

When Mystics and Politics are Intertwined: Understanding Dukun as a Shamanistic System in Bugis- Makassar Political Sphere, Indonesia

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Abstract

The practitioner of the shamanic system among the Bugis-Makassar people in Indonesia is known as dukun or sanro, a person believed has a supranatural power, using their power either to help others or bringing harm, such as disease". This is an interpretative-descriptive anthropological research. We made observations by directly observing, listening, and recording events related to the problem. We also conducted in-depth interviews with dukun and customers using interview guides and other tools such as recorders. We found that there are several types and characteristics of dukun in Makassar, such as dukun penolong (helpers), traditional healers, and dukun using black magic. In Bugis-Makassar social structure, dukun does not have a clear position even with some of the stigma. However, dukun nowadays is becoming more open and increasingly strengthening their position in society, especially in the political arena. Dukun, along with several people believing them cannot be assessed from the rational point of view since they have their own reasoning and logic (rationality behind irrationality). They still function in the socio-political life of Indonesian society. The mysticism practiced by politicians in Indonesia, especially in Makassar, is shown when politicians such as several regional head candidates used the services of dukun to boost their success in winning the regional election. For example, dukun can help candidates to create an aura of authority, protect the candidates from black magic, create illusions to the voters, influence the voters, and other supranatural things. The customers, such as politicians, tend to have their own motivation based on rationality when deciding to have a relationship with a dukun. Motivation for seeking spiritual and political supports by utilizing the network of dukun for political purposes has a reciprocal effect which benefits both parties.

Keywords: dukun, shaman, mystic, magic, function, politic, rationality.

The practitioner of the shamanic system among the Bugis-Makassar people is known as dukun or sanro. Shamans in this article is intended as a label or status given to someone who has the skills and profession and is trusted by the community's supporters as "a person believed has a supranatural power, using their power either to help others or bringing harm such as disease". In other words, shamans are not only believed to have skills as healers using drugs and magic which Foster and Anderson (1986) refer to as naturalistic and personalistic medical systems, but are also believed to have magic and inexplicable supranatural power.

An ambivalent attitude towards the shaman can occur because the community perceives that a shaman is a person who helps heal and treat diseases, as well as a scary person by bring danger or illness and holding a supranatural power. It is on this basis that the expertise and profession of a shaman can be distinguished into two types, namely the shaman as a healer and the shaman as a witch or sorcerer (see Geertz, 1993; Suparlan, 1991). Meanwhile, Lesa and Vogt (1972: 413) see and distinguish shamans in terms of the use of magic, namely black magic for the sorcerer and white magic for the healer (medicine man).

Geertz (1977: 146-147) from the results of his research on the Javanese, has identified several types of shaman: baby shamans (dukun bayi), love shamans (practicing love magic or pellet), medium shamans (dukun prewengan), circumcisionists (dukun calak), harvest ceremony experts (dukun wiwit), experts in wedding rituals (dukun tematen), experts in divining with numbers (dukun petungan), sorcerers, a shaman who relies on incantations), dukun incantations (a shaman who uses herbs or various original medicines (dukun lapa), experts in preventing bad luck, such as preventing rain from falling when people temporarily have a big party, preventing dishes from breaking during a party etc., and the last one is a shaman whose powers are temporary and are the result of being possessed by a spirit (dukun tiban).

Whereas among the Buginese and the Makassarese, shamans (sanro) are known and believed to exist in two categories, namely helper sanro and sanro who can bring harm or disease. Included in the category of sanro helpers are sanro pabballe or sanro pappamole/sanro tomalasa (shamans who are experts at treating or curing diseases), sanro pauru (shamans who are experts at treating broken bones or shamans for massaging the veins), sanro puru (shamans who are experts at curing ulcers or smallpox), sanro pammana, (shamans for babies or midwives), sanro pasunna (shamans for circumcision), sanro patiro-tiro or sanro paccini-cini/sanro patontong (fortunetellers), sanro bunting (shamans for brides), and sanro adongkoreng or Kakadongkokang (shamans possessed by the good/Islamic jinn). As for the category of shamans or sanro who are believed to be able to bring about harm or disease are sanro sehere (sorcerers who are believed to care for the jinn who can be ordered at any time to carry witchcraft and put it into a person's body), sanro tuilua (shamans who are believed to take care of the body of the evil spirits or the bodies of the evil sibling the shaman can order them anytime to harm other people), and sanro pangngassengang sala (shamans who use their skills for evil) (Sianipar, 1989: 18-19).

