



Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan
issn 2354-6174 eissn 2476-9649
Tersedia online di: journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/fikrah
Volume 9 Nomor 2 2021, (283-302)
DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v8i1.10218

Revivalism of the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah in Changing the Local Political Landscape of Rokan Hulu, Indonesia in Post-New Order

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Abstrak

Perubahan sosial-politik di Indonesia mengharuskan organisasi-organisasi Islam untuk beradaptasi dengan perubahan itu. Adaptasi tersebut ada yang berhasil bertahan dan eksis, ada juga yang bubar. Revivalisme dalam Islam adalah sebuah tuntutan dari sejarah panjang perjalanan Islam yang telah melewati batas geografis dan lintas budaya masyarakat Islam. Bertahan dan bubar nya gerakan Islam sangat bergantung pada kemampuan umat Islam menyesuaikan diri dengan lanskap sosial-politik, seperti kasus Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Rokan Hulu Riau, eksistensi gerakannya bertahan karena mampu beradaptasi dengan sistem sosial-budaya masyarakat setempat. Studi ini menunjukkan adanya interaksi antara Islam dengan budaya masyarakat yang saling mempengaruhi. Pengaruh yang terjadi dapat bersifat positif maupun bersifat negatif. Pengaruh Islam dalam lanskap sosial-politik lokal dapat dilihat dari penggunaan simbol-simbol Islam secara luas maupun dari berbagai kebijakan pemerintah lokal yang mengadopsi nilai-nilai Islam.

Kata Kunci: Eksistensi Tarekat, Relasi Politik Lokal, Revivalisme Islam

Abstract

Changes in Indonesia's socio-political require Islamic organizations to adapt to these changes, some of them have managed to survive and exist and died. Revivalism in Islam is a demand from the long history of Islam's journey, which has crossed the geographical and cross-cultural boundaries of Islamic society. The survival and death of the Islamic movement is highly dependent on the ability of Muslims adapts to the socio-political landscape, like the case of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in Rokan Hulu-Riau, the existence of the movement survives because it is able to adapt to the socio-cultural system of the local community. This study shows there is an interaction between Islam and the culture of the community and influences each other. The influence that occurs is sometimes positive and negative. The influence of Islam in the local socio-political landscape can be seen from the widespread use of Islamic symbols, as well as various local government policies that adopt Islamic values.

Keywords: Islamic revivalism, local political relations, tarekat existence

Introduction

Relationship between Islam and politics is always interesting to discuss along with the dynamics of socio-political development and the influence of today's political and economic digitalization. This era in fact shows the intensification of the role of religion in politics, this reality is suspected as the era of the revival of "Political Islam", an era where elements of Islamic society have wide opportunities to take part in state politics. The development of relations between Islam and politics cannot be separated from the changing political system and electoral system in Indonesia after the New Order (Hasbullah, 2009). Apart from that, in general Firdaus (2014) mentions that the discourse on the relationship between religion and the state gives rise to three streams. *First, the* sect which holds that Islam as a complete religion regulates all aspects of life, including political and state affairs. *Second, the* sect which argues that religion has nothing to do with the state, religious and state affairs must be separated. *Third, the* sect which argues that in Islam there is no constitutional system but in it there is a set of ethical values for the life of the state. In that position, the relationship between Islam and politics in Indonesia is a complete, interrelated and contributive relationship from the social, economic, cultural and political aspects, so that this assumption strengthens the thesis that Islam does not separate religion from politics and politics also requires religious legitimacy. This is then known in Islam as "*Islam huwa ad-din wa ad-daulah*" (Syukur, 2014).

The interrelated relationship between Islam and politics places Islam as an important instrument for the development of democracy in Indonesia after the New Order. Islamic-based institutions have even developed very rapidly,

ranging from political, economic, to social institutions in formal and non-formal forms. Political Islamic revivalism after the New Order helped to increase the existence of Islamic religious groups in the regions. The Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, for example, with its historical background is seen as one of the strong non-formal Islamic religious institutions and its influence is quite large in influencing public actions. Setiyawati (2017) stated that the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat made a very significant contribution to the development of religion and the social life of the community, especially in rural areas (Syam, 2013).

