

Cultural Capital of Minangkabau Nomads in the 2019 Legislative Election in Indonesia

Novendra Hidayat¹, Budi Darmawan², Gennta Rahmad Putra³

¹Political Science Study Program, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Bangka Belitung, Indonesia. (email: novendra@ubb.ac.id)

²Sociology Study Program, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Bangka Belitung, Indonesia. (email: budidarmawan@ubb.ac.id)

³Political Science Study Program, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Andalas, Indonesia. (email: genta.rahmad99@gmail.com)

Abstract

This study examined the cultural capital possessed by Minangkabau nomads as the candidates of the DPR-RI Legislature in the 2019 Legislative Elections. Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia which maintains a matrilineal kinship system and a tradition of *merantau* (travelling in pursuit of success). *Merantau* becomes a significant investment used by Minangkabau nomads to gain vote support for their candidacy as a member of the DPR-RI legislature in electoral political contestation, including the 2019 Legislative Election. The study utilized a qualitative descriptive method to collect data through interviews and documentation studies. The study results revealed that the figure of Minangkabau nomads candidates possessed the cultural capital and were able to manage this cultural capital to succeed in gaining significant victories in their respective constituency. The cultural capital of Minangkabau nomads could be seen from the two figures of Minangkabau nomads legislative candidates, namely Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, including the institutionalized tradition of *merantau*, and the role *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* (the traditional leaders) in the matrilineal kinship system. Through adequate cultural capital, the Minangkabau nomads were able to secure a big victory in their respective electoral districts.

Keywords:

legislative candidates; Minangkabau; cultural capital; politics; *Rantau*.

Introduction

Democracy refers to A political system in which the top collective decision makers are elected through a system of fair, honest, and periodic elections (Huntington, 2001). The General Election (Pemilu) is the most fundamental political instrument in a democratic country. General elections have evolved into a global modern phenomenon, not just in advanced and mature democracies, but also in emerging nations that are still in the process of transitioning to democracy (Rahmatunnisa, 2017).

In the context of Indonesia, in which people are quite diverse in terms of ethnicities, religions, cultures, and existing groups, elections will be confronted with collaboration as well as competition to determine the right to vote in the electoral arena at both the local and national

levels. The diversity of ethnic groups is determined by how they are categorized (Geertz in Kato, 2005). As the world's largest archipelagic country with 17,508 islands, Indonesia has around 1,340 ethnic groupings (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Minangkabau is one of the main ethnic groups in Indonesia which live in the central part of the island of Sumatra as its homeland; most of its territory now lies in the Province of West Sumatra. According to BPS data (2010), despite accounting for only 3% of the total population of Indonesia, the Minangkabau are the fourth most populous ethnic group after the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese. Moreover, BPS data report that the Minangkabau ethnic group becomes the largest ethnic group in Sumatra, accounting for one-quarter of the total population on the island of Sumatra (Naim, 2013).

This study sought to investigate the role of cultural capital in the victory of Minangkabau nomads as the DPR-RI members in the 2019 Legislative Election. The study of Minangkabau cultural capital in the Indonesian political system is an intriguing issue for at least the following reasons. First, Minangkabau is known as one of the ethnic groups which is rich and diverse in social and cultural values. This is evidenced by many traditional philosophies that were born and evolved in this ethnic group (Kato, 2005). Second, political participation of the Minangkabau in the Indonesian political constellation has been established for a long time in Indonesia's modern history. Its origins can be traced back to the colonial era, specifically the early twentieth century (Chaniago, 2010).

Graves (2008) emphasized this point by stating that at the time of Indonesia's independence, the number of educated Indonesian citizens with the professional expertise/technical competence to govern the newly independent country was extremely inadequate. The majority of those few came from the Minangkabau tribes, which still inhabit the area of West Sumatra today; the number of Minangkabau people in the newly independent Republic's political, intellectual, and professional circles was grossly disproportionate to its population of only three percent of Indonesia's total population.

The victory of the Minangkabau people in the 2019 Legislative Election was fantastic. They were elected not only in West Sumatra, which is the origin area of this ethnic group, but also outside the province, which is called rantau (foreign regions). The data obtained from various sources reported that 14 (fourteen) elite Minangkabau nomads were elected as the DPR-RI members in the 2019 Legislative Elections. The elected legislators who came from Minangkabau were scattered in several electoral districts in Indonesia.

