing. While other, *Tuanku* seems more be rigid, or maybe it can be called consistent with his initial standpoint, put politics in the framework of principle problem. These differences seem to led the born of political parties with religious nuances and at the same time spearheaded by figures that is better known as *kyai* than politicians.

The polarization of *Tuanku*'s behavior and political choices as mentioned above has a significant effect on the political attitudes of *Tarekat* congregations. The *Tarekat*, related to their political attitudes, fragmented into two major groups, namely groups that keep to consistent with religious activity (*ngaji*), and groups that get into political practice arena both active and passive.

These polarizations create a different political attitude in *Tarekat* congregation to teacher or *Tuanku*. Some congregations followed the choices and political attitudes of *Tuanku* entirely, while the others were opposed, even some of them opposed with various reasons. Some *Tarekat* congregations expressed apolitical attitudes, regarding to political behavior of *Tuanku*, in an effort to maintain the authority of teacher/*Tuanku*, by being subversive. This behavior is done by not choosing the teacher/*Tuanku* in the election. They argued that in order to buya/*Tuanku* did not pass in a public official (a member of the DPRD, for example), so that buya/*Tuanku* did not leave *surau* or congregation.

...During the last election many of us did not choose Buya. We are worried that if Buya becomes a member of the DPRD, he does not have much time to guide us in the recitation in *surau*. Due to busy meetings, the *surau* became abandoned. And, we are also not willing to join Buya in politics which can damage public respect for Buya.²⁹

This political behavior becomes interesting to be observed, how the teacher be a guarded and cared figure by the congregation.

...I don't agree if buya-buya get into politics. However, by dabbling in political arena, because the politics nowadays is basically not for a goodness and by good ways, but based on interests only, I am worry that it will damage Buya's authority in society. But if it's like a political Prophet, it doesn't matter. If there is a teacher who works politically, I will withdraw, I will not join to his political behavior and choices. But in the matter of "*kaji*" I will still follow him.³⁰

The attitude that seems radical in responding to *Tuanku*'s political behavior was also seen in some congregational congregations or students at the *surau tarekat*. This radical behavior is a resistance to *Tuanku/Buya* involvement in active political practice. Some students or congregation leave the teaching of *Tuanku*/teacher who active in politics. This attitude is based on the view and valuation that the teacher has come out of "*kaji*". The teacher has been tempted by sparkling world life and political office. Among students taking this position are Bani Purnama, students of Buya Riswandi. Bani Purnama chose to leave Buya Riswandi's teaching, since Buya became an administrator of political party and became a member of DPRD. Bani believes that since buya active in politics, buya has "*mambalangi kaji*", he has been tempted by worldly life rather than hereafter. And, since Buya Riswandi plunged into the world of political practice, according to Bani, he seem letting go his responsibilities and duties in guiding the congregation.

Buya Riswandi has admitted, that since being active in politics and becoming a member of the DPRD, he has not had time to meet his congregation at the *surau*. And, from that moment one by one some congregation moved to other *surau* to study of *Tarekat*.

...there were congregation who fanatic with me previously, but since this politics they did not come to *surau* again (they may be moving to other *surau*/teacher). Some also

²⁹ Interviewed with Ermi, one of Buya M. Nur's congregation in Payakumbuh, October, 2018.

³⁰ Interviewed with Nasrul, one of Buya Riswandi's student, October, 2018.

still come to *ngaji ke surau*, but they are in different choice or do not support being in parliament. Or, at the election of regency, they had a different choice with me. When it was delivered that this was our chosen regent, but they did not follow. However *mangaji tetap juo jo awak*.³¹

The description of polarization of political behavior on *Tarekat* and its relation to politics of Tuanku's charisma, can be seen as follows:

