

MULTIFACED POLITICS

A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of *Tarekat* Community in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract

Tuanku as a charismatic figure in the Tarekat community, who plays a significant socio-political role. He is still placed as source of "fatwa" to political choice of the community. This study uses descriptive-phenomenological methods. To understand the meaning of the 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 paying attention to 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 the following: first, the political behavior of Tarekat community in West Sumatra revealed an influential relationship between teacher and student on political choices of Tarekat community and shows the diverse typologies of Tarekat political behavior; Second, in the context of understanding the religious struggle of Tarekat in the midst of socio-political dynamics in West Sumatra, the Tarekat community consistently develops lithe and flexible behaviors and activities in the socio-political arena. This study is important in understanding 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 of the socio-political roles of *Tarekat*¹ community

¹ The 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 Al-Lughab wal Adab Ulum* (Beirut: Darul Masyriq, 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. Ahmad Fuad Said, *Hakikat Tarikat Naqsyabandiab* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Husna Baru, 2007); Imron Aba, *Disekitar Masalah Thariqat Naqsyabandiyab* (Kudus: Menara, 1980), p. 11. Aboebakar Atjeh argues that Tarekat guides 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: Uraian 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. Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 257. Therefore, the

that grows and develops especially in West Sumatra, will always involve an intersection of discourse between religion and politics. In addition, the empirical reality also illustrates the combination of these religion and politics seen in the roles played by a number of *Tarekat* community members in the stage of political practice. Among the social impact 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 to the members of the *Tarekat*.² On the other hand, the charismatic influence of a *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 practicing politics can weaken the charisma of tarekat teachers in the vortex of the political elite.⁴ The hegemony of the political elite's influence over political choices encourages the *Tarekat* group to revitalize the tarekat values in the tarekat group's national politics through a religious-political system and relations with political parties, by developing synergies among Islamic teachings, individual motivation and social groups.⁵

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* (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 Elen Setiyawati, "Tarekat Naqshabandiyah dalam Ranah Politik Lokal", *Jurnal Demokrasi dan Otonomi Daerah*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2018), pp. 151–6.

³ M. Thohar Al Abza, Kamsi, and Nawari Ismail, "The Sociopolitical Entanglement of Sufism: A Geneological Approach to the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wanaqsyabandiyah in Contemporary Indonesia", *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2019), pp. 215–34.

⁴ Sadri Chaniago, Bakaruddin Rosyidi Ahmad, and Zulfadli, "Elit Tarekat Dalam Pusaran Kontestasi Pilkada: Dukungan Politik Tuanku Tarekat Syathariyah terhadap kandidat pada Pilkada Sumbar tahun 2010", presented at the 9th International Conference on Malaysia-Indonesia Relations (PAHMI 9) Faculty of Social Sciences Yogyakarta State University (Yogyakarta, 2015).

⁵ Amir Maliki Abitolkha, Muhamad Basyrul 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-Tabrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2020), pp. 373–98.

The dynamics and developments of contemporary politics and the socio-political role of the *Tarekat* community are important variables that must be explained by exploring the possibility of changes in the perceptual framework that forms the basis of their cognitive structure. Phenomenological analysis is used to explore to what extent the *Tarekat* community plays the role of religious teachings that influence people's socio-political behavior. 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 development. Weber suggests three types of authority or belief systems that validate relationships in society, namely legal domination (rational-legal), traditional authority, and charismatic. The mapping of these three types of authority based on sociopolitical factors is concerned with the validity of power. This is because according to Weber, there is no stable power, especially if based on physical intimidation or misrepresentation. People will trust and obey the rules if the authority is legitimate.⁷ Therefore, the study of political behavior of *Tarekat* community become a point of this research based on several parts. First, *Tarekat* as a religious community is a very empirical socio-cultural-religious phenomenon. Second, the *Tarekat* community also has unique characteristics, including the closeness between teacher and students, 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 Islam in West Sumatra s not only played a role in Islamization process from the beginning, but also contributed in various social, cultural, political and economic processes, and even were involved in the 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,

⁶ Max Weber, *Sosiologi*, 2nd edition, trans. by Noorkholish (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), p. 297.

