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Adat Communities and Modern Democracy: The Power of Penghulu in Local Political Dynamics in West Sumatra

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ABSTRACT

The practice of democracy in Indonesia experiences changes that can be seen in the implementation of democracy at the local level. These changes can be recognized by the involvement of traditional leaders in managing the social and cultural dimensions that influence the democratic process at the local level. This article describes the strength of indigenous leaders in the dynamics of local politics, especially in the implementation of regional autonomy and regional head elections. Both of these dimensions are important variables in seeing local democracy because they intersect with the strength of indigenous peoples in the region. This can be known with the existence of traditional leaders in strengthening local identity in the era of regional autonomy. Likewise with the regional head election, their position is getting stronger to give legitimacy to the regional head. This article is the result of field research in several regency/cities, namely Solok Regency, Tanah Datar Regency, Limapuluh Kota Regency, Padang Pariaman Regency and Padang City. This area represents the characteristics of the *luhak* and *rantau* regions known in West Sumatra. Research was conducted from April 2017 to July 2018. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with a number of informants such as traditional leaders, bureaucratic officials, village leaders and academics. In addition, this study also uses relevant documents to complete field data collected. This study found that the Minangkabau ethnic tended to respect *penghulu* as traditional leaders to maintain their traditional values and culture in the *nagari*. However, the traditional authority possessed by the traditional leader will lose his spirit if used for political purposes. The community considers the power of traditional leader today has decrease, especially their political power. This article affirms that the power politics of the traditional leader will be accepted by the community, if only used in the framework of integration of social and cultural institutions in the *nagari* rather than mobilizing political support for certain interests.

KEYWORDS: People, indigenous, democracy, modern and politics

INTRODUCTION

Penghulu in *nagari* are traditional leaders chosen from each tribe. Because being the chosen person, usually the traditional leader has power in social and cultural aspects in his tribe. Even so, in some cases *penghulu* also uses his customary power for practical political interests to strengthen his existence. Since before independence, *penghulu* had indeed used his political power when dealing with the Dutch colonial government. In some cases the Dutch colonial government also cooperated with *penghulu* so that the objectives of the colonial government to control the community could be realized (Graves, 2007; Hasanuddin, 2013).

Besides *penghulu*, in the *nagari* there are also other elements that help *penghulu* implement these functions which are part of *urangampekjinih*, namely *malin*, *manti* and *du-balang* which together with the traditional leaders fulfill their respective responsibilities

in village (*nagari*). *Urang ampek jinih* sequence is an important part of an indigenous government in the village. For example, *malin* is responsible for religion; *manti* is responsible for governance and *dubalang* is the one that maintains security and order in the *nagari* (Diradjo, 2018: 178-180). Even so, the position of *penghulu* is one level higher than the other positions in the village (Graves, 2007: 24-26). While in the modern context this leader is a clan leader and tribe in the village. *Penghulu* who is usually known as a *datuk* is a person who is appointed as a leader in the clan and tribe because of the lineage. *Datuk* title for this *penghulu* is usually passed on to the mother's brother or son-nephew (*anak-ke-menakan*) of a mother's descendants who are also known as *sako*. This is the uniqueness of the matrilineal system in the *Minangkabau* ethnic group in West Sumatra.

For the leader, support from the clan and tribe is the basis of their social and cultural power. In certain cases it can be used for other purposes outside the social and cultural dimensions such as politics. Along with the passage of time, the leader is no longer merely perform social and cultural functions in his people and tribes. In some cases, the leader also plays his role as a person who can mobilize support for political interests in the *nagari*. Especially after the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, the public gained the freedom to participate in political activities (Crouch, 2010: 27).

RESEARCH QUESTION

Likewise, freedom of expression in political activities perceived by the community in *nagari* is also felt by these traditional leaders. They competed to get power, not only in the *nagari*, but also in the legislative institutions in the regency/city and province. The election of the village leader (*wali nagari*) openly encourages *penghulu* to be involved in this democratic contestation. Although there are *penghulu* who win, but not a few also lose the election. For those who lost in the contestation, it certainly affected the authority of the position of *penghulu* in charge. This article will explain how the involvement of traditional leader in entering this political arena, both directly and indirectly in democratic contestation in the *nagari*, regency/city or province. The main problem that will be explained in this article is how can these traditional leaders use their power in the process of democracy at the local level?

