

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR SHIFTING OF THE NAQSABANDIYAH CONGREGATION IN THE NEW POST-ORDER ELECTIONS: CASE STUDY NAQSABANDIYAH ROKAN HULU-INDONESIA

Tito Handoko, University of Riau

Abdul Munir Mulkan, University of Muhammadiyah Surakarta

Muhammad Azhar, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Mega Hidayati, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Ali Yusril, University of Riau

Dodi Suryana, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Tarekat influences politics in Indonesia, especially in Indonesian democracy. The Naqsabandiyah order also played an active role in nationalism and state activities, such as the new order's elections. Islamic groups tend to choose the direction of the party that holds the Islamic symbol and the value of Islam. The study uses a literature study method that collects data through documents, journals, and related news. This research uses a qualitative approach that aims at determining the shifting political behavior of the congregation of the Naqsabandiyah in the post-New order elections: The case study of the congregation Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu-Indonesia. The result of this research is that the development of the Naqsabandiyah order in Rokan Hulu is very rapidly until now, then in the post-election general elections, Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu's order to participate actively in the post-election general elections, the transition from choosing a party that has elements of Islam to the National Party and the influence of voters who are influenced by master.

Keywords: Behavior Picking, Election, New Order, Tarekat Naqsabandiyah.

INTRODUCTION

Religious groups in democratic organizing in Indonesia cannot be doubted of its existence. The religious sociologists argue that religion is still important for individuals, even in the most secular communities especially for mass organizations that have won Islamic values. From the point of view of mass organizations, in the old order, the establishment of political parties that symbolized Islamic symbols contribute to the pledge of the mind in Indonesian democracy to fight for the people voting through elections. It is in line with the study Kraetzschmar. Kraetzschmar (2010) able to capture the success of Islam in mobilizing urban sound in Saudi Arabia. The emergence of Islamic parties such as the Indonesian Islamic Company Party (PSII), the Islamic Tarbiyah Movement (PERBI), the Islamic political party

(PPTI) in the first elections (the year 1955) when the DPR general election was a form of the involvement of Islamic religion in Democratic politics in Indonesia through elections. Not close the possibility of destruction in the Islamic party because of the party fusion that only allows the party to be divided into two namely the Islamic party and the Nationalist Party during the New Order, because however, the Division remains a force in the political party and the behaviour of choosing

Nasr (2015), argued that the political behaviour of Islamic groups tends to associate with socio-religious life choices based on Islamic symbols. This is reinforced by a statement Arts & Thomassen. Aarts & Thomassen (2008), Identity is often used as a point of view in determining a political choice. Akhtar et al. (2010), In the New order period, Islamic groups tend to choose the direction of the party that holds the Islamic symbol and the value of Islam; for example, PPP, which is considered the Islamic party symbolized by the Kaaba, assume that when they choose the Islamic party indirectly, they have defended Islam. Then in the new order elections 1999-2004 Islamic groups tend to choose PKB which identifies that PKB led by NU leadership, they see from the figure of Islamic leaders both scholars/Kyai.

The Tarekat is derived from the Arabic vocabulary: Thariq, Thariqah, ath-thariqu, Thara'iq, which refers to roads, ways, methods, systems, and order. Tariqa is a form of self-cleansing activities the order is also defined as the path to God, but it does not mean that it does not concern political and governmental activities. This is divided into two in the opinion about the politics of which provides support to the government party, and some are focused on religion or religious. The Tarekat assesses that the involvement of voter behavior in politics must be landed on the Islamic parties. In the discussion, they judge that Naqsabandiyah's order was a supporter and investigator of the Golkar Party. However, the shift occurred among the students who supported PPP, which was assessed as an Islamic party, in terms this shift is assessed that in the field of a religious order, students always follow the teaching of the teacher but in the field of opinion about the leader has the differences each according to the political development.

Research by Turmudi. (1998), examines how Naqsabandiyah's order was in the local political sphere. The influence of the Naqsabandiyah order of local politics, the Naqsabandiyah order, was judged to have made significant contributions to local politics in the region in determining regional leaders and elections. Understanding the order of leaders, spirituality, and society is a form of discordant thoughts on local politics. Master Teacher of Naqsabandiyah was assessed to have strong mobility in mobilizing the Islamic community and pupils to determine their leaders in elections and elections.