⁷ Bryan S. Turner, *Sosiologi Islam: Suatu Telaah Analitis Atas Tesa Sosiologi Weber*, trans. by G.A. Ticoalu (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1984), pp. 36–7.

both structurally and culturally.⁸

The religious culture of *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra is built on two main pillars, namely Islam and Minangkabau culture. The combination of them forms a cultural attitude and religious behavior. The important implication of the combination can be seen in religious understanding and social activities that are humanist-inclusive, well-mannered and civilized.⁹ The questions that arise are, how these values contribute and are understood by the *Tarekat* community in West Sumatra in the dynamics of practical political that interwoven in their lives. It is important to understand 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 a local community in which individuals are located. To understand politics, is to understand how humans coexist.¹⁰ Living together is not

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

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

¹⁰ 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 are 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 *Empat Esai Etika Politik* (Jakarta: www.srimulyani.net dan Komunitas Salihara, 2011), p. viii; Cecep Darmawan, "Legislative Strengthening and Empowerment: Efforts to Strengthen Local Governance and Accountability through

just a crowd, but also as an association of people that has structure and rules. The collective 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 producing principles and rules of common life.

Political behavior does not exist in a vacuum. Rather 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 an 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 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 the 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 systems are influenced by political culture that shapes them.

Political culture on the other hand is a shared value system of society that has an awareness for participation 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

Provincial Parliaments in Indonesia", *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, vol. 12, no. 11 (2015), pp. 802–9.

¹¹ Efriza, *Political Explore: Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), p. 126.

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

¹³ Efriza, *Political Explore*, p. 126.

approaches, they are sociological approach, psychological approach, and economic approach, also known as the rational choice model.¹⁴ The basic assumption of the 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 a significant effect on voting behavior. Social grouping plays 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 individuals toward to attitude of his political preferences. The existence of environmental factors such as socioeconomics, affiliation, ethnicity, family, membership in organizations, age, gender, occupation, and residency are things that contribute influencing political behavior and voting behavior.

In the psychological approach, political behavior is seen from an internal individual aspect. The psychological aspects of an individual are explained to give some effects to him in determining political choices. Voting determination or affiliation 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 a feeling of closeness, loyalty and support for, and self-identification with a particular political party.

There is a concept known as political involvement and party identification for individuals. Political involvement is a sense of importance or sense of unimportance to be involved in general political issues. Party identification is a person's preference towards a particular political party or group.¹⁵ In the early stages, individuals must have felt confident that his participation in political process is very necessary. Only

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

¹⁵ Dieter Roth, *Studi Pemilu Empiris: Sumber, Teori-teori, Instrumen dan Metode*, trans. by Denise Matindas (Jakarta: Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung Fur Die Freiheit - LSI, 2009), p. 38.

by having this feeling, individuals will have high political awareness. He will be motivated to pay attention and to give respond to hot political issues that arise.

The psychological approach focuses on 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 information 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,

¹⁶ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, trans. by Alimandan (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), pp. 448–77.

¹⁷ Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, p. 132.

self-adjustment, externalism, and self-defense. The first basis 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 basis is an attitude that become a function of adjustment, this means as an evaluation for an object. The third basis 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, spatial conditions, presence of others, group atmosphere and all forms of treatment.

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

The Tarekat community in West Sumatra is 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 with the religious teaching. In some traditional communities, based on this reality, there are still those who have impression that politics is a negative thing. This also has an impact on *Tarekat* community in society. A democratic system takes into account the right of every member of society to vote for 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 a local community, in which between society and *Tuanku* dialectically have traits that attract one another, especially related to contests for influence and

¹⁸ Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism", p. 94.

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 Naqshbandiyyah and both of them underwent a division that could not be avoided. The division, 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 arose 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 a power struggle.

The 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-Mursalab* written by al-Burhanuddin. These teachings were 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 disavowed the teachings from entire of Syatariyyah because of contradictions 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

¹⁹ B.J.O. Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatera Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi*, trans. by Soegarda Poerbakawatja (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1973), p. 25; Suryadi Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shaṭṭāriyah Sufi Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2001), p. 61.