The practice of government intervention in the past touched on the main basis of the tarekat community (social and cultural), the pretext of legitimizing the modernization of the state and strengthening the ideology echoed by the government, in the end, reducing political choices and forming partisan attitudes of religious elites including tarekat. This government intervention has quite strong implications for the teachings of *taqlid* tarekat, the teachings that become the joints of interactions between teachers and students, which are visualized in the students' obligation to obey the teacher. As a result of the intervention, the tarekat community's political views were split into two. The first view sees that the tarekat community who is doing *taqlid* fully the master, in religious matters, political affairs, including their associations with political parties. The second view is that the tarekat community that follows the guru is only in religious matters (Usman, 1998).

The existence of the Tarekat as a religious institution cannot be considered as a matter of course, the potential of its follower base and loyalty to its leader makes the tarekat group have a strong bargaining position in the political system (Arsyad & Syam, 2014). The Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat is a non-formal religious institution, its existence and influence in local politics in Indonesia are also quite strong. In some cases, the presence of tarekat groups can change the direction of public political views regarding parties and candidates who are contesting in elections. Even during the New Order era, the existence of tarekat represented by *mursyids* and their institutions was able to exist as a unique and independent political force (Ziadi, 2018). Mu'min (2014) stated that the tarekat and political struggles represented by Kyai Haji Muhammad Shiddiq were able to combine tarekat with politics so that society, in general, responded positively to the role of Kyai Haji Muhammad Shiddiq in politics.

Meanwhile, the phenomenon of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat relations in local politics of Rokan Hulu – Riau also cannot be separated from the existence and bargaining power of the tarekat itself. The Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in Rokan Hulu was originally brought by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan. The development of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat became a fertile tradition in the villages on the banks of the Rokan River, almost every village had a Suluk house which was later dubbed the "Land of a Thousand Suluks" (Siregar, 2011). The existence of tarekat in Rokan Rantau can be traced from various historical literature, Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan as the central figure who brought this sect started the spread of tarekat teachings in Rantau Binuang Sakti Village which is currently located between the border of Rokan Hilir Regency and Rokan Hulu Regency and is exactly in the flow Rock River. The choice of this location is believed to be alternative transportation that facilitates the movement of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan to spread the teachings of the tarekat, the Rokan River became a strategic transportation route because it connected various villages at that time. Rantau Binuang Sakti is the birthplace of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan. Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan has the full name of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan Al-Khalidi An-Naqsyabandi or known as "Tuan Guru Babussalam (Besilam)", with the title Faqih Muhammad. Sheikh Abdul Wahab was born and raised in a noble family which includes religious, educated, and charismatic circles. As a teenager, Sheikh Abdul Wahab studied with Tuan Baqi in Kampung Danau Runda, Kampar Riau. Stepping into his teens, Sheikh Abdul Wahab studied under HM Sholeh, a cleric from Minangkabau. The popularity of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan placed him as the central cleric in the Minang, Riau and North Sumatra domains at that time. The rapid development of tarekat teachings brought by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan became a magnet for people to come to Rokan Rantau to study Tarekat, the arrival of people study Tarekat had a social, economic, and cultural impact on the people Rokan Rantau.

Returning to the discourse on tarekat, tarekat can be interpreted as teaching that lives in the historicity of humanity. This means that as a follower of the tarekat, you will certainly not be separated from the cultural context in which you live. This is where the interconnection between the tarekat as part of Islamic teachings and the culture of the Rokan Rantau community has been a guide for people's lives for a long time. The collaboration of religion and culture of the Rokan Rantau community has encouraged the establishment of a strong relationship between religion (tarekat) and culture, the process of assimilation of religion and culture to build a religious civilization of society and maintain customary norms that are relevant to religious norms to date.

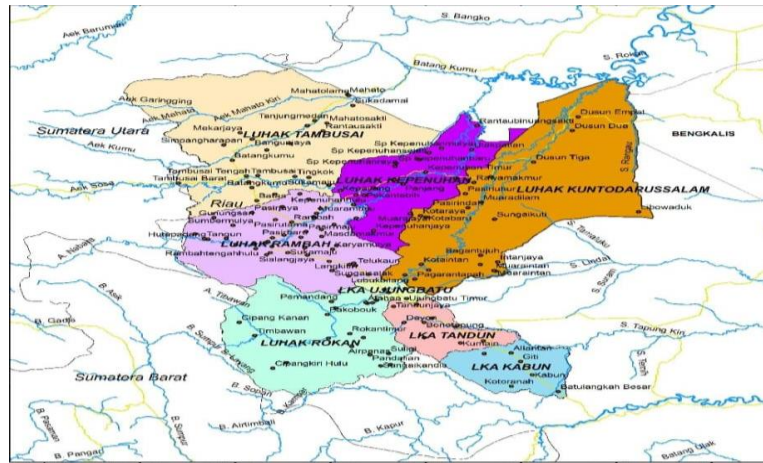
The affirmation of the tarekat in the Rokan Hulu community can also be observed from various activities, such as political and government activities, economic, cultural and other social activities. The shift in the tarekat orientation from merely seeking religious meaning (*esoteric*) to another dimension (politics) cannot be separated from its historical background.

Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan as the main patron of the tarekat in Riau and North Sumatra supports the Langkat Sultanate as a political symbol (Siregar, 2011), this indicates that the religious role of the teacher is not monotonous criteria *orthopraxy* alone. The shift in the religious role of the Tuan Guru is an ideological struggle between political interest groups that have directly or indirectly touched the lives of the Tuan Guru and the tarekat.

The indication of the strengthening of tarekat and political relations is undeniable. Reinforcement of religious orientation in politics has become a phenomenon throughout the Islamic world, especially because of the increasing level of education of Muslims so that it raises their understanding and awareness of the characteristics of Islamic teachings which do not separate religious and political life one another. Both entities have a process of attraction of interest. Religion has a strategic role in constructing and providing a framework of values and norms in building state structures and community discipline. Meanwhile, the state uses religion as dogmatic legitimacy to bind citizens to obey the state.

The reciprocal relationship between the two entities also takes place at the locality level, the existence of the tarekat being a magnet for the arrival of political institutions and political actors into the tarekat. This condition has been described by van Bruinessen (1996) as a “Warehouse of Voices” in the Indonesian political constellation. The interconnection between tarekat and politics in Rokan Hulu has strengthened since the area was designated as an autonomous region in 1999. The implication of this autonomy is increased public participation in the administration of local government. The following is a map of the distribution of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in Rokan Hulu – Riau in five *luhaks* (Big Villages).

Image 1. Map of Tarekat Distribution in Rokan Hulu (Source: Research Data 2019)



The map above illustrates that the spread of tarekat teachings was initially centered on 5 (five) *Luhaks*. *Luhak* is a term for a large village consisting of several villages. This term is popular among congregations of the congregation to describe the origin of the surau where they recite the Koran and become the identity of the congregation in congregational congregations. This identification also applies in social and political contexts at the local level, this is at least simply illustrated by the behavior of local elites who represent themselves as part of the tarekat.

Apart from that, changes in the electoral system in Indonesia after the New Order have also attracted tarekat in local practical politics. The strategic political position with a wide distribution of congregations and diverse backgrounds encourages tarekat both from within and from outside to be involved in the local political dynamics of Rokan Hulu, but the visualization of political movements is not in the name of tarekat institutions but tarekat individuals. This fact is relevant to history which records that the transformation of the tarekat community into a political force has even occurred since the beginning of the tarekat teachings began to be spread by its figures (Arsyad & Syam, 2014). Based on the description above, the focus of this study is to examine the existence and influence of the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat in the local political contestation of the Rokan Hulu Regional Head election and the dynamics of its involvement in 2006, 2011, and 2015 local election periods.

The Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in political dynamics and its influence on the political views of the community. As a religious entity, of course, it cannot directly attract tarekat in the local political constellation, but the extent of its influence and a large number of followers is *in line* with the interests of institutions and political actors at the local level of Rokan Hulu. The basic principle of this research is to understand the reality of tarekat existence and its influence on the local political dynamics of Rokan Hulu in depth. This study uses a qualitative design. There are several reasons to use a qualitative design in this study. *First*, what is studied is the meaning behind the actions of individuals and groups who have appropriate action strategies for themselves; *second*, qualitative research provides opportunities for a phenomenon about beliefs, awareness, and actions that exist within each individual; *third*, thus qualitative research according to researchers involves themselves in the life of the subject, even more so, researchers are required to be united with the subject so that they can understand using the subject's frame of mind; *fourth*, qualitative research makes it possible to examine phenomena holistically—as an inseparable whole—because the actions that occur involve many interrelated factors; and *fifth*, prioritizing perspective *emic* or the views of local actors, especially related to their meaning of tarekat political behavior in the context of the local political dynamics of Rokan Hulu.

Results and Discussion

Existence of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in the Rokan Rantau can be seen as a symptom of the all-embracing between the community's need for religious values and the interests of spreading the tarekat's teachings amid the community itself. Since the 13H/19M century, the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat has entered and developed into a religious entity that can change people's views of life in a religious context and instill such a great influence in the history of the Rokan Rantau community (Siregar, 2011). This religious entity has never legalized its organization, but its influence is unquestionable in all aspects of the life of the people of the Rokan Overseas. The practice of the tarekat is an aspect that is inherent in the tradition of the Rokan Rantau community without having to be formally linked to the organization.