Naqsabandiyah's order in a cross-historical context. The development of the order in Rokan Hulu is not separated from the Malay kingdom history founded by Dewa Syahdan in the 16th century AD. In Warjio et al. (2019), the history of the order in Rokan Hulu in the early beginning appeared in Kampong Babussalam, which was established in 1883 AD by Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan (1811-1926) from Rokan Regency in Riau province. Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan was a disciple of Sheikh Sulaiman Zuhdi, who was the teacher of Naqsabandiyah Tarekat. The development of Naqsabandiyah Tarekat in the Rokan Hulu Regency is very rapid until now. Naqsabandiyah Tarekat is very influential for religious-social life, education of faith, and morality to politics such as elections and regional head elections. Naqsabandiyah is very significant in the selection of leaders at both the central and local levels.

In the study Abdurahman (2018), connects the Naqsabandiyah order with the country, the cultural values, recognition for each individual, security, and legal protection of groups and individuals. The values of nationalism are assessed as a particular form of participation to play an active role. The implementation of nationalism in the Naqsabandiyah order is manifested in the daily action by participating in the congregation's demands in every State activity as in the commemoration of Indonesian Independence Day. Naqsabandiyah In addition to being a form of Islamism, in this sense of Islamic thought that draws closer to the supreme creator, religious practices, and related religious values, the Naqsabandiyah order also plays an active role in nationalism and state activities such as the commemoration of Pancasila and the elections.

The movement of the order is very influential in determining the victory in the election, both elections and elections. In thesis of Franklin. (2014), about the order's role in the regional head victory, judging that the order can be a social capital and a resource in favor of winning candidates. Local levels should be involved in local democratic systems. The Government and the order should support each other in the State activities, let alone the master teacher and student orders are judged to have the consistency in supporting the truth and good for the benefit of society

Tarekat influences politics in Indonesia, especially in Indonesian democracy, elections, and regional head elections in Indonesia (Fuad, 2014; Liddle, 2000). This influence can be seen from the history of the first elections in Indonesia to the emergence of Islamic parties, including the Indonesian order. Many research studies examine the role of the order in the Indonesian democratic system by selecting regional heads. In the Turmudi study (1998), he explained to him the master of the politics involved in political parties. The two groups (clerics/Kyai) in the political party between the Islamic party and the Nationalist Party, for example on the old order and the new order, involving the entry into the Islamic parties and transitioning to the new order to select Golkar as the political ride to the general elections.

According to political scientists, choosing is subjective towards a social-grade system with several factors, such as religion, village political ideals, and certain city, ethnic, and territorial political ideals.

Minkenberg. (2010) describe that another very important factor for understanding the results of elections regardless of what happens at the campaign candidacy stage, such as being specific (from candidates, problems, or timing traits) that encourages voters to one party candidate or another during a certain election year is lost.

Unlike most studies on behavioral choosing, which focuses on individual demographic characteristics (such as race, education, and age) or competition levels in certain elections (factors such as Victory margins, campaign) mobilization, and campaign spending) (Liddle, 2000). Research by Hajnal & Lewis. (2003), focus on local electoral agencies and governments. Based on the background that the authors have outlined above, the author raises the problem of the matter is how the political behavior shifts Naqsabandiyah congregation in the post-New order elections: a case study of the congregation Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu-Indonesia?, and the purpose of the study is to know the shifting political behavior of the congregation of the Naqsabandiyah in the post-New order elections: The case study of the congregation Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu-Indonesia.

METHOD

The method of study used is a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a study that emphasizes words and collects information in detail through direct observation in the field, in-depth interviews, open and written documents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this research, the authors use a qualitatively descriptive study that aims to describe an individual's properties, circumstance, symptom, or specific group; descriptive research can be performed in a laboratory/library or field. (Fraenkel et al., 2009; Maher & Dertadian, 2018), this type of research is the study of literature where data sources are obtained from legal products, journal articles, related documents, and mass media sources.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

New Order Era Elections

The history of elections in Indonesia was first held in 1955, which was continued in the year 1971 in the New Order era. The history of elections in Indonesia began with the emergence of many political parties that participated in an active role in the elections in Indonesia (Liddle, 2000; Syarif & Machmudi, 2019). Porraz (2011), describe that the political parties in the old order era were divided into several streams, namely religious-based political parties, socialist-based political parties, and nationalist-based political parties. In the democratic system in Indonesia, the active role of religion is inseparable, especially the Islamic religion that participates in the participation of Indonesian independence and participated in the implementation of elections. The emergence of Islamic parties such as the Indonesian Islamic Company Party (PSII), the political party of Islam (PPTI), and others, while Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is not included in the category of the party but as an Islamic Ormas who contributed to the elections in the New Order era. This proves that the Islamic religion participated actively in the electoral process in Indonesia.