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in several regency/cities in West Sumatra such as Tanah Datar Regency, Solok Regency, Lima Puluh Kota Regency, Pesisir Selatan District, Padang Pariaman Regency, Agam Regency, Padang City and Solok City. The location was chosen deliberately with consideration of the progress of this area in maintaining the Minangkabau social and cultural system in modern life. Field research is done from August 2017 to June 2018 to obtain data and an overview of the powers of traditional leaders in the practice of modern democracy. The data used in this study are the results of in-depth interviews with 26 informants with backgrounds as traditional leaders, *ninikmamak* and *bundokanduang* in the element of Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN), government officials in provincial and regency/city cultural offices, religious leader and community leaders. In addition, interviews to obtain relevant data were also carried out with a number of academics who were concerned with the problem under study. To complete the interview data with a number of informants, the analysis also refers to research documents, local government activity reports, published books and articles that discuss Minangkabau customs and culture.

The analysis in this study uses descriptive qualitative research techniques that study in depth the phenomenon to find patterns and themes about an event or fact when researchers have questions related to the phenomenon. The observed phenomenon is related to the use of power by traditional leaders both in daily activities and political and governmental activities. The analysis in this article is based on the interpretation of the opinions and comments of the interviewees who were synthesized with other information from other informants using the cross-test method so that it was found an explanation related to the politics of the power of the leader following a certain pattern. In order to improve the analysis, the data sourced from documents and other secondary sources are also used to complete the analysis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Minangkabau in West Sumatra Indonesia is one of the ethnic groups in the world that uses a matrilineal system. This ethnicity positions the mother's lineage as the successor to the large family generation. The maternal line which is referred to as *kaum* in *paruik* developed into a large family called the village (De Jong, 1980: 11-12). The village or also known as *Jorong* continues to grow which, because it consists of several clans and several tribes, eventually becomes a village. According to Navis (1984), *nagari* is a customary law community unit with clear boundaries based on lineage (genealogy). The *nagari* represents a small sovereign state, but still remains part of the confederation of the Pagaruyung Kingdom during the 14th century Pagaruyung Kingdom (Diradjo, 2018: 71-82).

In the modern century, each *nagari* has become the lowest autonomous government unit in government administration in West Sumatra Province. Interestingly, each *nagari* has customs and culture that can be different and become a rule for residents. *Nagari* in West Sumatra is the lowest autonomous government system and is headed by a village leader also called *wali nagari*. In the administration of the government, *wali nagari* was assisted by his apparatus to fulfill the duties of government in the *nagari*. In addition to the *nagari* government, there is also a consultative body which is a legislative body in the *nagari* that reflects the representatives of the community elements in the *nagari*. Because the *nagari* also reflects the overall social and cultural system of the community, the *nagari* was formed also Kerapatan Adat Nagari (KAN). This customary institution is also known as an institution that maintain and preserves the social and cultural systems in the village (Asrinaldi, 2017: 94-95).

The clan in one *jorong* and in one tribe interact with other clan and tribes so that they form a *nagari* led by several customary leaders. Usually every *nagari* has at least four tribes that form the *nagari* as a government unit and at the same time as a place to implement its social and cultural system (Navis, 1984). In the Minangkabau ethnic group, *penghulu* has an honorable position in the people and his tribe, not only in the social and cultural aspects, but in broad terms. Graves (2007: 21) asserts

The leader is at the top of the *adat* hierarchy representing his tribe. Always this way, he is given the responsibility to implement the *adat* principles that affect his tribe and regulate relations between his tribes and other tribes, his tribe with the *nagari* as a whole, his tribe with a wider environment. He represented the suggestions of his tribe members in the government of the *nagari* which was most important in this regard was the division of un-cultivated land (*tanah ulayat*), forest control tasks and several types of communal elections.

This is also implied in the Minangkabau customary philosophy that the leader is “*ibarat kayu gadang di tengah padang. Ureknyo tampek baselo, dahannyo tampek bagantuang, daunnyo tampek balinduang, tampek balinduang kapanasan, tampek bataduah kahujanan, batangnyo tampak basanda, kapai tampek batanyo, kapulang tampek babarito, pusek jalo pumpunan ikan, hukumnyo adia, kataonyo bana*” (Hakimy, 2001:8). (Like big wood in the middle of the field. The veins of the seats are cross-legged, the forehead is the place to hang, the leaves are the shelter, the shelter from the heat, the shelter of the rain, the trunk of a place to lean, go to the place to ask, go home to give news, the fish nets center, the law is fair and the word is right).