Discourse concerning the religious reality of the Rokan Hulu Tariqat Naqsyabandiyah Jama'ah will yield maximum results when this study is formulated in two terms which include aspects of the development of the Naqshbandiyah Tarekat. This section concerns the historical aspects of the presence of teachers (caliphate) of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, and aspects of

the active role of the caliphs and followers of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in the past and present, especially in shaping the religious spirit of the community that is consistent with the dynamic pattern of the tarekat, to create a familiar atmosphere with rituals. Tarekat and finally able to become the identity of a region called the land of a thousand Suluk.

The Existence of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in the Socio-Political Dynamics of the People of Rokan Hulu Riau, Indonesia

Relationship between religion and politics after the New Order is always interesting to discuss. Political modernization in Indonesia to a certain degree has led to political secularization (Abdillah, 2013). He said that in Indonesia, the process will not lead to the formation of a secular state, the relationship between religion and the state is cross-linked, neither fully integrated nor completely separate. In this reform era, democratic political modernization has implications for the emergence of new political parties, including Islamic-based parties. Movements of religious groups in the name of Islam are also increasingly prominent, although they are not affiliated with any particular political force. The relationship between tarekat and politics in the local political context of Rokan Hulu, from the historical journey of the development of the Naqsyabandiyah congregation in the Rokan Hulu (Thousand Suluk) region, there are three very significant issues to be described, namely: a) Islamization of inland or rural communities, b) Develop and maintain traditional religious practices, and c) To stem the mission of preaching other faiths

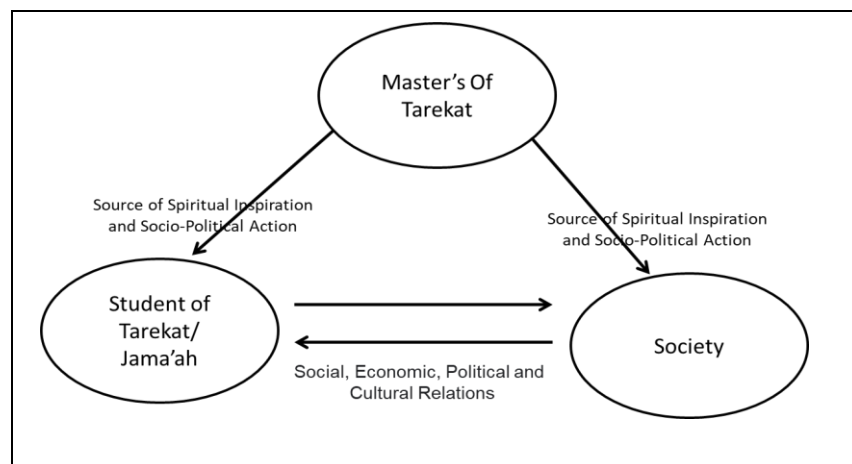
Existence of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat which consistently carries out the development of teachings, especially through the Suluk (nosa) house (madrassa) has become its own strength in defending religious beliefs and Islamic values from the propaganda of other schools (Miftahuddin et al., 2019). The relationship *taqlid* between the student and the Tuan Guru of the Tarekat has established a high level of obedience between the *student* and the *mursyid*, that obedience is also considered a source of the tarekat's political power.

Abdurahman (2008) explains that the tarekat relationship with society and the government always moves from the teacher-student interaction process, which is developed in religious and socio-political movements. These interactions affect the reciprocal relationship with the government, political parties, and other mass organizations. The pattern of the tarekat teacher-student relationship was developed through ritual activities, da'wah and strict

education. This pattern of relations functions as a socio-political media and the socio-political role takes place. *First*, the tarekat carry out social mobility and movements to develop nationalist politics. In addition, the community-made the tarekat as a spiritual path and the charismatic strength of the *mursyid* and made the tarekat movement a protector from the challenges of colonial government power. *Second*, the socio-political role of the tarekat through the media of the religious movements mentioned above persisted during the Indonesian independence period. The tarekat develops an accommodative and participatory relationship with government politics. On the other hand, the government makes the tarekat a "strategic partner" in strengthening the status of government or the success of development programs. Meanwhile, tarekat relations with socio-political forces take place in the process of their independent support of political parties. The pattern of tarekat and political relations is described in the socio-political interaction scheme of the Tarekat, as follows.

