

Analysis of Traditional Leadership Models in Indigenous Peoples of Kerinci on Affecting policy Direction.

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Abstract—The discourse on traditional leadership can be seen in the second decade post-reform in Indonesia, with the strengthening of regional autonomy the dominance of traditional power is even more powerful and widespread. The cultural capital used by traditional leadership is substantial. The Kerinci community, for example, does not only function as far as maintaining and caring for ancestral traditions, but can further influence the direction of government policy in presenting people's welfare. Democratic mechanisms that provide equal rights for all citizens to aspire to become a means to legitimize the dominance of traditional power. Therefore, this article places traditional leadership as a variable that greatly determines the implementation of non-formal and formal government institutions. Indigenous peoples are decisive in initiating local government policies. They are involved in regional development planning, then develop policy issues within local communities, and can even make changes to policies in the formal government itself. So that the models and concepts in the local elite leadership are very much needed to look deeper into this study. This study uses a qualitative approach with techniques for collecting field observation data and interviews with indigenous communities and traditional leaders in Kerinci.

Keywords-Traditional Leadership, Indigenous Peoples, Welfare, Local Government.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze the relationship between the power of the village government and the adat (ninik mamak in decision making at the village level for community welfare. This paper presents a novelty for the study of democracy at the village level as indicated by the relationship between formal institutions (village government) and informal institutions (ninik mamak) as new actors who help determine the direction of policy. Adat as a social institution is not only limited to the resolution of social problems, but also influential (non-state determining actors) in the process of determining and direction of policy. Even adat through ninik mamak actors is able to intervene in the decision making process. This phenomenon shows a unique phenomenon that does not exist in villages in Jambi province other than Kerinci district.

This study is important to do with the argument that after the reforms at various levels new forces emerge to participate in the democratic process at the lowest level even as in the village. New forces emerge by utilizing the momentum for local elites (traditional leaders) to operate the identity of ethnic, religious and native sons as a means to seize the building of local political institutions and maintain and enjoy their power[1]. A similar pattern also emerged in indigenous peoples who were pressured by the central government during the New Order government as if they had a place [2]. Kerinci in the context of a democratic state is one example of the re-strengthening of traditional authority derived from socio-cultural capital.

In the formal legal context, after the reformation was enacted by law number 23 of 2014 concerning regional government which provided broad opportunities for regions to implement government based on the principle of broad autonomy. Along with this, Law number 6 of 2014 concerning villages has implications for state and community relations at the village level. The principle of recognition of the uniqueness of an area provides an opportunity for village governments and village communities to re-institutionalize adat that once existed before the enactment of law number 5 of 1979 concerning village governance. The rule is the authoritarian peak in the arrangement which homogeneous forms of government at the lowest level such as clans and nagari become villages in all regions of Indonesia, thus traditional forms of government functioning are no longer recognized [3].

The principle of recognition of the uniqueness of the village provides opportunities for the emergence of a variety of local wisdom or the uniqueness of the village to be returned to normal. This phenomenon has led to a double face in decision making in formal and informal government affairs. On one hand the village government has strong legitimacy stemming from positive rules, but on the other hand there appears excess which is directly confronted with state power. This paper assumes that the efforts of indigenous communities are actually a reconstruction of an

elite political movement to show the existence of their interests as a local community (interest group).

Several studies examining the relationship between customary power and the state argue that indigenous peoples dominate the traditional political system as customary leaders and customary land. The practice of power is operated in the activities and management of legitimate traditional land rights through the transmission of patrilineal lineage, and based on the source of origin and position prioritization system in the hierarchy and social structure [4]. State power that fails to be an agent of social change in all aspects of community development. Through the design of decentralization and regional autonomy policies that provide space for freedom, adat as a representation of local power shows its hegemony in almost all aspects of life to assert its identity[5].

Other research shows that the dimensions of power of indigenous elders tend to be used to build and strengthen traditional and cultural identities through support for local elections. The goal is that culture can be preserved through local government policy and not utilized for practical politics [6]. The emergence of adat is caused by encounters or interactions between indigenous peoples and outsiders such as the government. The presence of non-governmental organizations, researchers and the media influence the birth of community revivalist awareness[7]. On the contrary, as an institution adat began to lose its role due to age disparities in society. Customary institutions also lose their social legitimacy which is marked by the weakening of the role of traditional institutions that only deal with traditional medical rituals, opening up land and harvesting rituals. The rules of traditional institutions in the form of legal regulations and sanctions are applied only in the form of memories of oral speech in the past without any compliance with the customary rules themselves [8].

