# THE CHARISMATIC POLITICS OF "TUANKU": EXPLORING POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN WEST SUMATRA, INDONESIA

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## ABSTRACT

*Tuanku as a leader of tarekat community is a charismatic figure who significantly plays his socio-political roles. He is still considered as the source of "fatwa" when the society is in crossroads of confusing political choices. By using descriptive-phenomenological method, in order to understand the meaning of Tuanku on various socio-political activities, the researchers conducted a focus group discussion with the teachers (murshid) and in-depth interviews to teacher and congregation of tarekat. Observations were made to study the charismatic authority of Tuanku in the dynamics of socio political community that is related to the teachings and religious understandings of tarekatin areas in which tarekat activities are practiced. This study elucidated facts, that; first, Tuanku has an important role and a strong influence on political dynamics of tarekat. Second, Tuanku's understanding on politics has its relation to the religious understanding of tarekat. The relation and integration between religious ideas originating from tarekat's teaching and socio-political system incarnated in the form of political behavior of tarekat congregation in West Sumatra are still maintained. Third, political attitude and behavior of tarekat community in West Sumatera show a charisma authority toward political choices of the tarekat community. This study is interesting and useful in understanding the political attitude of Tuanku in the midst of the vortex authority and politic of charisma inthe changing and unpredictable political dynamics.*

**Keywords**: Tuanku, Charisma, Authority, Political Behavior, Tarekat Community.

## INTRODUCTION

A growing and developing socio-political role of *Tuanku*[1] especially in West Sumatra will always involve an intersection of discourse between religion and politics (Azwar, 2015; Samad, 2003). In addition, the empirical reality also illustrates these combination both religion and politics are seen in the roles played by a number of *Tuanku* on practical political stage, at least for a few decades. Among the social effects from the dual role are the tendency of shifting in the community to establish informal leadership figures, especially *Tuanku*. At the same time, people still strongly assume that, normatively, *Tuanku* is still seen as a charismatic figure who significantly plays his social roles.

Studies on  theological position and social political role of religious leaders, by  using various  perspectives,  have  indeed  been  carried  out  by  experts  from  different  expertise backgrounds. However, a sociological study on political authority of charisma of *Tuanku* in the political dynamics in West Sumatra with a fanomenological approach, insofar as it can be found,  is  still  not  widely  conducted.  The  meaning  on  dynamics  and  development  of contemporary politics and social political role of *Tuanku* is an important variable to be explained by revealing the possibilities of changes in the perceptual frameworks that form the basis  of  structure  of  cognition.  Phenomenological  analysis  is  used  to  observe  how  far a*Tuanku* plays the religious teachings he believes in  socio-political behavior in the midst of people's lives. In such framework, a theological perception of *Tuanku* is placed in the realm of  dialectic  of  political  behavior  and  charisma  of  *Tuanku*  in  responding  to  developing political realities. Therefore, this study is chosen based on consideration that the *tarekat* community  with  unique  characteristics,  including  the  closeness  between  the  teacher  and students, moreover his teachings about the student's attitude to teacher (murshid) as a central figure in the  social  relations of  *tarekat*  community,  extremely influence   thesocio-cultural dynamics (Azwar, 2018).

The  presence  of  *tarekat*  community  in  the  historical  dynamics  of  Muslims  in  West Sumatra not only plays a role in process of early Islamization, but also contributes to various social, cultural, political and economic processes and even its involvement to create the urban society.  The  strength  of  institutions  network  built  by  *tarekat*  community  is  based  on collective piety and obedience to teacher (Azwar, 2018), 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 (Azra, 1992).

Some studies about socio-political dynamics on religious groups have previously been carried out by researchers and scientists, with various diverse perspectives. Research on this political behavior of *tarekat* community will relate to the role and position of *Tuanku* as a charismatic figure that influences political behavior of worshipers or society. Moreover, some studies  that  have  been  carried  out  with  this  issue  show  how  religious  leaders  play  a significant role in influencing a political dynamics of society, even in determining the political choices of society, with their varied political behaviors.

