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## **The Reproduction Of Political Power In The Institutions Of Village (1979-1999) And Nagari (2000-2015) In West Sumatera**

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### Abstract

The political policy taken by the West Sumatera Regional Government i.e. the overhauling of the institutional structure of Nagari rationally turns out to have been culturally constructed, since the bureaucratic system changed from the village government to the Nagari government. What appears to be stability of political institution in the regions, one of which is Nagari, turns out to be intervention of central government in the implementation of autonomy and decentralization. Using the explorative post-positive method, the study aims to produce a conceptually and variably solid analysis in the form of a descriptive writing. The result of this study shows that there is an institutional problem when the state (central and provincial government) underrates the Nagari, emphasizing merely on regional autonomy for the interests of the central government. In fact, there is the process of habitus, social capital, political arena, and doxa that affect local institutions in Nagari when it is imposed to become part of the state political power reproduction. There are also several actions of a number of actors at the local and central level to take a role in democratizing the Nagari.

Keywords: Habitus, Social Capital, Arena, Doxa, Democracy, Nagari.



## **Introduction**

The local political setting in Nagari community has some bearing on the problematic existence of local institutions and wisdom that had once been famous before the treatment and uniformity of the village law in 1975 (Law No. 5 of 1979 on the Village); there is an apparent irony, an attempt to keep the 'balance function' between the regional government and the village or Nagari. In such connotation, Nagari is a community of customary law that is socio-politically not only entitled, but also capable to organize and manage its own interests. Here Nagari is relatively more independent and less burdened by state interests (central and provincial governments). Nevertheless, Nagari is required to be part of the modern government bureaucratic chain. The study on how the structures, rules, norms, and political institutions worked as part of the democratization process in Nagari from 1979 to 2015 contributes novelty to and strengthens the study on the habitus of democracy at the local level. The underlying reason is that efforts toward 'grassroots democracy' will presuppose the existence of social institutions at the local level. When democracy is an important part of the political institution, then institutionalization of democracy into an autonomous institution shall ensure the continuity of the process of habitus making of democratization, and become an interesting point to examine.

## **Method**

This study applies explorative post-positive method to generate varied and conceptual solid analysis to portray a descriptive writing [1]. The data source comes from primary data (in-depth interviews with the relevant parties) and secondary data (files, personal documents, official documents, and scientific magazines). Data analysis is adapted to the principles of post-positive explorative method. The conclusion of the study is obtained from the combination of data given by the informants (emic) and interpretation of the author (ethic) on the data.

## **Results and Discussion**

Observing the political institutions of village (1979-1999) and Nagari (2000-2015) based on the structure, rules, norms and culture, this study applies the concepts developed by Bourdieu [2] such as habitus, social capital, arena, and doxa to explain the influence of local institutions in Nagari when they become part of the democratization process. Thus, how is the relationship between arena, habitus, social capital, and doxa in the local democratization process in Nagari? The history and heritage of Nagari and Nagari government is a political arena used as the social capital long known, with the oldest Nagari of Pariangan in Luhak Tanah Datar.



Based on the history of Nagari, as suggested by Imran Manan [3] in his writing entitled “*Nagari Pra-Kolonial: Historiografi Nagari*”, the development of Nagari is illustrated based on Minangkabau ancient manuscripts (*tambo*). These Nagaris will form a federation of Nagari whose governance and political traditions were based on the traditional customs of *kelarasan koto piliang* (aristocracy) and *bodi chaniago* (egalitarian).

Arenas in the political history of Nagari are divided into several stages, namely (i) Nagari government originated from clan government; (ii) during pre-colonial era after the introduction of Islam in Minangkabau, known as political government system of two *kelarasan* (*Koto Piliang* and *Bodi Chaniago*) with the democracy of *Tuah Sakato*; (iii) during the colonial era, the institutions of the Nagari government began to experience a shift in function when the Dutch tried to paralyze the power of *Ninik Mamak Urang Ampek Jinih* (*Dubalang, Punggawa, Manti, Malin*) in the Nagari government; (iv) After the independence of Indonesia, during the Old Order period, the Nagari government was replaced by a regional government system with a merging system of adjacent Nagaris to create an autonomous Nagari based on the Provincial Regulation of Central Sumatra No. 50.G.P/1950; (v) during the New Order period, there was a uniformity of the lowest government from Nagari to village government and the Nagari government was established as an adat government; (vi) during the Reform era, the village government was abolished and Nagari was re-formulated to be the lowest governmental structure, the people of Nagari made as adat community with their own characteristics of governance, and the state respected these differences by issuing Law no. 22/1999 as amended by Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government, and Local Regulation No. 9/2000 as amended by Regional Government No. 2/2007 on Nagari.

How is habitus in the political structure of village government (1979-1999) and Nagari government (2000-2015)? The author refers to Islam, adat, and the State as the structured institutional structures in Nagari. The relationship between adat and Islam, and later between adat, Islam, and the state also varies in history [4]. According to von Benda-Beckmann (2000); the duality of adat and Islam remains one of the central and constitutive points of identification for most local elites in Minangkabau when re-formulating the arena of Nagari. Interestingly, this series of historical processes has eventually generated a new habitus within the social structure and arena of the community.