Table 1. YEAR GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS FROM 1971-1997			
No	Years	Name of Organization	Number of seats
1	1971	Partai Katolik	3
		PSSI	10
		Nahdlatul Ulama	58
		Parmusi	24
		Golkar	236
		Parkindo	7
		Murba	0
		PNI	20
		PERTI	2
		IPKI	0

Table 1. YEAR GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS FROM 1971-1997			
2	1977	PPP	99
		Golkar	232
		PDI	29
3	1982	Golkar	242
		PPP	94
		PDI	24
4	1987	PPP	299
		Golkar	61
		PDI	40
5	1992	PPP	62
		Golkar	282
		PDI	52
6	1997	PPP	89
		Golkar	325
		PDI	11

According to Table 1, the chart of the election results in 1971, can be analyzed that Golkar dominated the sound of elections in the first position to gain 236 seats in parliament. The second was occupied by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) with a total of 58. Islamic voice domination is seen from the support given to NU as an Islamic organization, although NU is on the second level. The other participating parties are Parmusi (Indonesian Muslim Party), Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party), PSSI, Indonesian National Party, PERTI, Catholic party, IPKI, and Murba. In the first elections in the new Order era, there was a simplification of political parties. The simplification occurred because of the many Parties that emerged in the elections in Indonesia. The political party is divided into two parts, the party based on religious values (Islam), and the nationalist political party (Golkar).

In the history of elections in Indonesia, the Islamic party contributions can be seen from the emergence of some Islamic parties as a constituent of one of the parties, which took part in the first elections (1955). In the simplification of the political party in the new order elections, several Parties participated in the elections in the year 1977 (Atkeson, 2009). The founders and members of the Nationalist Party merged into the Golkar and Democratic Party of Indonesia (PDI), while the founders and members of the Islamic Party merged into PPP which is depicted with the Kaaba emblem representing the interests of Muslims. However, not a few scholars join Golkar.

Table 1 can also be seen as a result of the 2nd New Order elections in 1977, the votes remained dominated by the Golkar party with the acquisition of a 232 seat, and PPP placed second with the acquisition of a 99 seat. Then the third stage was occupied by the Democratic Party with the acquisition of 29 seats. Not a little bit of support from the scholars/clerics in favor of Golkar's victory, some were involved based on the pressure of the regime involved in the individual's willingness to assume that Golkar was able to fulfill the benefit of the people.

The sustainability of democracy in the New Order era was marked by the 3rd general election of 1982 until the 6th general election of 1997. From Table 1 above, it can be concluded that the voting of elections still dominated by Golkar, who has great political power and political capital, ranging from the support of the regime, ASN, military and the outbreak of the Islamic party, the clerics/Kyai who chose to enter the Golkar. While PPP has always occupied the 2nd ranking, for the support of the scholars (fractional Islamic parties) and other support, except in 1987, PPP ranks first to acquire 299 seats. While PDI is always at the 3rd level, either after PPP or Golkar.

Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu

The spread of Islamic religious orders in Indonesia has occurred before the independence of Indonesia. Especially the Naqsabandiyah order, which was brought by Arab scholars who came to Indonesia (Akhtar et al., 2010). The Naqsabandiyah order was continuously developed by the Shaykh/master of Indonesian orders from Indonesia. Naqsabandiyah Tariqa is one of the many growing orders in Indonesia, Rokan Hulu, before becoming Rokan Hulu Regency. Rokan Hulu District is a Kampar district division in 1999, based on the exit of law number 53 the year 1999 and law number 11 of 2003 strengthened by the/SK Constitutional Court number: 010/PUU-1/2004.

Naqsabandiyah's order teaches about the relationship of beings to the Supreme Creator, also, the Naqsabandiyah order teaches about social relations in people's lives. Several prominent masters of Master brought the development of Naqsabandiyah order in Indonesia-Rokan Hulu, see the following Table 2.