The influence of traditional leaders in the community is very large because of the traditional power they have. The power of *penghulu* gets legitimacy in custom and tradition because of the recognition of the people and his tribe. Haboddin (2017: 27) asserts that traditional power usually has the character that the power that is in one's hands is passed down from generation to generation following the lineage of his extended family. Likewise with traditional leaders in Minangkabau, especially those originating from the *kelarasan (lareh)* of *Koto Piliang*.

Indeed, the existence of a leader in the Minangkabau ethnic group is influenced by a political system or a system of government practiced by the community. In the political system or the government system in Minangkabau, there is a system of *kelarasan (lareh)*. This *kelarasan* system is the implementation of the functions of political units or government existing in the community following the cultural values that exist in the community (Shalihin, 2014). For example, *lareh Koto Piliang* has a tradition that the authority of *penghulis* inherited from generation to generation according to a clear lineage. Meanwhile, in *kelarasan* of *Bodi Caniago*, the authority of this *penghulu* can be transferred or given to others as long as there is an agreement through the deliberation of the leaders who are in the clan and the tribe approves it. Even so, of course the granting of this authority is based on the conditions set by the tribes in the *nagari*.

Understanding the power that individuals have, for example, the power possessed by traditional leaders is also part of the focus of the study of political sociology. Power will be interesting if it is associated with who has this power, how to use it and what interests are expected from the power used. Power is basically owned not only by individuals, but also by both traditional and modern community groups. For example, in indigenous peoples in Minangkabau, the power that exists in their leaders is used to maintain the existence of the social and cultural systems they believe in (Piliang&Sungut, 2018: 189-191). Because with the traditional power, the traditional leader can manage the community so that it is always obedient and follows the order of social and cultural values. For those who violate, there will be customary sanctions or social sanctions (Piliang&Sungut, 2018; Diradjo, 2018).

In contrast to modern power, the government can impose repressive sanctions such as prison, death sentence and so on. Even the use of social sanctions by indigenous leaders is also carried out with extreme caution. Moreover, in the process of making social sanctions for the community in the *nagari*, of course, it must involve the leaders of other tribes so that justice can be upheld. So it is clear that the power held by the *penghulis* an instrument to safeguard the social and cultural system of the community. Power for the *penghulis* not in the context of pursuing and maintaining power as is the case in modern political practices.

What is practiced by the Minangkabau ethnic community illustrates the authenticity of the local democracy they carry out. With the order of values that has been accepted and respected by the community, generally the implementation can run well by giving space to each element in the community (Hadler, 2010). Even so, the leader who has power and is recognized by his tribe cannot use power outside the interests of the people and tribes. Moreover, the position of the leader is indeed to help the people and their tribes. Therefore, the leader must be wise and broad-minded in solving every problem of his community "(Diradjo, 2018: 177). While *penghulu* still holds the interests of the clan and tribe, what *penghulu* ordered will be followed by his son-nephews. Moreover, the high position of *penghulu* and his great name became the role model of clan and their tribes as explained by the traditional idiom "*kamanakanbarajokamamak, mamakbarajokapangulu*." (Nephews respects to uncle, uncle respects to traditional leader).

Herein lies the height of the position of the *penghulu* who can order the *mamak* of the clan and tribes in the interest of maintaining their social and cultural values. Even so, the practice of democracy organized by the regional government turned out to have an influence on the existence of traditional authorities in fulfilling its functions. The power of the traditional leaders is reduced drastically and can no longer influence the way of the *nagari* government directly. Indeed, since the government implemented regional autonomy based on Law No.22 / 1999 concerning regional government and was last revised by Law No.23 / 2014, the authority of the traditional leader only takes care of customary and cultural matters. While the practice of political administration and governance in the *nagari* is held by *wali nagari* (village leader).

Even indirectly, the position of *wali nagari* who was directly elected by the community through an open election mechanism was considered to have strong legitimacy when dealing with the *penghulu*. As a result the function of the *penghulu* in the social and cultural system in *nagari* is diminishing because it is no longer part of the *nagari* government at the lowest level. This reality is the impact of central government intervention in the implementation of democracy at the local level. Of course, with the increasingly limited authority of these traditional leaders, it influences the dynamics of local democracy today (Asrinaldi, 2017).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The practice of local democracy in many countries can be seen from many indicators. For example, democracy is seen from community participation in both political activities and governance (Huntington & Nelson, 1978). While others, local democracy can also be seen from how empowerment of the community is carried out by democratic actors. Empowerment in the context of democracy, according to Behrouzi (2006: 67-68), basically refers to two senses, first, independence in the sense of the existence of community participation in the selection of public office in the legislative, executive and judicial branches autonomously. Second, independence in the sense of indirect participation through groups that govern in maintaining elite sovereignty and interests. Even though in this context, there will be distortions of interests that tend to be only oriented to the interests of the elite rather than the people who give the mandate.

