

Power Relations Urang Pandai and Candidate on Regional Head Election in West Sumatra, Indonesia



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<https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.170532>

ABSTRACT

Received: 27 March 2022

Accepted: 8 June 2022

Keywords:

urang pandai, candidates for regional heads, power relations

The transformation in the election of regional heads from indirect to direct since 2005 brought many changes to the dynamics of local politics in Indonesia. One of these changes is the opening up of opportunities for community members as candidates for regional heads and the strengthening of power relations between candidates and *urang pandai*. A clearer understanding of the position of *urang pandai* in West Sumatra will help stakeholders in the election to map out the forces that will support a higher-quality election. This research uses the historical method. There are four stages in the historical method, namely; heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of this study reveal two typologies of *urang pandai* in Minangkabau culture involved in the election of regional heads, namely the sufi healer, and *orang berakuan*. Direct regional head election regulations lead to intense competition between candidates. The amount of material sacrifice and strong pressure to win encourages candidates to find someone who has magical abilities and is placed as a spiritual mentor and political advisor. *Wirid, tahlilan* (reading prayers), pilgrimage to the grave, giving prayers, *terawang* (divination) and the use *jimat* (amulets) are the practice of power relations between people and candidates.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the New Order government, regional heads were elected through the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Since 2005, however, they have been elected directly by the people. As voters, people's bargaining power in determining the electability of presidential candidates and regional head candidates, at all levels, becomes stronger. Gibbing et al. [1] describe how political contracts—bargains between leaders and street vendor organizations at the local and provincial levels—are increasingly common, and a growing number of intermediaries are helping to facilitate these relationships. The political contract is a new phenomenon in Indonesian politics and has not been discussed much in scholarly literature. Aspinal et al. [2] shows that many candidates thus effectively hedged their bets, focusing first on a core group of voters, but extending their efforts to voters whose personal connections to them were more tenuous, trusting that their brokers would be able to mobilize their own affective ties with these voters, or those cash payments alone would be enough to secure their votes. Appropriately, candidates sometimes used the word 'gambling' (another English loanword) to refer to such efforts to distribute cash into areas where they lacked a personal base.

The change in the regional head election regulation affects the dynamics of local politics, especially in Sumatera Barat. Many literature showed that such as Effendi [3] describes the *badunsanak* (brotherhood) political culture in the Padang mayoral election which is manifested through *ota lapau* (discussion in coffee shops). Asrinaldi [4] describes the

changing position and role of *panghulu* (traditional leaders) as one of the traditional Minangkabau elites in local democracy in West Sumatra. Efendi et al. [5] describes the involvement of kinship, regional, money, and power elements in the direct election of the Regent/Deputy Regent of Padang Pariaman Regency in 2005.

Various strategies, approaches, and methods are used by candidate leaders to gain sympathy and support from voters. It is in this situation that the presence of a shaman, in this research, we use the term "*wong pinter*" to get its own space. This study can be proven by the increasing number of issues of the involvement of shamans, in every contestation event in the direct election of a regional head candidate. The issue of the increasing shamanism practices in the public election is found in various regions in Indonesia, including West Sumatra. The practice of shamanism in West Sumatra was confirmed through the statement of the former Governor of West Sumatra (1977-1987), who regretted the emergence of this practice in the process of direct regional head elections in this area [6]. The rampant involvement of shamanism was confirmed by the Deputy Minister of Religion, Nasaruddin Umar. Nasaruddin expressed his concern about various shamanism phenomena that are increasingly prevalent in the direct elections for regional heads. He stated that apart from money politics, the phenomenon of shamanism is also a severe problem in regional head elections. He thinks that this phenomenon can unwittingly undermine morals, ethics, and religious values, which in the end have a destructive impact on the survival of the nation and state [7].