Harker (1990) asserts that the direct election system implemented in Indonesia allows a candidate to have capital accumulation as a requirement for election. The most crucial capital

owned among all is the ability to convert the capital from one type to another and then have essential social strengths with this capital (Haryanto, 2015). However, during the competition in the election arena, a candidate must possess a fundamental capital that might become the leading capital in obtaining a seat of power. In this case, cultural capital is one of the determining capitals a candidate needs to have, in addition to social and political capital.

Following on from the preceding explanation, this study focused on studying characteristics of the cultural capital of Minangkabau nomads competing for a seat in DPR-RI legislature in Indonesia's 2019 Legislative Elections. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualizes cultural capital as the product of social practices and social reproduction that enables classes to carry out their dominant culture through a cyclical reproduction. The dimensions of cultural capital put forward by Bourdieu include objective knowledge about art and culture, cultural tastes and preferences, formal qualifications such as degrees and knowledge, family heritage, and the ownership of high-value cultural objects. Casey (2008), on the other hand, defines cultural capital as a candidate's proximity to the region or constituency.

Referring to Bourdieu's and Casey's opinion, the ownership of a candidate's cultural capital could be seen from the candidate's knowledge and understanding of the cultural values, the ownership of valuable cultural objects, the candidate's formal qualifications, and the candidate's familiarity to the people in the constituency. By presenting a model of modern political democracy that accommodates cultural values, this study was significant to perceive the cultural capital owned by Minangkabau nomads as the candidates for the DPR-RI legislature in order that they succeeded in winning the 2019 Legislative Election.

Methods

This study was qualitative in nature. It is argued that qualitative research is the most effective method for comprehending social behavior. Data in qualitative research is gathered and analyzed using words (oral and written) and human behaviors. The researchers investigate a person's or group's attitudes, behaviors, and subjective experiences, as well as the meaning connected with those experiences (Marsh & Stoker, 2010). Particularly, the type of this study was a case study. Case study research explores phenomena in real-life scenarios in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are unclear and different sources of information are utilized (Yin, 2006). According to Yin, numerous sources of evidence can be used in case study research, including documents, archives, recordings, interviews, direct observation, participatory observation, and physical devices.

The primary data were gathered through interviews conducted following the interview guidelines. According to Fontana and Frey (2009), an interview can be performed openly with a list of questions prepared ahead of time or unstructured, with both aiming to undertake informal investigations to allow discussion of specific concerns. In addition, the secondary data from archive documents and other scientific journals was also employed.

Results and Discussion

The phenomenon of Minangkabau politics during the post-reform Indonesian political constellation were reflected from the election of Minangkabau nomads as candidates for the 2019 Legislative Election. In *rantau* (outside West Sumatra Province, the area of the origin of Minangkabau people), there were 14 (fourteen) Minangkabau nomads candidates who were elected, scattered in several constituencies in Indonesia. More specifically, the composition of the gaining votes of Minangkabau nomads candidates were elected in 8 (eight) provinces with 6 (six) different parties, namely Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), Partai Golongan Karya (Partai Golkar), Partai Nasional Demokrat (Partai Nasdem), dan Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP). Meanwhile, the distribution of Minangkabau nomads who were the DPR-RI candidates and their number of votes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.
Minangkabau Nomads' Votes for DPR-RI Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Names	Party Origin	Election Area	Number of Votes
1.	Tiffatul Sembiring	PKS	North Sumatra I	127.233
2.	Nasril Bahar	PAN	North Sumatra III	95.557
3.	Jon Erizal	PAN	Riau I	78.848
4.	Chairul Anwar	PKS	Riau I	75.348
5.	Arsyadjuliandi Rahman	Golkar	Riau I	32.511
6.	Nurzahedi Tanjung	Gerindra	Riau II	57.338
7.	Asman Abnur	PAN	Riau Islands	76.021
8.	Rano Karno	PDIP	Banten	274.294
9.	Ahmad Sahroni	Nasdem	DKI III	73.938
10.	Fadli Zon	Gerindra	West Java V	230.524
11.	Evita Nursanty	PDIP	Central Java III	130.983
12.	Moreno Suprpto	Gerindra	East Java V	59.296
13.	Arteria Dahlan	PDIP	East Java VI	108.259
14.	Willy Aditya	Nasdem	East Java XI	190.814

Source: Processed by Researchers from KPU-RI, 2019

Among the electoral districts in *rantau* (foreign regions) in the 2019 Legislative Elections, the most substantial victory for Minangkabau nomads was in Riau Province. It was reported that 4 (four) out of 13 (thirteen) seats for the Members of the DPR-RI in the Riau Electoral District during the 2019/2024 period were won by Minangkabau nomads as candidates for the DPR-RI.