For Indonesia, the implementation of local democracy can also be seen from two variables that need to be considered, namely regional autonomy and regional head elections (Pilkada). First, understanding local democracy from the dimensions of regional

autonomy relates to the submission of government affairs to the regions. The local government is the main actor implementing government affairs that are submitted by the central government. However, for the successful implementation of the affairs that are the authority of the regions submitted, there are also those affairs that are distributed to the lowest level of government. In West Sumatra the existence of this lowest government is a *nagari* which clearly has the rights of origin and the original rights of the people recognized by the state. Therefore, the local government needs to consider the existence of traditional leaders in the *nagari* who are known as the leaders.

Moreover, since the implementation of regional autonomy, the existence of indigenous peoples and the existence of local communities influence the practice of democracy at the local level. In some cases, everything related to the implementation of government programs and activities must involve local communities so that they are dominant as the main actors. For example relating to development projects implemented or in the recruitment of local government employees. In many ways, the strengthening of the domination of local communities can clearly threaten the implementation of local democracy in Indonesia. (Agustino, 2011; Nordholt&Klinken, 2007).

Secondly, local democracy can also be seen from the election of regional heads which is also understood from the existence of indigenous peoples in giving legitimacy to the authority of regional heads. Strengthening identity politics is also a concern for many parties because it threatens democracy is a common phenomenon that has occurred since the direct election of regional heads (Aspinall&Fealy, 2003; Erb&Sulistiyanto, 2010). Politics of identity also illustrates the strengthening of the spirit of majority ethnicity in determining their future in the era of autonomy. It is not uncommon to strengthen identity politics as an issue in the constituency of the elections in Indonesia (Afala, 2018; Buchari, 2014).

The existence of the community by prioritizing their customs in the *Pilkada* process is often found in the dynamics of local democracy. For example, how indigenous leaders influence their followers by mobilizing their support to support certain candidates who come from their ethnicity. Buchari (2014: 6-7), for example, explains the position of the Dayak ethnic groups who are increasingly dominant in the local political contestation as in the elections. The strength of the dayak traditional leader in mobilizing the masses in the *Pilkada* succeeded in delivering Cornelis, one of the Dayak figures to become the governor in West Kalimantan Province in 2007. Whereas so far, even since the colonial era, Dayak ethnic groups did not get a place in political dynamics.

This fact also explained that not a few people did obey and submit to the wishes of their traditional leaders, especially when directed to support their candidates in the elections. This compliance clearly originates from the traditional power possessed by the traditional leader. As long as the customary leader has charisma in front of his community, then what is said will be heard by his followers. But the source of traditional power is not the source of everything. Although these traditional leaders have low traditional legitimacy of power, but they have good economic resources, the words of this leader will still be heard. This is related to the patronage relationship that is formed between the traditional leaders and the communities that have been established (Asrinaldi, 2017: 66-69).

In the contestation of democracy through the *Pilkada*, there are indeed still *penghulu* who participate in the *Pilkada*. This involvement will certainly not be left alone by the

people. They will clearly question the political attitude of this traditional leader. Usually, if the *penghulu* only use their traditional influence in mobilizing support, it will be difficult for them to get the support of the community. Except, if this *penghulu* also uses clientelism networks that have been built all this time. Especially in areas far from the information center, political clientelism is very effective to be used to win over candidates for regional heads (cf. Aspinall&Sukmajati, 2015).

Are Minangkabau people still having a role in the midst of an increasingly modern democracy in West Sumatra Province? What is the influence of traditional leaders in the implementation of local democracy? Both of these questions need to be put forward to explain how the political influence of the power of the leader is not only in society, but also in the administration of government. Questioning the influence of adat leaders is important because long before Indonesia became independent the existence of these traditional leaders was very clearly influential in the colonial period (Kahin, 2005; Graves, 2010; As-rinaldi, 2017).