Image 2. Socio-Political Interaction Of The Naqsyabandiyah Congregation

(Source: Research Data 2019)



Institutes Naqsyabandiyah existence as a local political magnet Rokan Hulu put the congregation as a strategic political base that must be entered by the political institutions and political actors both at local and national levels. The socio-political interaction scheme of the tarekat above reflects the way the tarekat acts to position itself in the local and national political constellation. As a potential political base, the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat certainly does not want to be visualized as a representation of certain political forces, both institutions, and political actors, so that with the ability to position themselves like that, the

public views the tarekat's actions as unbiased. This picture at least expresses the position of the tarekat movement and its role amid social change as mentioned above, showing that tarekat always has responsibilities not only individually but also socially. The socio-religious dynamics of the Rokan Hulu community are indeed thick with the tradition of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat. This condition confirmed the influence of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan and his descendants in the historical development of the Tarekat in the Rokan region and the high adaptability of his followers in the historical reality of Rokan Hulu. Ismail Hamkaz, one of the leaders of the Luhak Kecepatan community, said that Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan's great influence could not be replaced by any sect for the people of the overseas rokan.

“The inclusion of NU and Muhammadiyah as formal Islamic Community Organizations does not reduce the taqlid of the people of Rokan Hulu towards the teachings of the congregation of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan. Indeed, many new variants have emerged in the development of the tarekat in the Rokan Rantau, but the new variant or what is often referred to as the “Middle Way Order” is also not able to erode the influence of the Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan Order”.

The relationship between Tarekat and Politics in Rokan Hulu is an illustration that these two entities cannot be separated. Based on this fact, it can be said that in fact, the political attitudes of Tarekat *mursyids* and Tarekat students tend to be accommodating to the authorities (Ziadi, 2018). The political attitude *mursyid's* tarekat is based on medieval Sunni fiqh which puts the highest priority on protecting the position of Islam and its followers (maslahat), this political attitude is taken to avoid all forms of action that can threaten the physical and spiritual welfare of the tarekat community (Ziadi, 2018). The tendency of “Tuan Guru” Tarekat attitude can be considered as a symbol of political support for institutions and actors in the political constellation at the local level. In the 2006 Rokan Hulu Pilkada (Pemilihan Kepala Daerah or Local Leaders Election), for example, the direction of the Tuan Guru Tarekat support was visualized through the search for nasab experts (descendants to the father), and through certain symbols the Tuan Guru Tarekat gave direction of political support to the actors or contestants of the Rokan Hulu Pilkada also at the 2011 Pilkada. However, for the 2015 Pilkada case, the Tarekat affiliation was not as prominent as for the 2006 and 2011 periods, this is understandable because the existing contestants are considered not to have a direct lineage in the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan.

The Relationship between the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat and the Local Political Elite of Rokan Hulu

Indonesia's democratic transition, one of which was marked by the implementation of the first direct Regional Head Election in 2005, not only succeeded in creating uncertainty among political parties but also the Tarekat. Uncertainty arises due to the unclear decision-making authority at the local level by both political parties and tarekat. From the tarekat side, for example, the caliphs who are extensions of Master's Basilam do not have full authority and sufficient charismatic degrees to make decisions. Meanwhile, in political parties, the strengthening of central dominance has an impact on the delegitimization of party administrators in the regions. From these two problems, the mutual attraction between tarekat and political parties is also unavoidable. This is because political parties need tarekat groups to attract public attention and tarekat needs political parties to accentuate themselves. Tarekat is not only supporting *powerful* political parties carrying candidates for regional heads, but in some cases, they have even taken over the roles of political parties which are the party's authority in the recruitment process for candidates for regional heads and candidates for deputy regional heads. The mutual attraction between political parties and tarekat is a necessity amid Indonesia's increasingly open democratic climate. The direct election of regional heads by the people of Rokan Hulu in 2006 showed that there was a very strong religious and political relationship in Rokan Hulu. The election of the Achmad - Sukiman pair as Regent and Deputy Regent of Rokan Hulu for the period 2006 - 2011 shows that there is a common thread between the interests of the tarekat and political contestation at the local level of Rokan Hulu. The common thread in question is that the Tarekat sees Achmad as a representative of the Naqsbandiyah Tarekat group which is traced from its lineage experts. The election of the Achmad - Sukiman pair also correlates with the increasing partiality of the Regional Government to the tarekat.