This achievement implied that 30.77 percent of the legislature members currently came from Minangkabau. This was even more interesting when compared to the results of the Riau Population Census in which the number of Minangkabau tribes in Riau Province was only around 11.26 percent (BPS Province of Riau, 2018). This figure clearly exceeded the achievements of Minangkabau nomads in the electoral political arena.

In a procedural democracy, it is obvious that every citizen has the same opportunity to vote and be elected, is given the same freedom in channeling political aspirations, and also has the right to take part in competitions in the placement of public offices. However, at the empirical level, it turns out that the opportunities between one candidate and another are different because the capital that everyone has in participating in electoral political contests is different from one another. Wherever the arena of electoral contestation is, election participants, in this case legislative candidates, try their best to win the hearts of voters. In this section, the researchers revealed the cultural capital owned by the Minangkabau nomads candidates who were elected in the 2019 Legislative Election.

Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal: The Duo Minangkabau Nomads Elite Figures

Fadli Zon is a Minangkabau intellectual from Payakumbuh, West Sumatra Province. He is the eldest son of three siblings, and both of his parents are Minangkabau people from Payakumbuh, West Sumatra. In practical politics, he first joined the Golkar Party in 1995, then was appointed as a member of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR-RI) from the Youth Group Envoy in 1997. He co-founded Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) on July 17, 1998. The dynamics of democracy then led him to co-found the Gerindra Party on February 6, 2008. On October 1, 2014, he was elected as a member of the DPR as well as the Deputy Chair of the DPR-RI in charge of politics, law, and security (Pahlevi, 2015).

Table 2.
The Results of Vote Acquisition of the DPR-RI Candidates for the Electoral District (Dapil) of West Java V in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Names	Party Origin	Number of Votes
1.	Fadli Zon	Gerindra	230.524
2.	Primus Yustisio	PAN	86.983
3.	Adian Napitupulu	PDIP	80.228
4.	Elly Rachmat Yasin	PPP	71.884
5.	Mulyadi	Gerindra	70.569
6.	Fahmy Alaydrus	PKS	67.677
7.	Ichsan Firdaus	Golkar	64.240
8.	Anton S. Suratno	Demokrat	55.634
9.	Tommy Kurniawan	PKB	33.988

Source: General Election Commission of West Java Province, 2019

The results presented in Table 2 demonstrates that Fadli Zon name was listed as the candidate who received the most votes in the Electoral District of West Java V, considerably exceeding his competitors. Furthermore, based on the number of votes he received, Fadli Zon even listed himself as the top 10 (ten) legislative candidates with the most votes in Indonesia as published by Kompas.com (2019, August 31). This verifies how much the public hopes for the figure of Fadli Zon.

Meanwhile, at a different place, Jon Erizal, a Minangkabau nomads, advanced from the Electoral District of Riau I. Before participating in the 2014 DPR-RI Legislative Election, Jon Erizal nominated himself for the Governor of Riau for the 2013-2018 period in 2013. Paired with Mambang Mit and supported by PAN and PKS, however, he stopped in the first round with 318,548 votes or around 13.4 percent. Competing in the 2013 Pilkada became a valuable experience that further strengthened his steps to enter the political sector in the DPR-RI General Election. As a Minangkabau nomads, he was also entrusted as the Vice Chairman of the Riau Minang Family Association (IKMR). In the Electoral District of Riau 1, Jon Erizal won the highest votes with a total of 78,848 votes (GoRiau, 2019). Interestingly, this vote led Jon Erizal far ahead of the former Governor of Riau, Arsyadjuliandi Rachman (the Golkar Party). The results of the permanent vote acquisition for the 2019 DPR-RI Legislative Election from the Electoral District of Riau I is presented in Table 3.