There are several ways of becoming a shaman, for instance by inheritance, i.e. the parents or grandmother used to become a shaman and then passed it on to their children or grandchildren. The other ways are through the learning process, namely by studying with someone who has the expertise or profession as a shaman, usually becoming an apprenticeship with a shaman first. The last one is by an unconscious process, namely a kind of miracle or inspiration that descend from the sky and then enters the person without them realizing it. Some claim that it is also commonly obtained through dreams (see Geertz, 1983; Suparlan, 1991; Sianipar, 1989).

Shamanism as a system in the social structure of a community's life has significance and it is

one of the social institutions for its supporting community. As stated by Geertz (1983:166) that the complex of medicine, sorcery and magic centered around the role of a shaman is a sub-category of abangan religion, besides other sub-categories, namely beliefs in knowing spirits and various forms of slametan (Javanese thanksgiving ritual). The abangan religion itself, according to Geertz, is centered in rural areas whose adherents are mostly farmers.

Furthermore, according to Foster and Anderson (1986: 266) that the first supporters of shamanism were clan communities and farming communities which in their value systems and beliefs in social structures and in cognitive processes, displayed forms that sometimes, hindered their acceptance of scientific treatment. This is due to their ethnocentrism, and they think that these ways are the same as and maybe better than the ways in other societies.

However, in today's social reality, especially in the city of Makassar, dukun are still believed by several people, including politicians. This is because there are still assumptions and beliefs that are mapped in the cognitive structure of the Bugis-Makassar people that there are diseases and problems that can occur as a result of the intervention (force) of supernatural beings or the result of witchcraft from other people, and in that case, only a dukun who is believed to be able to cure or to handle the problem.

Besides that, some Bugis-Makassar people, especially those in Makassar, make the dukun as a beacon of hope for solving problems that arise within themselves or their families, for example: the unhappiness due to the presence of one of their husbands or wives who flirts with other people or the result of a polygamous marriage; a matter of luck so that sales become in demand; a matter of success; and a matter of a political competition so that they can be elected as a major, a governor, a parliament senator, or a council representative. These habits seem to be patterned in their cognition system and have become a tradition.

Dukun in the political sphere play an important role not only in terms of spirituality but often become public speakers in practice. The regional election (Pilkada), for instance, becomes a realm of contestation to form each actor's own reasoning to act: mystical reasoning and rational reasoning. The dukun builds mystical reasoning as the basis of their abilities and uses the mystical powers they must exert influence. Meanwhile, regional head candidates build rational reasoning by using dukun for their own sake.

Along with the description above, Suparlan (1991) sees the presence of dukun closely related to the cosmogonic view of most of the ethnic groups in Indonesia. Shamans are considered and believed to be people who can balance circumstances and situations from disordered to regular, from irregular to the regular (or in this case, successful). It is because the shaman is a mediator who can connect the supernatural realm as the place where the creator and regulator of this world resides with the real world. Therefore, the shaman is believed not only to be able to heal, but also to bring harm or disease, because the shaman has the power to do that. In relation to their "customers", the shaman is a person who is thought to be able to protect and treat them. The shaman is a patron for them and the customer must obey their patron. In return, the customer will give the shaman money and make them "famous" by telling the ability of a particular shaman to their family and friends if the customer satisfies with the service. Thus, there is an element of reciprocity here which makes the shaman, and the customer are tied in a patron-client structure with an integrative mechanism of exchange relationship.

Methods

We have experienced many ups and downs related to witchcraft practitioners: having been threatened that "my life will be short" if the intent and purpose of the author to seek information is bad or aiming to disgrace or bring down their

profession. However, with and ethnic and family approach as well as expressing true intentions, we were well received.

This is anthropological research with qualitative data. The research is categorized as interpretative-descriptive anthropological research (see Alwy, 1990; Spradley, 1980). Data is presented in the form of descriptions in accordance with the observations and statements of informants as facts to strengthen the analysis. In addition, the descriptions are developed from simulated information supplemented with logical arguments.

First, the field orientation and adjustment stage where the author contacts several people who are able to show the shaman's place or house to be used as the informant of research. Then after that, the author tries to contact all of them to ask for their willingness to provide data and information. Second, the stage is to make or modify interview guidelines which will later be used as material for interviews with the dukun and some patients. Third, conducting face-to-face interviews by visiting each informant's house. In this stage, observations and in-depth interviews are carried out. This stage lasts approximately four months.