A socio-political behavior of religious leaders is influenced by at least two factors, namely  the  factor  of  religious  leaders  position  in  the  community  and  personal  power (charisma). Factors of social position of religious leaders according to previous studies show the  existence  ofmobilizing  power  of  change  in  society.  *Tuanku*  is  still  considered  as  the source  of  "fatwa"  when  the  community  is  in  the  crossroads  of  confusing  political  choices (Faridl,  2007;  Horikoshi,  1987;  Mukhlis,  2015).  Showed  kyai  as  cultural  brokers  (Geertz, 1983)  and  stated  that  influence  of  kyai  lied  in  the  implementation  of  broker's  function. Although  politically  a  Kyai  is  categorized  as  a  person  who  does  not  have  professional experience and ability, but socially it is proven that he is be able to bridge various interests through the language most likely to be used.

It is interesting to observe the dynamics of socio-political religious which continue to evolve following a trend of change the pattern of people's lives, with various interests which become basis of the changes. Social relations that occur among religious groups, for example, are not only related to socio-cultural factors, but also intersect with religious leaders who become centre of action or referencesfrom all community actions. The causal relationship between these two factors is later critically elaborated in this study, which substantively analyzes the personal power or charisma as well as  theological perceptions in the social-political behavior of *tarekat* in West Sumatra. In *tarekat*of the society of West Sumatra's,

great figure or *tarekat* leader called "*Tuanku*" not only has a cultural dimension, but also is related to structural dimensions.

Religious culture of *tarekat* in West Sumatra is built by two main pillars, namely Islam and Minangkabau Customs. The harmonious relationship of both of them forms cultural attitudes and religious behavior. The important implication from such allegiance is seen in ideas and social religious activities that is humanist-inclusive and civilized (Azwar, 2018). The questions that then arises are how these values play and are understood by *tarekat* community in West Sumatra in the dynamics of political practices that are felt in their lives. How is the charismatic authority of *Tuanku* in the political dynamics in West Sumatra. Then, what does the meaning of *Tuanku* towards to practical political world. And, how the authority of charisma of *Tuanku* influences the political choices of *tarekat* group in West Sumatra. Some of these questions are interesting to be answered in order to explain the socio-religious and political dynamics in West Sumatra in the midst of the turbulence of *Tuanku*'s charismatic authority.

## POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND CHARISMA

Charisma is an impermanent phenomenon depends on personal identification with individual leaders who is considered as a super men. When the leader moves or dies, there will likely be a leadership succession crisis. It is difficult to find a suitable substitute as an extraordinary leader. The process of ascertaining the influence of charismatic leader still continue after the leader died which is called a *routinization charisma* (Weber, 1978; Isaacs, 2015).

The term of charisma comes from Greek language which means "grace". A power that cannot be logically explained is called charismatic power. Charisma is considered as combination of charm and personal attraction that contributes to an extraordinary ability to make people to follow voluntarily one's ideas, attitudes and behavior (Truskie, 2002). The definition of this charisma, is different if using Weber concept. Many experts who are influenced by Weber's ideas assume that charisma means gifts, fascination, charm, or "celebrity" status (Taylor, 2012). The meaning of charisma that Weber refers to, is "authority", which does not depend on tradition or rational-legal processes, but on some personal qualities that someone feels, which might be considered to have a Divine basis (Smith, 1998). Charisma has an impact on obedience, and as a basis for exercising power and charismatic authority (Taylor, 2012; Scharf, 1995).

Someone is said as charismatic if the person has a blessing or talent that captivates his followers tremendously. Charisma is a certain characteristic of a person, which distinguishes them from ordinary people and is usually seen as a supernatural ability or quality or has a special power. These abilities are not possessed by ordinary people, but are considered as a power that comes from the Divine, and based on this, someone is then considered as a leader. Weber argues that charismatic leadership is an ideal type of authority. However, charismatic leadership does not rely on authority and external power but uses personal appeal. Because it does not use power and authority, the charismatic leaders are generally leaders of informal institutions. And on the other hand, charisma always causes social change, thus creating new situations that are different from the situation before the existence of charisma (Abdullah, 1997).

For Weber, the legitimacy of charismatic authority lies in "the devotion to extraordinary purity, heroism or exemplary character of individuals, and from the order or normative pattern expressed or ordained by him". He defines charisma as "certain qualities of

individual personality in which he is considered to be blessed with supernatural, super man, or at least extraordinary special qualities. This is alike inaccessible by ordinary people, but is regarded from Divine or as a model, and on from the basis, the individual is treated as a 'leader' (Weber, 1978). The common examples of charismatic leaders in pure circumstances are heroic war leaders, prophets, saints or wisemen.