Table 3.
The Results of Vote Acquisition of DPR-RI Candidates for the Electoral District of Riau I in the 2019 Legislative Election

No.	Names	Party Origin	Number of Votes
1.	Jon Erizal	PAN	78.848
2.	Ahmad	Democrats	77.324
3.	Effendi Sianipar	PDIP	75.828
4.	Chairul Anwar	PKS	75.348
5.	M.Rahul	Gerindra	58.565
6.	Syamsurizal	PPP	42.743
7.	Arsyadjuliandi Rachman	Golkar	32.511

Source: General Election Commission of Riau Province, 2019

The success of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal was resulted from various factors. Among the determining factors was the ability to utilize and optimize their respective capital. The National Press figure and a humanist from Minangkabau, Chaniago (2022) said the following:

"The Minangkabau people are known as nomads, in which *merantau* is a cultural capital in itself. The success of Minangkabau nomads as elected legislative candidates in *rantau* cannot be separated from the ability of Minangkabau nomads candidates to utilize various types of the capital they have. The social

capital of Minangkabau nomads can be seen from their adaptability and social networks. (An interview with Hasril Chaniago, 02/01/2022 in Padang)

The Institutionalized Tradition of *Merantau*

The tradition of *merantau* among Minangkabau people has become a philosophy of life. As explained in the previous section, *merantau* generally means to move voluntarily from one's origin country (Minangkabau/ now West Sumatra Province) to another country in search of a better life for the future. This implies that *merantau* is a step of kindness/wisdom or the philosophy in life. This then renders *merantau* as an institutionalized tradition or culture in the Minangkabau ethnic community. The institutionalized *merantau* causes this tradition to be passed down from generation to generation.

This is reinforced by Naim's statement (2013) that *merantau* is a voluntary migration (voluntary move) which has been institutionalized in the Minangkabau ethnic group. This institutionalized *merantau* implies that the moving tradition has resembled an institution for the Minangkabau ethnic community. Apparently, the activities of an institution are patterned/ planned/ organized and structured in such a way. As a philosophy of life, *merantau* for the Minangkabau tribe is following the customary philosophy: "*karatau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun; marantau bujang dahulu, di kampuang paguno balun.*" (Meaning: if you cannot do much for many people in the village, it's best to go abroad first).

The ideology of *merantau* denotes the encouragement for Minangkabau young men to travel abroad to other people's lands in search of knowledge and livelihoods, to be brought back and developed at home. Furthermore, *rantau* become a space for self-actualization, allowing people to move in numerous domains of life such as trading (economic), politics, social, cultural, and other aspects of life that can help others around them.

Based on this philosophy, Navis (1983) proposes 3 (three) main objectives of *merantau* among the Minangkabau ethnic group; they are

- (1) *Mancari pitih* (earn money/ properties) by trading and becoming a merchant. Almost every ethnic group in the archipelago (Indonesia) has the tradition and ethos of a merchant. However, the Minangkabau ethnic group is the only one with a strong trading ethos (Idris, 2015). Being a merchant is intimately tied to the socio-cultural life of the Minangkabau people. *Manggaleh* is a native phrase that refers to the act of purchasing and selling in a market system. Minangkabau merchants are able to become significant competitors for Chinese merchants, who have long controlled trade in the archipelago since the colonial era, because to their persistence in *manggaleh* (Furnivall, 2009).

(2) *Mancari ilmu* (Seeking for knowledge) by learning and studying, developing the education through school/college activities in order to acquire knowledge that will be useful in the future.

(3) *Mancari pangkek* (Finding a position) by building a career (position).

Following the three (three) major aims of *merantau* to the Minangkabau ethnic group, it is evident that for Minangkabau nomads, *merantau* is not only for economic purposes through trading activities (trading routes), but also to strive in developing education and socio-political activities. In this situation, sociopolitical engagement can be carried out through career advancement in a variety of fields, including politics, government, professional, self-employment, trade, and so on. In this regard, Prof. Djohermansyah Djohan, a Minangkabau professor and senior government official in Indonesia, stated:

"..... one of the cultural assets of the Minangkabau people is the tradition of *merantau*. Through *merantau*, Minangkabau people prove themselves in numerous aspects of life, including the political field, in which *mancari pankek* (finding a position) is one of the goals of *merantau*. Previously, the history revealed that Minangkabau nomads had contributed to the life of this country, especially at the beginning of the establishment of this country that continues over time to this day. Recently, this has been proven by the election of Minangkabau nomads in several electoral districts in post-reform Indonesia." (An interview with Prof. Djohermansyah Djohan, 03/07/2021 in Jakarta)

The success of Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, the two Minangkabau nomads candidates for the DPR-RI legislators obtained significant (the highest) votes in their respective constituencies in the 2019 legislative election, further proves that *merantau* is a place for the Minangkabau people to prove themselves that they are successful, able to live a more decent life, align themselves, and finally contribute to the society, the environment where they live. Minangkabau people contribute to their *rantau* land (the current country of residence) and their homeland, and most importantly, their contribution to the society broadly. As Fadli Zon stated:

".....*merantau* opens up our eyes and hearts to give and interpret the wider value of life. It contributes not only to the local state and the state of origin, but also to the wider community, the nation and the country of Indonesia." (An interview with Fadli Zon, 14/09/21 at Fadli Zon Library Jakarta).