The relationship between Achmad and the tarekat was manifested in the regional policy of building the largest religious monument in Riau which was later known as the *Great Mosque of Madani Islamic Center* Pasir Pengaraian (MAMIC) complex. The construction of this mosque was funded by the budget of Rokan Hulu Regency with a budget allocation of more than 400 billion. Other strategic policies as a manifestation of the relationship between Achmad and the Tarekat are the mandatory use of robes for all employees of the Rokan Hulu Regency Government on Fridays and the implementation of congregational

prayers in mosques obligatory for the bureaucratic apparatus of the Rokan Hulu Regional Government. The relationship between Achmad and the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat can also be seen from the establishment of Surau Gading as a Suluk Tarekat surau in Ngarai Hamlet across from Sebotih's old village where Sheikh Ibrahim was born. The relationship between Tarekat and Achmad in social and religious practice shows that the relationship that is built between the Tarekat and the local political elite is mutually beneficial. Erizal revealed that the relationship between Achmad and Tarekat has a positive effect on increasing the religious values of the Rokan Hulu community.

“The relationship between Tarekat and Achmad shows a positive and mutually beneficial trend. Achmad gained political legitimacy among the tarekat while the tarekat gained political recognition and the tarekat's political bargaining power was also increasing. However, this relation between Achmad and the Tarekat does not apply in the legislative elections because there are significant differences between the Pilkada and the legislative elections”.

The interconnection between the Tarekat and the local political elite of Rokan Hulu is also evident from the participation of tarekat congregations in Rokan Hulu election. The election of the regional head of Rokan Hulu in 2011 showed the relevance of the relationship between the tarekat and the local political elite of Rokan Hulu. Developed for the achievement of the ideals of morality and religiosity in the environment of socio-political forces or government bureaucratic elites.

The Shifting Socio-Political Role of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in Rokan Hulu

The change in government regime and the strengthening of political decentralization prompted changes in the political views of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat people in Rokan Hulu, especially regarding views on Islam and politics, political parties and political elites at the local level. The local political map which is dominated by traditional views on Islam, political parties and social kinship relations is gradually shifting to a more rational perspective. This is also inseparable from the development of today's political system which is also influenced by the acceleration of information technology which brings faster information flow from cities to villages. The flow of information that changes the perspective of rural communities towards politics and Islam.

Religion has an adaptive nature in a *setting* cultural and social, because religion also responds to the cultural environment. However, in the process of appreciating the beliefs of a religion, nothing can be shown, unless religious events are made into symbols or religious codes that are socially and culturally acceptable. Religious symbols are displayed because they can be accepted by the wider community, as a value that can represent the religiosity of a religion. The process of human interaction and communication, especially in the practice of religion, is unique because of the special ability to create and use symbols or symbols. So that the symbol is expressed through the appearance of the body, clothing, cosmetics and others. In addition, the individual's way of dressing describes his physical appearance. Religious values are defined as living habits, comfort values, and overall imaging goals that affect the way an individual looks (Islamiyah, 2015). According to Hudeiri, the thing that is forgotten from the use of religious symbols is their function in shaping the subjectivity of individual characters. For secular circles, religious symbols in the public sphere are considered obstacles to the progress of a society. In fact, Islamization in the public sphere is increasingly becoming phenomenal, because it is the demands of modern society with the use of sophisticated communication tools. This, according to Hudeiri, is in line with Jurgen Habermas' statement, that public space is free, open, and transparent and is used as a discursive expression of opinions, interests and needs (Islamiyah, 2015).

The openness of political space civil societies through the equal right to association is a mandate of the 1945 Constitution which is seen as a form of participatory democracy. However, the role of politics is still defined as gathering power and mobilizing support in politics. Therefore, it makes the behavior of "push and pull" political interests between individuals and individuals, individuals with groups and groups with other groups, using media or tools that are considered to have the power to occupy political power (Supriyadi, 2015). The transition from one period to the next in the political map of Indonesia always provides a rationalization or a change in the level of consciousness, namely a transition to the highest level of consciousness, and it is actually a historical accumulation of the long relationship between religion and politics. The shift in the level of awareness is also marked by the increasing penetration of religious symbols in the socio-political environment which in turn builds the communal awareness of Muslims to involve themselves in the moving socio-political dynamics.