The characteristic of charisma or charismatic authority is "remarkable." However, the word (in adjective) may be misleading, for instance, in combination with the word of charisma, with its theological meaning as Holy Spirit gifts, a might strengthen hope that charismatic authority is always, or at least always considered, as supernatural. In many cases, we must take the lower view of "extraordinary", because only "extraordinary", or, to translate literally in German Expression Weber ausseraltäglich, "outside every day"; maybe "extraordinary" is probably the best adjective.

According to Weber, there are five factors that come together with charismatic power, namely extraordinary talent,  social crisis, radical ideas to solve the crisis, extraordinary abilities in transcendental and supernatural, and there is repeated evidence that what was done experienced success. Charismatic leader is leader who embodies the atmosphere of motivation on the basis of commitment and emotional identity in their vision, philosophy, and style in their followers (Ivancevich, 2007).

The type of charismatic is a kind of types proposed by Weber as an ideal postulate in seeing the role of religious leaders in social patterns in society. Weber explained three types of authority or belief systems that validate relationships in society, namely legal domination (rational-legal), traditional authority (estabilished), and charismatic (leader). The mapping of the types dominance of power or authority is based on political sociology factors that involve a validity of power. Because for Weber, there is no a stable power, especially if the power is based on physical intimidation and cunning. People will believe in power and will obedience if they have legal reasons for the power (Turner, 1974).

Charismatic authority is a domination that is obtained by self-service for purity, heroism or exemplary qualities and personality qualities of someone. Charismatic authority exists when there is another person's control that based on one's personal characteristics, such as extraordinary ethical, heroic or religious expertise. Charismatic leaders are obeyed because people feel a strong emotional bond to them. In the context  of religion, charisma is based on people's belief in the depth of religious knowledge and the synchronization of the knowledge with social behavior (morals). Religious charisma is also very closely related to people's belief in supernatural powers on the basis of religion, such as the power of prayer and medication.

In (Conger & Kanungo, 1987) stated that "charismatic leadership is something natural. The charisma is not only related to a leader, but is more inclined to the empetus his members. The charisma of a leader appear if he is able to be responsible for a decision taken against his members". Charismatic leaders can encourage the change, motivate and inspire others to take certain actions, even to do sacrifices to achieve it. Therefore, charismatic authorities can be revolutionary in challenging traditional authority and sometimes rational-legal. And, this type of authority can easily change into traditional authority if the power is carried out by people surrounded by charismatic leaders.

A charismatic leader has ability to accommodate people, because he is loved by the people, and because his presence gains "blessing" from the people, then how to bring the fanatical people to a better direction. Max Waber distinguishes power into two types, that are; domination to other people who try to influence their interests, and domination that depends

on authority, namely a power to govern and those who are governed inevitably must obsequious and obedient (Wrong, 2003; Yukl, 2005).

When the authority theory is applied to analyze the authority of *Tuanku*, and is applied in the realm of religion, it turns out that it has a significant impact on the mindset of *tarekat* group in West Sumatra. Both have a positive and negative impact. Because *Tuanku* has a strong charismatic power to his students,*Tuanku*'s authority towards his students is seen in student obedience. Teachers teach and guide their students in various aspects of life, not only religious life but also worldly life. *Tuanku* is always used as a "reference" in all aspects of student activity. His teachings are followed, his "pituah" is followed, and his command is obeyed.

## THE CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY OF TUANKU IN POLITICAL DYNAMIC OF TAREKAT COMMUNITY

In the context of people in West Sumatra, the tradition of *tarekat* teachings sociologically has laid the fundamental roots for the formation of character and mentality of social life the society. Using the analysis of Thohir (2002), *tarekat* has built an organic social system that is strong enough in Minangkabau society. This is because the *tarekat* always introduces three aspects of tradition that continue to be introduced and recommended to the congregation. First, the doctrine of the examplary center for spiritual teachers, Sheikhs or Caliphs. Second, the doctrine of the graded sprituality for all its members in riding the spiritual stage in a competitive and open manner. Third, teachings about the environment or the ideal area (the doctrine of the theater center) or zones that justify religious values can be carried out and maintained (Thohir, 2002).

This is what later formed the social system of Minangkabau society, known as a civilized society characterized with religion. The teaching about ideal region of *Tarekat* creates a new cultural area that applies the values of religious traditions as a guide for the society to behave and to act. Process of interaction continues in sustainable, and eventually creates the area of Minangkabau culture, which is harmonious with Islamic religion, or specifically known as *Tarekat* community.