In addition, Bourdieu (1986) affirms that cultural capital has several dimensions, two of which are the objective knowledge of art and culture and the cultural taste. In this aspect, *merantau* is a cultural capital for Minangkabau nomads since it has a cultural character that subsequently becomes objective knowledge for Minangkabau people such as Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal. This is reinforced by Hasril Chaniago, a Minangkabau culturalist, who said:

"...in my opinion, the main capital in the success of Minangkabau nomads candidates in the electoral political contestation is the cultural capital, in this case, a way of life. For the Minangkabau people, the nature is this vast nature as the philosophy of '*Alam takambang jadi guru*' (The nature is a teacher or guidance in life). Hence, the Minangkabau homeland is this whole world, as said in the Minangkabau philosophy." (An interview with Hasril Chaniago, 02/01/2022 in Padang)

This philosophy is then embodied by respecting and appreciating the nature or the order of life in *rantau*. *Merantau* opens your eyes and heart to contribute to the wider community, not only for his *rantau* (Dapil Jabar V/Kab. Bogor) but also for his homeland, West Sumatra, and the whole wider community. Regarding his election in *rantau*, Fadli Zon commented:

"My election in *rantau* is of course owing to the support of all people. One of the factors in my selection, in addition to the community support, is the culture of *merantau*. *Merantau*, which has become institutionalized in Minangkabau, has become a valuable cultural capital for me in my election to regional elections in *rantau* lands, both in the 2014 and 2019 legislative elections. The philosophy of *merantau* has become a spirit to contribute to a wider order of life, including the *rantau* lands as my constituency." (An interview with Fadli Zon, 14/09/21 at Fadli Zon Library in Jakarta).

Merantau is indeed an institutionalized tradition. This tradition has passed down from generation to generation and so are Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, in which *merantau* was passed down by their parents originating from Minangkabau. As Minangkabau nomads, Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal mingled and respected the rules existed in *rantau*. Fadli Zon adapted to Sundanese culture, while Jon Erizal adapted to Riau Malay culture. These two figures have not lost their Minangkabau identity by sticking to the principle of *dima bumi dipijak, di situ langik dijunjuang*. This is in line with the concept of cultural capital as suggested by Bourdieu (1992), which is related to cultural tastes, and Casey (2008), which discusses about the cultural understanding of the local community/constituency.

The Minangkabau homeland teaches many life values (*habitus*) to Minangkabau nomads like Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, who were elected in the electoral political contestation sector. *Merantau* is one of the habits performed by Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal. Being intertwined with this tradition, Minangkabau people are often referred to as *urang awak*, which if translated into Indonesian means our people. *Awak* has a similar meaning to "we" which means the whole.

The word *awak* used by Minangkabau people has various meaning depending on the context. For example, if this word is used in the context of Indonesia, *awak* refers to Indonesia (if there is a competition between countries, *awak* is the country). On the other hand, if *awak* is used in the context of homeland, *awak* means *Ranah Minang* (the Minang land). This depicts the

nationalism of Minangkabau. The philosophy of *awak* becomes the distinctive cultural capital and social capital for Minangkabau people since they put themselves in accordance with to the environment (match).

The Role of Matrilineal Kinship System: *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*

Kinship is defined as social relations occurred between a person and his siblings or family, both from the father's and mother's lines. The center of the kinship system is the family, both the nuclear family and the extended family. Meanwhile, matrilineal kinship refers to a social and cultural relationship formed by the descent from the mother's line. The matrilineal kinship that is identical as a pattern of Minangkabau culture results in a feeling of shared destiny, a strong sense of solidarity (brotherhood) with one another in *rantau*.

The culture of Minangkabau has never faded even though the people are in *rantau*. Through the customary philosophy of adaptability, Minangkabau nomads try to position themselves, to adapt to the culture of the people in *rantau*. Meanwhile, as fellow Minangkabau nomads, they still maintain a sense of social solidarity by showing their sense of kinship.