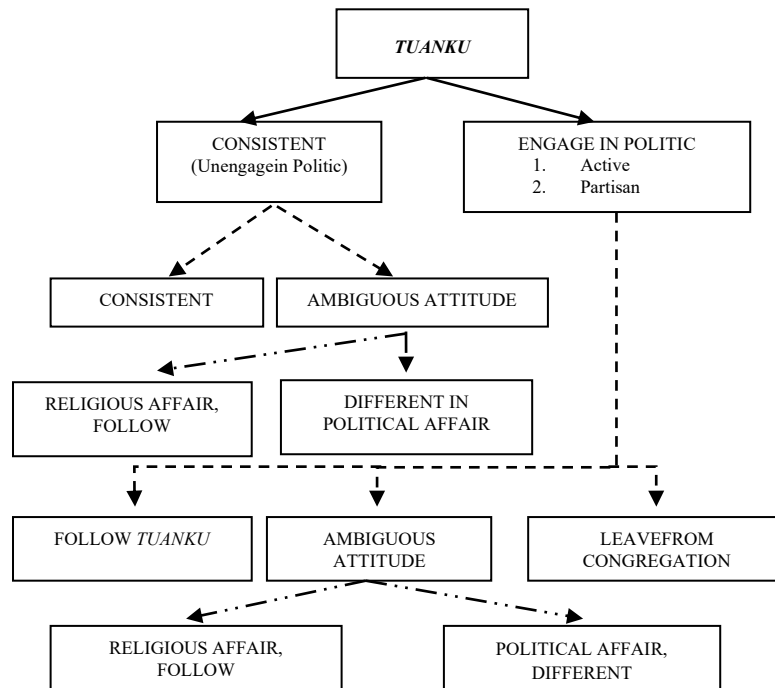


Figure 1. Polarization of political behavior on *Tarekat* community

The conditions above show how politics, with its appeal, has entered and influenced the pattern of social relations on *Tarekat*. Even to "damage" the teacher-student relationship. Teacher or *Tuanku* in any position, whether those who are still consistent in the da'wah arena, or who have been involved in the world of political practice still befall a negative impact of current political situation. The authority of *Tuanku's* charisma begins to slowly fade away. This condition may be caused by the level of education and rational behavior of society or congregation. But in the context of "adab" teacher-students who become a characteristic on *Tarekat*, should not be affected. The spread of transactional politics and money politics models deprives a noble customary values, namely communal values and togetherness.

By observing some phenomena that emerged recently, formerly *Tuanku* is identical with congregation, which is different with current *Tuanku*, "*taunku academic*" who does not have *surau* or congregation. Many of *taunku* are now alienated from community/congregation, eventually not to have any influence on the congregation/community. There is *Tuanku* expelled by community because he **had** a lacked strength, did not have a **strong root**. Weak economically, because as if living form congregation. So that, *Tuanku* at this present (according to Mr. Sulaiman) must be economically strong, and it's time to change perspectives.

Another phenomenon that now arises is the presence of *Tuanku* lie under the influence of mosque committee. Become "subordinate", **an employee of their superiors**, thus reducing the authority of *Tuanku*. Especially if it is associated with political interests and the behavior

³¹ Interviewed with Buya Riswandi, October, 2018.

of politicians. Therefore, polarization of *Tuanku* is increasingly clear. Polarization of *Tarekat* groups shows a new dynamic with the emergence of two opposing groups. For example cases that happened in Shattariah congregation, which was grouped in moderate group, represented by *surau* of Ringan-ringan, and the conservative group, which was driven by Mato Aie's *surau*. Ringan-ringan groups are known as a young group (young people), while the Mato Aie group is classified as an old group (the elderly group).

The question is, whether the difference in behavior is due to fear of influence, fear of worshipers or because of *kaji*. Thus, *Tuanku*'s reaction become diverse in response to the development of social dynamics in society. Factors of information access, intellectual intelligence of community/congregation "demolish" *Tuanku*'s charisma. As long as *Tuanku* is openminded, accommodating with the changing, it will take care of *Tuanku*'s charisma. No longer living from the congregation, but living the congregation/community, independence in economy.

The charisma must be modified. Not charisma to take for advantage, but charisma that builds on benefits. The spirit to modernize education has begun to be built in Ringan-ringan. Encourage the students to think critically, engage in social activities, organize, and so on, in which have complaint by the "Tuo" until nowadays.

The young generation of *Tarekat* have a view that there should not anymore a models of exploitation on congregation in any kinds, especially for political practice's purposes. What must be there is empowerment of worshipers. However, politeness, adherence to teacher in other forms must be maintained. Because it is a morality to teacher. The teacher in a broad sense, whoever the *Tarekat* teachers, even if they are never directly become their students".