²⁰ Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah: Sumatera Tengah, 1784-1847*, trans. by Lilian D. Tedjasudhana (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), p. 148.

²¹ Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Grup, 2008), pp. 53-4.

significant difference between them.²²

If politics is a tool for seizing and maintaining power,²³ then within that power there are two types of authority, namely procedural authority and substantive authority.²⁴ Procedural authority is the right to govern in the sense of making public decisions codified through legislation. While substantive authority is the right to govern which comes from factors inherent in the individual or leader such as the qualities of tradition, personality, sacrosanct, and instrumental. For *Tuanku*, the power inherent in a person is power that relies on substantive authority, which in Weber's terms is called charismatic authority. Accordingly, 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.

However, the authority is basically ephemeral, the authority is temporary. It can fade when it turns out that individuals who have the authority make mistakes that harm or violate certain values or norms. 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 sources of legitimacy *Tuanku's* power in society. The greater the honor of people for *Tuanku*, the greater influence formed. When *Tuanku* influence and honor increases, the legitimacy 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 ignore.

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 reflects political activities

²² Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah: Sumatera Tengah, 1784-1847*, p. 144; Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 125.

²³ Kate Nash, *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics and Power*, 2 edition (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 3.

²⁴ Elly M. Setiadi and Usman Kolip, *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), p. 767.

both internal and external parties. In the midst of these conditions the political behavior of society is categorized in such a way, there is 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 dichotomous 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 a charismatic figure. Deepening the phenomenon of political behavior of *Tarekat*, there is found a pattern of behavior in society, which can be carefully traced directly to the teacher-student relationship.

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

The value system built by the *Tarekat* has become a basis of strength the relationship between Teacher and students. Normatively, all choices and actions of *Tuanku* form a basis for students to determine all their actions, including for 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 make political choices and determine political behavior.

One of the strengths of the *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 lineage adds authenticity of *Tarekat* teaching that can be really accounted. The process of genealogical continuity is carried out through the granting an *ijazah*.²⁵

²⁵ So far, there is no standard formulation on statement of “ijazah,” though 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.

Murysid 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 of understanding what is called “the essence/*yang hakikat*,” then *Murysid* will appoint him as *khalifah* with a special procession.

This chain makes the relationship between “teacher and student,” in various ways, very close. In a sense, it is not only a matter of religion. In the tradition of *Tarekat*, religious doctrine is very dominant. Teaching 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, when it comes to socio-political problems, a student’s obedience becomes an interesting fact to observe. There is a kind of rootlessness of obedience on students to teacher. There is an 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 in practice, make *Guru-Murid* relationship very necessary and authentic. From here “genealogy” of *surau Tarekat* beginning. The cohesiveness of teacher-student relationship can be manifested in a ritual known as *bai’at* and *tawasul*. *Bai’at* with teacher who has a genealogy. *Bai’at* and genealogy, are some 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 a promise or loyalty oath from someone to his or her teacher or *murshid*. Someone who will attend the *Tarekat* recitation must go through a process of coronation (*bai’at*). The *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* processes in Naqshabandiyah tradition, namely individual confession (*fardiyyah*) and group confession (*jam’iyyah*).

Etymologically *Bai’at* means “agreement.” However, *Bai’at* terminologically has a more expansive 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, putting on the face of teacher as if dealing with him at the time of *zikir*. The implementation of this Tawajjuh is, between teacher and students literally sitting facing each other, seating 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 imagines 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* wherein the student makes a unification of teacher with the disciples in spiritual.

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

Among the *Tuankeu* who became legislative candidates in 2009,

only Zuhelmi *Tuanku* Sidi won the election, and at the same time was one among 35 members of DPRD in Padang Pariaman Regency for 2009-2014 coming from *Tuanku*.²⁶ The fact of *Tuanku* contributing to political arena is indeed intriguing to be observed, because sociologically, *Tuanku* have dared to escape “out of the cage of tradition,” that is not solely focused on educational matter in pesantren (religious fields), but instead expanding into the political arena.