We found many kinds of research that related to mystical in

the election. Howell and Bruinessen [8] explain the role of charismatic *tarekat* figures and Sufi people as mystical teachers by providing spiritual advice in bureaucratic and electoral political affairs during the New Order government in Indonesia. In another article, Bubandt [9] describes the involvement of magic in political affairs and regional head elections in North Maluku by asking ancestral spirits. Then, Pribadi [10] explains the magic people like *jawara* (strongmen) and *kyai* (charismatic religious teachers) in seeking power in Banten. They were involved in winning the Golkar party and the candidate for Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, in 2007. But the culture of Sumatera Barat especially Minangkabau is different from the other province. The community whose people are known for their steadfastness in traditional and Islamic values symbolized through the expression "tradition with the foundation of *Sarak* (Islam), *Sarak* with the foundation of the Book of Allah" is also affected. This tradition was formed as a result of an assimilative struggle between Islamic teachings and Minangkabau traditional values. Customary values as a community reference were recorded, and the position of Islamic values as a belief system in Minangkabau society was getting stronger [11].

In the fact, this mystical practice continues in Sumatera Barat. There is a power relation between shaman and candidate for head election in Minangkabau. We use Foucault's power theory, in the book "The History of Sexuality" to analyze that power relation. Foucault's theory describes power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reserves them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another [12].

2. METHOD

This research was conducted in various cities and regencies in West Sumatra. This research uses the historical method. There are four stages in the historical method, namely; heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography [13, 14]. At the heuristic stage, the research work is collecting sources, both in written (documents), oral (oral history), and in the form of objects (artifacts). Primary written sources include the texts of mantras and amulets contained in the Manuscripts of Prayer, Mantra and Sufism from the Abdul Muas Title Collection of Tantua Rajo Sutan, Jorong, Kapalo Koto Kenagarian Bidar Alam, Sangir District, South Solok (Collection Photo of Pramono, 2017); Azimat Manuscripts (Photo Collection of the C-DATS-TUFS and KKP-FSUA Manuscript Research Team, 2005); Manuscripts of Prayers, Mantras, and Amulets from the Collection of the Indonesian Literature Department, FIB-Unand (Photos from Zuriati Collection, 2008, 2010, 2011); Prayer, Mantra, and Amulet Manuscripts (Photo Collection of the C-DATS-TUFS and FIB-Unand Manuscript Research Team, 2011); Prayers, Mantras, and Amulets (Collection of Sheikh Mustafa Abdul Kamal Lubuk Landus, West Pasaman, (Photo Collection of Hary Efendi, 2018), and several prayer texts, mantras, and amulets obtained from key informants such as Sheikh Mustafa

Abdul Kamal Lubuk Landur, West Pasaman (Photo Collection of Hary Efendi, 2018).

Other primary sources were obtained through oral history and in addition to written sources. Key informants in this study included "unskillful" candidates for regional heads, success teams, political figures, and community members. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, using a set of key question guides. The interview model used is an in-depth interview, with a list of open-ended questions.

The next stage is to criticize the sources that have been obtained from the writings and interviews. Both forms of sources are criticized and cross-checked. External criticism and internal criticism were carried out on written sources to ensure accuracy of sources, while sources from interviews were cross-checked against various information so convincing facts were obtained. The interpretation of the facts must be following the time setting and the spirit of the times (*verstehen*) so as not to cause a controversial narrative. The final stage is historiography, which is writing it in the form of an academic history work that can add to the treasures of thought related to the history of contemporary Indonesian politics in general, and the political dynamics of regional head elections in West Sumatra in particular.

3. URANG PANDAI IN MINANGKABAU SOCIETY

Sartini and Ahimsa-Putra [15] describe that shaman are often understood negatively, meanwhile the *wong pinter* has more positive connotations. Because of the different principles meaning both terms should not be generalized and used appropriately and wisely. The term shaman is deemed inappropriate for Minangkabau people, and the word tends to have a negative connotation. Therefore, this paper uses *urang pandai* (*wong pinter*) not shaman.

There are two typologies of *urang pandai* related to the governor and mayor candidate in West Sumatra. The first one is known as, Sufi healers. *Urang pandai* in this case can be called a mystical teacher who has relatively strong ties to the occult-based on tarekat teaching. This definition is in line with Howell & Bruinessen [8] that the *urang pandai* is a person who has supernatural powers and immunity as possessed by a *kyai* (charismatic religious figure) in Banten. In Minangkabau, one of the types of *urang pandai* is supernatural actors who are influenced by the teachings of Islamic orders. *Urang pandai* is a person who has a compassionate character (love and care), and who likes to sincerely help people ask Allah's blessings and help [15]. They have magic and immunity is sourced from the science of wisdom, namely, the knowledge that is useful and beneficial for body (physical) strength, punch strength, contact, compassion and authority, subduing dangerous animals, reversing the situation, and *kasyaf* (to know before the incident happened or before being told [16].