IMPLICATION

The Minangkabau ethnic group is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia. Based on the Minangkabau ethnic population, it is indeed only 2.7% of Indonesia's population. While the Javanese tribe is the largest tribe in Indonesia, which amounts to 40.05% and is followed by the Sundanese Tribe with a total of 15.50% (BPS, 2010: 8). Even so, the pattern of the spread of the Minangkabau tribe is quite massive so that this tribe can almost be found throughout Indonesia. Obviously this is related to the spirit of migrating within the Minangkabau people. For them, wandering is another way to change the future for the better than just being in the village. They seek new livelihoods outside their homeland by leaving their hometowns known as *nagari* (Naim, 2013; Kato, 2007). Not only in Indonesia, the spirit of migrating Minangkabau ethnicity also crosses the borders of countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and even in several European countries and the United States.

In addition to trading, the Minangkabau ethnic group is also known as a professional and intellectual who also influenced the Indonesian nation's journey. Although the Minangkabau ethnic majority is in West Sumatra Province, the pattern of social interaction is not closed. Evidently, the Minangkabau ethnic group was also very open to other tribes who also settled in the West Sumatra area. Therefore it is not surprising that the development of Minangkabau tribal customs also takes place dynamically because it is influenced by the outside culture that enters this area.

In the context of modern politics, the existence of the *nagari* has undergone significant changes. The change can be seen from the practice of modern government to the level of the *nagari* which changes the nature of the political unit at the lowest level. As a political unit at the lowest level, the *nagari* also has a form of government system introduced by the term *lareh*. As described above, there are two forms of *kelarasan/lareh*, namely *larehKotoPiliang* and *Lareh Bodi Caniago*. *Lareh Koto Piliang* can be identified with an aristocratic system of government with the character of decisions made involving the leaders representing the people and tribes in the *nagari*. *Lareh Koto Piliang* did see the difference between the position of *penghuluas* *primus inter pares* in the decision making process. Meanwhile, in *lareh Bodi Caniago*, the position of *penghulus* not multilevel, but has an equal position. Decision making in *lareh Bodi Caniago* always prioritizes deliber-

ation and consensus. It does not only involve traditional leaders, but all participants in decision making have the same voice. Therefore, *lareh* Bodi Caniago is more egalitarian, namely the position of the parties involved in making the same and equal decisions (Kahin, 2005: 2-3).

However, today's conditions, the two systems of *kelarasan/lareh* are no longer used in the administration of the *nagari* government. *Nagari* today uses a system of village governance introduced by the central government through the rules made. The practice of implementing a government like this has been implemented since the enactment of Law No.5 / 1974 concerning the principles of village governance during the New Order era. Likewise in the present, despite the regime change, Law No. 6/2014 on villages still emphasizes the importance of uniformity in the administration of the lowest government.

Then what are the political implications? Obviously with the implementation of the lowest form of government like this, traditional leaders of the *nagari* community is only a symbol of cultural sovereignty in the *nagari*. Unlike in the Dutch colonial era, which still applied the system, the presence of *penghulu* was so respected. Aside from being an *adat* leader, *penghulis* also *wali nagari* who has influence in and out of the *nagari*. Even negotiations made with Dutch colonialism were actually carried out by *penghulu* as traditional leaders (Graves, 2007). This means that the authority of the leader is not only limited to handling customary and cultural issues, but also taking care of political and governmental issues. The authority of *penghulu* is so recognized and respected by the people and their tribes. This is illustrated in its customary philosophy "*kemenakan seperintah mamak*" (nephew on uncle's orders). *Mamak*, generally also serving as *penghulu* of the clan and tribe, is the brother of the mother of the nephew who he governed. This is the uniqueness of the matrilineal system in the Minangkabau tribe, the lineage that follows the mother's family.

Different today, traditional leaders no longer has clear political authority, except in certain cases the local government recognizes the existence of this *penghulu*. The form of recognition of the local government towards this leader is various. For example, individuals who are traditional leaders are considered to have the capacity as leaders. This is related to the authority he has in the presence of his society. Usually the authority of the leader is maintained because as a leader they are able to maintain the spirit of customs and traditions and maintain tribal heritage as an economic source for the lives of their society. In many cases, the current *penghulu* easily pawns and even sells the inheritance of clan and their tribes. As a result their self-esteem as informal leaders falls. Whereas the authority of *penghulu* is the bargaining value when negotiating with local governments that need the support of their people and tribes. Even in cases of conflict and violence handled by the police and regional governments in West Sumatra, it must be resolved by involving indigenous leaders. Especially if the dispute concerns *tanah ulayat* (customary land) conflicts with investors or with the local government, then the existence of *penghulu* becomes important to resolve the conflict.