In this study, the informants are the Bugis-Makassar who practiced shamanism and some patients or users of services. After exploring and seeking initial information about shamanism activities, we chose 15 people who could represent providing information about the shamanic system, especially in the Bugis-Makassar community. In addition, I interviewed users of the dukun's services to add data and further sharpen the information from the dukun.

It should be noted that data on shamanism is very difficult to obtain because it is not recorded in the sub-district information data or in any service, so the authors try to find it through chain information from person to person who is considered to have frequently used or has used shamanic services. Because the information obtained was fifteen people, this number was considered representative, and they were able to

obtain detailed information regarding the data needed in the research of this article. Therefore, the informants in this research article were fifteen Bugis-Makassar shamans, plus several patients, both temporarily using the services of a dukun, as well as those who had performed or used the services of a dukun. The determination of these patients was carried out in a random way, and it was considered that the required information could be obtained and also based on data saturation.

We made observations by directly observing, listening, and recording events related to the problem. The things observed are the place where the dukun practices, the social situation both inside and outside the house and where the dukun practices, how the dukun accepts patients and how the patient responds to every dukun's words, how the dukun behaves when receiving patients or while carrying out his profession.

Next, we conducted in-depth interviews with dukun and patients using interview guides and other tools such as recorders. The information collected using this technique is the dukun's and patient's beliefs about the cases they were involved, types of dukun and their functions, beliefs and knowledge of dukun and patients about the functions of dukun, patterns of shamanic services, patient responses about dukun and background knowledge, and the dukun's trust in his function so that he continues to carry out his profession.

Characteristics and Types of Dukun

Dukun according to Suparlan (1991) are people who have expertise (skills) using magical powers, sorcery, or using both. Even in their activities, a shaman often uses spirits such as djinns, spirits of dead people, or demons (Maria, 1993:92). Therefore, a shaman is not only trusted by the community of supporters as a person who can cure illnesses, but it is also believed to bring illness and have other abilities, such as bringing fortune, luck, reading the future, etc. This may be because dukun are believed to have more expertise than ordinary people, namely being able to relate to the forces or beings that exist in

the unseen realm, both those that are considered good and those that are considered evil (see Suparlan, 1991; Geertz, 1983).

In addition, also because the dukun is believed to have or master the power of magic. With this power, dukun can a person who is the target to experience a state beyond the limits of human rationality. In addition to that, the magic objects are also sent by other shamans, or other things like facilitating sustenance etc. For this reason, Maria (1993) assesses the function of the dukun as a healer or medicine and as a scary person depending on the person looking at it, namely those outside the group (those who are subjected to it) and those who are in the group (those who ask). For example, in the case of a person who is seeking treatment and suspects that someone else has bewitched them, such as making them unlucky, they ask a dukun to transfer the illness to the person they suspect. Viewed from the point of view of the person asking, the magic here acts as good magic, in other words, the dukun functions as a healer. But from the point of view of the suspect, magic acts as bad magic, in other words, the dukun functions as a scary person.

The Bugis-Makassar people are also familiar with the existence of two categories of dukun namely dukun penolong (helpers) and dukun yang mendatangkan bahaya (using black magic). However, distinguishing between these two categories is very difficult, because sometimes a dukun who is believed to be able to cure diseases is also often called a sanro tujua (a dukun or sanro who is considered to possess or maintain seven (tuju) evil spirits that the Bugis-Makassar people believe to be evil demons). So, the Bugis-Makassar people are very careful in choosing a sanro.

Various types of dukun have been identified by Geertz in his research on the Javanese and each dukun can have multiple types of dukun. Therefore, the skill of a dukun is not only able to cure diseases, but also to predict, to give suggestion or several ways to win the political election, to curse someone, and even to do

massages. The dukun of the Bugis-Makassar community is also similar. Dukun who are considered as healers, at the same time when asked to predict fate, the shaman does not refuse and says he can. As happened to the HM:

At that time, a patient came to the HM (dukun) asking to be cured of his illness. After being given water as medicine, the patient also spoke to HM "how can he improve his fortune. The HM dukun did not refuse, instead he gave directions so that the patient's behavior was changed and there was indeed the magic in a kind of amulet made by the dukun which later must be kept by the patient.