The entry of Islam influence through the teachings of the tarekat in the life of the Minangkabau community has a positive effect on the presence of tarekat teachers who master magic which has a positive orientation when compared to magic which was previously influenced by animists and Hindu-Buddhist belief systems which tend to be destructive. Magic based on tarekat teachings is more protective and productive oriented [17]. The mantras used have been in Arabic and used in verses in the Quran [18]. They master the science of various medical sciences and self-protection which they will teach and pass on to their students. This is confirmed

through medical books, personal protection, and various amulet texts scattered in various surau (tarekat education centers) in West Sumatra [19].

The various types of congregations that exist in Islam, there are four congregations with many adherents in this area, namely the Naksabandiyah congregation, followed by Shattariah, Rifaiyah and Samaniah [20]. In general, Minangkabau society in West Sumatra especially followers of the *Syattariyah* and *Naqsyabandiyah* teachings living in remote areas, still use traditional medicine as an option to overcome health problems and learn traditional silat as a means of self-defense and protection. Zuriati [21] found manuscripts in several Syattariyah congregational mosques containing traditional medicinal texts, in the form of amulets used to increase female fertility, as a shield to protect against evil black magic, as a deterrent to fear, and to ward off rats in the fields. Likewise, Hariadi [22] explained that the Suluk of the Naksabandiyah congregation became centers of traditional medicine such as massage, treatment of jinn possessions, treatment of diseases caused by magic, mental disorders, and physical illnesses such as chronic ulcers, stomachaches, headaches, skin diseases, cancer, difficult to get offspring, stroke, epilepsy, and others.

There are *urang pandai* whose knowledge is not only based on understanding and practicing the teachings of the Tarekat and Sufism, but there are also those whose knowledge is based on a blend of pre-Islamic magic with magic derived from tarekat knowledge. *Tawa nan ampek* is a very well-known combination of healing plants that using by *urang pandai* (*sufi healer*). This treatment method uses four types of plants, namely *sitawa* (medicine), *sidingin* (sedative or cooling), *cikarau* (refreshment), and *cikumpai* (solvent). Each type of this plant has its own medicinal characteristics. If a person has a high fever, cooling plants are used, and if the disease is to be destroyed, then a solvent-type plant is used [23]. In the study of medical science, the traditional treatment method using these four types of plants has been proven to have properties to cool the body and strengthen the spirit. It is, therefore, effective in treating measles and fever caused by keteguran (fever caused by reprimand by supernatural beings or *jinn* for entering a certain place) [24]. This traditional medical expertise will usually be passed on to someone through a serious learning process or through what is known as the "people of faith" pattern (people of descent). There is an orthodox Islamic healing way, a Sufi healing tradition, and the healing of the traditional healer. Their healing systems and methods differ [24]. Sufi healers are *urang pandai* who use *fawaid* (beneficial verses) in the Qur'an and Sunnah and combine them with some esoteric knowledge. This person usually lives in a surau (prayer house), a center for religious education, tarekat, and *silek* (martial art) [25].

The choice and belief in magic as one of the cultural and religious heritages inherited by their predecessors was influenced by traditional values that developed strongly in society. One of the traditional values is *merantau* (leaving his village for good, temporarily, or permanently). *Merantau*, which is another characteristic of Minangkabau society besides the matrilineal system and Islam [26], helps strengthen the existence of this magical science. To most Minangkabau children, there is always magic and luck in a new place. The Minangkabau saying *lauik sati, rantau batuah* (sea is full of magic, rantau is full of lucks) is still relevant and needs to be taken into account. It is believed that good and bad events, both physically and mentally, will surely be encountered. A

child who will go *merantau* needs to be equipped with a *paga badan* (self-fence) in the form of prayers and mantras derived from the verses of the Qur'an and amulets obtained from a teacher, *mamak* (uncle) father, or grandfather. For this reason, a tradition known as *baka bajalan* (walking stock) is still an important part of doing. The provisions for traveling are related to prayers and mantras for self, lovers, and runners to guard and protect someone from evil deeds, humans, and supernatural beings [17].