Maintain the old ones is good, and adopt the new ones is better". "the way, the thinking, from the old will run out as time goes by". *kaji* that scare with the hell must be modified by other methods by give a kind of motivation. " It can not study to other teachers after *Bai'at*, only one teacher after *Bai'at*. This will hamper the development of *Tarekat* itself. While in Ringan-ringan has been permitted studying to other teachers, even though *berbaiat* with the teacher in Ringan-ringan, it allow to read different book (*kitab*), even it encouraged to continue studying at PT. At the junior or senior high school level, students are encouraged to go to school outside the pesantren, even to public schools, and at night keep to "*mangaji kitab*". These make student have a treasure of intellectual wealth, to be dynamic, and diverse. This will have an impact on formation of **students'** network who will later produce a strong network of scholars. The establishment of a strong and harmonious collectivity among the *Tarekat*. The building of a heart bridge that will reduce conflict between *Tarekat* groups.³²

Now, because a large number of santri who continue their education to various universities, it directly influences the dynamics of *surau*. And the compliance models (charisma) begin to change to the form of "*rational charisma*". Affect the attitude and perspective *Tarekat* community in their interactions. Young generation of *Tarekat* have begun to enter and have able to read various social realities with modern and religious scientific approaches (*ilmu Tarekat*). For example, as a volunteer for rehabilitation of prostitutes, thuggery, and other social diseases, because there are among of them graduates from universities with various disciplines, such as law, economics, sociology, psychology and others.

F. The Tussle of Religious Understanding on *Tarekat* Community in The Midts of Socio-Political Dynamics

The pattern used by *Ulama Tarekat* or *Tuanku* in strengthening the position in structure leadership Minangkabau community is the "charismatic" leadership pattern. A pattern that

³² Interviewed with Rahmat Tk. Sulaiman, October, 2018.

prioritizes the exemplary and primacy of each *Tarekat* cleric personality. Charisma is seen by Weber as an innovative and revolutionary force, capable in opposing and disrupting established normative and political order. Charismatics are based on a person rather than impersonal law. Charismatic leaders demand an adherence from their followers on basis of personal excellence, such as divine mission, heroic deeds and rewards that make him different.³³ According to Weber, charisma is a type of leadership whose power is based on recognition of high respect and loyalty to certain individuals. People obey and loyal to the charismatic leader does not because of formal legality or tradition, but because of the primacy personality.³⁴

Humans, society and culture have a dialectical relationship. The existence of these three social elements is related to one each other. In a side, man creates various values in society, on the other hand humans simultaneously are culturally created by their culture and society. Human individually that have a pattern of behavior as self-identity, is a result of social processes in their society. It means, society as a group of people are created by man, while man is a product of society.

Robert K. Merton³⁵ described the relationship between culture and social structure in a society. Merton defines culture as set of an organized normative values, which determines a common behavior in community or group members. While social structure is a set of social relationships that are designed in various ways involving community members or groups within it. The relationship between culture and social structure in society will be clearly seen if happening, which Merton called as "*anomie*". Anomie occurs when there is a disconnection both cultural norms and the purpose of community, with structured capacity socially from group members to act in accordance with the existing cultural values. Because of some people position in social structure, making some people unable to act in accordance with existing values and norms. Culture requires certain patterns of behavior in which prevented by social structures.

The fulfillment of human needs for life expectations, in sociology of religion perspective, is constructed in form of worship structures in rituals by using certain symbols. Rituals are religious phenomena in form of cults as expressions of feelings, attitudes and forms of communication with supernatural powers. Worship has a value of mystery that is difficult to understand by intellect. Ritual is a process of symbolic transformation from experience which is expressed through feeling. Although worship begins with spontaneous expression, but in period of time there is institutionalization as objectivation of individual attitudes as followers. Disclosure of common attitudes in kind of rituals will foster togetherness, common sense and ultimately create a confidence and moral strength of each follower, as well as strengthen community networks.³⁶

On that plain, worship is one of *Tarekat* congregation group activities to establish relations with sacred objects, which through this process can strengthen solidarity and strengthen moral and cultural values. The relationship between teacher or *sheikh* with his students, friendly relations between the *Tarekat* congregation is carried out and strengthened through emotional bonding and mutual trust.

³³George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010); Doyle Paul Jhonson, *Teori Sosiologi, Klasik dan Modern* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1986).

³⁴George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Mutakhir Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), pp. 139-145.

³⁵M. Margaret Poloma, *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Grafindo Persada, 1994), p. 35.