In general, all the dukun who became informants in the research of this article admitted that the way to obtain their shamanic skills was through dreams. All of them admit that in their dreams, they were visited by someone who is old and wearing white clothes. It is in their dreams that they are taught various prayers or spells and various potions that can be used to treat or heal sick people or people who need help.

Various types and classifications of Makassar-Bugis dukun have been put forward by Sianipar (1977), namely: (1) Pappamole dukun or dukun pabballe or dukun tomalasa which Chabot (1950) defines as "Makassarese physician", namely a dukun who is skilled at treating or curing sick people; (2) Dukun paura, namely a dukun for massage; (3) Dukun Puru, namely a shaman who is skilled at treating or curing puru or smallpox; (4) Dukun Pammana, namely a dukun for babies or midwives; (5) Dukun Pasunna, namely a circumcision shaman; (6) Dukun botting or buntings, namely dukun who are experts at bridal makeup.

In addition to the types of dukun described above by Sianipar (1977), there are also dukun who deal with occult matters, namely dukun pattiro-tiro, dukun adongkereng, dukun sehere, dukun tujua, and dukun pangngasseng. Dukun pattiro-tiro or dukun paccini-cini or dukun patontong are dukun who are experts at predicting. For example, if something is lost or stolen, you can find out where it is and who the

thief was. They can also predict someone's fate or future. They know someone's character and can also see or predict good days or times when you want to do something, for example starting work or wanting to throw a party. Some Makassar-Bugis people believe that there are times and days that are not good, which according to them, if someone do activity at that bad time or day, there will be a possibility of danger or the work or the program will be not successful.

Dukun Adongkoreng is a dukun who is possessed by a good or Islamic djinn. Regarding Sianipar (1977) finds a connection between the name of the dukun or the designation of the dukun and the time when the djinn possesses. The dukun's expertise appears when they are possessed, so that they are only called a dukun when the djinn enters their body. Thus, the name of a dukun is not based on their expertise but on the way, they become a dukun. This study also found that there were dukun, when receiving patients, who are waiting for the involvement of certain supranatural beings such as djinn as partners. There are also dukun who do treatment by involving djinn. The dukun can have various skills, namely being able to treat diseases, to predict someone's fate, to win someone on an election for political purposes, or other things related to one's fate. All the classifications of dukun mentioned above can be grouped as the dukun penolong (helpers) since all of their actions are to protect people or groups, and do not intend to harm other people. The classification of dukun that are considered bad for the Bugis-Makassar people is a dukun who brings damage or disease to people.

The latter is the dukun pannngaseng sala (the wrongdoers), which includes all dukun who use their expertise for evil purposes. These shamans are usually more focused on matters relating to their satisfaction, for example their knowledge or expertise to ensnare women making women looks more attractive. Also, their skills are used to getting money in an improper way, thieving by using supranatural power (pattiro kanja).

People who have such expertise, when use their magic, their body turns into a pig, and usually in such circumstances, money comes to their house by itself. Makassar-Bugis people believe that people like that will live a miserable life in the future.

In choosing a dukun, there are many considerations for the clients, in this case the politicians. Apart from the fact that the dukun themselves are well known and therefore considered to have more power or more magic, another consideration is the compatibility (the relationship or the feeling) between the dukun and the client. Even though the dukun is well-known, if the client feels unsuitable, whether for example the behavior or even the price of services offered, then the client will not choose the dukun even although people suggesting them (Subair 2015).

Geertz (1983:117) states that being a dukun is considered dangerous for someone, because the extraordinary power that becomes their tool can destroy themselves if they are not spiritually strong. Since going insane is a typical outcome for people who tried their best along these lines, the meaning is that it is fortunate that people descended from someone who proved to have the ability to handle such powers.

There are many kinds of processes that dukun get before becoming a dukun. There are those who previously went crazy, became destitute, and some even got hit by a disaster with the death of their family. However, according to the dukun, this is all a test that are we truly spiritually capable of receiving it. It is because if we are unable, it means that we are also unable to receive and implement the teachings that will be given by God.

Dukun in Bugis-Makassar Social Structure

In dealing with their environment, humans have many models that can be used to act and behave. This model can be obtained from the socialization results of previous generations or from the results of their experiences. Then, it is patterned in the human head and becomes a reference for their actions or behavior.