Beside as *sufi* healer the word *urang pintar* is also used for those who have supernatural abilities because of the existence of people of descent or (intermediaries) although most of them are also people of tarekat. Stark et al. [24] uses the "mediums" to describe the *urang pandai* (*berakuan*). He told that *orang berakuan* is a person who acts as a medium. In Minangkabau, the people consult this type of healer. In that time suddenly, the healer utters some words in an altered state of consciousness. The healer informs the patients about somethings that related with their problems. The medium in an altered state of consciousness informs the patient on what to do, and continue with the treatment.

From the explanation above, it can be said that the existence of *urang pandai* in the life of the Minangkabau society until today is influenced by situations that are mutually related to one another. The power of *urang pandai* is formed from the complex relationship between traditional, cultural, and religious values that exist in society. Customary, cultural, and religious values based on tarekat teachings become a source of knowledge, which in the end gives birth to discourse and truth, which in turn affects the attitudes and choices of the community itself.

4. POWER RELATION OF URANG PANDAI IN THE DIRECT REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION

According to Foucault [12], power is a force in a multi-complex relationship that persists in the environment and organization in which they exist, proceeds through endless struggles and confrontations, changes, and gets more substantial, or vice versa, to form a chain or system, or conversely, cross paths or opposites, which separates one from the other. Power is something that can be owned by all elements in society. Power is not held and practiced in a sphere where many positions are strategically related. There is more power on the individual as a subject in the smallest scope.

Power relations are something that can be owned by all elements in society, both individuals and institutions so power is everywhere. Power relations are practiced in a sphere where many positions are strategically related to one another [27]. In direct regional head elections, various elements have power relations with each other in a related manner, ranging from the central government, governors, regional head candidates, political parties, and the people (voters) to *urang pandai* itself.

Government, as the holder of executive power, is the party that has the power to issue regulations indirect regional head elections. Since direct regional head elections after 2004 politics becomes more open and democratic, and opportunities for regional head candidates. An increasingly open and democratic regional head election mechanism encourages political awareness and participation of political elites to nominate themselves as candidates for governor, regent, or mayor. The government has issued several laws to regulate the implementation of direct regional head elections including;

Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government for 2005, Law Number 12 of 2008 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government for 2010; Law Number 8 of 2015 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in place of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors to become Laws for 2015.

Regulations that have undergone a big opportunity for society to involve as candidate and succession team for the regional head. It also causes increasingly complex relations, where the people as voters are empowered in nominating regional heads from individual (independent) lines and at the same time determine the candidates for elected governor, regent, and mayor through the most votes at polling stations (TPS). The power of the people as an absolute determinant of candidates for governor, regent, and elected mayor also affects the position of regional heads candidates. This causes political competition between regional head candidates to be increasingly tight.

The tight competition between candidates creates mental and psychological pressure, especially with the high political costs required to become a candidate. Aminah et al. [28] describes that oligarch's control of political parties is one of the reasons why political costs in regional head elections are high. That causes the nomination of candidates to be not an arena for contesting capacities and capabilities, but rather an arena for capital struggle, popularity, and closeness. The netting system tends to be closed, not transparent, and not possible to be monitored by the public, which raises the reality of "political dowry" [29]. In addition to political dowries, candidates spend money to form and mobilize successful teams to mobilize support, finance campaigns, and others. Based on a limited survey by the KPK in 2018, the average cost incurred by a candidate for head/deputy regional head reaches billions of rupiah. There are even candidate pairs who spend more than 10 billion rupiahs [30]. Haris [31] writes that the political costs paid by candidate pairs of regents and mayors range from Twenty billion to thirty billion rupiahs, while the price of a candidate pair of Governors ranges from Twenty billion to 100 billion rupiahs. Even though the average assets of the election candidate pairs are only around six point seven billion rupiahs, there are even four election candidates whose assets are zero rupiahs.

We conducted interviews with key players (candidate) and we know in the election of the head of the region directly elected by the people, a regional head candidate is like *urang hanyuik* (people dragged by the river currents). These circumstances eventually led them to go to the *urang pandai*. Some candidates come with the motivation to reduce and overcome mental and psychological stress. They go to in the hope of receiving spiritual messages. Some come to them to calculate the odds and try to win. As described by Malinowski [32] that in situations of emotional, stress, crisis, in an empty condition (empty), unhappiness, tension, and hatred, religious and magical values are the choices that many people make. This is where, according to the author, the *urang pandai* are present as spiritual mentors, political advisors, and even both.