The leadership structure of *Tarekat* group implies that the position of a member *tarekat* is influenced by the recognition given by the teacher and the community. Recognition is obtained not only because of the depth of knowledge in religion, but is determined by the activity of devotion to worshipers and society. Devotion in fostering worshipers and society in religious life and social life. A Sheikh or *Tuanku* will get a high appreciation from the society, if he is active in various activities in society and becomes a role model and guide for society towards a better life. The status and role of a person like this are depicted in Minangkabau customs as *suluahbendangdalamnagari*, *panyajuakkutikohauih, panarangkitikogalok*. This shows how important a person's status and function in the life of Minangkabau people.

In West Sumatra, there are three types of *Tuanku*, namely "*Tuanku sarumpun gadang", "Tuanku nan sarumpun ketek" and "Tuanku sabatang gadang*". *Tuanku sarumpun gadang* means a *Tuanku* who is not only believed to have a deep religious knowledge (*tarekat*), but also have many *surau* and students. *Tuankusabatang gadang* means a *Tuanku* who only has a deep religious knowledge, but does not have students. In congragation and in social life, position of *Tuanku sarumpun gadang* is above *Tuanku nan sarumpun ketek*. Although the religious knowladge or *tarekat* knowladge of *Tuanku sabatang gadang* is deeper than *Tuanku sarumpun gadang* or *Tuanku nan sarumpun ketek,tarekat* congregation

and public are more appreciative to *Tuanku sarumpun gadang*. The more students *Tuanku* has, the higher position/status in *tarekat* group and public social life he gets. It means, the large number of students and congregations creates the charisma of *Tuanku*who has a very strong influence in society (Azwar, 2015).

As part of a political society, *Tuanku* plays a social role in the midst of political dynamics in West Sumatra. Figure of *Tuanku* as part of elite society, especially in *tarekat* community, become an important figure in every political process. In sociological perspective, the sociopolitical system is understood as a series of subsystems from social system that form a series of social unity. The approach of system looks at the whole social interaction in a system, namely a unit that is relatively separated from its environment and has a relatively fixed relationship among its constituent elements. Political dynamics from a "system perspective" can be seen from various angles, one of which is political culture or political behavior of society. Referring to explanation by that some components must exist in political system are; 1) society as a component which is a source of support and demands for other subsystems. Society as part of political system can be positioned as a political object and can be also positioned as a political subject. 2) Political institutions, which are institutions that formulate and implement public policies. Political institutions play a role in processing political input to become public policy. 3) Political processes, namely mechanisms used in political structures. The political process is not only related to the process of public policy making, but also to the process of placing people who will occupy political positions in political structure (Setiadi & Kolip, 2015).

As a person with charismatic authority in society, especially among the *tarekat* community, *Tuanku*also contributes in coloring the political life. Even among of them who are directly involved in political practice in political parties. Even some *Tuanku* who later run for  in election, both as legislators in DPR, provincial DPRD or district/city DPRD. The various reasons and arguments of *Tuanku*, and the *tarekat* community in general involve into the world of political practice. One of them is as expressed by Buya Riswandi:[2]

"… that my involvement in political practice, even being a member of DPRD of Payakumbuh City for two periods, is in order to public policies, especially budget policies, in favor to *tarekat* groups. When many *buya* became members of DPR, many *surausuluak*get aids from the government. The face of *surau suluak* changed, which formerly are neglected, isolated, and far from transportation medium,which was usually difficult for vehicle entering, now can be passed by car, Paved, and cpn help those who had not received assistance. Therefore, it is better if these buya are not anti-political. The power must be taken, if it is not, it will difficult to change and to improve the society in accordance with religious guidance. *Syarak mangato adat mamakai* will be difficult to enforce without power. It is impossible to shout outside only, we have to involve in political structure. Now, since there is no more buya as member of the council, there is no more assistance to *surausuluak*, because it is no longer budgeted.