Regarding the different patterns in the human mind, if the human is seen as an individual, it is called cultural knowledge, whereas if the pattern is associated with a group of people, it is called culture. Suparlan (1989: 28) claims that culture as a unit of ideas is owned jointly by the members of the community concerned as well as by the individual members of the community. Even though among anthropologists the differences in views regarding the meaning of culture will never disappear, in this article, we will only present some cultural formulations in the context of a school or class of cultural theories known as "ideationalism" (Keesing, Sathe in Kalangie, 1994).

In line with that, Spradley (1972) argues that culture consists of cognitive models possessed by humans as social beings and used selectively in dealing with their environment and to meet their life needs. Then Keesing (1989:68) says culture as a system of thought. Thus, culture exists at the level of ideas or knowledge, which according to Geertz quoted by Suparlan (1990: 4) as knowledge, ideas and concepts which is the guide of life, contains systems that function as giving meaning to all the phenomena that exist in the human environment so that life itself makes sense to them.

The ideas, knowledge, and concepts that become models and patterns in mind of who support this culture, are then in line with the development and growth of various cultural elements, both as a result of innovation and a diffusion of new cultural elements from outside. It will add experience and knowledge to the supporters of the culture. Nevertheless, according to Suparlan (1989: 28-29) there are differences in the cultural knowledge of individuals who are members of society who have the same culture. These differences have occurred because of the different natural/physical and social environments that have been faced by everyone, and because each of these individuals has had experiences that differ from one to the other. So that the cognitive models that have been and are always used and

those that have been developed to deal with the environment are also different from one another.

The models of knowledge that exist in the human mind, can be chosen which model should be used as a framework (reference) for their actions or behavior according to the situation and context they are currently facing. It could be using a model of knowledge from previous generations of culture that was obtained from the process of enculturation, socialization, or a new model of knowledge resulting from innovation or diffusion of new cultural elements from outside or at the same time combining them. The use of this model of cultural knowledge for the actions or behavior of every human being depends on experience and the context of the social structure they face.

Therefore, the dukun as a part of the social structure in social life functions as a helper and healer, which is one of the elements of traditional culture, persisting in the urban environment. This can be understood and analyzed based on these models of cultural knowledge. In a sense, that the significant of the dukun in the urban environment and life is due to the similarity of cultural knowledge with other individuals in the urban environment. Also, because these shamanic actors make models of their cultural knowledge as adaptive references to the situation and context or urban environment they face. Thus, these models of cultural knowledge can understand as models of adaptation strategies.

In analyzing the existence of dukun by using the concept of culture in social life, we can see dukun as a part of the social structure that has function. The concept of social structure itself according to Brown (1965) is closely related to the concept of "social personality" in the position of a human being in a complex social structure that is formed from all social relations with other human beings. Furthermore, Brown said that in human society, the social structure as a whole can only be considered in terms of its function.

In addition, the continuation of this function, the continuity of the structure can be perpetuated. The transmission in the form of social life

depends on the transmission of structure, i.e. a type of transmission of the arrangement of people in their relationship to one another. Continuation of a series of social relations that form a social structure, is not an irregular individual relationship, but is determined by social processes. In this case, the relationship of a person's behavior during mutual activities based on norms, rules or patterns. In conceptualizing structure-functionality, Brown (1965) analogized it with living organisms, namely the human body as a complex living organism, having a structure consisting of the arrangement of organs, tissues, and fluids.

When translated into social systems, the structural-functional analogy in organic life is used to refer to the interrelationships between social structures and the processes of social life. The dukun as a part of the structure in the social structure functions to help everyone from supernatural or medical problem, or even to gain purposes with magical ways. Dukun as a part of the social structure in social life, depend on social life processes that make the process of social harmony to continue their activities or life. If the dukun as part of the social structure in social life stops carrying out its functions, then the process of social life becomes lame or unstable, and the dukun as part of the social structure in social life will lose its position.

The concepts of process, structure, and function as described above, according to Brown, are components for a theory to be used as an interpretation scheme for human social systems. These three concepts are interrelated because function is used to refer to the relationship between processes and structures. This theory can be used for studies regarding the continuity of forms of social life and regarding the process of change in forms of social life.

Dukun as part of the social structure function to help their customers and in today's social reality. Dukuns are no longer the only ones who function like that, because there are already other media systems that also have similar functions, such as the medical system of medicine (for

medical issues) and political consultant (for political issues) or even internet and social media (YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, etc) providing answers for problems and becoming a way for marketing and widening influences. That is why, theoretically, the existence of modern solutions will shift the function of the dukun.