Referring to the concept by Bourdieu [5], Islam, adat, and state are structured structures (habitus). The policy of inauguration of Nagari as a unit of adat community in Minangkabau based on the Regional Regulation No. 13/1983 can be regarded as an attempt to reduce crises of traditional leadership and maintain the social and cultural unity of Muslim-based Nagari community. Transforming Nagari into an adat and Islamic government is culturally viewed as a symbol of the



unity of adat community and the origin of life and culture in Minangkabau, referred to as the product of the internalization of the structure of the social world. The structure of social value is manifested in the form of Minangkabau norms and values. During the development, the internalization process begins to grow. This is said to be a new habitus, in which Nagari does not only perform the function of regulating the unity of adat community, but also become part of the informal government accompanying village (formal) government.

The habitus in Nagari government is slightly different after the village government is returned to Nagari government (2000-2015). The political policy of the local government on returning to Nagari, suggested by a cultural policy, is to revive the function of Nagari Customary Unit (KAN) as the judicial partner of Nagari (externalization of internality) and reinforce the function of the Nagari government as a formal institution as well as the trias politica partner (Tungku Tigo Sajaringan Nagari) between Nagari Board of Representatives (BMN) as a legislative body and Nagari Customary Unity (KAN) as the judicial institution of Nagari (internalization of externality) by constituting the cultural values and norms of *adat salangka* Nagari based on adat and Islam. This process becomes a new habitus in Nagari.

Where is the legitimacy of political doxa in Nagari? In this section, the concept of legitimacy in Minangkabau society is explained. This legitimacy refers to the concept of doxa by Bourdieu [6], namely something accepted and recognized (taken for granted) by the community. This legitimacy is given by a group of people to individuals in the political sphere. *Penghulu/Datuak*, *Bundo Kanduang*, *Alim Ulama*, *Cerdik Pandai* are referred to as doxa in social political life in Minangkabau. It is the custom and even conviction that those having customary title will be the protectors and role models in the clan; overall, they can explain social action in the political tradition in Nagari. The first Doxa is *Penghulu/Datuk (Ninik Mamak)*, namely the chief of the clan (*biang tabuak, kato putuih ado panghulu*). *Penghulu* is the one setting and deciding *nan rajo kato mufakaik* (decisions taken and agreed by all the members of the clan). In addition, *Penghulu* is a part of *tungku tigo sajarangan*, namely *anggo-anggo*, considered as the basic and adat household budget. *Bundo Kanduang* is the second doxa considered as *ambun puruak pegangan kunci*. It is a symbol of Minangkabau women who understand adat and become the adviser of *penghulu* regarding all the decisions of the meeting. The third doxa, related to sharia (religion), is titled *Tuangku/Malin/Labai/Kari*. The last doxa is given to smart (intelligent) individuals in the clan or *cadiak pandai*, including handy and skillful youth/*hulubalang*, commonly known as *Urang Ampek Jinih (UAJ)*. *Ninik Mamak*, *Alim Ulama* and *Cadiak Pandai* are doxa in Minangkabau known as *Tali Tigo Sapilin*, meaning the three functions in adat become one individual of "minang".



Closing the explanation on the pattern of reproduction of political power in village (1979-1999) and Nagari (2000-2015) in West Sumatra, the overall implementation of the legitimacy of the community built on political culture (adat, religion) and the network as political strategy are basically included in doxa. It is emphasized that the reproduction of power grows from social capital; it roots deep in the habitus of the community bound in doxa. At this point, some titled members of the clan have succeeded in using their powers in village and Nagari government.

Where is the extra political arena in the democracy in Nagari? It is located in the management of the clan (*suku*). Based on the analysis, clan management is an effort initiated by the people of West Sumatra and the diaspora to revive the customary laws by rewriting them. Each Minangkabau person will live by his clan; there is a maxim "*suku bersatu kaki, satu kaki adalah seperempat bagian* (the clan is united in one leg, one which is of four quarter parts)." It means four quarter parts of four parent-clans, namely: Koto, Piliang, Bodi, and Chaniago as established by Datuak Katumangguangan and Datuak Perpatih Nan Sabatang. This clan division greatly influences the composition of the Minangkabau community. The maxim goes: "people of similar clan have a strong sense of unity and solidarity; and each clan member feels responsible for what his tribe members are doing."

## **Conclusion**

The change of governance towards a decentralized style as stipulated in Law no. 22/1999 as amended by Law no. 32/2004 on Regional Government cannot be separated from the public attitude and response against the repressive actions conducted by the New Order government. The implementation of the wheels of local government at that period was influenced more by the intervention of the central government rather than the initiative of the regional government. The shift in the implementation of local government that emphasizes direct autonomy at the local level is indeed not a single phenomenon separated from the governance. It is rather a series of phenomena of central and regional governments' political policies to create a more democratic social life. The Authors understand, the desire of the state to interfere in political policy making actually aims to create national political stability. The Authors elaborate the concept of "recognition" to explore the effects of habitus, doxa, social capital, and political arena in Nagari. It means, there must be understanding and commitment among local elites in Nagari and the elite at the central level in formulating the political power at the lowest level i.e. at Nagari/village.



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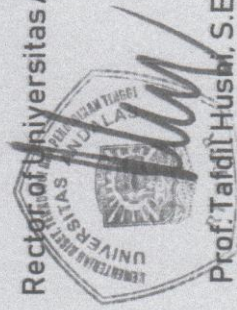
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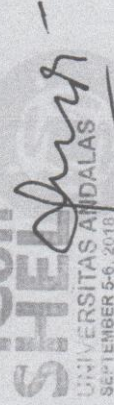
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