The changes of *Tuanku*'s expansionist view into political spaces 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 in which only one candidate won from *Tarekat* group, shows 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 the 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 and adaptive to the 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 at the political level.

This fact basically departs from the perception that *Taunku*'s involvement in politics can harm the authenticity of 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 gets 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 *taushiah*, and “praying”. Hence, it should not interfere with political matters which are considered as full of interests and immoral acts such as corruption and so on.

²⁶ Efa Nurza, “KPU Padang Pariaman Tetapkan Dewan 2009-2014”, *Posmetro Padang* (16 Jun 2009).

This fact shows a sociological reality and political contribution, both historically and presently, that are not directly proportional to the role of *Tarekat* community group in contemporary Indonesian politics. The position of Islam as a sociological majority but political 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 (*Tuankeu*) seem negligent in that 90% of them are nominal Islam, what Geertz calls with “abangan in Java” who claim to be administratively Islamic, but do not like Islamic formalism in political life.

E. Typology of Political Behavior on *Tarekat*

The political electorate, which is reflected 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 the 1950s have been 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, showing the relationship between church and state and influencing political dynamics.

In Indonesia, despite the political dynamics influenced by figures of *ulama*, the reality is Islamic parties have 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 *Tuankeu* who compete or have certain political preferences have a great probability of success because certainly almost the congregation of *Tarekat* will follow their choice. The views and political behavior of *taunkeu* as a *Tarekat* teacher are considered to have an impact on the views, attitudes and political participation in the *Tarekat* community.

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

There are psychological and sociological aspects of students and congregations that are linked directly or indirectly to political choices. The psychological aspects include a map of cognition about the picture of political reality that involves perception and conceptualization. Various information regarding political reality is not easily understood by the public, so as a teacher, the political choice taken by *tuanku* is assumed to be the best choice by the general electorate. 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 or direct their students to join political parties or dictate 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

Tarekat teachers are generally accustomed to enjoying absolute loyalty from the *Tarekat* congregation, and this tends 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 problems.

The involvement of *ulama Tarekat* in politics 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 and defending the ideology of modernization. However, indirectly, the involvement in politics of *Tarekat* at the same time can reduce the influence of *zuhud's* teachings which is often interpreted as "leaving worldly life."

This phenomenon of changes in *Tuanku's* structure and cognition

²⁸ *Tarekat* congregation, interview (Sep 2018).

regarding the sociopolitical role is closely related to the adopted theological perception. Therefore, to understand the tug-of-war between the dual roles of *Tuanku* in the range of socio-political and religious life, as well as a socio-political role of the kyai in Java, it cannot in the end be separated from the efforts to trace the theological roots that have become the 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 lead those born of political parties with religious nuances and at the same time spearheaded by figures who are better known as kyai than politicians.

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

These polarizations have created a different political attitude in *Tarekat* congregation to teacher or *Tuanku*. Some congregations follow the choices and political attitudes of *Tuanku* entirely, while the others are opposed, with even some of them opposed for 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 an election. The argument is 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. 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

²⁹ Ermi, one of Buya M. Nur's congregation, interview (Oct 2018)

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 worried 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

This attitude 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's* active involvement in politics. 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 seems as if he is letting go of his responsibilities and duties in guiding the congregation.

Buya Riswandi has admitted, that since becoming active in politics and becoming a member of the DPRD, he has not had time to meet his congregation at the *surau*. As a result, from that moment one by one some congregations have 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 another *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*.³¹

³⁰ Nasrul, one of Buya Riswandi's student, interview (Oct 2018).

³¹ Buya Riswandi, interview (Oct 2018).