As community leader who has a strong influence in society, especially among *tarekat* groups, as a consequence of teacher-student traditional relationship, the presence of *Tuanku* in political practice world become interesting and hopeful. Their presence, by a part of community is expected to change the face and negative image of society towards political activity. Politics that are assumed as  "dirty" by society, are expected to turn into "ordinary" aspect, as a place of service to region and society. Including contributing in changing the face of legislature, which began to be addressed apathetically by the community. Related with this, then Buya Riswandi explained:

"… This politics depends on who uses it (like a knife). It can be good and can be bad. In my experience as a member of DPRD (from the PBB party), if ulama only became a small part or only a few in number, it was indeed difficult to uphold the truth. Once the member of DPRD 50 Kota consisted of 12 ulama/ustadz/*tarekat* teachers from 35 members, at that time the atmosphere of DPRD was different. The atmosphere became calm and  comfortable and conflicts never occurred furthermore the relationships with executives and regents were well intertwined. Unlikely in my second period, I became a member of the council, at that time the ulama/buya decreased in number (there were only 4 people left), the situation had changed. In contrast to the situation during the first period when I became a member of DPRD".

Sociologically, the involvement of ulama in political practice arena is one of the power that is capable to influence the political process outside the circle of political rulers or power (Setiadi & Kolip, 2015). In relation to *Tuanku*'s involvement in West Sumatra, the form of influence from their strengths is seen in providing support to development programs carried out by government, including their support for regional political figures during the political contestation. This symptom can be seen when political leaders visit *Surau* or *Tuanku*'s house to ask for political blessing or support. Besides, there are also many buya or *Tuanku* who are visited by "candidates" in order to request blessing or support during the electoral process. This was seen, for example, during the election of Regent and Deputy Regent of Limapuluh Kota, the figure of *tarekat*whowas frequently visited by candidates was Zedriwarman.[3]

He tried to keep distance from the governing political officials. Even those who now have power who originally asked for his "blessing", support or advice. As he stated:
"… if involve in politics I am not  interested in being actively involved. Alahmdulillah until now I am not affected by their "temptations", in various ways to invite me. I am not affected. If I want, there are many officials who want to provide assistance to my *surau*, but I do not want to. Let it be like this, *reot*. Because I doubt where the money comes from, I'm afraid for *syubhat*, if not to call it *haram*. I was once offered to be a member of council in 1985, but I did not want and I just answered "if for members of DPR I forbid (*mengharamkan*)".

The position of *Tuanku* is important in the political reality of West Sumatra, because *Tuanku* is a role model for his followers, including society in general. *Tuanku* who has a primordial and emotional position will be very influential in his followers. This important position can be seen when many members of community in deciding their choice in the election ask for "fatwa" from *Tuanku*. Although in fact, usually for other matters such as determining a wedding day or other activities (*hari baiak kutiko elok*), *tuanku* is asked for his "fatwa". *Tuanku*'s reference is usually preferred reference for students or congregation. The loyalty of people to *Tuanku* as a religious figure is motivated by a degree of confidence, that their attitudes and behavior are absolutely right, especially as spiritual backrest.

Referring to the explanation of Vifredo Pareto, that *Tuanku* as elite group is a person who has the best personal qualities, which by that power he can reach the center of political power. According to Pareto, elites are people who succeed and are able to occupy high social positions in the social stratification. In this context, Pareto classifies society into two classes, namely; 1) upper class (elite), and 2) lower class (non-elite). The elite class is divided into two groups, namely; a) governing elite, and b) non-governing elite (Setiadi & Kolip, 2015). While Mosca introduced the concept of "sub-elite" which is the middle class of civil servants, industrial managers, scientists and students. According to him, this middle class is a vital element in the structure of society. The socio-political stability is determined by this middle group (Setiadi & Kolip, 2015).

Regarding to political role of *governing elite* and *non-governing elites*, according to Pareto, these two groups are always fighting over the opportunity to gain a portion of power so that elite circulation occurs. Every governing elite can only survive if continuously gets support from lower class. Therefore, in this situation the importance of *Tuanku* position as an non-governing elite in the struggle of political dynamics in West Sumatra. Because as an elite group, *Tuanku* has a strong relationship with spiritual and emotional aspect to the lower class. The lower class in a position as a student or congregation is framed by an attitude of obedience to teacher, in the tradition of teacher-student relations. In *tarekat* tradition and teachings, the obedience to teacher is one "holy" thing that must not be denied or tainted by worldly affairs. The teacher-student emotional relationship is bound by the "obedience" pledge at the time of *ber'bai'at* (Setiadi & Kolip, 2015).