These studies focus more on building identity and strengthening customs in weak states and the role of adat in solving social problems. The power relationship between the village government and customary elders in decision making is not a concern of the two, therefore there is an opportunity to further examine the relationship between the village government and adat, and the influence of adat leadership (*ninik mamak*) in the decision making process. This study is relevant if it is related to democratization at the village level and supported by law, therefore this study complements contemporary phenomena about the model of local leadership power.

The analysis of power relations refers to the concept of 'power relations between A and B', in the context of the detailed relationship shows the relationship between village government and adat in the form of conflictual [9], mutual influence between the two, dominating one another, cooperation and win-win deal [10]. In the implementation of local government there are people who have the ability to govern. So when talking about local government, it cannot be separated from the influence of the elite. In an elite perspective.

II. METHOD

This research was conducted in two traditional areas (Koto Lanang and Tebat Ijuk village) using exploratory qualitative methods to better understand the symptoms or phenomena of the relationship between village and adat government [11]. The determination of the area is based on the character of customs that is still maintained as a reference in everyday life. Primary data collection is carried out through structured and unstructured interviews and observations, interviews are conducted in an integrated manner with participant observation, where researchers try to identify and see the world in plain sight [12]. Researchers dig deep data by combining the two methods.

Information is extracted by determining the key person who is considered to know the initial information about the data needed. Then the snowball sampling technique was used, the researcher asked for references from informants who mastered or had strategic information related to the data needed. To support primary data, data from various sources such as reports, village regulations, news from the media, study results are used as material to support research analysis.

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This paper discusses the traditional leadership of indigenous as factors that determine the implementation of government non-formal and formal. The strengthening of adat in Kerinci goes hand in hand with the strength of the state which seeks to position itself as an umbrella for indigenous peoples. They are involved in regional development planning, then develop policy issues in local communities, and can even make changes to policies in formal government itself. The issue of the strengthening of adat should be explored further regarding the emergence of adat, the contestation of adat with the state and the influence of adat in decision making.

A. *The strengthening of adat*

The flow of democratization at the national level has an impact on local politics in the village which is interesting to discuss, especially in the implementation of government. The existence of adat after the collapse of the new order is a form of antithesis to the power that is sertralis and uniform to all levels of government. Through the gateway to democracy supported by regulations, indigenous peoples seem to gain legitimacy which places them as a more dominant position towards the state [13].

In the Kerinci context, the existence of *mamak ninik* who had been eliminated through a uniform system of village governance began to take place since the reforms which culminated in the existence of village laws. The reappearance of traditional leaders in the Kerinci area has a similar pattern with the strengthening of identity politics in areas such as West Kalimantan who sought to seize power through political contestation [14] and Mosaliki in Flores who dominated the traditional political system as customary leaders and adat lands [4].

In the administration of government, *ninik mamak* is present as one of the informal actors who have the power to determine policy. *Ninik mamak* has very strong authority

in social affairs related to conflict resolution, inheritance distribution and customary events. The authority then expanded and entered into government affairs through the role of *ninik mamak*, both formally included in the government structure or not part of the government.

Ninik Mamak power is obtained through *qolbu*, an open selection process and the main requirement of the candidate must be willing to take care of the members (male child and female child). His election was confirmed through the taking of very sacred oaths by religious leaders and witnessed by members. *Ninik Mamak* power is very strong because his choice is done on the request of *qolbu*. So it is not surprising that adat decisions are imperative and sacred.

Ninik Mamak power is symbolized through the heirloom (*pusako*) which was inherited by the traditional elders before. The legitimacy is sacred to customary events (such as *kenduri sko*) through *parno* oral traditions which show that they have local wisdom values related to ideology and values related to advice (traditional messages) [15]. Customs neutralize themselves as a concept that must become a reference for society and the implementation of government. Customary workings supported by a solid traditional structures such as *depati*, traditional leaders in the tribe, *mangku* structures under *depat* responsible for the enforcement of Adat and *rio* as head of *anak jantan* (male child) and *anak betino* (female child).