In modern life, the authority of *penghulis* more in the traditional territory. This is in accordance with the responsibility he has to maintain the authority of the traditional institutions he leads. Because the power of *penghulu* only exists in the *nagari* territory inhabited by the people and his tribe. Meanwhile, the authority of *penghulu* outside the *nagari* territory is only limited to the title of a *datuk* who is attached to him, but does not have the authority to give orders to other people in other villages.

Although *penghulu* of the Minangkabau ethnically maintains traditional institutions, the meaning is quite broad for the people in the *nagari*. Because, for Minangkabau ethnic, activities in custom include broad dimensions. The Minangkabau people will bear the psychological burden if they are considered as uncivilized people or people who do not know the customs. Even social sanctions that are also feared for the Minangkabau ethnic are when someone is sentenced to be banished throughout the custom. That is, sanctions are removed as long as this custom is a form of punishment that someone who violates adat is no longer recognized as a son-nephew or resident in the *nagari*. They are no longer considered part of clan and tribes who can help their lives if there are difficulties. Therefore, for residents in the *nagari*, if they violate custom in the *nagari*, they must redeem them with sanctions that have also been established in accordance with custom.

Interestingly in this Minangkabau ethnic group, even though the leader has authority in his people and tribe, his use cannot be out of customary interests. Many leaders as clan and traditional leaders want support from the community to be the *wali nagari*, regional head or legislative candidate. However, many failed because they did not get political support from the people in the election. It has become a paradox. On the one hand this leader is regarded as a person who is able to mobilize the masses for the political interests of candidates for regional heads because of the traditional power elections they have. However, on the other hand, they are many who do not get the support of their society when running for political contestation in the *nagari*.

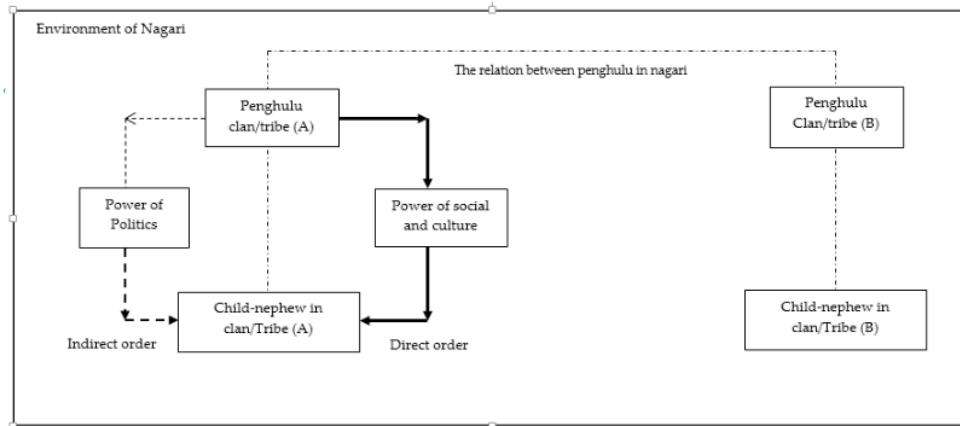
This reality actually explains that the power relationship between *penghulu* and his nephew is not in the framework of domination and hegemony. More than that, the relationship formed between *penghulu* who are also *mamak* (uncles) of their nephews is a rational relationship. For example, there is no obligation for nephews to support *penghulu* who are also their *mamak* to be regional heads or legislative candidates in a general election. How could this happen?

For society, *penghulu* is a leader in *adat* who cannot necessarily lead others in political organizations or government organizations. The cultural legitimacy of *penghulu* does not automatically become a political legitimacy that tends to be used for the personal interests of the traditional leader. In addition, for the community, behavior, nature and ability of these traditional leaders is always their assessment. Many traditional titles descended on these rulers because they were merely lineages that were inherited directly from the *mamak* who had been the predecessor. This system is known as *warih nan bajawek*, which is the title handed down to the niece of the *mamak* who became the brother of the biological mother who received the title of *penghulu* (Diradjo, 2018: 187). Seeing the personal ability of *penghulu* who received the title that was handed down today, not all of them also have the capacity as leaders. Because of this negative assessment, this leader will not be chosen by his society as leader for a higher position.