The changes of Indonesia political system and political behavior the society, which is also absorbed in political behavior of West Sumatra people, in the reality, influences a political attitude of *Tuanku*. Besides , Indonesia democratic system began to destabilize social position of *Tuanku* who was tempted by "seduction" the grandeur of political world. Many *Tuanku* mortgaged their charismatic crowns for political practice purposes. The impetus is getting stronger, when some political figures are very eager to utilize his social position and charismatic authority of *Tuanku* to reap voices and political support from the society, especially from students and congregation of *Tuanku*. A variety of sweet promises in kind of facilities and political power offered by politicians, tempting some of *Tuanku* to participate in "playing" in vortex of political practice, and even some become members and cadres of political parties. And, for this purpose various arguments were built on the name of interests of society and congregation.

What was revealed by Buya M Nur[4] reflected how he had felt a strong political temptation. As he explained:

I have been involved in politics for a while. At that time, I was encoueaged and invited by Ibnu Abbas. I was invited to Jakarta, brought here and there, and joined to PKB party. Indeed, I finally felt that politics was not in accordance with my instincts. Moreover, it was contrary to "kaji" of *tarekat*. And, at that time I felt abandoned by the congregation and students whom I had been developing and who "study" with me. They conveyed various reasons. Some stated they moved because I had rarely come to *Surau*. Even though they came from the distance region to "*mengaji*" and meet the teacher. While I was not  there. There was also a reason that I had deviated of my teaching (*kaji*). I dragged in a bad playing the politics. Because they thought the politics was dirty, deceitful, and so on. At the time, I had been withdrawn from direct involvement in politics, until now. Although it cannot be completely avoided, because there also many people come to *surau*, especially political actors to ask for political advice and political support.

Different from buya M. Nur, *Tuanku* Ismet Ismail[5] who is one of the teachers, and until now, is still actively involved in political practice. He had been a member of DPRD of Agam regency, and even West Sumatra, for quite a long time in New Order era. From his explanation, it seems like he is comfortable with the political activities carried out until today. Both involvement in legislative and executive elections. Although, for *Tuanku* Ismet, the waning of influence and social authority is very apparent among the people. He is only known by a small group from Syattariyah elites, because in his genealogy of *tarekat* he is the grandson from great figure ulama Syattariyah in Koto Tuo.

In contrast to buya M. Nur and *Tuanku* Ismet Ismail, buya tuan Khalifah Abu Bakar[6] and buya Ali Umar,[7] seemed apathetic towards the political world. Both of them have prioritized to develop the teachings and practices of *tarekat* in Bonjol and its surroundings.

They argue "softly" about politics, and do not opposing or forbidding the politics. Both of them seemed to be conservative, as illustrated by their statement:

"… we do not understand about politics nowadays, it is not very clear to me, because I do not follow its trend issues. If it isa matter of politics, then I don't participate. If anyone comes,  I will advise according to "kaji" of *tarekat*. If it's about a voting, I give it to them (congregation), because they are people who know in the "kaji". If they follow, they will not be wrong in choosing. Including choosing not to vote anyone. Sometimes someone asks for advice, sometimes it doesn't suit us. I am better focussed on *surau*, in order the congregation do not feel abandoned."

In social political life, the leaders of *tarekat*/*Tuanku* play a role in giving a deep meaning in implementation of Islamic teachings in social actions. *Tuanku* has also succeeded in cementing brotherly relations among community members. This factor has formed a resilience of society to negative influence of practical politics, which damages social relations of society. This is what Durkheim called as a social fact. Durkheim said that social facts are behavioral beliefs and regulations institutionalized by society (Ritzer, 1996).

Therefore, *tarekat* activities carried out especially by *tarekat* teachers in Minangkabau can also be called as social communal movement. Social movements that try to create an ideal society, which is then imitated by society at large. They do not reject the existing social order and offer an alternative, but do not have the aspiration to transform entire society through the process of revolution. Their movements are carried out by the example of their community model by the teacher, students and terekat congregations.

*Syeikh* or *tarekat* teachers do not only care about issues related to religious life, but also play a role in improving the social system, including in relation to culture and political behavior of people, in order to be compatible with Islamic teachings. What interesting is, that their movement are not resistance to the existing system, but rather a cultural movement, namely a movement carried out through the existing social system and structure of society. The process occur slowly but sure.