The power relationship between *urang pandai* as spiritual mentors, political advisors, and even both candidates for regional heads is well described by Foucault. Foucault [12] argues that power is not something that is only controlled by the state but can also be owned by anyone. Power for Foucault is everywhere because power is a dimension of relations. That

is, where there is a relationship, there is power. Every power is structured, established, and manifested through certain knowledge and discourse. Certain discourses produce truth and certain knowledge produces power effects. In this case, the knowledge of *urang pandai* about magic and the discourse about *urang pandai* in certain community groups form a power relationship between *urang pandai* and the candidate. Candidates for regional heads believe the words and attitudes of *urang pandai* as the truth. On the other hand, the power relations of the underprivileged are also influenced by changes in regulations regarding the election of regional heads from indirect to direct. The power relation between the two parties is manifested in the following various forms of spiritual practice.

4.1 Wirid, Tahlilan, Berdoa, and Ziarah Makam

Spiritual practices such as *wirid*, *dhikr*, *tahlilan*, and prayer are activities that are often carried out by *urang pandai* together with regional head candidates, especially in direct elections. This routine religious activity is usually carried out in places of study such as *surau* (praying places), mosques, and *pesantren*. This activity is often attended by candidates for regional heads who hope to get "*barakah*" (prayer and blessing) from Allah to facilitate their efforts in the election. Caliph Abu Bakar Tuanku Saidina Ibrahim, a teacher of the *Naqshabandiyah* order in Surau Batu Maulana Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Khalidi, Nagari Kumpulan, Pasaman Regency, often receives visits from candidate who come to follow *tawajjuh* (dhikr to face the heart of Allah SWT) in this *surau*. Their arrival is basically to ask for prayers and blessings from the Sheikh so that his hopes are fulfilled by Allah SWT (Interview with Caliph Abu Bakar Tuanku Saidina Ibrahim, dated February 12, 2019).

In another case, Sheikh Mustafa Kamal, the heir of the *Naqshbandiyah* order, Sheikh Maulana Muhammad Basyir, in Surau Lubuk Landur, Nagari Lubuk Landur, West Pasaman Regency, also conveyed the same. At the time of the election, many regional heads asked him for prayers and blessings. There is even a candidate for a regional head who gets the prayer and blessing by following the *suluk* in Surau Lubuk Landur (Interview, Sheikh Mustafa Kamal Lubuk Landur on February 7, 2018). *Suluk* is a religious activity, that is doing *dhikr* for some time in a *surau*. It is a way to approach Allah and obtain *ma'rifat* [27]).

In addition, some ask for prayers and blessings through *wirid* activities. The religious speeches by Tuanku Sidi Jalalain, a scholar of the Syattariah order and the Head of Pondok Pesantren Buluh Kasok, Nagari Sungai Sarik, Padang Pariaman Regency, are also often attended by regional head candidates such as governor. Some candidates, such as MK, AM, AM, and MY, deliberately attended and participated in the activity to get God's blessings from the prayers and *dhikr* he did together with the *jama'ah*, people in the congregation (Interview with Angku Sidi Jalalain, dated February 12, 2018).

Another interesting thing *urang pandai* does with regional head candidates during the direct elections is performing *tahlilan* (praying together) and *do'a* (praying) after Friday prayers, and making *takziah* (pilgrimages to the tombs of prominent clerics). In the past, requests for *tahlilan* and prayer after congregational prayers came from members of the community intending to pray for the passed away family members such as parents and siblings, to be kept away from the punishment in the grave. However, during the election of

the regional heads, the request also came from candidates for governor, regent, and mayor. The practice of prayer is intended not only to have God's blessing for the family who has passed away but also for the success of the candidates in the contest. This interesting phenomenon is found in many *surau* and mosques under the influence of *Syattariyah* and *Naqshbandiyah* orders in West Sumatra.