Table 2 PROMINENT PEOPLE IN SPREADING THE NAQSABANDIYAH ORDER IN INDONESIA		
No	Character Name	Years
1	Syekh Yusuf Al-Makasari	1644 M
2	Syekh Ismail Simambur	1897 M
3	Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan (Rokan Hulu)	1882 M
4	Syekh Hasyim Al-Syarwani (Rokan Hulu)	2014 M
5	Syekh H Irfansyah (Rokan Hulu)	2019-Present

According to Table 2, there are some influential figures in the dissemination of the Naqsabandiyah order in Rokan Hulu-Indonesia. Research by Suswanta (2014), describe that the beginning of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makasari (1644 M) was the first sheik to bring Naqsabandiyah's order to Indonesia, and then the disciples spread the Naqsabandiyah order from the master of the Tariqa Naqsabandiyah. Sheikh Ismail came from North Sumatra (1809 M) with Sheikh Ibrahim Alkholid. Sheikh Ismail studied in West Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra province. Sheikh Ismail Simambur (1897 M) has spread the teachings of Naqsabandiyah in Indonesia and some areas. Then the teachings of Naqsabandiyah were continued by Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan

from Rokan Hulu (1882 M). Then, the teachings of Naqsabandiayh in Rokan Hulu until now called the District Rokan Hulu were disseminated by the descendants of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan, Sheikh Hasyim Al-Syarwani (2014) and continued by Sheikh Irfansyah (2019-present). The development of Naqsabandiayah's order in Rokan Hulu is very rapidly expanding, so the regency of Rokan Hulu is given a nickname with a thousand Suluk land.

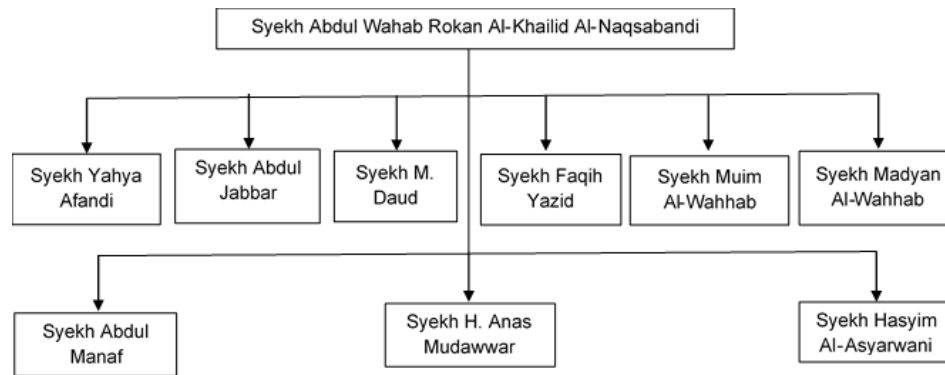


FIGURE 1
TEACHER AT THE HEAD OF NAQSABANDIYAH ROKAN HULU

Note: Horizontal Line 1: Child strap relationships
Horizontal Line 2: Grandband relationships

Based on Figure 1, indicates that the Lord of Master Naqsabandiayah's genealogy in the upper Rokah, the lineage of master guru Tariqa Naqsabandiayah in Rokan Hulu begins with the role of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan al-Khailid al-Naqsabandi, which is followed by his sons, consisting of 6 children who continue the struggle in spreading the Tarqsabandiayah order. Then it was continued by his grandsons comprised of 3 people. The teachings of Naqsabandiayah are still proliferating today.

The Behavior of the Selector Naqsabandiayah Tarekat

Since et al. (2015), shifting the behavior of voters by the orders in some areas is indicated by the occurrence of the behavior of choosing merely looking at the party's psychology by identifying through Islamic symbols/Islamic values, then switching to a rational selector based on individual choice in assessing the political party worthy of being elected in the elections. Research by A. Manan (2017), from the journey of the old order elections and the new order involving the religious and national parties (Islam and nationalism) was then simplified into several parties (the Islamic Party and the National Party), the occurrence of the Division against the Islamic party that resulted in the Ulama/Sheikh chose to participate in the Islamic party or the political/nationalist party caused one of the elements of the transformation of the behavior of the people of Islam, one of the groups of Tarqsabandiayah order. The transition from choosing an Islamic party to the National Party

The behavior of choosing Naqsabandiyah's order is influenced by the master of the Order of Teachers (sheik) where the role of Master of the Order of teachers is very influential on social mobility (community mobilization) local people, one of them in Rokan Hulu. The transition of voters based on the party element is only the party that adhered to Islamic values then saw the element of the nationalist party, then the influence of Sheikh or Master of the order of orders that is judging in terms of eligibility to be elected in the elections based on quality that can organize the benefit of the people and socialize to the people well.

Master Teacher of Naqsabandiyah was judged to be very influential for social-religious life, especially in the social life of society, making it possible to influence the patterns of the social life of society, even political patterns in elections at the local level. This influence can be seen from the elections in the New Order era where the divisions in the Islamic party then led to the power of the clergy/Kyai that chose the Islamic party and chose to join the National/Golkar party, thereby affecting the behavior of voters.