## THE CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY OF TUANKU ON POLITICAL CHOICES OF TAREKAT COMMUNITY

The influence of charismatic leadership on political behavior can not be separated from charismatic leaders. Discussing the orientation can be viewed from a psychological perspective with a religious orientation theory approach. This religious orientation theory has been developed in dissecting diversity experiences, especially in studies of religious psychology. The religious orientation theory stated that there are two patterns of religious orientation that are very contradictory. First, an intrinsic religious orientation. Second, the orientation is extrinsic religion. The intrinsic religious orientation is a religious based on religion, while the extrinsic religious orientation is the religion that makes religion as an instrument to fulfill his personal needs. The individual behavior can be identified through the non-discriminatory intrinsic-extrinsic mentality as a tool of analysis in describing the factor of the action (Allport & Ross, 1967; Sang & Rowatt, 2007; Spilka, 2003; Paloutzian, 1996; Crappas, 1993).

The mechanism from this theory sees the orientation of charismatic leader, does he emphasize the public interest given to him? Or concerned with his personal interests with legal-rationality-authority that he holds. That will map the consequences of being a charismatic leader. The role played by *Tuanku* in West Sumatra can be regarded as a cultural broker and the influence of *Tuanku* lies in the implementation of this broker's function. Even

though politically *Tuanku* is categorized as a person who has no professional experience and ability, it is socially proven to be able to bridge various interests through a language that most likely to be used. From the factor of personal strength (charisma) which is colored by theological thinking that become a basis of behavior he plays, the figure of *Tuanku* is often identified as having charismatic power in his society. *Tuanku* is considered to have "extraordinary" ability to mobilize society, especially in determining political choices. He is not a politician, yet his political calculations are often considered as the last political "fatwa" to be followed (Geertz, 1983).

The authority of charisma possessed by *Tuanku* become a strong appeal for political actors in their contestation seizing the powerbecause it is realized, that their political "fatwa", for the majority of their students or congregation, still have a powerful power to determine political attitudes and choices. One of them is as expressed as follow, that:

"… teachers never encourage and command their students to join political parties, or direct a political choice to a certain groups. Most of *tarekat* teachers showed a neutral attitude. Even though we know he has his own political choice, but he does not impose their choices on their students. However the congregation or student usually, and in general will follow "where buya goes", even though buya never told them to join. Because it is a kind of student's ethic to their teacher".

*Tuanku* as a charismatic leader can be said to be intrinsically oriented if he is more concerned with public interests or social power. These leaders emphasize the internalization of values rather than personal identification. They try to instill a loyalty to themselves. Authority is delegated to a considerable extent, the information is openly shared, encouraged the participation in making decision, and the rewards are used to strengthen behavior that is consistent with the mission and objectives of the organization. The result is that their leadership will be more profitable for followers even though the consequences that follow cannot be avoided if the strategy driven by the govern is not precise.

Unlikely with a charismatic leader that is based on extrinsic and negative oriented, he has personally power orientation. He emphasizes personal identification rather than internalization. He deliberately tries to instill loyalty to themselves rather than the idealism. He can use ideological appeal, but it is only a way for gaining power, in which after that, the ideology is ignored or carelessly modified according to the leader's personal goals. He tries to dominate and conquer followers by keeping them in a weak and dependent on leaders. An authority to make important decisions is centered on leaders, rewards and punishments are used to maintain an image of the leader who cannot make mistakes or to exaggerate external threats to the organization. The decision from these leaders reflects a greater attention to self-respect and maintaining power than a welfare the followers or the community.

## CONCLUSION

*Tuanku* is a charismatic figure who significantly plays his social roles. He is still considered as the source of "fatwa" when the society in the crossroads of a confusing political choices. The socio-political activities of *Tuanku* in West Sumatra appear in the attitudes, political behavior of the community, including the main figures of political parties. The various philosophies of life that are based on *tarekat* teachings which have become a guidance in behavior of people show a strong influence of *Tuanku* in political dynamics of West Sumatra. Islamic interpretation on various living philosophies is a dynamic process of mixing the values of political culture with Islamic teachings. The philosophy of *alam takambang jadi guru* is interpreted as "sunnatullah", is an example of intermingling between

the philosophy of life of people of West Sumatra and the values of Islamic teachings, which then influences the attitudes and political behavior of *Tarekat*. The relationship between Islam and adat in Minangkabau is indeed very complex where the people of West Sumatra remain firmly adhering to Islam on the one hand, and still maintain their traditional system, on the other hands. This shows that Minangkabau society reveals new local wisdom, namely the "tradition of integration" in social processes.