The cultural capitals of Minangkabau nomads can be seen, one *rantau* lands. This culture has been instilled from their ancestors since long ago or before *merantau*, which to date is still well ingrained and upholds its sacred values by the next generation including Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal. Fadli Zon was appointed as the General Chair of the DPP IKM. Meanwhile, Jon Erizal was appointed as the Deputy Chair of IKMR. Until now, the two Minangkabau nomads figures from the DPR-RI candidates are still holding their positions. It then strengthens the cultural capital existed in the elite figure of the Minangkabau nomads.

Moreover, the cultural capital, which was represented by matrilineal kinship, assisted the candidates in supporting and socializing Minangkabau nomads figures for DPR-RI candidates in the electoral political contestation arena in the 2019 Legislative Election. As one of Minangkabau nomads figures who competed for DPR-RI candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election, Fadli Zon had traveled and spent his childhood in Cisarua Bogor, but currently he lived in Jakarta (Zon, 2016). The presence of Minangkabau nomads in the election arena contributed to helping socialize the figure of Fadli Zon to other voters. The IKM community joined the 'FZ Success Team' in winning the 2019 Legislative Election.

The Minangkabau matrilineal kinship, which was represented through the Minangkabau nomads community, such as IKM, IKMR, and other Minangkabau communities who joined other communities played an important role in winning Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal in the electoral contestation of the 2019 Legislative Elections. Through matrilineal kinship, the values that were

considered identical (same origins, tradition systems, and cultural values) owned by fellow Minangkabau nomads, eventually managed to form personal bonds (*civic engagement*) during the campaign process. Furthermore, the existence of Minangkabau nomads voting community which spread across various lines of life (across professions) helped to socialize, support, and win the figure of the Minangkabau nomads as candidates for the DPR-RI legislators in the 2019 Legislative Election.

Cultural capital, in the form of matrilineal kinship, is then strengthened by three elements of leadership (*triumvirate*) in Minangkabau. They are known as *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*, which consists of *Niniak Mamak* (the village elder), *Alim Ulama* (the religious scholar), and *Cadiak Pandai* (the intellectual). *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* has a crucial role in the people's lives to date, including in the field of electoral contestation in *rantau*. It becomes the three pillars of leadership that are interrelated and have an important role in the wheels of civilized, religious, and knowledgeable leadership. This concept is stated in the Practice Guidelines "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah, Syarak Mangato Adat Mamakai, Alam Takambang Jadi Guru*", which indicates that *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* is the collective leadership of the Minangkabau community, consisting of *Niniak Mamak*, *Alim Ulama*, and *Cadiak Pandai* (Azra, 2011).

First, *Niniak Mamak* has the responsibility to guide and care for his nephews and people. *Niniak Mamak* refers to the elderly men in the community, who becomes is the place of: *baiyo* and *bamolah* (asking and deliberating). They are elder and respected because of the noble qualities they have even though they are still young, either individually or collectively. In a broader sense, *niniak mamak* are adult men in a Minangkabau community; *niniak mamak* is the head of a tribe (Ibrahim, 2015). Then, *alim ulama* is a scholar in religious affairs, a person who has extensive religious knowledge and deep faith. *Alim Ulama* is a group of intelligent people who understand the teachings of Islam. Their understanding of Islam is not only in terms of knowledge, but the Islamic aspects also become his attitude in life, the role model in the *nagari* (the region), who enlighten the way in the world and becomes a torch for the way to the hereafter (Andeska, 2017).

Lastly, *cadiak pandai* is defines as a leader since he has extensive knowledge and insights, as well as wise and prudent. *Cadiak pandai* can provide teachings at meetings so that people's eyes are opened to choose what is good and right. *Cadiak pandai* can bring relatives and community members closer so that good relationships are developed to achieve the goodness of the *nagari* (Akmal in Andeska, 2017).

As the collective leaderships in Minangkabau, *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* contributed to winning candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election. *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* particularly contributed to convincing the Minangkabau nomads communities to support and succeed the

Minangkabau nomads candidates participating in the contest such as Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal. In addition, *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* also joined the candidate winning team along with other communities. Regarding the roles *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*, Jon Erizal said:

“.....in the political sector in *rantau*, especially the electoral district is Riau I, I have friends and relatives. The role of the Minangkabau *Niniak Mamak* who lives in *rantau* is to convey to their nephews and close relatives to support the electoral contestation arena. Through the well-maintained closeness with community leaders like *Niniak Mamak*, *Alim Ulama*, and *Cadiak Pandai* in *rantau*, I really feel the support to be succeeded in the 2019 Legislative Election.” (An interview with Jon Erizal, 14/07/2020 via zoom meetings).