Similar ritual activities are found in the pilgrimage to the tomb of the scholars of the famous orders. During the time of direct elections, many tombs are visited by regional head candidates. Some are the Tomb of Sheikh Burhanuddin in Ulakan, the tomb of Sheikh Tuanku Saliah Kiramatullah in Sarik River, Padang Pariaman Regency, Maulana Tomb of Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Khalidi in Pasaman Regency, Maulana Tomb of Sheikh Muhammad Basyir in Lubuk Landur, West Pasaman Regency, Tomb of Sheikh Ibrahim Mufti in Taram, District 50 Kota, Tomb of Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli in Candung, Agam Regency, and the Tomb of Sheikh Abdul Wahab in Calau, Sijunjung Regency. The arrival of the pilgrimage is usually filled with *tahlian* and *do'a*. The *takziah*, *tahlilan*, and *do'a* carried out by candidate regional heads are intended to get Allah's *baraqah* (blessings) for their political efforts.

In addition to collective prayers, *wirid*, *tahlilan*, and tomb pilgrimages, several tarekat teachers also offer prayers to be practiced personally by candidates. These activities are spiritual practices aimed at providing calm, confidence, and self-defense for potential regional heads. Meanwhile, *orang berakuan* who claim to help candidates get inner peace, confidence, and self-protection by being more private and closed. Between *orang berakuan* and the candidate, there is a limited meeting, and that's when spiritual advice, prayers, and practices are given by "orang akuan" to the candidate for practice. This is where *urang pandai* act as spiritual mentors.

4.2 Use of Jimat (amulets)

Amulets are usually objects that are given to candidates to gain, increase self-confidence and self-protection. This amulet practice can be carried out by *urang pandai* from both groups of tarekat teachers and non-believers. Sheikh Mustafa Kamal, a teacher of tarekat the *Naqshbandiyah* order from *Surau* Sheikh Maulana Muhammad Basyir in Lubuk Landur, West Pasaman Regency, is often visited by candidates for regional heads from various districts and cities in West Sumatra to ask for some amulet. There are several types of amulets *such as pakasih* (lover), *pitunduak* (downsized), and *piganta* (grinder).

The amulets are taken from the useful Verses of the Qur'an written in Arabic-Malay letters written on a piece of paper (*Interview*, Sheikh Mustafa Kamal Lubuk Landur dated February 7, 2018) (see Figure 1). The amulet that is derived from the verses of the Qur'an cannot be stored in any place. The amulet and is beneficial for self-protection and boosting one's confidence. The price of an amulet depends on the level of the candidate's confidence. Some of them paid a big amount of money because they believe in the use of it. Some of these *amulets* have been given to the candidates of elected regents, M.K in Padang Pariaman regency and S.P in Tanah Datar Regency. (*Interview*, Sheikh Mustafa Kamal Lubuk Landur dated February 7, 2018).

In addition to pieces of the Quran, amulets can be in the form of fragrance oil. This is done by *urang berakuan* named Anto who lives in Campago Guguk Bulek Village, Bukittinggi

City. This kind of *urang pandai* uses the fragrance oil *jafaron afgaftur* that has been turned off. The oil is applied to clothing so that others who smell the oil become *tabao kasih* (fall in love). This practice was carried out against several candidates for mayor of Bukittinggi indirect elections in 2005 and 2010. Some candidates who use this oil managed to win the election. The candidates' names, however, were not mentioned by the *urang pandai* due to the code of ethics of *urang pandai* (*Interview* with Anto, dated March 17, 2019).



(Source: Personal Documentation, February 7th, 2017)

Figure 1. Some of the amulet's collections of sheikh mustafa kamal lubuk landur, west pasaman regency

4.3 Practice of Penerawangan (divination)

Penerawangan is a practice carried out by *urang pandai* to find out the fate of a person by using the inner eye. This practice is done to ensure the likelihood and chance of a person winning the election. In this practice, *urang pandai* often give political advice to candidates. This practice is usually done at the request of candidate regional heads. The *Penerawangan* colored the dynamics and lobby of electoral politics, even then greatly determining the attitude and political choices of the candidate's indirect elections. It is observed from the attitude and political choices of a candidate, S.P, who firstly intended to run for Regent of Tanah Datar in 2000 and 2005. SP became not serious in his effort to win the contest in 2000 because he got a message from an *urang pandai* whose identity cannot be declared. The message obtained through the ritual of dismembering the stems of bananas held in a frying pan filled with water while reciting the prayers mentioned that S.P. was difficult to win elections in 2000. The message also stated that S.P. had a chance as the winner in the 2005 election. Considering the message of the *urang pandai* and other factors, S.P. decided to focus more seriously in the 2005 direct election than in 2000. Based on the results of the vote counted by the Regional Election Commission (KPUD) of Tanah Datar Regency, SP was declared as the winner of the 2005 regional head election (*Interview* with Shadiq Pasadigoe, dated March 5, 2019).