CONCLUSION

Elections in the New Order era began with the role of Parties consisting of religious parties, socialist parties, and nationalist parties. Over time there was the simplification of the party that participated in the elections, where the party based on the values of Islam is united into a party represented by PPP and a party based on the nationalist values United into one party and merged into PDI/Golkar so that there was a split among the scholars/Kyai in selecting the party, there are those who join the PPP and some are joining the Golkar party. The elections in the new Order era were dominated by Golkar with the full support of the regime power, the military, and the joining of several scholars from the fractional Islamic party.

The development of Naqsabandiyah Tariqa in Rokan Hulu is proliferating. Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan Al-Khailid Al-Naqsabandi is the first master teacher to develop Naqsabandiyah order in Rokan Hulu which is then continued by his descendants from the children until now. The change in behavior of the Naqsabandiyah election after the new order elections is from the view of the Islamic Party to the National Party, and the behavior of the Naqsabandiyah orders was influenced by the master of the Order of Naqsabandiyah Rokan Hulu, where the master teacher of Naqsabandiyah has a strong influence in affecting local communities in determining.

REFERENCES

- Aarts, K., & Thomassen, J. (2008). Dutch voters and the changing party space 1989-2006. *Acta Politica*, 43(2-3), 203-234.
- Abdurahman, D. (2018). Diversity of tarekat communities and social changes in Indonesian history. *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, 1(1), 61-92.
- Akhtar, M., Javaid, S.M., & Awan, S.H. (2010). Elections of Pakistan and response of social scientists: A study of theoretical understandings. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*, 30(2), 453-466.
- Atkeson, L. R. (2009). Divisive primaries and general election outcomes: Another look at presidential campaigns. *American Journal of Political Science*, 42(1), 256-271.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. In *Research Defign: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*.
- Fraenkel, Jack, R., Wallen, N.E. (2009). How to design and evaluate research in Education. In *McGraw-Hill Higher*

Education.

- Franklin, N. J. (2014). *Reproducing political Islam in java : The Role of nahdlatul ulama and muhammadiyah pesantren in the political socialisation of the umat*. Charles Darwin University.
- Fuad, A. B. B. (2014). Political identity and election in Indonesian democracy: A case study in Karang Pandan Village – Malang, Indonesia. *Procedia Environmental Sciences*, 20(1), 477–485.
- Hajnal, Z. L., & Lewis, P. G. (2003). Municipal institutions and voter turnout in local elections. *Urban Affairs Review*, 38(5), 645–668.
- Kraetzschmar, H. J. (2010). Electoral rules, voter mobilization and the Islamist landslide in the Saudi municipal elections of 2005. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 3(4), 515–533.
- Liddle, R. W. (2000). Indonesia in 1999: Democracy restored. *Asian Survey*, 40(1), 32–42.
- Maher, L., & Dertadian, G. (2018). Qualitative research. *Addiction*, 113(1), 167–172.
- Manan, A. (2017). The influence of tarekat syattariyah toward political and social aspects in the regency of nagan raya, aceh-Indonesia. *International Journal of Advanced Research*, 5(7), 258–267.
- Minkenberg, M. (2010). Party politics, religion and elections in Western democracies. *Comparative European Politics*, 8(4), 385–414.
- Nasr, V. (2015). The rise of muslim democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 16(2), 13–27.
- Porraz, G. (2011). Reviews/recensions. *Paléorient*, 37(14), 205–224.
- Since, F., War, W., & Wuthnow, B. R. (2015). *The restructuring of American religion*.
- Suswanta, S. (2014). Shifting roles and political support of kiai individual, structure, and integrative perspectives. *Journal of Government and Politics*, 5(2), 128–138.
- Syarif, J., & Machmudi, Y. (2019). Abuya dimyathi: A charismatic mursyid of tarekat Syadziliyah during the New Order regime (1977–1982). *Cultural Dynamics in a Globalized World*.
- Turmudi, E. (1998). The tarekat qadiriyyah wa naqsabandiyah in East Java and Islamic politics in Indonesia. *Journal of Social Science*, 26(2), 65–84.
- Warjio, W., Kusmanto, H., & Aini, S. N. (2019). A model of spiritual citizenship development basedon tareqah naqsabandiyah tradition. In D. A. Ibrahim, M. A. F. M. Poad, & M. N. A. M. Khairuddin (Eds.), *e-proceeding the 14th IDMAC* (pp. 496–406). Universiti Sains Malaysia.