Based on the explanation provided by Jon Erizal, he declared that as the Minangkabau nomads candidate for the DPR-RI legislator in the 2019 Legislative Election, he utilized and maintained the matrilineal kinship, which then led to *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan: Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama* and *Cadiak Clever* (the Minangkabau customary community figures) in *rantau*. This is apparently inseparable from the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship, even though they are in *rantau*, they are still well tied and maintained.

Having adequate cultural capital in Minangkabau nomads figures, the candidates, in this case, Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal, would at least strengthen their positive value in the eyes of political parties. This was because the considerations of political parties in determining the candidate to be supported were always be associated with the advantages possessed by the candidates (Paskarina et.al, 2019). On this basis, candidates should maximize their contributions and utilize their capital to gain a significant victory in the arena of electoral contestation.

Conclusion

The concluding statement should contain summary and suggestion. Based on the discussion above, it was concluded that Minangkabau nomads possessed adequate cultural capital and were able to manage it well so that they could win the 2019 Legislative Election. Two of the elite figures of Minangkabau nomads who were elected for the DPR-RI legislators in the 2019 Legislative Election were Fadli Zon (from Gerindra Party, Electoral District of West Java V) and Jon Erizal (Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), Electoral District of Riau I). Both of them were Minangkabau nomads figures who were considered to have good leadership figures, cultured, able to carry out the mandate, care, humane, and close to the community.

The cultural capital possessed by Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal included the institutionalized tradition of merantau, and the role of *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan* in a matrilineal kinship network. Merantau, as an institutionalized social tradition of the Minangkabau people, encouraged the

Minang people to continue to prove themselves, to move from place to place in search of a better life, including in the political field.

As an integral part of Minangkabau, Fadli Zon and Jon Erizal are one of the current Minangkabau leadership role models, which is reflected in their ability to maintain and maintain Minangkabau customary and cultural values until now. The Minangkabau cultural values which are very flowing and rooted among the Minangkabau tribe have become a valuable cultural capital in the selection process of Minangkabau nomads in the arena of election contestation on the seashore. this commitment to maintaining Minangkabau cultural values, especially the tradition of migrating and the role of the Tungku Tigo Sajarangan in the matrilineal kinship network, is what has led the Minangkabau nomads candidates to be elected in the 2019 Legislative Elections.

References

- Andeska, N., Dharsono., Martion. (2017). Tungku Tigo Sajarangan Di Era Globalisasi dan Visualisasi Dalam Kriya Seni. *Jurnal ISI Padangpanjang*, 4(2), Oktober 2017.
- Azra, A. (2011). *Pedoman Pengamalan Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah, Syarak Mangato Adat Mamakai, Alam Takambang Jadi Guru*. Jakarta: Gebu Minang.
- Bourdieu, P. & Loic, J.D Wacqu. (1992). *An Invation of Reflexive Sociology*. The University of Chicago: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). *The Forms of Capital: Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sosiology of Education*. J. Richardson (Ed.). New York: Grenwood.
- BPS Provinsi Riau (2018). *Riau Dalam Angka 2018 (Riau In Numbers 2018)*. Pekanbaru: Badan Pusat Statistik-Riau.
- BPS-RI (2010). *Sensus Penduduk 2010*. Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik. Retrieved from <https://sp2010.bps.go.id>
- Casey, K.L. (2008). Defining Political Capital: A Reconsideration of Bourdieu's Inconvertibility Theory. Paper Presented at the Illinois State University Conference for Students of Political Science. University of Missouri-St. Louis.
- Chaniago, H. (2010). *101 Orang Minang Di Pentas Sejarah*. Padang: Yayasan Citra Budaya Indonesia.
- Daftar 10 Caleg DPR dengan Suara Terbanyak, dari Puan hingga Fadli Zon. (2019, Agustus 31). Kompas.com.