Furthermore, in the political context of the *nagari*, the authority of *penghulu* does not cross customary and cultural boundaries. As a result, the power of this traditional leader is only limited to the power to maintain the values of customs and culture. It is rare for traditional leaders to use their power to pass their authority in the fields of custom and culture. There is a tendency when the leader uses his power outside the authority of custom and culture because the people in *nagari* will not "obey" again. Even if there is a leader who has succeeded in gaining public office, the source of his support is no longer based on the traditional authority within him. Usually the source of the power comes from

the personal ability of the leader outside the traditional authority.

Figure 1: The political relations of the power of traditional leaders in the people in the nagari



In another aspect, many traditional titles as *penghuluare* also given to someone outside the tribe who is considered to have helped the community in the *nagari*. Usually the traditional title given is to individuals who are indeed successful in their careers so that they deserve the title of *sangsako*. The awarding of the *sangsako* title can indirectly elevate the tribe in the *nagari*. For example, the awarding of the *sangsako* degree to political figures or public officials such as the President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono with the title *Yang Dipertuan Maharajo Pamuncak Sari Alam* in 2006. So also the title *sangsako* which was given to President Megawati Soekarno Putri's husband, namely Muhammad Taufik Kiemas with a title *Datuk Basa Batuah* in 2003. Even Chairman of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) of the Republic of Indonesia 2017-2019 Oesman Sapta Odang. This figure is indeed living outside the *nagari*, namely in West Kalimantan also has the title as the Minangkabau adat leader of *Bandaro Sutan Nan Kayo* in 2003.

The importance of this traditional title is also seen in political practice today. Usually local politicians use traditional titles that are on it to attract the attention of the community in the *nagari*. This reality can be seen when the leaders who also become politicians use billboards to popularize themselves both in legislative and regional election activities. It can be said that this traditional title is an inseparable part of imaging in the context of personal branding that is formed in the hope that the community will support them.

By understanding this reality, it can be stressed, first, the existence of the *penghulu's* power is only within the scope of a village. This power is inseparable from the customary legitimacy given by clan and their tribes to protect the customs and culture of the *nagari*. It is rare that the authority of the leader can get out of the realm of custom and culture, for example, enter the political realm to mobilize to get community support for both himself and other candidates he supports. Because when the customary leader starts politics, since then the authority of the position of the leader who is held by him loses his traditional authority. Penghulu are no longer respected by the community.

Second, the success of the leader in the political realm is precisely determined by his personal capacity such as the socio-economic status attached to him. If individuals

who are appointed as these leaders have better social and economic strata in society, they usually get support from clan and tribes. Especially if they have an attitude of generosity in the village and often help their society. There are many events, although the role of the leader is not seen directly in political activities such as the elections, but because of having special relations with candidates for regional heads, in some cases they also use their authority to provide support. Of course there are interests brought by *penghulu* when deciding to support one candidate for the regional head. Usually these leaders will not be acting in the name of their traditional position in the contest because it will have an impact on customary in the presence of their clan and tribes.

However, it is certainly difficult to release the influence of the figure of *penghulu* in the people and tribes he leads. Especially if this *penghulu* has a good socio-economic status in the community. Many of these sons and nephews listen to the direction of this leader in order to be able to help win over candidates for the regional head he supports. For example, this can be seen in the Padang Panjang regional election when there was the involvement of *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* from the *Koto* tribe. Though personally *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* is a community figure in Nagari Koto Baru, Tanah Datar Regency, which is adjacent to Padang Panjang City. But because of his figure and his influence can still be seen personally beyond his *nagari*. Support *Datuk Pangulu Rajo* succeeded in winning the Mayor of Padang Panjang elected Hendri Arnis in the 2013 local elections.

In many cases, the elections in West Sumatra, the elected regional heads are usually people who also have the character of generosity in their clan and tribes, especially in helping the community in the *nagari*. They get sympathy from the community because of their generosity. For example, the Pesisir Selatan Regency Hendrajoni was elected in the 2015 elections. Hendrajoni was well known for his generous attitude that became his social capital when participating in political activities. His success in overseas was also the concern of clan and his tribe to appoint Hendrajoni as the leader with the title *Datuk Bando Basou* in Nagari Kambang, Pesisir Selatan Regency.

Third, in fact there is no direct relationship between the existence of traditional power of *penghulu* and modern political activities, except only in order to preserve the social and cultural values of the community. In this case, this traditional leader is fully responsible for the preservation of the customs and traditions in the *nagari*. In this context, *penghulu* uses the traditional power to ask the regional government to participate and maintain and respect the customs and culture that develops in the community. Usually, almost all traditional leaders in the archipelago use their traditional authority to influence the elites in the government to respect the customs and culture that develops in society.