Geertz argues that dukun does not have a clear position in society even with some of the stigma. Dukun could disappear and be replaced by technological and scientific sophistication. However, today, dukun is becoming more open and increasingly strengthening their position in society, especially in the political arena, both in rural and urban areas (Ilyas 2018:313).

However, this is not the case. The existence of dukun remains functional either as a healer or as a helper. Therefore, the fundamental question in looking at this reality is "why does the traditional system such as dukun remain functional, even though there is already a more formal and scientific system?". Keesing (in Kalangie, 1994: 3) claims that behavior is a logical consequence and is inseparable from culture. The oneness between behavior and culture cannot be separated. This unity is known as the "socio-cultural system".

These perceptions, understandings, and beliefs are embodied in culture which makes them a frame of reference for interpreting and determining attitudes and subsequent actions. For example, perceptions, understanding and beliefs about supernatural power associated with the role and function of the dukun. Thus, the role and function of the dukun persists in Makassar City, because they are still part of the cultural system. Likewise, dukun as practitioners have perceptions, understandings and beliefs about phenomena occurred in our reality, which are embodied in their cultural knowledge. They made it as a framework to determine their actions.

Dukun, Magic, and Their Political Functions in Makassar

Magic is able to foster trust in uncertain situations (Barokah 2021:1). Bahaudin (2015)

explains that mysticism and politics which are characterized by dukun in politics in Indonesia cannot be separated from Indonesian history. Magic is considered as something that is used to maintain power. Humaeni (2014) also provides an example of how almost all village head candidates in an area on the island of Java use magic to win Pilkades (village election). They go to magicians and use the magical abilities of these magicians for practical purposes. They believe that magical powers can influence the process of winning the Pilkades.

Mauss (1972) explains that there are three important elements in magic. First is the magician. In this case, the magician referred to is a dukun or those who are considered to have and practice occult knowledge (magic). The second element is action (magic activity). In this case, the action that Mauss refers to is a ritual, and in the context of this research is the attempt by politicians to visit the dukun and the activities that occur among them. The third element of magic is representation. Beliefs in dukun and shamanic practices are referred to as local beliefs that are embedded in the culture of a society. As local beliefs, both dukun and their shamanic practices cannot be assessed from the rational point of view because they have their own reasoning and logic or the 'rationality behind irrationality' (Syuhudi et al., 2013).

Some Bugis-Makassar people believe that dukun have the ability to bridge between ordinary people and God so that the pray of the dukun will be heard. This, then, makes some people ask for the help of a dukun to solve their problems, whether they are related to irrational or rational things. On the one hand, dukun still function in the socio-political life of Indonesian society. But on the other hand, dukun have a bad stigma which is considered to have destructive power due to the black magic they have (Ilyas 2018:321)

The mysticism practiced by politicians in Indonesia, especially Makassar, can be classified into two. First, which originates from transcendental religious narratives (particularly

Islam, as the majority religion of Bugis-Makassar), marked by the high number of politicians coming to the Islamic cleric or *ustad* to ask for support. Second, those related to forces outside of human beings that originate other than God, such as sorcerers or witchcraft. To some extent, several dukun can be categorized into this (Barokah 2021).

Dukun in politics according to Dwiayatina (2020) have a role as those who provide prayers as well advice and provide practices to their clients. In this context, it is political. The figure of a dukun is seen as a charismatic figure who has extraordinary individual personality qualities. Bugis-Makassar people, especially those who have used or are currently using the services of a dukun, respond that the role and function of a dukun is still needed. It is said that because of their understanding and belief, especially about phenomena tend to be associated with supernatural or magical things, so that in their socio-cultural conception they frame that only dukun can help them. The presence of dukun in the local political arena becomes part of the life of Indonesian society. Even though there are modern political consultants in the form of surveys, belief in mystical matters remains inherent in the local election, even on the national political stage (Zulfikar 2016:8).

The dukun believe that not everyone can have the same expertise as themselves. To become a dukun, they have to be strong in spirit (*sumange*) and must really apply their skills when they already have them. Therefore, not just anyone can be given shamanic skill since in general, people who will be given the skills must first be tested. Sometimes, the person experiences stress or goes crazy within a few days, even months, while others are subject to calamities, such as the death of their family. When they pass this test, they ready to receive shamanistic skills and must promise to help anyone who comes to them. If it is not implemented, it will have fatal consequences for them such as getting sick or other calamities.