³⁶Thomas F. O'dea, *Sosiologi Agama* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), p. 7.

Quoted Durkheim terminology,³⁷ various *Tarekat* rituals are functionally nurturing Minangkabau society by affirming social values that bind every member of society to behave. The ritual activities of *Tarekat* reaffirm themselves in symbolic actions that reveal their attitude, which then strengthens attitude embraced together, then strengthens the community itself. The *Tarekat* ritual activities are periodic social facilities that can strengthen social relations between members of *Tarekat* congregation. Strengthening groups through rituals and sanctions against violations shows socio-cultural functions, at the same time functioning as social controls in the dynamics of people's lives.

The observation to tarekat congregation political behavior in West Sumatra, there are four social functions of *Tarekat* teachings;³⁸ first, giving emotional support for various political interests. The belief in *karamah* values of *Tarekat* teacher's as a place of *berwasilah* for various rituals carried out can alleviate psychological burden on various burdens of life conducted. Belief in the granting of various prayers that delivered, because of effort getting closer to Allah SWT, contains value of hope and motivation to achieve political goals. Even if, what is being addressed has not been granted, the *Tarekat* teachings teach the value of patience, *tawadhu* and willing to accept anything that comes from Allah SWT, the most important thing is Allah is pleased. This can be seen from many political figures who came to *Tarekat/Tuanku* to ask for "blessings" in their political struggle. As expressed by Sulaiman, one of leaders on political party in West Sumatra, that he always come to every maulidan ceremony to "face" or meet *Tuanku*, ask for advice and blessings in order the political activities carried out achieved the results as expected. The arrival "face" the teacher (*Tuanku*), at the same time giving alms to the teacher (*Tuanku*) as a sign of gratitude.

Second, the *Tarekat* offers a transcendental relationship through worship rituals that can provide an emotional basis for new hope and a stronger identity in the midst of uncertainty in life. The teachings that contain beliefs and values, especially high respect and obedience to teacher (*murshid*) through the process of *bai'at*, the *Tarekat* provides a frame of reference to behave and act, including in an atmosphere of conflict, strife and dissent. In this case the *Tarekat* functions as the guardian of stability, public peace and socio-political system that exist.

Third, the *Tarekat* teaching is very strong on congregation adherence to regulation that must be obeyed, and the inculcation of sacred values of each existing norm. Awareness on consequences obtained if they violate, can maintain the domination of group goals or common goals above individual desires, and produce a disciplined attitude on the basis of personal awareness. That is, *Tarekat* is able to instill a togetherness value, which prioritizes common interests over individual interests. Thus, *Tarekat* functioning to strengthen the legitimacy prevailing a values and social system, which builds congregation awareness to obey it. *Tarekat*, with "repentance" ritual, provides a way on *Tarekat* congregation in processing forgiveness the various mistakes that made. This method is a place where the personal identity of congregation is detached from the burden and shackles of guilt, and reunited in a group of "*jama'ah Tarekat* " who uphold the value of togetherness, as a social group system. Thus, the *Tarekat* teachings, as well as *jama'ah Tarekat*, functioning as safeguard the sanctity of norms and socio political systems, which is functioning as controllers on every interaction process that occurs, thus helping to create public peace and social stability.

Fourth, the *Tarekat* performs important identity functions. Through the acceptance of values in *Tarekat* teachings, including a teaching about destiny, give an understanding to *Tarekat* congregation about themselves and self-limitation. Various rituals, including prayer, instill an optimistic value and hope for a change in a better life. And, because the *Tarekat*

³⁷*Ibid*, p. 21.

³⁸In Welhendri Azwar, *Gerakan Sosial Kaum Tarekat* (Padang: Imam Bonjol Press Azwar, 2015), pp. 261-262.

teaches simplicity, and the essence of life, optimistic value does not mean encouraging consumptive and capitalistic behavior like Weber's explanation on "Protestant ethics", but teaches about the importance of effort to change based on value of inner peace, formed by teachings about "*barakah*". The *Tarekat* pattern that carries out ritual activities in groups, with a building of a tight and strong pattern on social relations, can provide sense of self-identity and strength in individual with groups combination, which creates worldly spirit to process the universe in the position of "*khalifah*" on the earth, which is followed by the virtue relationship with Allah SWT.