The strengthening of adat in the *kerinci* community is caused by the opening of space to express themselves, which places themselves as informal actors alongside the state. *Mamak's ninik* legitimacy is obtained from a process that is recognized by the community through rituals that are sacred, so they are considered as legitimate authorities in solving social problems in the community.

B. Contesting power in decision making

The operation of adat power is gradual, beginning with the formal institutionalization of adat in the village governance structure in which the number of members is strengthened by local regulations. The adat in *Kerinci* determine the candidate for the village head who will contest, supervising the electoral process even though it has no role in the electoral process [16]. In the village government structure and the village consultative body (BPD), the placement is inseparable from the consultation process with the adat community. Through mechanisms like this, it provides opportunities for adat to place customary actors in strategic positions in the BPD and village governance structures.

The next process contact between Adat and Village in official interactions manifested through rural development planning, decision-making meetings important in villages such as conflict resolution between *Anak Betino* and *Anak Jantan*. The interaction of both (village-Adat) as well as through informal channels is done in such event, giving the title, *Kenduri Sk*, weddings and religious social events [17]. Through formal and informal encounters adat penetration works through *parno* or *pangku parbayo* traditions [15]. The crystallization of adat through oral

tradition has given rise to the awareness that adat which has been institutionalized in social affairs must also enter into government affairs as a representation of indigenous peoples [7].

Hendra argued that customary institutions lose social legitimacy that is characterized by weakening a limited role in traditional medicine, paving *l Ahan* and harvest rituals, customs rules is not incorporated by reference behave [8]. In the context of the detailed society, adat actually exists as a social stylist that extends to the realm of decision making in government affairs (public affairs). The *Ijuk* and *Koto Lanang* traditional territories are representations of the social operational operation of social and governmental affairs. In this context cultural dominance is stronger because it is considered as the highest government, absolute and representing citizens because it is elected through a democratic process, obtaining support from customary elders and *qolbu* [18] than village governments who formally hold authority over village government affairs. Thus the power of a single actor who has remained in decision-making has spread to several power holders.

The power struggle between the village and the adat took place in official forums such as the process of drafting and establishing the *RPJMDes* and the formulation of the *RAPBDes*. Through the concept of community participation, the village government positions the adat community as a society that is equal to the community that does not hold adat authority. However, decision making is difficult to achieve without the support and approval of the adat, support or approval is important because in the process of implementing social cultural policies it becomes a tool to operate the power of the village government. The indigenous people maintain their existence through socio-religious activities and government activities, while the village tries to fight this dominance by positioning the adat community as an equal representative of the community who have no position in adat.

In a society that has a strong socio-cultural character with an open government, it will give birth to new actors through customary capital which is even more dominant in determining the direction of policy than village governance. Such phenomena are very dilemmatic, but gave birth to a new model in channeling community aspirations that are not absorbed by the village government or BPD.

B. The influence of Ninik Mamak in decision making

The relationship between the village government with the indigenous peoples represented by *ninik mamak* in traditional structures, generate *k onsensus* that directly or indirectly affect the rural development and community development. The existence of indigenous peoples is also supported by Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, in that law the state provides space and accommodates the existence of indigenous peoples.

Village development can be in the form of physical development, while community development can be in the form of improving the community's economy and human resource development. Communication in relations between the village government and traditional leaders occurs through two ways, namely the formal and non-formal

ways. The formal relationship between the two is carried out in the village government agenda, one of which is Musrebangdes who places adat as one of the important actors in the decision making process.

Community participation in Musrebangdes (local planning forum) by the village government or community representatives consisting of village officials, community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders and youth leaders became the starting point of customs operations. The Musrebangdes is a means to provide input to each other about solving problems in the village and provide planning for village development going forward. In villages where the traditional nuances are still thick, in this meeting the traditional leader has a dominant position compared to the village head, because his opinion is still considered as advice that must be carried out or carried out by the community.

BPD is an alternative way for traditional institutions to intervene in the village administration, because BPD consists of religious leaders, intellectuals, religious leaders, women leaders, and youth leaders, most of whom are included in the adat structure. These conditions provide a large space for traditional institutions to provide input or opinions to the village government in running the government. Because the function of the BPD is to help the village head to discuss and agree on village strategic policies.

Whereas the non-formal communication relationship can occur when the village government approaches or invites the customary leader to ask for opinions on the existing problems and when the customary leader invites the village government in an adat event or when discussing existing problems in the community. This condition is not included in the agenda of the village government but it is conditional in nature which can occur whenever needed so it is said to be non-formal communication.