Thus, the dukun believes their role and function as something that must really be applied or used.

The function of the dukun in the political scene is quite important. Dukun is confident. They appear in public, and even in places such as advertisements or media. The practice of dukun in the politics is promising. Several regional head candidates used the services of dukun to boost their success in winning the regional election. The role of dukun in regional elections is often used by candidate pairs, including wars between the dukun of a particular individual. In addition to political consultants by providing survey services, the presence of dukun in the local political arena of the General Election of Regional Heads from an anthropological and sociological point of view is normal (Zulfikar 2016:1-3).

Dukun becomes an important actor for several regional head or legislative candidates. Dukun is also considered a "penasihat spiritual" (spiritual advisor) whose role is to protect the candidate from hate speech to mystical disturbances, such as witchcraft or sorcerer. For example, dukun can help candidates to create an aura of authority when meeting with the public. In addition to that, they believe that the safety factor of a candidate is also important. It becomes very dangerous because political opponents may also use a dukun to harass the candidate. Not only for the candidate, but also for the candidate's family can be made sick or suffer a disaster. In the beliefs of the Bugis-Makassar people, black magic like this is called pangissengang sala or even classified as a dukun who is allied with the devil (setan tujua) (Ilyas 2018:317).

The dukun is maintained among the Bugis-Makassar people due to the relatively similar socio-cultural views between the dukun and the customers. The description or explanation of a dukun for patients who come to them for is easy to understand, giving them a sense of confidence that the dukun is very precise in solving their problems. Even though in the end, if it does not really solve it, the dukun can easily explain to the

customer the reasons why it fails, for example, by not complying with the prohibitions emphasized by the dukun. For customers, such things are considered normal, for example by saying "maybe the dukun is not suitable" or "perhaps this problem is better to be solved with different ways".

In such situation, the presence of dukun is very appropriate in what Alwy (1991) claims that it is maintained due to various cultural factors: remain functional in the community; easily understood and believed by customers who need help with treatment since the ways and practices that are carried out are familiar to the cultural knowledge and beliefs. In order to obtain information about the whereabouts of the dukun, patients acknowledge that they know through information from family or neighbors who have usually heard of or received help from the dukun, and usually accompanied by an explanation of the expertise and efficacy of the dukun's practice.

Some of the findings suggest that the dukun plays a kind of 'mind game'. Sometimes, they play with the voters' minds when they are in the voting booth or when they want to vote by 'closing the eyes' of the voters so that all they see is a particular candidate. They believe this to be an illusion that makes voters choose the person the dukun wants. In fact, in the eyes of the electorate, they chose a different candidate. There are also duku who claim to control the bodies and minds of voters when they are in the booth so that the dukun's goals and objectives are fulfilled. Apart from that, there are also those who state that the results of the election can still change according to the will of the dukun (Ilyas 2018:317). This is what was previously discussed regarding how the reality of some Indonesians, including the Bugis-Makassarese, still holds a mystical view.

Kahar (pseudonym), a politician, claims that apart from using rational methods, he also uses the services of dukun. But sometimes, the term dukun itself is 'refined' or 'Islamized' to become an ustad or kiyai (Islamic clerics or preachers). He thought that the ustad could help him to win

easier. Some of the things that the *ustad* did were increasing prayers and making pilgrimages to sacred places. In addition, there is also the use of amulets in any form with all the benefits. One of them is a box-shaped amulet made of animal skin. Kahar also dreamed of getting something in his dream. This was taken as a sign. Later, Kahar was elected in his electoral area. This is what is meant by a mystical reality that continues to be reproduced (Ilyas 2018:321).

The intertwine between mysticism and politics is increasingly surfacing whenever regional head elections, legislative candidates, and presidential elections are held. During this period, there were many legislative, presidential, or regional head candidates who visited graves or sacred places or used the services of *dukun* or supernatural practitioners (Bahaudin 2015:377)

Citing several references from the mass media, Hadisaputra (2016) reveals the acknowledgment of several political candidates that there are spiritual advisors who actively offer their services at rates ranging from IDR 50 million to IDR 150 million. The payment mechanism can be paid in installments, accompanied by a letter of agreement stating that if the candidate fail, the money will be returned.