The four functions of *Tarekat* above can be observed from various ways of thinking and behavior of *Tarekat* community in socio-political life. Social relations are based on "rasa", and not only based on thought or profit only. That is, the society is taught to balance between "taste" and "thought" in all actions and deeds. Using "*raso jo pareso*", in various social relations, including in political relations. This is the main purpose of teachings and practice *Tarekat*, that is to practice godliness, a sense of brotherhood, sense of learning, sense of friendship and so on. In this situation, *Tarekat* create a character of "humanist" in society, leading humans to do something according to their nature. The birth of mutual respect, mutual honor, courtesy, unindividualistic and materialistic, is the culture of society which is the result of spiritual practice in *Tarekat*. This is the *Tarekat* culture, which is the characteristic and identity of *Tarekat* groups.³⁹ And, this is also influences the culture on Minangkabau people, which reflects in philosophy of their customs, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah, syarak mangato, adat mamaki, alam takambang jadi guru*.

The dynamics of socio-political in West Sumatra are extremely influenced by the dynamics of development teachings and practice of Syattairyah *Tarekat* and the Naqshabandiyah. The social conflict between two *Tarekat* in Minangkabau created a dynamic culture on Minangkabau society. The Islamization era in Minangkabau custom was a positive excess from social conflict the *Tarekat* group. Each of *Tarekat*, Syattariyah and Naqsyabandiyah strives with ability and strategy their movement to influence people's lives, to get a sympathy of community. The good effect is by birth the philosophy *adat, basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, which become a guideline of life Minangkabau people. Islam become a characteristic and identity of Minangkabau people.

G. Concluding Remarks

Socio-political activities of *Tuanku* in West Sumatra influence on the socio-political system and political behavior of society. The alignment of political behavior to conform with Islamic teachings strengthen the position and function of *Tuanku*. The influence of *Tuanku* appears on attitudes, political behavior of the community, including the figures of political parties. The various philosophies of life based on the *Tarekat* teachings which become a guidance in behavioral community reveal the strength of *Tuanku* influence on political dynamics in West Sumatra. Islamic interpretation on various philosophies of life is a process of dynamism of acculturation on values of political culture with Islam. The philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* interpreted as "*sunnatullah*" is an example of intermingling between the philosophy of life West Sumatra people and the values of Islamic teachings, which then influence to attitude and political behavior of *Tarekat*. The relation between Islam and customs in Minangkabau are indeed very complex where the West Sumatra people keep firmly adhering to Islam on the one hand, and still maintain their customary system, on the other hand. This shows that Minangkabau people reveal a new social wisdom, namely "tradisi integrasi" in social processes.

³⁹Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism: The Study of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), p. 80.

Social wisdom that grows and develops in the dynamics of life on people of West Sumatra which is guided by philosophy *ada basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah-syarak mangato, adat mamakai*, makes various social behaviors, including political attitudes and behavior, especially in the way that do not correspond to customary values, being rejected. Rational-critical attitudes that combined with the understanding of "*raso-pareso*", and reinforced with figurehead (charisma) of Ulama (*Tuanku*), make intolerant political attitudes and behaviors, blasphemy especially with a lack argument, get negative responses from society. That is, it can be stated that the understanding and teachings of *Tarekat* which affect on political culture of West Sumatra people play a role in rejecting various political attitudes and behaviors that are contrary to value of "culture", "moral", and "*akhlak*".

At the level of political practice, despite the wise attitude appears, there is a polarization on political behavior of *Tarekat*. The view of religious purification and the conception of rationality is the basis of this polarization. Sociologically, the majority of *Tuanku* who have mass or followers does not directly proportional to their political reality. There is a "supple" nature in political behavior that played. On the one hand, the obedience to *Tuanku* keeps authentic as long as *Tuanku* interwoven in matters of religiosity. But the obedience becomes tenuous when *Tuanku* contributes to political practice. This reality come from a perception of religious purification, which does not want "indecent" of *Tuanku* authenticity in political frenzy which is considered a full with disrepute. On the other hand, the political behavior of the *Tarekat* group shows a rational behavior, by seeing politics as meeting the needs of members of the congregation and what the *Tuanku*'s political choices and imprints determine their political choices. Included in this matter is a supporting and having the *Tuanku* who is involved as a legislative candidate.

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