The description of polarization of political behavior in *Tarekat* and its relation to politics of Tuanku’s charismatic leadership, can be seen as follows:

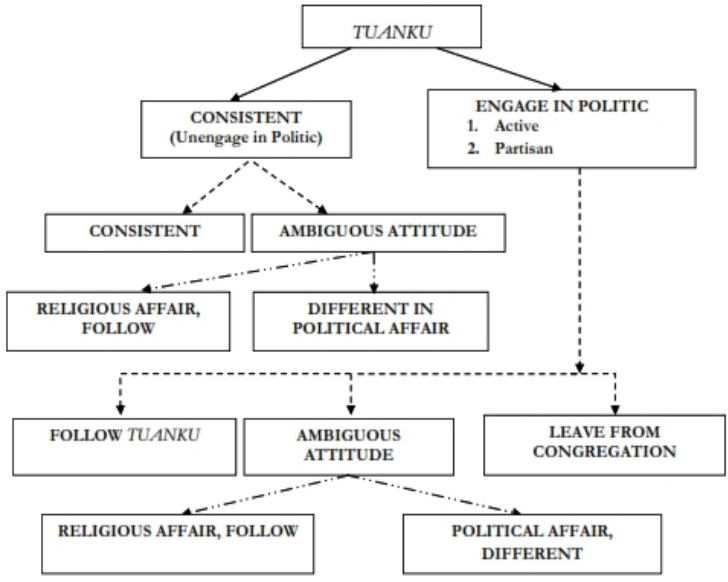


Table 1. Polarization of political behavior on *Tarekat* community

The conditions above show how politics, with its allure, has entered and influenced the pattern of social relations of *Tarekat*. Even to “damage” the teacher-student relationship. Teacher or *Tuanku* in any position, whether those who still consistently follow in the da’wah tradition, 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* charismatic leadership has begun 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 its congregation, which is different with current

Tuanku, “*taunku academic*” who does not have *surau* or congregation. Many of *Tuanku* are now alienated from community/congregation, eventually no longer having any influence on the congregation/community. There is *Tuanku* expelled from the community because he lacked strength, did not have a strong foundation. He was 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 has arisen is the presence of *Tuanku* lie under the influence of mosque committee. Become “subordinate,” a subordinate 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 formed a 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 the 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 on the congregation, but living with the congregation/community, economically independent.

The charisma must be modified. The charisma should not take advantage of but based on a charisma that builds on benefits the community. The spirit to modernize education has begun to be built in Ringan-ringan. Encouraging the students to think critically, engage in social activities, organize, and so on, in which have complaint by the “Tuo” until nowadays.

The younger generation of *Tarekat* have a view that there should no longer be a model of exploitation of congregations of any kind,

especially for political 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.” *kaaji* that scare with the hell must be modified by other methods by give a kind of motivation.” It cannot study to other teachers after *Bai’at*, only one teacher after *Bai’at*. This will hamper the development of *Tarekat* itself. While in Ringan-ringang has been permitted studying to other teachers, even though *berbaiat* with the teacher in Ringan-ringang, it allows 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 causes students to have a treasure of intellectual wealth, to be dynamic, and diverse. This will have an impact on formation of students’ networks that 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 in various universities, it directly influences the dynamics of *surau*. And the compliance models (charisma) begin to change to a form of “*rational charisma*.” This affects the attitude and perspective of *Tarekat* community in their interactions. The younger 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, many have volunteered to rehabilitate 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 Struggle for Religious Understanding on *Tarekat* Community in The Midst of Socio-Political Dynamics

The pattern used by *Ulama Tarekat* or *Tuanku* in strengthening

³² Rahmat Tk. Sulaiman, interview (Oct 2018).

the position in structure leadership Minangkabau community is the “charismatic” leadership pattern. A pattern that prioritizes the exemplary traits and primacy of each *Tarekat* cleric personality. Charisma is seen by Weber as an innovative and revolutionary force, capable of opposing and disrupting established normative and political order. Charismatics are based on a person rather than the rule of law. Charismatic leaders demand adherence from their followers on basis of personal excellence, such as a divine mission, heroic deeds and rewards that make set them apart.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 another. On one side, man creates various values in society, and on the other hand humans simultaneously are culturally created by their society. Humans individually have a pattern of behavior as self-identity as a result of social processes in their society. It means, society as a group are created by man, while man is a likewise 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 value that determines a common behavior in community or group members. While social structure is a set of social relationships that involve 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 some people’s position in social structure, making some people unable to act in accordance with existing values or norms. Culture requires certain patterns of behavior, sometimes

³³ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*; Doyle Paul Johnson, *Teori Sosiologi: Klasik dan Modern*, trans. by Robert M.Z. Lawang (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1986).