Various Islamic movements have tried to take advantage of the public space to actualize the Islamization project through da'wah activities for both individuals and institutions. The re-Islamization project is plural and has its own characteristics, both compromising, such as; Islamists, populists, moderates, and religious nationalists, as well as non-compromise-revivalists, are radicals (Bruinessen, 1996). But on the other hand, there are also Islamic movements that are not too affected by the re-Islamization project, including the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat. The differences in the characteristics of these Islamic movements seek to sharpen their influence and color the characteristics of the Muslim public sphere, either by: a) Various ideological and cultural symbols, such as the construction of how to dress, to the communication culture that exists between internal and external Islamic movements which hegemony the institutions of the Muslims themselves; b) Differences in interpreting "Islamic teachings" between various Islamic movements have provided opportunities for the elite of the Islamic movement to create *barriers* and make these differentiating issues an argument for strengthening their identity and; c) Often this condition of identity strengthening is used by the elite of the Islamic movement to legalize their political-economic interests (Hasan & Abu bakar, 2011).

The trend of increasing community spirituality today has led to the rapid development of various Islamic spiritual schools including the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat (Suhandi, 2019). Historically, the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat has played an important role in shaping personal development and encouraging religious reform with the *platform* broad for social change in the Muslim world (Hafidzah, 2010; Makhasin, 2015). In the process, the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat not only has a religious and social role but also has a role in national politics as well as in local politics (Erawadi & Sati, 2019). Even today, the existence of the Naqsyabandiyah congregation continues to experience significant developments in several regions in Indonesia such as South Tapanuli (Erawadi & Sati, 2019), Bandar Lampung (Suhandi, 2019), Padang (Suriani, 2017), Blitar (Nurika, 2017), Kalimantan West (Elmansyah & Patmawati, 2019), Rokan Hulu (Lubis, 2018), and several other areas in Riau and North Sumatra Provinces (Abduh, 2012). The thesis above certainly gives implications for differences in patterns in: a) The public space of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat; b) Structural construction; and c) The relationship with stakeholders (political institutions) Rokan Hulu.

The cultural closeness between the Tarekat and the Rokan people is marked, for example, by the similarity of local traditions that have been maintained until now, such as the “mandi balimau” tradition, the down bathing tradition, the open field tradition, *bezanji*, and so on. The existence of the Tarekat in the changing social and political environment as described in the chapter above shows that the Tarekat can adapt to these changes. Likewise, the Tarekat's relationship with political parties and elites shows a tendency that the Tarekat people or people expect changes in the socio-political environment for the better. The tarekat's pragmatism in politics is also unavoidable considering the existence of the Tarekat which influences the political behavior of the Rokan Hulu people in general.

The shift in the Tarekat role from a cultural role to a structural role is understood as a necessity by the Tarekat people. The shift in roles was monopolized by the congregations of the Tarekat who saw politics as a way to change the social and political order. Andrizal, a member of the Tarekat congregation and a member of the Rokan Hulu DPRD, emphasized that by formally participating in practical politics, Tarekat congregations have the opportunity to directly realize the aspirations and needs of the community. This, according to Andrizal, is different if the Tarekat people only place themselves as cultural agents. Moreover, the structural role of the Tarekat can be a doorstop for the realization of democratic local governance and governance.

The relations between the Tarekat masters, the congregation, and politics have indeed changed. Today, at least there is awareness in the frame of reference that places the Tarekat teacher at the level of a special function. Indeed, the more rational society will be, the more it will place itself in the differentiation mindset of the function specialization structure. The placement of the Tarekat masters has also used such logic. Tuan guru Tarekat with its main function is as a spiritual teacher and guides the people in religious life, so the position of Tuan guru Tarekat is also placed there.

The leadership of the Tuan Guru of the Tarekat is reflected in the relationship with those who are led, where the second party feels compelled to follow extraordinary encouragement, persuasion, or pull so that what is said by the leader (tuan guru) is considered by them as absolute truth. In an Islamic society such as the Rokan Hulu community, the relationship between the leader and the led is in the form of a spiritual bond and thus has a deeper influence on the community than its attachment to political leaders which is regulated by

law and other formal regulations. Regarding the involvement and forms relations political the Tarekat masters in the local political dynamics of Rokan Hulu, there are similarities and differences with the propositions put forward by Din Syamsuddin (2009) and Imam Suprayogo (2009) regarding the role of Kiai in politics.