Hadisaputra (2016) explains how a 'spiritual advisor' (can be classified as a *dukun*) has charisma. The spiritual advisor in Hadisaputra's study is referred to as Bunda (mother). Her figure cannot be separated from her ability to integrate religion, magic and science. Various terms that are the focus of religion, such as prayer, remembrance, sharing for orphans, and sacrifice. These terms are often reproduced for the purposes of branding their products as spiritual advisors (see Malinowski 1954 and Frazer 1958). In Hadisaputra's research, it was also told how Mother claimed to have owned seven cars that were given to each of her clients without even asking. The award was obtained when several of her clients had succeeded in sitting as regional heads. The gift is continued on a regular basis from several clients who have held and are

still holding positions, both in the executive and legislative position.

Therefore, the results of Suparlan (1991) claims that there is a patron and client relationship between the *dukun* and the customer, that is, the *dukun* is seen as a person who provides protection and care to their customer, while the customer provides service and obedience to the *dukun*. The patron-client relationship is very relevant if it is associated with *pacini-cini dukun* or *dukun patonton* whose expertise is to give some kind of spell or amulet about how to get rich or sell things or trade quickly. It includes how to win an election or how to influence people and rising masses. Most of those who come to seek help from such *dukun* are traders or entrepreneurs who ask or expect that their merchandise or business will sell quickly and politicians who ask to have influences.

Influence is an important point in this discussion. We cannot separate it from the reciprocal relationship between regional head candidates and the *dukun*. Even regional head candidates use *dukun* to gain support from *dukun's* masses for political purposes. Meanwhile, the *dukun* uses regional head candidates to gain economic benefits and legitimacy as powerful a *dukun*.

In building relationships with *dukun*, regional head candidates use various political strategies, one of which is by intervening the *dukun*. Intervention is carried out by giving several rewards and utilizing the authority of the *dukun* in society. The *dukun* is played as a vote getter, producing issues, and as a political network in the *Pilkada*. Relations can be seen from Weber's theory of rational action (Weber, 1978: Rudyansjah, 2020), namely how the actions of regional head candidates are influenced by subjective understanding (*verstehen*) attached to them: rationality, motives for acting, situations, and ways of acting for regional head candidates to achieve the desired goals.

Conclusion

Makassar-Bugis dukun understand and belief about their status and function so that they are still used or functional in society. It is closely related to how to gain expertise and their understanding and belief. Makassar-Bugis dukun think that their expertise must be applied or functioned because it is appropriate agreement with the provider of expertise, even if it is not used it will get sanctions from the provider. Dukun also think that many phenomena are caused by certain active agents in the form of supernatural beings or magic that can only be solved using supernatural force. According to dukun and their customers, the modern system cannot solve their problems causing by supernatural power.

Several forms of events experienced by dukun in obtaining their expertise, make beliefs about their functions and roles are still maintain. This is because for them; in order to obtain the expertise of a dukun, one must have a strong spirit (sumange') as a result of many incidents that have been experienced. For example, experiencing stress or being like a lunatic for months end or having a disaster which is sometimes very difficult to accept, such as the death of a child or wife. Therefore, they believe that their expertise must really be used. There is also the belief of the dukun that this form of expertise is better than other, because according to them, the expertise comes directly from God. For this reason, they are very confident in their expertise, and according to them, it will not fade

until the end of time and will still be needed by humans as long as humans exist on earth.

Human beings are also conceptualized by Makassar-Bugis dukun as one of the active agents who can intervene in other humans, so that these humans can fall sick. Such human beings are categorized by dukun as humans who have the magic of paddisengeng sala, which the Makassar-Bugis call as dukun sehere and dukun tujuan, a type of dukun whose skills are used to harm other people. Beliefs about the magical causes of problems of certain phenomena that Bugis-Makassar dukun understand, also become a frame of reference in explaining problems and how to solve it to the customer. This method of explanation is also used by dukun to recruit customers since it is easily understood by the cognitive structure of the patients, which has been patterned through enculturation and socialization from generation to generation or through the experience they have gained. Meanwhile, another method used by Makassar-Bugis dukun to recruit customer is by not providing a standard cost or not being paid at all. This is according to the dukun because it is in accordance with its purpose when receiving expertise: to help people.

The examples we describe are candidates for regional head who uses the services of a dukun. They tend to have their own motivation based on rationality when deciding to have a relationship with a dukun. Motivation for seeking spiritual and political supports by utilizing the network of dukun for political purposes has a reciprocal effect which benefits both parties.

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