In addition to using certain rituals, there are *urang pandai* who do the practice of *penerawangan* only doing *dhikr* and contemplation. This was done by H. Djamaan that someone from tarekat who lived in Nagari Lasi, Agam Regency. According to the narration of his son, N.D, his father was visited by the one of the candidates for Mayor of Bukittinggi in 2000. His father encouraged and helped D in the contest because, based on the message from his contemplation, D was predicted to have a chance to win the election. He also said that his father gave some *kuciang-kuciang* (small shells from

the sea) to be stored and carried by D wherever he went. In the election that took place very tight, D finally managed to win the election. D won one vote ahead of his main competitor, GG (*Interview* with Nurus Shalihin Djamra, dated June 28, 2019).

The practice of *penerawangan* done by H. Ismail Tuanku Kuniang, *urang pandai* who lives in Lubuk Pandang, Padang Pariaman Regency, is somewhat different. As a figure of the Syattariah order, he predicted someone's candidacy in the regional head election by slicing the skin of *asam kapeh* (lime) that was accommodated in a frying pan filled with water while reciting prayers. This practice has been done to several candidate regents in Padang Pariaman Regency. He was among those who encouraged M.K to run as a candidate for Regent of Padang Pariaman in 2005. He also has a close relationship with the candidate for the elected Regent of Padang Pariaman. Several times M.K visited *surau* his residence (*Interview* with H. Ismael Tuanku Kuniang, dated January 1, 2019).

In Muaro Sasak, South Coastal Regency there is a *penerawangan* practice called "tawhid" (bertauhid). This practice uses the Book of the Quran tied with a plastic rope centered on a key placed at the tip of the right index finger. This practice was once carried out by *urang pandai* coming from a *terawang* who know good and bad messages of one's fate. This practice was carried out at the request of close people from candidate South Coast regents in 2005 and 2010. N.A. was elected in direct elections in 2005 and 2010 as a candidate for South Coast regent following the message of the practice he had conducted (*Interview* with Katik Zainal Muaro Sasak, dated February 22, 2019).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Direct regional head elections since 2005 that are more open and directly elected by the people lead to intense political competition and high political costs that must be incurred. This causes mental and psychological pressure experienced by candidates. One of the efforts and solutions to get out of this pressure is to go to *urang pandai*. In that situation, there is power relations between *urang pandai* and regional head candidates. The formation of power relations is supported by the knowledge about magic of *urang pandai* and the construction of positive Minangkabau community discourse toward *urang pandai*. Their arrival not only wanted to find calm, increase confidence and self-protection, but also to calculate and ensure victory. The form of power relations between *urang pandai* and the regional head candidate is a spiritual mentor, political advisor, or both. The activity of power relations *urang pandai* as spiritual mentors, political advisors, or both are illustrated through the spiritual activities and practices carried out. Starting from remembrance, *wirid* (recitation), praying together, giving prayers, visiting graves, and using amulets.

This study takes the temporal limitation of direct regional head elections since 2005-2015. This study has limitations because it does not explain how the power relation of the candidate to *urang pandai*. We know from this paper that *urang pandai* are involved in realizing the process of democratic maturation and the implementation of peaceful and quality local elections in Indonesia, especially in West Sumatra. *Urang pandai*, as influential community groups in society, are given space and are more optimally involved by the central

and local governments, political elites, and election organizers, especially in political education agendas at the level of political actors and voters. *Urang pandai*, who come from tarekat teachers, and *orang berakuan*, who claim to be old and elderly people who are relatively distant from short-term political interests. Their messages can ease competition and political tension in regional head elections.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author is grateful to Doctoral Program of Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Department of History and Chancellor of Andalas University, and to the Directorate of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology for their support that has been given to us.

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