- Fontana, A. & Frey, J.H. (2009). Wawancara: Seni Ilmu Pengetahuan dalam Handbook of Qualitative Research. Editor Norman K. Denzin dan Yvonna S. Lincoln, Diterjemahkan oleh Dariyatno, dkk. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Furnivall. (2009). *Hindia Belanda: Studi Tentang Ekonomi Majemuk*. Jakarta: Freedom Institute.
- Graves, E. (2008). *Asal Usul Elite Minangkabau Modern: Respons Terhadap Kolonial Belanda Abad XIX/XX*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Halim, A. (2014). *Politik Lokal: Pola, Aktor, dan Alur Dramatikalnya (Perspektif Teori Powercube, Modal dan Pangung)*. Yogyakarta: LP2B.
- Harker, R dkk. (1990). (ed.) *Politik Elite Muhammadiyah (Studi Tentang Fragmentasi Elite Muhammadiyah)*. Yogyakarta.
- Haryanto. (2015). *Klanisasi Demokrasi Politik Klan Qahar Mudzakkar di Sulawesi Selatan*. Yogyakarta: PolGov UGM.
- Huntington, S.P. (2001). *Gelombang Demokratisasi Ketiga*. Jakarta: PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Ibrahim. (2015). *Tambo Alam Minangkabau, Tatanan Adat Warisan Nenek Moyang Orang Minang*. Bukittinggi: Kristal Multimedia.
- Jenkins, R. (2004). *Membaca Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- Kartika, I. (2018). Modal Politik Tjhai Chui Mie Pada Pemilihan Walikota Singkawang tahun 2017. *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 3(2), 139-149. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v3i2.18526>
- Kato, T. (2005). *Adat Minangkabau dan Merantau Dalam Perspektif Sejarah*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Marsh, D. & Stoker, G. (2010). *Teori dan Metode dalam Ilmu Politik, Diterjemahkan oleh Helmi Mahadi dan Shohifullah*. Bandung: Nusa Media.
- Mrazek, R. (1996). *Sjahir: Politik dan Pengasingan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Naim, M. (2013). *Pola Migrasi Suku Bangsa Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Navis, AA. (1984). *Dialektika Minangkabau dalam Kemelut Sosial dan Politik*. Padang: Genta Singgalang Press.
- Pahlevi, I. (2015). *DPR-RI Menuju Parlemen Modern: Fungsi Representasi DPR Dalam Era Parlemen Modern*. Jakarta: P3DI Setjen DPR RI dan Azza Grafika.
- Paskarina, C., Hermawati, R., Yunita, D. (2019). Combining Clientelism and Incumbency Advantage: Political Strategy in Candidate Selection for the 2017 Local Head Election in Bekasi Regency. *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 4(1), 21 – 42. <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v4i1.13528>

- Putri, I. A. (2018). Jaringan Kekeabatan Matrilineal Sebagai Modal Sosial Perempuan Caleg Dalam Pemilu 2014. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 19(2), 167. <https://doi.org/10.25077/jaisb.v19.n2.p167-178.2017>
- Rahmatunnisa, M. (2017). Mengapa Integritas Pemilu itu Penting. *Jurnal Bawaslu*, 3(1), 1-11. ISSN 2443-2539
- Raih Suara Tertinggi Di Riau, Jon Erizal Kembali Lolos ke Senayan. (2019, Mei 20). GoRiau.
- Sadar & Purwaningsih, T. (2019). Clan Masdar In Local Political Contestation (Social-Political Capital Role in Political Marketing). *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 6(3), 252-269. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.63112>
- Solihah, R. (2020). *Relasi Antara Modal Politik, Modal Ekonomi, dan Modal Sosial Dalam Kontestasi Politik*. Banyumas: Amerta Media.
- Solihah, R., Bainus, A., & Rahmatunnisa, M. (2018). Jeje-Adang's Capital Relations in Local Election of Pangandaran Regency. *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan*, 34(2), 378-388. <https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v34i2.3671>
- Stomberg, L. & Szucs, S. (2007). *Political Capital and How it Grows. Local Elites, Political Capital and Democratic Development: Governing Leaders in Seven European*. Wiesbaden: Alle Rechte Vorbehalten.
- Wright, K & Zhu, L. (2021). When Social Capital Becomes Political Capital: Understanding the Social Contexts of Minority Candidates' Electoral Success in the American States. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, 6(2), 373-401. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2020.12>
- Yin, R.K. (2006). *Studi Kasus, Desain dan Metode* (Trans. M Djauzi Mudzakir). Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Perkasa.
- Zon, F. (2016). *Menyusuri Lorong Waktu*. Jakarta: Fadli Zon Library.