Indigenous peoples have a law that is still attached and runs until now, the existence of customary law still has a direct impact on the condition of the community because the community still obeys the law. Like the law about the norms of decency, for example in the village of Koto Petai there are laws about the prohibition to play the guitar, the prohibition of providing entertainment such as organ tunggal (electronic music) when holding a celebration, the prohibition of dating, and others. Existing customary law is not a policy that is taken haphazardly after the deliberation is carried out by the customary community consisting of traditional elders when they see the phenomenon in the community. The traditional elders consider the prohibition to play the guitar which is usually done by young people because from playing the guitar, the youth usually do it at night and in groups it can disturb other people. Not only that, when young people get together and play the guitar the phenomenon that occurs is that they take actions against the law such as drinking, so the policy is taken to play the guitar. The prohibition on holding a solo organ entertainment when holding a wedding or childbirth party comes from the concern of the traditional elders of Koto Petai seeing phenomena that occur in other villages that often throw parties with a single organ entertainment. The

village community made a single organ as the standard in holding a party or even becoming a social prestige material. The condition of people who are in the middle to lower economic category requires extra effort to pay for parties with the entertainment of a single organ, causing the majority of people to sell assets in the form of paddy fields or plantations to meet the costs of the party. Seeing this phenomenon became an initiation to make a ban on holding a party with a single organ in the village of Koto Petai. The applicable sanctions can be in the form of fines to pay a sum of money to be issued from villages and abolished from structural indigenous peoples to their offspring. The village government of Koto Petai responded positively to the existence of the customary law by making it customary law into a *perdes*.

The dominance of indigenous people over the government can occur when there is a development program carried out by the local government or village government but is not approved by the indigenous people, then the development program may not work. If the government insists on carrying out the program, a conflict can occur where a large number of adat communities will block and forcibly terminate the development program.

Some cases occurred such as when the irrigation development program carried out by the district government in *tebak ijuk* village was rejected by the adat community. Even though the program is already running, when the indigenous people are not involved in the process of mapping the area that will be irrigated and according to them are not as intended, the indigenous people reject and force the termination of the project, and make the irrigation development project halted.

Another case that occurs when indigenous peoples reject government programs occurs when there is a road building program on rice field bunds intended for farmers when going to the fields or when transporting crops and building a cast road towards plantations or fields. These roads are called farm roads. Farm roads in several villages in the Kerinci regency have been rejected by adat communities, so the construction program must be stopped. The dispute stopping the construction of the farm road has been rejected after the elders observed that the sustainability of the development program could threaten the existence of their agricultural land and plantations. The phenomenon that occurs is that after the construction of farm roads, such as providing fresh wind for the construction of houses on paddy fields or plantations because of easy access to transportation so that it attracts people to build houses on paddy fields and plantations, that is the reason for the refusal to build farm roads.

At the time of the state (village government) still has a strong role, *Ninik mamak* as informal actors in the process *pengambilan* decision also has a great influence and even determine the decision. The dominance was born because in the midst of society, adat was sacred through various social practices. So that the struggle of state power with indigenous peoples led to the *ninik mamak* as a dominant actor (very influential) on the implementation of village governance in various aspects.

IV. CONCLUSION

As the focus of the study that has been explained previously about the relationship between village government and adat, and the influence of adat leadership (*ninik mamak*) in the decision making process. This study found that the relationship between the village government and indigenous peoples in the context of Kerinci (the region of Tebat Ijuk and Koto Lanang) is a relationship that is the dominance of customary authority over the state. The domination was marked by proses decision (indigenous issues, conflicts and government affairs desa) at the level of villages dominated by indigenous peoples. The power of adat arose not because of the weakening of the state [5], or because of the encounter of adat with actors who gave birth to revivalist awareness [7]. However, the strengthening of *Ninik Mamak* role is supported by the Kerinci socio-cultural system that is strong and able to deal with the state. Seeing this phenomenon, this paper recommends a model of decision making based on local wisdom where adat is the foundation of development. In the context of a state that has implemented a government system with formal legal authority, custom and the state should be juxtaposed (equal) in the process of government administration. In the context of Kerinci has proven the effectiveness of adat as a strong capital for the implementation and resolution of government problems.

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