In political terminology, the concept of influence is an inseparable part of power in the soft form that individuals have to achieve their goals. Why, the traditional leader can influence the local government to help preserve the customs and culture they have to protect? Of course, because of the predecessor's charisma that originates from the social power it has (cf. Weber, 1947). If traditional leaders use this traditional power for practical political purposes, then they must be prepared to accept the consequences of being disrespected as the leader of clan and tribe. Especially if in political contestation such as the legislative elections or the elections that are followed by the leader, this ends in defeat. There is no more authority they can defend so that their advice and direction is no longer the concern of their community in the *nagari*.

CONCLUSION

The leader in the Minangkabau ethnic group occupies a high position in the clan and tribe. The manager does not only play a leader, but also a place to ask and ask for advice related to the problems faced by son-nephews. Therefore, individually, a leader must have the authority and intellectual capacity needed by his community. However, the tradition of *merantau* (wandering) which has become a lifestyle for Minangkabau ethnicity has caused human resources to become *penghuluto* continue to decrease. Many sons and nephews who, after being successfully migrated, refused when asked to be *penghuluin* the village. This is related to social responsibility that they must embrace to take care of their clan and tribes. However, if the nephew is nominated to approve their appointment to be a leader, they usually will not stay in the *nagari*. For the sake of being a leader in the *nagari*, the clan and tribe who hold this customary title will appoint a *panungkek* as a substitute for the presence of the leader as the person who has the traditional title.

Penghuludo not have political power as a modern elite in politics and government. It is precisely for some people in the *nagari*, when traditional leaders play politics, the greatness of their traditional titles will decrease. Indeed there is still a "taboo" in the community in the *nagari*, *penghuluare* prohibited from acting in the name of clan and tribes when in contact with practical political activities. If this is done by *penghulu*, then the division will be found in the lives of the clan and tribes in the *nagari*. Therefore, if there is a leader involved in political activities, they will not act on behalf of the clan and tribes they lead. But more than mere personal interests. The impact of the decision of the political leader is the emergence of polarization within the tribe so that there is little chance for the leader to get maximum support from the community.

However, the political power of *penghuluin* this clan and tribe can still be found in the *nagari*. For example, mobilization of support executed by leaders in clans and tribes for certain purposes. However, the power of *penghuluin* carrying out this political mobilization must be supported by the economic power to run effectively. Without it, it is difficult for the leader to use his power to mobilize support. From this aspect, what is seen is the strengthening of pragmatism symptoms in the political activities of the people in the *nagari*. Because the mobilization of support executed by these *penghuluwas* accompanied by a number of compensation to the people in the *nagari* by giving them money, other material assistance or giving side jobs that benefited the community's economy.

Even so, basically the politics of the power of *penghulis* only limited to taking care of the customs and cultural issues that exist in the *nagari*. Furthermore, the political power of these leaders is only widely used for institutional integration in society rather than being used to mobilize political support. However, *penghulurealizes* that his power in the political dynamics at the local level has diminished its meaning. This is due to the increasing social, economic and political status of the community so as to reduce the intervention of *penghulu* in advising or governing their nephews in the *nagari*. In addition, the weak role of indigenous leaders, especially in using their political power is the impact of state intervention in society. This intervention was carried out by the local government through regulations issued in the form of *Peraturan daerah/Perda* (regionallaw) which also marginalized the role of adat leaders in the *nagari* community.

Endnote²

See Amnesty International (2015) 'Niger Delta: Shell's manifestly false claims about oil pollution exposed, again'. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/11/shell-false-claims-about-oil-pollution-exposed/> accessed 09 June 2018.

²

For instance, John Donovan (2013) 'Preliminary critique of the Shell-IUCN Niger Delta Panel report' had this to say about Shell activities in the Niger Delta region "So for a few million dollars paid to UNEP and IUCN over the past 6 years, Shell has knowingly continued to operate a substandard oil production and transportation system in the Niger Delta, earned USD billions, re-invested little, and is now leaving. And that is Shell sustainable business model in Nigeria. Report available at: <http://royaldutchshellplc.com/2013/09/06/preliminary-critique-of-the-shell-iucn-niger-delta-panel-report/> Accessed 09 June 2018.

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Kukah, M.H., 2011. *Witness to Justice: An Insider's Account of Nigeria's Truth Commission*. Bookcraft.

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Oculi, O., 2007. Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights, and Oil in the Niger Delta. *African Studies Review*, 50(2), pp.259-260.

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