³⁴ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, pp. 139–45.

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

prevented by social structures.

The fulfillment of human needs, from a sociology of religion perspective, is constructed in form of 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 the added value of mystery that is difficult to understand intellectually. Ritual is a process of symbolic transformation from experience which is expressed through feeling. Although worship begins with spontaneous expression, over period of time there is institutionalization as objectivation of individual attitudes as followers. Disclosure of common attitudes in kind of rituals will foster togetherness, commonality, and ultimately create a confident and moral strength of each follower, as well as strengthening community networks.³⁶

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

Quoting Durkheim's terminology,³⁷ various *Tarekat* rituals are functionally nurturing Minangkabau society by affirming social values that bind the behavior of every member of society. 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 terekat 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

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

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁸ Azwar, *Gerakan Sosial Kaum Tarekat*, pp. 261–2.

karamah values of *Tarekat* teachers 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 for Allah to be pleased. This can be seen from many political figures who came to *Tarekat*/*Tuanku* to ask for “blessings” in their political struggles. As expressed by Sulaiman, one of leaders on political party in West Sumatra, that he always comes 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 to “face” the teacher (*Tuanku*), at the same time giving alms to the teacher (*Tuanku*) as a sign of gratitude.

Second, the *Tarekat* offer a transcendental relationship through 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 for teachers (*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 the socio-political system.

Third, the *Tarekat* teaching very strongly reinforced the congregation adherence to regulations, 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* functions 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. Thus, the *Tarekat* teachings, as well as *jama'ah Tarekat*, function to safeguard the sanctity of norms and socio-political systems, as controllers on every interaction that occurs, thus helping to create public peace and social stability.

Fourth, the *Tarekat* performs important identity functions. Acceptance of values in *Tarekat* teachings, including teaching about destiny, gives 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. Additionally, 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 efforts for 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 "*kehalifan*" 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 the *Tarekat* community in socio-political life. Social relations are based on "rasa," and not only based on thought or profit. That is, the society is taught to strike a 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 "humanism" in society, leading humans to do something according to their nature. The birth of mutual respect, mutual honor, courtesy, non-individualistic 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 This 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*.

³⁹ Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom Towards Radicalism", p. 80.

The dynamics of socio-politics in West Sumatra are extremely influenced by the dynamics of development teachings and practice of Syattairiyah *Tarekat* and the Naqshabandiyah. The social conflicts between the two *Tarekat* sects in Minangkabau has created a dynamic culture in 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 for the ability and strategy in their movement to influence people's lives, and to get a sympathy of community. The good effect is by birth the philosophy *adat, basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, which has become a guideline for life Minangkabau people. Islam become a characteristic and identity of Minangkabau people.

G. Concluding Remarks

Socio-political activities of *Tuanku* in West Sumatra influence the socio-political system and political behavior of society. The conformity of political behavior with Islamic teachings strengthens 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 guide in behavioral community reveal the strength of *Tuanku* influence on political dynamics in West Sumatra. Islamic interpretation of various philosophies of life is a process of dynamism of acculturation of values of political culture with Islam. The philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* interpreted as “*sunnatullah*” is an example of the intermingling between the philosophy of life in West Sumatra people and the values of Islamic teachings, which then influence to attitudes and political behavior of *Tarekat*. The relationship between Islam and customs in Minangkabau are indeed very complex where the West Sumatra people firmly adhere to Islam on the one hand, while still maintaining their customary systems 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*, creates various social

behaviors, including political attitudes and actions, 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, elicits negative responses from society. That is, it can be stated that the understanding and teachings of *Tarekat* which affects political culture of West Sumatra people plays a role in rejecting various political attitudes and behaviors that are contrary to value of “culture,” “morality,” and “*akhlak*.”

At the political level, despite the wise attitude appears, there is a polarization of 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 “indecenty” of *Tuanku* authenticity in political frenzy which is considered a full of 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 are involved as legislative candidates.

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