According to Din Syamsuddin (2009), there are two forms of involvement of the Kiai in politics, the first is expressive where the Kiai tend to exploit and manipulate religious symbols; and the second is instrumental, which emphasizes influencing the decision-making process. In the case of Rokan Hulu, the role of Kiai in regional head elections tends to be expressive, where Kiai often use religious arguments and use religious symbols to support certain regional head candidates by mobilizing masses in the form of recitations, *tabligh akbar*, *istighatsah*, *yasinan*, and other religious celebrations or commemorations. Imam Suprayogo (2009) suggests four political roles of the kiai, namely: a) The advocacy role in which the kiai defends, especially against the weak people who face problems and conflicts of interest; b) The role of government partners where the kiai performs roles as legitimators of government policies; c) Role as a reference person, namely as a reference in behaving and acting by the community; and d) As a mediator or liaison between various interest groups.

Although in a different context, there are some similarities between the political role of the guru concerning parties and political elites produced by this study and Suprayogo's findings. For example, regarding the role of advocacy, *reference person*, and the role of legitimator and mediator. In addition to these roles, this study resulted in additional variations in the political roles of the Kiai, namely as a facilitator, opinion leader, lobbyist, campaigner, and mass mobilizer. The political role played by the Tarekat teacher was not in his capacity as a political practitioner, but as a *political broker*. This role as a broker, broker, or intermediary refers to the role of the Kiai in the past, namely as a *cultural broker*. The Reformation Era, which is considered an era of political freedom and a direct election system for regional heads (and presidents), has provided opportunities for mursyids or Kiai to transform their roles from *cultural brokers* to *political brokers*. The political role played by the Kiai is not in his capacity as a political practitioner, but as a *political broker*.

Pragmatism and the Interests of the Naqsyabandiyah Congregation

The pragmatism of the tarekat as referred to above is not without reason, because the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat is an influential religious community in the Rokan Hulu community. Tarekat is also considered as a “barrier of voices”, this also confirms Bruinessen's findings that the Tarekat is the basis of potential voices, and Golkar at that time understood this potential very well. In such conditions, of course, the central role of the master teacher determines the political actions taken by his congregation, especially in the Tarekat tradition which prioritizes the teacher-student relationship as a patron-client relationship. In the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat group in Rokan Hulu, the patron-client relationship that is formed provides mutual benefits for the master and also for the followers of the Tarekat. The involvement of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in the political realm certainly has consequences, namely: a) The existence of the Tarekat movement as a socio-religious movement; b) Public perception of the Tarekat movement is considered a stepping stone to reach power; and c) Tarekat can also be a social force in making changes both in the social and political spheres.

Regarding the political power of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, Zulfahrianto revealed that the Tarekat is, in principle, consistent in spreading religious values. The movement of the Tarekat towards social and political direction cannot be separated from the anxiety of the congregation seeing the political situation that is developing amid society. Congregations of the Tarekat should not remain silent seeing the condition of society like that, therefore the Tarekat can become the basis of community power to make changes, including the political situation that is developing in Rokan Hulu.

In addition, in fighting for the aspirations of the community at large, the congregation must be active in political contestation. Tuan guru Tarekat is not actively involved in politics, but Tuan guru encourages congregations to become the driving force of social change in society. Therefore, many pilgrims are then active in political parties and members of political parties who become congregations of the Tarekat. The importance of opening access to economic resources is one of the factors that take into consideration the involvement of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat people in the political power stage in Rokan Hulu.

Broadly speaking, the interests of accessing resources through Tarekat political involvement can be described into two categories. On the one hand, the involvement of the Tarekat in politics allows access to resources for the sustainability of managed infrastructure such as pesantren, madrasas, and so

on, on the other hand, the involvement of these Tarekat is based solely on personal or individual considerations. With this involvement the Tarekat teachers or Kiai get financial benefits to fulfill their own needs and those of their groups.

Conclusion

Relationship between Islam and politics is described as a causal relationship that has an impact on two sides. *First* relationship between Islam and politics in the context of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat and the local political elite of Rokan Hulu strengthens the existence of the tarekat in the socio-religious dynamics of the Rokan Hulu community. *Second*, between Islamic and political relations, in this case, the relationship Islam and politics. The tarekat and local politics of Rokan Hulu emphasized the influence of the tarekat in the dynamics of local politics of Rokan Hulu. Relations between tarekat and local political elites were built on shared awareness between tarekat and the elite, that relationship resulted in policy practices at the local level that accommodated tarekat interests, on the other hand, elite legitimacy was strengthened with tarekat support. The revivalism of the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat illustrates that Islam is accepted by the Rokan Hulu community in social and political changes from time to time.

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