The social wisdom that grows and develops in the dynamics of life on West Sumatra people guided by traditional philosophy of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah-syarak mangato, adat mamakai* creates various social behaviors, including attitudes and political behaviors of "menyimpan", especially in ways that are not compatible with customary values being rejected. Rational-critical attitude which is combined with "understanding of *raso-pareso*, and reinforced by the character (charisma) of Ulama *Tarekat* (*Tuanku*), makes the intolerant attitudes and political behavior, blaspheming, especially if it has not a strong argumentation, it will get a negative response from the society. That means, it can be stated that the understanding and teachings of *tarekat* that influence a political culture of West Sumatra people play a role in rejecting various political attitudes and behaviors that are contradictory with the values of "culture", values, "moral" and *akhlaq*.

This is actually a charismatic political movement of *Tuanku* in realm of the "elegance" of *tarekat* community. Political attitudes and behavior that are aloof from nuances of protest, anarchism or revolutionary movements against a power. The political attitude of *tarekat* is humanist, evolutionary and natural, influencing or building the socio-cultural life with dignity. This is where the teachings of *tarekat* are practiced. The social-political movement of *tarekat* community, does not only means the creation of social change, but can also be defined as an ability to maintain the identity of local political culture from the influence of political culture which tends to damage the socio-political life, as well as the lifestyle of society. The *Tarekat* social-political movement turned out to be able to maintain the values of religiosity of political life of the people from secularism and liberalism, which proved to damage the value of life philosophy in society", such as mutual respect, appreciation, and help towards peace as the nature of life as society, state and nation.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

## END NOTES

[1]*Tuanku* is a term for *tarekat* teachers, or those who have finished their school in *Surautarekat*who later become religious leaders in community groups. This title includes the title of *adat* and religious leader in the tribe and in the Minangkabau society.On the other hand, , *Surau* is a uniqe educational institution of *tarekat* community, a place to study Al-Qur'an of a clan, a place to learn Islam under the guidance of ulama or *Tuanku*. *Surau* is a Minangkabau cultural identity. The word of *Tuanku*itself in Minangkabau contains two meanings; first, *Tuanku* that means an award given  to someone who is respected, both because of status and because of age. In the daily Minangkabau dialect, for some regions, the word "tuan" refers to an older person or older brother, and the word

"ku" means "me or my". Therefore, *Tuanku* means "my brother". However, there is also opinion that argue that the word of *Tuanku*is derived from Acehnese language, namely "tengku", that is a title of Aceh for someone who is pious in the field of syarak (religion). The word *Tuanku* in this sense is used by Minangkabau people (West Sumatra) to mention someone who has a deep religious knowledge after completing education in "*surau*" or pesantren and who teaches science and practice of *tarekat*. Thus, the term of *Tuanku* in this second defenition is specifically for people who study religion and *tarekat*. Although the two titles are still used by Minangkabau people,the meaning of *Tuanku* in this second definition, is explored and discussed in this article. The *Tuanku* title given to someone is a respect from society for his deep knowledge in the field of Islamic religion who has revealed himself as *ulama* and become a role model in society.

[2]Leader of *Tarekat* Naqsyabandiyah congregation in Talawi, City of Payakumbuh.

[3]Buya Zedriwarman is a leader of *Tarekat* Naqsyabandiyah in Mungka, Regency of Limapuluh Kota. He is consistently unwilling to be directly involved in practical political world, both passive and active.His figure being an appeal for politicians. Besides having a lot of loyal followers, hisability in "medication" become another power that is very calculated by politicians who contestated. His consistent political attitude and impartial to anyone who become candidate of political parties, and even accepts friendly those who come asking for advice or blessing, makes Zedriwarman as a unique and respected figure. The admiration of people or congregation has increased with his attitude that does not accept donations, assistance, and so on for teaching (*pengajian*) purposes and infrastructure facilities.

[4]Leader of *surautarekat* Naqsyabandiyah Koto nan IV, City of Payakumbuh.

[5]Leader of *Tarekat* Syattariyah, Koto Tuo, Regency of Agam.

[6]Leader of *tarekat* Naqsyabandiyah *Surau* Batu Kumpulan Bonjol.

[7]The *Khalifah* of *tarekat* Naqsyabandiyah *Surau* Batu Kumpulan Bonjol.

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